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SAINT BASIL

THE LETTERS

SAINT BASIL

THE LETTERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

ROY J. DEFERRARI, Ph.D.

OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

IN FOUR VOLUMES

III



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PREFATORY NOTE

THE present volume of the collected Letters of St. Basil include Letters CLXXXVI to CCXLVIII. Of these probably the most interesting and in a certain sense the most important are the three so-called Canonical Letters (CLXXXVIII, CXCIX, CCXVII). Because of their importance and technical content, I have presented with these letters a rather extensive commentary and general introduction. For assistance in this work I wish to thank the Reverend Joseph B. Sheehan, O.P.

The text of this volume has been treated exactly as that of Volume II. All the letters included here, with the exception of Number CLXXXIX, appear in the MS. known as Coislinianus 237 (sig. = E). No letter of this volume, however, appears in any of the other MSS. collated by the author. Accordingly, the readings from E are my own, all others have been taken over from the Benedictine edition, and their sigla have been kept in all cases, even though they will often appear quite strange and even amusing to the modern text-critic. I would again remind the reader that by *editi antiqui* I mean all editions earlier than the Benedictine; by *editi* all existing editions.

For assistance in bringing the present volume to completion I wish to thank the members of my Greek Seminar during the academic years of 1926-27

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and 1927–28, and also my colleagues Mr. Martin P. McGuire, Ph.D., and the Reverend J. Marshall Campbell, Ph.D. I take this opportunity also of thanking Sister Miriam Annunciata Adams, Ph.D., and Sister Aileen Lavell of the Order of St. Benedict, Covington, Kentucky, for valuable assistance in preparing my MS. for the printer.

ROY J. DEFERRARI.

THE CANONICAL LETTERS OF ST. BASIL¹

(Letters CLXXXVIII, CXCIX, CCXVII.)

THESE letters are St. Basil's answers to certain queries of St. Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, chiefly on matters of Church discipline. They are called Canonical Letters because the answers have been arranged in the form of canons or rules, although St. Basil himself was not the author of this arrangement. The Greek term *κανών*, from its generic signification of "a straight bar" or "rod," came to denote the instrument used by artificers in making straight lines. By a metaphorical accommodation it was employed to connote anything that serves to regulate or determine other things. Thus we find Lycurgus² using it to signify "law," or that which regulated the conduct of human beings

¹ Our chief sources in this introductory essay, also in the notes accompanying the letters on the Canons, are the commentaries of the Greek Canonists of the Middle Ages: Balsamon, Zonaras, and Aristenus (Migne, P. G. CXXXVIII), and Hefele's *History of the Church Councils* (Vol. I, to A.D. 325, and Vol. II, A.D. 326 to A.D. 429).

² *κατὰ Λεωκράτους*, 149. 1.

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(τούτω κανόνι χρωμένους κολάζειν τοὺς παρανομούντας). In the sense of law it was used by the early Christian writers to denote the rule of faith or some dogmatic formula. Irenaeus¹ and Tertullian² thus employed it. Bickel³ says that, for the first three hundred years of Christianity, *κανών* was used almost exclusively in the singular number to denote the rule of faith in general. In the First Council of Nice (325), however, it was officially employed to signify a disciplinary decree, a signification which it retained until the Council of Trent.⁴

The canons of Basil are usually disciplinary decrees, although not always. Two of them (Canons 15, 16), for example, are answers to difficulties in scriptural interpretation and are exegetical in character. Others (Canons 17, 27, 53) evidently are not general rules, but rather the solution of particular cases by the application of general principles and the existing canons, and so pertain to that branch of theology known as casuistry. The majority, however, are penitential canons, that is, rules for the guidance of the bishop in meting out penances for various sins. From these canons the letters derive their chief importance, for they furnish us with most detailed knowledge of the Eastern system of public penance. Accordingly, a brief outline of the practice of the early Church in the administration of the sacrament of Penance is quite necessary for an adequate understanding of the canons themselves.

The penitential discipline of the early Church was

¹ *Adv. Haer.* 1. 9.

² *De Praescr.* 13.

³ *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, 1. 8.

⁴ Wm. W. H. Fanning: "Canon, Ecclesiastical"; *Cath. Encycl.*, II, 287.

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very severe. In the Council of Elvira (306) and that of Arles (314; Canon 22) it was decreed that those guilty of idolatry and apostasy should be deprived of communion during their entire life. This severity, however, was not universal, and was ordered to be abrogated in favour of a milder policy by the thirteenth canon of the Council of Nice (325). This canon decrees that no penitent, who requests it and who has been found to be properly disposed, shall be deprived of Holy Viaticum at the hour of death. Heavy penances, however, for ten and twenty years, and even for life, continued to be imposed on those guilty of the more grievous sins, such as fornication, adultery, murder, and apostasy. The penitential canons published by the councils or the bishops prescribed the penances to be fulfilled for each sin.

In some cases the penance was public, though not always, as we shall see later. Public penance was performed in the presence of the bishop, priests, and laity, and those on whom it was enjoined were called penitents. The entire process of such public canonical penance was termed "exomologesis," *i.e.* confession. This term, however, is ambiguous, since it was also used to signify the secret confession made before the penance was imposed, and sometimes too the public confession made upon the completion of the penance, before the absolution was given.¹

The public penance sometimes included a public confession of the sin. It was left to the discretion of the confessor to determine whether the penitent should make a confession before the bishop and his council, and they in turn judged whether a public

¹ Edw. J. Hanna: "Penance"; *Cath. Encycl.*, XI, 618.

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avowal should be made in the presence of the faithful. If the sin had been a public one and had caused grave scandal to the flock, it was but just that reparation be made by a public confession. If, however, the sin was secret, or if its character would be likely to scandalize the faithful, or if its knowledge would redound to the detriment of the penitent, then neither the public confession of the sin nor the public penance was required. When this was the case, the penitent was required merely to abstain from communion during the time of public penance prescribed by the canon for the particular sin in question. Thus in Canon 34, Basil, following the traditional form, prescribes that the woman who had confessed adultery be excused from public penance and merely abstain from communion until the time of penance be accomplished, that is, for twenty years. Migne¹ explains that this course was adopted to protect the penitent from the civil law, which regarded as capital crimes many of the sins for which public penance was prescribed. Hence the reason assigned by Basil in the same canon, namely, "lest we furnish those convicted the cause for death," probably means: "lest the knowledge of their sin render them liable to the death penalty inflicted by the civil power on those guilty of this crime."

In the East the public penitents were divided into four classes, namely, the Weepers or Mourners, the Hearers, the Prostrates, and the Standers. The Weepers were not permitted to enter the church at all. They took their station in the courtyard outside the edifice, and besought the faithful as they entered

¹ *Penitence*, sec. II, chap. II, *Adoucissements à la Confession Publique, Theologiae Cursus Completus*, vol. 20, 377-8.

PREFATORY NOTE

the church to pray for them. The Hearers were permitted to enter and to remain at mass until after the instruction, when they were dismissed together with the catechumens. The Prostrates were permitted to remain prostrated during the prayers at which the faithful stood. The Standers were permitted to stand with the faithful during the entire mass, but were prohibited from receiving Holy Communion. This division of penitents seems to have been unknown in the West, where all penitents were treated like the catechumens, and hence would be placed among the Hearers. According to Funk,¹ it was not universally practised even in the East, but seems to have been peculiar to Asia Minor. Again, not every sin was punished by all four stages. Some penitents were admitted immediately to hearing, while others were merely prohibited from receiving Holy Communion.

Some historians say that the lowest station, namely, that of Weepers, was a later development, and was first mentioned by Basil in these letters. This, however, seems to be an error, since Gregory Thaumaturgus, in the seventh and eighth canons of his First Canonical Letter, mentions those who are to be shut out even from hearing, and those who are not worthy even of hearing. Both Balsamon and Zonaras interpret these phrases as referring to those who are to be kept outside the church, in the place of the Weepers. Furthermore, in the tenth canon of the same letter, the four stations including that of Weepers are expressly mentioned. Hence, Basil's special contribution seems to be, as Balsamon points out, a more detailed and complete knowledge of the

¹ *Man. Church History*, I, 70.

PREFATORY NOTE

four stations as a result of his discussion of the time that the penitent must pass in each station for each particular sin.

The whole process was instituted merely as a means to bring about the proper dispositions in the penitent, *i.e.* a detestation and sorrow for the sin committed, and the resolve to refrain from it in the future. Hence the bishop, if he judged that the penitent was properly disposed before the completion of the prescribed time, could shorten the period and admit him when he saw fit. For, as Basil insists, it is not the time of penance so much as the quality of penance that counts.¹

In framing his responses, Basil had recourse to a triple source—the canons that had already been published by the Fathers, custom, and tradition. Wherever the exact case in question had never been treated before, he tells us that he drew his conclusions from the kindred cases of which he had learned. Sometimes, however, he departs from the canons of the Fathers to substitute a severer discipline of his own, as in the case of fallen virgins.²

The answers, as they appear in these letters, were written at the request of Amphilochius, the youthful bishop of Iconium, and warm friend of Basil, and in response to his questions. Therefore, they seem to have been merely consultative, that is, merely conveyed information from one bishop to another, and did not carry with them, by reason of their being published, the weight of formal promulgation. Nevertheless, in time they acquired a canonical authority throughout the East. Sixty-eight of them

¹ Cf. Canons 2, 3, 74, 84.

² Cf. Canon 18.

PREFATORY NOTE

were included in a collection of conciliar decrees, and with them formed the nucleus of the ecclesiastic discipline of the Greek Church in the sixth century.¹ The remarks of the three Greek Canonists on the eighty-four canons show that even in the Middle Ages great weight was attached to them.

¹ Jules Besson: "Canons, Ancient Collection of"; *Cath. Encycl.*

COLLECTED LETTERS OF SAINT BASIL

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

CLXXXVI

Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἡγεμόνι

Ὡς καλὴ ἡ φιλοσοφία, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ ἰατρεύεσθαι πολυτελῶς τοῖς τροφίμοις αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέπει· ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὄψον ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτῇ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἀρκεῖ. τὰς γάρ τοι ὀρέξεις ἀποκαμούσας, ὡς ἐπυθόμην, κράμβαις ἐν ὄξει ταριχευθείσαις ἀνεκαλέσω· ἃς ἐγὼ πρότερον μὲν ἐδυσχέραιων καὶ διὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, καὶ ὅτι ὑπόμνημα ἦσαν τῆς συντρόφου πενίας.

Νῦν δέ μοι δοκῶ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν μεταπέσειν,¹ καὶ τῆς παροιμίας καταγελάσσεσθαι, ὁρῶν αὐτὴν οὕτως ἀγαθὴν κουροτρόφον, ἢ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἡμῶν εἰς ἀκμὴν ἐπανήγαγε. καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι τοῦ λοιποῦ κατ' αὐτὴν ἠγγίσομαι, οὐχ ὅπως τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν

¹ μεταπεσεῖν editi antiqui.

¹ Written in 374. Cf. the following letter, also Letter CXXXVII and note. Of Antipater, Governor of Cappadocia, nothing more is known than is contained in these letters.

COLLECTED LETTERS OF
SAINT BASIL

LETTER CLXXXVI

TO ANTIPATER, THE GOVERNOR¹

How noble is philosophy in every respect, and especially because she does not allow her children to be healed at great cost! Nay, with her the same thing is both appetizing and useful for health. For, as I have learned, you have revived your failing appetite with cabbage pickled in vinegar, a food which I once could hardly endure, both on account of the proverb,² and because it reminded me of its companion, poverty.

Now, however, I am inclined to change my view, and to laugh at the proverb, as I observe that cabbage, which has restored our ruler to health, is so good a fostering mother.³ And in the future I shall consider that nothing is to be compared with it,—to

² The Scholiast on Juvenal VII. 154 (occidit miseris crambe repetita magistros, "cabbage twice taken kills the wretched teachers") quotes the proverb, *dis κράμβη θάνατος*, "cabbage twice is death."

³ Ithaca is called ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος in *Od.* IX, 27, because of its hardy race of sons. *Κουροτρόφος* alone is applied to Greece and Delos, also the goddesses Hecate, Artemis, and especially Cyprus.

λωτόν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν ἐκείνην, ἣτις ποτ' ἄρα ἦν, ἢ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους χορτάζουσα.

CLXXXVII

Ἀντίπατρος Βασιλείῳ

Δὶς κράμβη θάνατος, ἢ βάσκανός φησι παροιμία. ἐγὼ δὲ πολλάκις αἰτήσας ἅπαξ ἀποθανοῦμαι πάντως δὲ καὶ μὴ αἰτήσας. εἰ δὲ πάντως, μὴ κατόκει ἐσθίειν ὄψον ἡδύ, μάτην ὑπὸ τῆς παροιμίας λαιδορηθέν.

CLXXXVIII

ΚΑΝΟΝΙΚΗ Α'

Ἀμφιλοχίῳ περὶ κανόνων

Ἄνοήτῳ, φησὶν, ἐπερωτήσαντι ¹ σοφία λογισθήσεται. σοφοῦ δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπερώτημα καὶ τὸν ἀνόητον σοφίζει· ὅπερ τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι

¹ σοφίαν add. editi antiqui.

¹ Cf. *Od.* IX. 91 ff. :

"So they went straightway and mingled with the Lotus-eaters, and the Lotus-eaters did not plan death for my comrades, but gave them of the lotus to taste. And whosoever of them ate of the honey-sweet fruit of the lotus had no longer any wish to bring back word or to return, but there they were fain to abide among the Lotus-eaters, feeding on the lotus, and forgetful of their homeward way."—A. T. Murray, *L.C.L.*

² Cf. *Od.* V. 93 :

"So saying, the goddess set before him a table laden with ambrosia, and mixed with ruddy nectar. So he drank and ate, the messenger Argeiphontes."—A. T. Murray, *L.C.L.*

pass over the lotus ¹ of Homer, not even that ambrosia, ² whatever it was, which fed the Olympians.

LETTER CLXXXVII

ANTIPATER TO BASIL ³

"CABBAGE twice is death," ⁴ the slanderous proverb says. But as for me, though I have often asked for death, I shall die but once; and in any event, even though I asked not for it! And if in any event, you need not shrink from eating a pleasing appetizer, reviled at in vain by the proverb!

LETTER CLXXXVIII ⁵

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, ON THE CANONS ⁶

"To a fool, if he ask questions," it is said, "shall wisdom be accounted." ⁷ But questions asked by a wise man, as it seems, make even a fool wise—the thing which, by the grace of God, happens in our

³ Of the same date as the preceding.

⁴ Cf. the previous letter, note 2.

⁵ Written in 374. Nearly all authentic information about Amphilocheus is derived from the letters of Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil. He appears to have been a first cousin of the former through Philitatus, his paternal grandfather, who seems to be identified with the person of the same name who was the maternal grandfather of St. Gregory. Of his youth little is known. His mother, Livia, died in the prime of life, leaving the elder Amphilocheus with three children, Euphemius, Amphilocheus, and a daughter whose name appears to have been Theodosia. Euphemius died on the eve of his marriage, and left but "half of Amphilocheus." After practising law at Constantinople, Amphilocheus grew tired of the world and withdrew to solitude in Ozizala, where

συμβαίνει ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν δεξώμεθά σου τῆς φιλοπόνου ψυχῆς τὰ γράμματα. ἐπιστατικώτεροι γὰρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐμφρονέστεροι γινόμεθα ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐρωτήσεως, πολλὰ ὧν οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα διδασκόμενοι καὶ γίνεται ἡμῶν¹ διδάσκαλος ἢ περὶ τὸ ἀποκρίνεσθαι² μέριμνα. ἀμέλει καὶ νῦν, οὐδέποτε λαβόντες ἐν φροντίδι τὰ ἐπερωτηματὰ σου, ἠναγκάσθημεν³ ἐπισκέψασθαι ἀκριβῶς, καὶ εἶτέ τι ἠκούσαμεν παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἀναμνησθῆναι, καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ ὧν ἐδιδάχθημεν παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπιλογίσασθαι.

Α'. Τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοὺς Καθαροὺς ζήτημα καὶ εἴρηται πρότερον, καὶ καλῶς ἀπεμνημόνευσας, ὅτι

¹ ἡμῖν E.

² ἀκριβῆς E.

³ καὶ add. E.

he gave himself up to religious exercises and the care of his aged father. Through one Heraclidas (cf. Letter CL), a mutual friend, he came under the influence of Basil, who seems to have been influential in having Amphilochius, not yet a priest, appointed to the see of Iconium in 374. Amphilochius and Basil remained fast friends, and frequently communicated by letter until the latter's death in 379. In 387, Amphilochius was present at the Council of Constantinople, as chief pastor of the Lycaonian Church, at the head of twelve other bishops. Two years later he was instrumental in having the emperor, Theodosius, issue his edict against the Eunomians, Arians, Macedonians, and Apollinarians. He himself presided over a synod held at Sida, in Pamphylia, in which the Messalians were condemned. The date of his death is not certain, but it appears to have been some time between the years 394 and 403.

⁴ On the "Canons," cf. Introduction.

⁷ Cf. Prov. 17. 28: ἀνοήτῳ ἐπερωτήσαντι σοφίαν σοφία λογισθήσεται. ἐνεὸν δὲ τις ἑαυτὸν ποιήσας δόξει φρόνιμος εἶναι. "Even a fool, if he questioneth about wisdom, shall be counted wise: and if he close his lips a man of understanding."

case as often as we receive the letters of your industrious spirit. For we become a more prudent administrator than before and wiser by this very questioning, learning many things¹ that we do not know; and our solicitude about making answer becomes, as it were, our teacher. Doubtless on this present occasion also, though we have never before taken up for study the questions you raise, we have been obliged to examine into them accurately, both to recall whatever we have heard from our elders, and independently to draw conclusions akin to what we have been taught.

I. Now regarding your inquiry² about the Cathari,³ mention has already⁴ been made, and rightly have

¹ An echo of Solon's γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος?

² i.e. regarding baptism.

³ i.e. the Puritans, a name by which the Novatians and Manichaeans were known. Here it refers to the former. The Novatians were schismatics founded by the Roman priest, Novatian, about the middle of the third century. Novatian had himself consecrated bishop by three Italian bishops, and set himself up as antipope in opposition to St. Cornelius, who had been lawfully elected to the See of Peter in 251. At the outset Novatian was perfectly orthodox in faith, but he soon gave expression to heretical views on the efficacy of the Sacrament of Penance. He held that idolatry is unpardonable, and denied to the Church the right to restore to communion anyone who was guilty of it. His followers extended this doctrine to all the more grievous sins, such as murder, adultery, and fornication. Many of them condemned second marriages, and did not administer Confirmation. They attracted many followers by their austerity, and counted many martyrs. Constantine the Great ordered their churches and cemeteries to be closed. They suffered persecution under the Arian emperor, Valens. In spite of legislation against them, they were still in existence in Alexandria as late as 600.

⁴ i.e. in Canon 8 of the Council of Nice (325), and Canon 7 of the Council of Laodicea (343).

δεῖ τῷ ἔθει τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην χώραν ἔπεισθαι, διὰ τὸ διαφόρως ἐνεχθῆναι¹ περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτῶν τοὺς τότε περὶ τούτων διαλαβόντας· τὸ δὲ τῶν Πεπουζηνῶν οὐδένα μοι λόγον ἔχειν δοκεῖ καὶ ἐθαύμασα πῶς κανονικὸν ὄντα τὸν² Διονύσιον παρήλθεν. ἐκείνο γὰρ ἔκρινον οἱ παλαιοὶ δέχεσθαι βάπτισμα, τὸ μηδὲν τῆς πίστεως παρεκβαίνειν ὅθεν τὰς μὲν αἱρέσεις ὠνόμασαν, τὰ δὲ σχίσματα, τὰς δὲ παρασυνα-

¹ ἐνδιενοχθῆναι. E.

² μέγαν add. editi antiqui.

¹ All baptism administered outside the Church was declared invalid by three synods of Carthage, held in 220, 255, and 256 respectively, and by two in Asia Minor, one at Iconium and another at Synnada, both held some time between 230-235. Basil is probably contrasting the decisions of these Councils with those of Nice and Laodicea mentioned above, in which the baptism of the Novations was recognized as valid.

² Pepuzeni: i.e. the Montanists, so called from Pepuza, the village in Phrygia where they had their headquarters. The Montanists were a schismatic sect founded by Montanus toward the end of the second century. Shortly after his conversion to Christianity, Montanus pretended to have received revelations from God, and began to prophesy in Phrygia. He spoke in the person of God Himself: "I am the Father, the Word, and the Paraclete." "I, the Lord, the Father, am come." With Montanus were associated two prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla. They established their headquarters at Pepuza, in Phrygia. Their doctrine seems to have been orthodox at first, a few disciplinary innovations being their peculiar features. They forbade second marriages, and held chastity and martyrdom in high regard. The grotesque manner in which they delivered their prophecies seems to have been the main accusation against them in the beginning. Later, however, the prophets of the new sect declared that their teaching was higher than that of the Apostles, and even of Christ. God was unable to accomplish the salvation of the

you called to mind that we should follow the custom existing in each region, because those who once rendered a decision in their regard held divergent views¹ about their baptism. But the baptism of the Pepuzeni² seems to me to have no sanction,³ and I have wondered how this escaped Dionysius,⁴ versed as he was in the canons. For the ancients decided to accept that baptism which in no wise deviates from the faith.⁵ Accordingly, they employed the names: heresies, schisms, and illegal congregations;

world by His Son, and so sent the Holy Spirit upon Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla.

³ The Montanists had been ordered by Canon 8 of Laodicea to be rebaptized upon coming into the Church. The same decision was rendered after Basil's time by Canon 7 of Constantinople, and by Canon 95 of the Council in Trullo.

⁴ Dionysius the Great, Bishop of Alexandria, born of pagan parents some time toward the end of the second century. He was a disciple of Origen, whom he greatly admired. He had been ordained a priest for some years when he succeeded Heraclius as Bishop of Alexandria in 247-248, an office which he seems to have retained until his death in 265. He had scarcely assumed the duties of the episcopacy when an outbreak occurred in Alexandria, the forerunner of the Decian persecution. Dionysius fled, was captured, and escaped through the timely intervention of a friend. In 257 he was banished by Valerian, but continued to rule his flock from his places of exile. He took an active part in the famous controversy on re-baptism. Although he himself carefully obeyed Stephen in refraining from the practice of baptizing heretics, nevertheless he entered into a correspondence with that Pope and his successor, Sixtus, in which he advocated moderation in dealing with those Africans and Asiatics who argued in favour of re-baptism of all converts from heresy. His zeal against the false teaching of Sabellius laid him open to the charge of tritheism. Basil accused him of having sowed the seeds of the Anomoean heresy, but Athanasius vindicated his perfect orthodoxy.

⁵ i.e. that baptism which is administered by those orthodox in faith.

γωγάς· αἵρέσεις μὲν τοὺς παντελῶς ἀπερρηγμένους· καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν πίστιν ἀπηλλοτριωμένους· σχίσματα δὲ τοὺς δι' αἰτίας τινὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς καὶ ζητήματα ἰάσιμα πρὸς ἀλλήλους διενεχθέντας· παρασυναγωγὰς δὲ τὰς συνάξεις τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀνυποτάκτων πρεσβυτέρων ἢ ἐπισκόπων καὶ¹ παρὰ τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν λαῶν γινομένας· οἷον εἴ τις ἐν πταίσματι ἐξετασθεὶς ἐπεσχέθη τῆς λειτουργίας, καὶ μὴ ὑπέκυψε τοῖς κανόσιν, ἀλλ' εαυτῷ ἐξεδίκησε τὴν προεδρίαν καὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν, καὶ συναπῆλθον τούτω τινὲς καταλιπόντες τὴν καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, παρασυναγωγὴ τὸ τοιοῦτο· σχίσμα δὲ τὸ περὶ τῆς μετανοίας διαφόρως ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας· αἵρέσεις δέ, οἷον ἡ τῶν Μανιχαίων, καὶ Οὐαλεντινῶν, καὶ Μαρκιονιστῶν, καὶ αὐτῶν

¹ om. E.

¹ Thus, an illegal congregation was composed of those who were orthodox in faith and held the same view as the Catholic Church in regard to the admission of the lapsed to repentance, but who had refused to accept the canonical punishment for some misdeed of which they had been guilty, as, for example, Meletius and his followers.

² i. e. in regard to the admission of the lapsed to canonical penance, as, for example, the Novatians.

³ The Manichaeans were a Gnostic sect founded by Mani, a Persian, in A. D. 242. Their religion was a synthesis of several Eastern cults, Buddhism among them, with a superficial sprinkling of Christian ideas. The whole was constructed on a dualistic basis which postulated two eternal principles, one Good and the other Evil, as the source of all things. The Good Principle dwelt in the realism of light and was called "Father of Majesty." In opposition to him was the Evil Principle, the "King of Darkness." Adam and Eve were brought from a female and a male devil. Their offspring,

heresies, those who are completely broken off and, as regards the faith itself, alienated; schisms, those at variance with one another for certain ecclesiastical reasons and questions that admit of a remedy; illegal congregations, assemblies brought into being by insubordinate presbyters or bishops, and by uninstructed laymen. For example, if someone who has been apprehended in error has been forbidden the exercise of his office and has not submitted to the canons, but has unjustly arrogated to himself the episcopal and priestly functions, and certain people, abandoning the Catholic Church, have gone along with him,—such an affair is illegal congregation.¹ And schism is to be at variance regarding penance² with those belonging to the Church. And heresies are, for example, those of the Manichaeans,³ of the Valentinians,⁴ of the Marcionites,⁵ and of

however, was not entirely evil but contained germs of light. To free these imprisoned elements was the work of the Saviour, Jesus, the personification of Cosmic Light. Self-denial was the means by which man was to keep his body free from stain. Those of the sect who practised self-denial in an extraordinary degree, by abstaining from marriage, animal food, and wine were called the Perfect or Elect; the weaker ones not capable of sustaining these burdens were named the Hearers. This sect spread rapidly through the East and West, and was especially strong in Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Turkestan in the East; and in Africa, Spain, France, Italy, and the Balkans in the West. About the time Basil wrote his letter it had attained the zenith of its power in the Eastern Roman Empire. It lived on until the year 1000, after which, at some uncertain date, it died out.

⁴ A Gnostic sect founded by Valentinus about the middle of the second century. Two branches of this school existed, the Oriental in Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor; and the Italian, in Italy, Rome, and Southern Gaul. Their system was dualistic pantheism. All beings arose by emanation from the Primal Being, Bythos. The first to emanate were a series of

τούτων τῶν Πεπουζηνῶν εὐθύς γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς εἰς Θεὸν πίστεώς ἐστίν¹ ἡ διαφορά. ἔδοξε τοῖνυν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τὸ μὲν τῶν αἰρετικῶν παντελῶς ἀθετῆσαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀποσχισάντων,² ὡς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὄντων, παραδέξασθαι τοὺς δὲ ἐν ταῖς παρασυναγωγαῖς, μετανοίᾳ ἀξιολόγῳ καὶ ἐπιστροφῇ βελτιωθέντας, συνάπτεσθαι πάλιν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὥστε πολλάκις καὶ τοὺς ἐν βαθμῶ, συναπελθόντας τοῖς ἀνυποτάκτοις, ἐπειδὴν³ μεταμεληθῶσιν, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν παραδέχεσθαι τάξιν. οἱ τοῖνυν Πεπουζηνοὶ προδήλως εἰσὶν αἰρέτικοι· εἰς γὰρ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐβλασφήμησαν, Μοντανῶ καὶ Πρισκίλλῃ τὴν τοῦ Παρακλήτου προσηγορίαν ἀθεμίτως καὶ ἀναισχύντως ἐπιφημίσαντες. εἴτε οὖν ὡς ἀνθρώπους θεοποιούντες, κατάκριτοι· εἴτε ὡς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῇ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους συγκρίσει καθυ-

¹ om. E. ² ἀποσχιστῶν E, ἀποσχισθέντων editi antiq.
³ δε add. editi antiq.

thirty beings called "aeons," paired off sexually into fifteen couples. The sin of Sophia, one of the lowest aeons, caused the lower world to be brought into existence. Man is the highest being in the lower world; he participated in both the psychic and material nature. To free the spiritual being from its servitude to the material is the work of Christ and the Holy Ghost. Christ did not have a real body, and did not suffer.

² An heretical sect founded in 144 at Rome by Marcion, an excommunicated bishop, probably a suffragan of his father, Bishop of Sinope, in Pontus. They rejected the Old Testament and denied the identity between the Jewish Messiah, foretold by the Prophets, and Christ. The former had not as yet come. The latter was the Son of God, but not the son of the God of the Jews. They denied the resurrection of the body, rejected marriage, and baptized only those who were

these very Pepuzeni; for here at once regarding faith in God itself disagreement exists. The ancients,¹ accordingly, decided to reject completely the baptism of heretics, but to accept that of schismatics on the ground that they were still of the Church; and as to those in illegal congregations, to join these again to the Church after they had been improved by adequate repentance and change of heart; hence they often received into the same rank, whenever they have repented, even those in orders who have gone off with the insubordinate. Now the Pepuzeni are clearly heretical, for they have blasphemed against the Holy Ghost, unlawfully and shamelessly giving the name of Paraclete to Montanus and Priscilla. Therefore, either on the ground that they are making men partakers of the divine nature, are they to be condemned, or on the ground that they are mocking the Holy Ghost by comparing

not living in matrimony. After the death of their founder, the Marcionites fell into mere Gnosticism, with this difference, that they thought it sinful to deny their religion in times of persecution.

¹ It is not known who the "ancients" are to whom Basil refers the distinction between the baptism conferred by heretics and that conferred by schismatics. Certainly he does not mean Cyprian and Firmilian, since he correctly states later on that they rejected all baptism administered outside the Church by heretics and schismatics alike. It is possible that by a false inference he attributes this opinion to the Fathers at Nice and Laodicea. At both of these Councils the baptism of the Novatians, who were schismatics, was recognized as valid, while they denied the validity of the baptism administered by the Paulianists and the Montanists, both of whom were heretics. Basil, misunderstanding the reason that led the Councils to reject the validity of the baptism of these heretics, may have concluded that it was rejected simply because they were heretics. This, however, was not the case.

βρίζοντες,¹ καὶ οὕτω τῇ αἰωνίῳ καταδίκη ὑπεύθυνοι, διὰ τὸ ἀσυγχώρητον εἶναι τὴν εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον βλασφημίαν. τίνα οὖν λόγον ἔχει τὸ τούτων βάπτισμα ἐγκριθῆναι τῶν βαπτιζόντων εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Μοντανὸν ἢ² Πρίσκιλλαν; οὐ γὰρ ἐβαπτίσθησαν οἱ εἰς τὰ μὴ παραδεδομένα ἡμῖν βαπτισθέντες. ὥστε, εἰ καὶ τὸν μέγαν Διουσίσιον τοῦτο παρέλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν οὐ φυλακτέον τὴν μίμησιν τοῦ σφάλματος. τὸ γὰρ ἄποπι αὐτόθεν πρόδηλον, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐναργές, οἷς τι καὶ μικρὸν τοῦ λογίζεσθαι μέτεστιν.

Οἱ Καθαροὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἀπεσχισμένων εἰσὶ. πλὴν ἀλλ' ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, τοῖς περὶ Κυπριανὸν λέγω καὶ Φιρμιλιανὸν τὸν ἡμέτερον, τούτους πάντα μᾶ ψήφῳ ὑποβαλεῖν, Καθαροὺς, καὶ

¹ καθυβρίζοντες editi antiqui.

² καὶ nonnulli mss.

¹ Cf. Matt. 12. 31 and 32: Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, Πᾶσα ἁμαρτία καὶ βλασφημία ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος βλασφημία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. καὶ ὅς ἂν εἴπῃ λόγον κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ. ὅς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ κατὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου, οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ, ὅτε ἐν ταύτῃ τῷ αἰῶνι ὅτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

"Wherefore I say to you: Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven men, but the blasphemy of the Spirit shall not be forgiven. And whosoever shall speak a word against the son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but he that shall speak against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him neither in this world, nor in the world to come." Cf. also Mark 3. 29; Luke 12. 10.

² It is not clear whether Basil really believed that the Montanists had changed the form of Baptism by actually supplying the names, Montanus or Priscilla, for the name of the Holy Ghost in the baptismal formula, or whether he means

Him to man, and thus are liable to everlasting punishment because blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is without forgiveness.¹ Therefore what reason is there in our having sanctioned the baptism of these who baptize in the name of the Father, and the Son, and of Montanus or Priscilla?² For those have not been baptized who have been baptized in the names which have not been handed down to us.³ Hence, even if this has escaped the notice of the great Dionysius, we, on the other hand, must not maintain the imitation of the error.⁴ For the absurdity of the thing is quite evident of itself, and clear to all who-ever share at all, even slightly, in the power of reason.

The Cathari themselves also belong to the number of schismatics. Still, however, it seemed best to the ancients—I refer to Cyprian⁵ and our own Firmilianus⁶—to subject all these—Cathari, and

that because they identified Montanus and Priscilla with the Holy Spirit they intended to baptize in the name of Montanus and Priscilla. Tillemont (*Memoires*, IX. 228–230) conjectures that Basil really assumed that they had changed the form because of the stories he had heard of their doctrine. Baronius (*Annal. ad an.* 280, n. 16), however, thinks that the Montanists had not changed the baptismal form. Hefele (*History of the Church Councils*, II. 302) calls both of these positions probable.

¹ i. e. the Trinitarian formula of baptism, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Cf. Zonaras, P.G. 138, 583.

² Cyprian (Letter 73) had expressed the same idea when refuting the argument from tradition against the re-baptism of heretics: "non tamen quia aliquando erratum est, ideo semper errandum est."

³ St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage.

⁴ Bishop of Iconium in Asia Minor. Hence, "our own Firmilianus," and according to Zonaras (P.G. 138, 583), "because he had been Bishop of Caesarea."

Ἐγκρατίτας, καὶ Ὑδροπαραστάτας.¹ διότι² ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τοῦ χωρισμοῦ διὰ σχίσματος γέγονεν· οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀποστάτες οὐκέτι ἔσχον τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς.³ ἐπέλειπε γὰρ ἡ μετάδοσις τῷ διακοπήναι τὴν ἀκολουθίαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτοι ἀναχωρήσαντες παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔσχον τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν εἶχον τὸ χάρισμα τὸ πνευματικόν· οἱ δὲ ἀπορραγέντες, λαϊκοὶ γενόμενοι, οὔτε τοῦ βαπτίζου, οὔτε τοῦ χειροτονεῖν εἶχον τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὐκέτι δυνάμενοι χάριν Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐτέροις παρέχειν, ἧς αὐτοὶ ἐκπεπτώκασι. διὸ ὡς παρὰ λαϊκῶν βαπτιζομένους τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐκέλευσαν ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῷ ἀληθινῷ βαπτισματι τῷ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀνακαθαίρεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὄλως ἔδοξέ τισι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκονομίας ἕνεκα τῶν πολλῶν δεχθῆναι αὐτῶν τὸ βάπτισμα, ἔστω δεκτόν.

Τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἐγκρατιτῶν κακούργημα νοῆσαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ὅτι ἕν' αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδέκτους ποιήσωσι

¹ Ἀποκρατίτας add. editi antiq.

² διδ E, editi antiq. ³ ἑαυτοῖς sex MSS.

¹ Literally, "the continent," or "abstainers." This was the name given to a sect of Gnostics who, because they regarded matter as essentially evil in its origin, condemned marriage, the use of wine and animal food. Irenaeus (1. 28) is the first to mention this sect, and he refers their origin to Saturninus and Marcion. Their particular contribution to the Gnostic heresy was a denial of the salvation of Adam, an opinion which was introduced among them by Tatian. Hippolytus (*Philos.* 8. 13) says that they were orthodox in their belief in God and Christ, but that through pride they were water-drinkers, abstained from animal food, and forbade marriage. The Encratites were later called "Severians,"

Encratites,¹ and Hydroparastatae²—to one vote of condemnation, because the beginning of this separation arose through schism, and those who had broken away from the Church no longer had in them the grace of the Holy Spirit;³ for the imparting of it failed because of the severance of continuity. For those who separated first had ordination from the fathers, and through the imposition of their hands possessed the spiritual gift; but those who had been cut off, becoming laymen, possessed the power neither of baptizing nor of ordaining, being able no longer to impart to others the grace of the Holy Spirit from which they themselves had fallen away. Therefore, they commanded those who had been baptized by them, as baptized by laymen, to come to the Church and be purified by the true baptism of the Church. But since on the whole it has seemed best to some of those in Asia⁴ that, for the sake of the discipline of the majority, their⁵ baptism be accepted, let it be accepted.

We must, however, observe the wicked action of the Encratites, for in order to render themselves

from a certain Severus who had joined their ranks and instilled new life and vigour into the sect. Cf. J. P. Arendzen, *Cath. Enc.*, art. Encratites.

² A sect of the Encratites who used water instead of wine in the Eucharist.

³ This was the false argument of Cyprian and Firmilianus. It failed to distinguish between the act and the grace of the sacrament. The minister performs the act but does not confer the grace. Once the act is performed, God confers the grace, independently of the merits or demerits of the minister. (Cf. Hefele, *History of the Church Councils*, 1. 144.)

⁴ Probably the Asiatic bishops at the Councils of Nice and Laodicea, both of which councils admitted the Novatians to the Church without rebaptizing them.

⁵ i. e. the Novatians.

τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπεχείρησαν λοιπὸν ἰδίῳ προκατα-
λαμβάνειν βαπτίσματι ὅθεν καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν
τῆν¹ ἑαυτῶν παρεχάραξαν. νομίζω τοίνυν, ὅτι
ἐπειδὴ οὐδέν ἐστι περὶ αὐτῶν φανερώς διηγο-
ρευμένου, ἡμᾶς προσήκειν ἀθετεῖν αὐτῶν τὸ βᾶπ-
τίσμα· κἂν τις ἢ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφώς,² προσιόντα
τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ βαπτίζειν. ἐὰν μέντοι μέλλοι³ τῇ
καθόλου οἰκονομίᾳ ἐμποδίων ἐσσεσθαι τοῦτο, πάλιν
τῷ ἔθει χρηστέον, καὶ τοῖς οἰκονομήσασι τὰ καθ'
ἡμᾶς πατράσιν ἀκολοθητέον. ὑφορώμαι γὰρ
μήποτε, ὡς βουλόμεθα ἀκηροῦς αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸ
βαπτίζειν ποιῆσαι, ἐμποδίσωμεν⁴ τοῖς σωζομένοις
διὰ τὸ τῆς προτάσεως αὐστηρόν. εἰ δὲ ἐκείνοι
φυλάσσουσι τὸ ἡμέτερον βάπτισμα, τοῦτο ἡμᾶς
μη δυσωπείτω. οὐ γὰρ ἀντιδιδόναι αὐτοῖς ὑπεύ-
θινοι χάριν ἐσμέν, ἀλλὰ δουλεύειν ἀκριβεῖα κανό-
νων. παντὶ δὲ λόγῳ τυπωθήτω, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ
βαπτισμοῦ ἐκείνων⁵ προσερχομένους χρίεσθαι

¹ om. E. ² εἰληφώς E. ³ μέλλῃ editi antiq̄i.

⁴ ἐμποδίσωμεν E.

⁵ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτισμοῦ ἐκείνων] ἐπὶ τὸν βαπτισμὸν ἐκείνων E,
editi antiq̄i; ἐπὶ τῷ βαπτισμῷ ἐκείνῃ quidam MSS.; ἐπὶ τὸν
βαπτισμὸν ἐκείνων alii MSS.

¹ The Benedictine editors note that this must refer to the introduction of additional ceremonies into the baptismal rite, and not to a change in the essential form. If the latter were the case, Basil would not have permitted their baptism to be accepted under any conditions, a thing that he does for the sake of the management of the many.

² Nothing appears to have been said of the baptism of the Encratites either before Basil's time or after it. The seventh canon of Constantinople (381), and Canon 95 of the Council in Trullo, each of which gives a list of those sects whose

unacceptable to the Church they have attempted for the future to forestall the matter by practising a peculiar baptism¹ of their own, whereby they have violated even their own practice. Accordingly I think that, since nothing has been clearly established² regarding them, it is proper for us to reject their baptism, and if anyone has received it from them, to baptize him on his entering the Church. If, however, this shall prove to be injurious to the general discipline, we must resort again to custom, and must follow the fathers who have dispensed legislation that pertains to us. For I entertain some fear lest, while we desire to make the people cautious about baptizing, we may by the severity of our decision stand in the way of those who are being saved. But if they maintain our baptism, let this not disturb us. For we are not under obligation to return them the favour, but to observe the canons scrupulously. And on every ground let it be decreed that those who come from their baptism be anointed,³

baptism is to be considered valid or invalid, are silent on the question of the Encratites.

² i. e. must receive the sacrament of confirmation. Pope Stephen, in the controversy against Cyprian and Firmilianus, had declared that when one who had been baptized in an heretical sect wished to enter the Church, hands should be placed upon him as a sign of penance. Cf. *Epist. Cypriani ad Pompeium*, P. L. 3, 1128. Cyprian indicates in his seventy-third letter that the imposition of hands of which Stephen speaks refers not only to the sacrament of penance but also to the sacrament of confirmation. Cf. *Hefele*, I. 111-113. Canon 7 of Constantinople, and Canon 95 of the Council in Trullo assert that those coming into the Church from sects whose baptism was admitted as valid were anointed with the holy chrism on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, and ears; while at the same time the formula, "the seal of the Gift of the Holy Ghost," was pronounced.

ἐπὶ¹ τῶν πιστῶν δηλοῦντι, καὶ οὕτω προσιέναι τοῖς μυστηρίοις. οἶδα δὲ ὅτι² τοὺς ἀδελφούς τοὺς περὶ Ἰζοῖν,³ καὶ Σατρινῖνον, ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὄντας τῆς τάξεως, προσεδεξάμεθα εἰς τὴν καθέδραν τῶν ἐπισκόπων. ὥστε τοὺς τῷ τάγματι ἐκείνων⁴ συνημμένους οὐκέτι δυνάμεθα διακρίνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, οἷον κανόνα τινα τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς κοινωνίας ἐκθέμενοι διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων παραδοχῆς.

B', Φθείρασα⁵ κατ' ἐπιτηδευσιν, φόνου δίκην ἰπέχει. ἀκριβολογία δὲ⁶ ἐκμεμορφωμένου καὶ ἀνεξικονίστου παρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐκδικεῖται οὐ μόνον τὸ γεννηθησόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἢ ἑαυτῇ ἐπιβουλευσασα.⁷ διότι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐναποθνήσκουσι ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπιχειρήσεσιν αἱ γυναῖκες. πρόσετοι δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ φθορὰ τοῦ ἐμβρύου, ἕτερος φόνος, κατὰ γε τὴν

¹ ὅπερ editi antiq. ² ὅτε E. ³ Ζοῖν editi antiq.
⁴ ἐκείνῳ editi antiq. ⁵ ἢ φθείρασα E. ⁶ δὲ om. E.
⁷ γεννηθησόμενον . . . ἐπιβουλευσασα] γεννησόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἑαυτῇ ἐπιβουλεύσας E, et plures MSS.

¹ i.e. the Mass. ² i.e. the Encratites.
³ By a "formed" foetus is meant one in which the rational soul has already been infused; by an "unformed" foetus is understood one in which the rational soul has not yet been infused. There is an opinion coming down from the ancients, and one which still has its adherents to-day, that the foetus during its development receives successively a vegetative, sensitive, and rational soul. The distinction between the formed and the unformed foetus is recognized in Exodus 21. 22 and 23, Septuagint and old Latin versions: Ἐὰν δὲ μάχωνται δύο ἄνδρες καὶ πατάξωσιν γυναῖκα ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν, καὶ χέλην τὸ παιδίον αὐτῆς μὴ ἐξικονισμένον, ἐπιθήμιον ζημιωθήσεται· καθότι ἂν ἐπιβάλῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς γυναίκος, δώσει μετὰ ἀξιώματος· εἰάν δὲ ἐξικονισμένον ἦν, δώσει ψυχὴν ἀπὸ ψυχῆς.

to wit, in the presence of the faithful, and thus approach the mysteries.¹ But I know that we have received the brethren Izois and Saturninus into episcopal rank, who were of that party.² Therefore we can no longer separate from the Church those who have joined their company, since through the acceptance of the bishops we have published a kind of canon of communion with them.

II. A woman who deliberately destroys a foetus is answerable for murder. And any fine distinction as to its being completely formed or unformed³ is not admissible amongst us. For in this case not only the child which is about to be born is vindicated, but also she herself who plotted against herself,⁴ since women usually die from such attempts. And there is added to this crime the destruction of the embryo, a second murder—at least that is the intent of those who

Si autem litigabunt duo viri et percusserint mulierem in utero habentem, et exierit infans eius nondum formatus: detrimentum patietur, quantum induxerit vir mulieris et dabit cum postulatione. Si autem formatum fuerit, dabit animam pro anima. The Vulgate version, however, and consequently the English, is quite different: Si rixati fuerint viri et percusserit quis mulierem praegnantem, et abortivum quidem fecerit, sed ipsa vixerit: subsociabit damno quantum maritus mulieris expetierit et arbitri iudicaverint. Si autem mors eius fuerit subsequuta, reddet animam pro anima.

⁴ Balsamon (P.G. 138, 587) remarks that some, basing their argument on the distinction mentioned in the previous note, had contended that a woman who effected the abortion of an unformed foetus should not be subjected to the penalty for murder. Basil, however, says that even though the foetus was as yet unformed, nevertheless, the woman must undergo the punishment for murder, because, since the medicines which bring about abortion frequently cause the death of the woman herself, she who takes these medicines is guilty of an attempt on her own life.

ἐπίνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα τολμῶντων. δεῖ μέντοι μὴ μέχρι τῆς ἐξόδου παρατείνειν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν, ἀλλὰ δέχεσθαι μὲν¹ τὸ μέτρον τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν ὀρίζειν δὲ μὴ χρόνον, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τῆς μετανοίας τὴν θεραπείαν.

Γ'. Διάκονος, μετὰ τὴν διακονίαν πορνεύσας, ἀπόβλητος μὲν τῆς διακονίας ἔσται· εἰς δὲ τὸν τῶν λαϊκῶν ἀπωσθεὶς τόπον,² τῆς κοινωνίας οὐκ εἰρχθήσεται, διότι ἀρχαῖός ἐστι κανὼν τοὺς ὑπὸ βαθμῶν πεπτωκότας τοῦτω μόνῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς καλύψεως ὑποβάλλεσθαι ἀκολουθησάντων, ὡς οἶμαι, τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ νόμῳ ἐκείνῳ τῷ. Οὐκ ἐδικήσεις δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό· καὶ δι' ἑτέραν δὲ αἰτίαν· ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ λαϊκῷ ὄντες τάγματι, ἐκβεβλημένοι³ τοῦ τόπου τῶν πιστῶν, πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἀφ' οὗ ἐξέπεσον τόπον ἀναλαμβάνονται· ὁ δὲ διάκονος ἅπαξ ἔχει διαρκῆ τὴν δίκην τῆς καθαιρέσεως. ὡς οὖν οὐκ ἀποδιδομένης αὐτῷ

¹ μετὰ editi antiq̄i.

² τόπων Ε.

³ ἐκβεβλημένον Ε.

¹ Canon 63 of the Synod of Elvira had decreed that an adulteress guilty of the crime of abortion should be deprived of communion even at death. Cf. Hefele, I. 164.

² This is the penance prescribed for this crime by Canon 20 of Ancyra. Cf. Hefele, I. 220. Since in Canon 56 Basil imposes a twenty years' penance on the wilful murderer, and in Canons 11 and 57 a ten years' penance on the involuntary murderer, some concluded that in this canon when he says that the woman is a murderer he means an involuntary murderer. Balsamon, however, thinks that the woman was a voluntary murderer, but was not subjected to the full penance of twenty years because grave fear of being detected in shame and punished had led her to the act.

dare these deeds. We should not, however, prolong their punishment until death,¹ but should accept the term of ten years;² and we should not determine the treatment according to time but according to the manner of repentance.³

III. If a deacon commit fornication after receiving the diaconate, he shall be removed from the diaconate, but after he has been reduced to the station of a layman he shall not be barred from communion. Wherefore there is an old canon⁴ that those who have fallen from their grade shall be subjected to this form of punishment only, the ancients following, as I think, the law, "Thou shalt not exact the penalty twice for the same offence";⁵ and also for another reason—those in the ranks of the laity, after being expelled from the place of the faithful, are again taken back into the place from which they fell, but the deacon once and for all incurs the lasting penalty of deposition. On the ground, therefore, that the

³ Basil insists that God's mercy in forgiving sins does not follow automatically upon the performance of prolonged penance, but depends rather upon the quality of the penance, the sincerity, the contrition with which it is performed.

⁴ The Benedictine editors think that Basil here refers to the 25th of the Apostolic Canons, which decreed that "a bishop, a priest, or a deacon, who has been apprehended in fornication, or perjury, or theft, must be deposed but must not be deprived of communion. Drey, however, thinks that on the contrary this canon was inserted in the Apostolic Canons from the present canon of Basil. Cf. *Neue Untersuchungen über die Constitutionem u. Canones der Apostel*, 403 ff., Tubin., 1832, quoted by Hefele, I. 453.

⁵ Cf. Nahum I. 9: τί λογίζεσθε ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον; συντέλειαν αὐτὸς ποιήσεται, οὐκ ἐδικήσει δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν θλίψεσι.

"Why do you devise against the Lord? he will make an utter end; there shall not rise a double affliction." The Douay rendering is clearly based on a different text.

τῆς διακονίας, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔστησαν μόνης τῆς ἐκδικήσεως. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐκ τῶν τύπων. καθόλου δὲ ἀληθέστερον ἐστὶν¹ ἴαμα ἢ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀναχώρησις. ὥστε ὁ διὰ σαρκὸς ἠδονὴν ἀθετήσας τὴν χάριν, διὰ τοῦ συντριμμοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς² καὶ πάσης δουλαγωγίας τῆς κατ' ἐγκράτειαν ἀποστὰς τῶν ἡδονῶν, ὑφ' ὧν κατεστράφη, τελείαν ἡμῖν παρέξει τῆς ἰατρούσεως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. ἀμφοτέρα τοίνυν εἶδέναι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τὰ τῆς συνηθείας· ἐπείσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ καταδεξαμένων τὴν ἀκρότητα τῆ παραδοθέντι τύπῳ.

Δ'. Περὶ τριγάμων καὶ πολυγάμων τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρισαν³ κανόνα, ὃν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διγάμων, ἀναλόγως· ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν διγάμων, ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἔτη· τοὺς δὲ τριγάμους ἐν τρισὶ καὶ τέταρσι πολλάκις ἔτεσιν ἀφορίζουσιν. ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἔτι γάμον, ἀλλὰ πολυγαμίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ πορνείαν κεκολασμένην. διὸ καὶ ὁ Κύριος τῇ Σαμαρείτιδι πέντε ἀνδρας διαμειψάσθ, "Ὁν νῦν, φησί, ἔχεις, οὐκ ἔστι σου ἀνὴρ·

¹ om. E.

² καρδίας duo MSS.

³ ὄρισάμεν editi antiq̄i.

¹ Basil calls attention to the contrition and the resolution of amendment that are necessary for the forgiveness of sins, without which the performance of public penance would be a mere gesture.

² i. e. not those who have three wives at the same time, but those who have contracted a third marriage, after the death of their former wives by a first and second marriage.

³ i. e. not those who have many wives at the same time, but those who have entered many marriages successively.

⁴ i. e. those who have contracted a second marriage after

diaconate is not restored to him, they have taken their stand on this punishment alone. These, then, are the conclusions from their decrees. But in general a truer remedy is withdrawal from sin.¹ Thus he who for pleasure of the flesh has rejected grace, but by chastisement of the flesh and by complete subjection of it through continency has abandoned the pleasures whereby he was mastered, will furnish us a complete proof of his cure. We should, therefore, know both what is according to strict rule and what is according to custom, and in matters which do not admit of the strictest interpretation we should follow the decision handed down.

IV. Concerning trigamists² and polygamists³ they have defined the same canon, proportionately, as in the case of bigamists,⁴ for they⁵ have declared one year in the case of bigamists (although others say two years), and trigamists they exclude for three and frequently for four years. And they no longer call such a state marriage, but polygamy, or rather restricted fornication. Wherefore the Lord said to the Samaritan woman who had five husbands in turn: "He whom thou now hast, is not thy

the death of their first spouse. Second marriages were looked upon with disfavour, especially in the East, where they were regarded as a sign of weakness and a species of incontinence. Although such marriages were permitted, a penance was imposed on those contracting them.

⁵ It is not known to what authorities Basil here refers. Canon 3 of Neocæsarea declared that the punishment for those married more than twice was well known, but did not state what that punishment was (Hefele, I. 224), and the first canon of Laodicea decreed that those who had lawfully and regularly entered upon a second marriage should, after a short period, be pardoned and received into communion. Cf. Hefele, II. 299.

ὡς οὐκέτι ἀξίων ὄντων τῶν ὑπερεκπεσόντων τοῦ μέτρου τῆς διγαμίας τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς καλεῖσθαι προσήματι. συνήθειαν δὲ καταλάβομεν ἐπὶ τῶν τριγάμων πενταετίας ἀφορισμὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ κανόνων,¹ ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν προειληφότων ἀκολουθίας.² δεῖ δὲ μὴ πάντη αὐτοὺς ἀπείργειν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλ' ἀκροάσεως αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦν ἐν δύο που ἔτεσιν ἢ τρισὶ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπειν συστήκειν μὲν, τῆς δὲ κοινωνίας τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ οὕτως ἐπιδειξαμένους καρπὸν τινα μετανοίας ἀποκαθιστᾶν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς κοινωνίας.

Ε'. Τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ μετανοοῦντας τῶν αἰρετικῶν δέχεσθαι χρή· δέχεσθαι δὲ δηλονότι οὐκ ἀκρίτως, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζοντας εἰ ἀληθινὴν ἐπιδείκνυνται³ μετένοιαν, καὶ εἰ τοὺς καρποὺς ἔχουσι μαρτυροῦντας τῇ πρὸς τὸ σωθῆναι σπουδῇ.

ς'. Τῶν κανονικῶν τὰς πορνείας εἰς γάμον μὴ καταλογίζεσθαι,⁴ ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ διασπᾶν αὐτῶν τὴν συνάφειαν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν λυσιτελές, καὶ τοὺς αἰρετικοῖς οὐ δώσει καθ' ἡμῶν λαβὴν, ὡς διὰ

¹ κανόνος plures MSS.

² ἦτοι τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες πατράσι add. unus Regius et unus Coisl. recent.

³ τὴν add. E.

⁴ λογίζεσθαι E.

¹ John 4. 18.

² i.e. from local tradition.

³ i.e. not to place them outside the doors of the church, among the Mourners, the lowest grade of penitents.

⁴ i.e. Holy Communion.

⁵ This is in accordance with the 13th canon of Nice, which prescribes that every man, whatever his office may have been, must if he requests it, be given Holy Viaticum on his death-bed. Cf. Hefele, I. 419.

husband,"¹ on the ground that they who exceed the bounds of digamy are no longer worthy to be called by the name of husband or wife. And as our practice in the case of trigamists, we have accepted a separation of five years—not according to the canons but according to the precept of our predecessors.² But we should not exclude them entirely from the Church,³ but should deem them worthy of a "hearing" in about two or three years, and after this permit them to stand with the rest but to refrain from communion in the Good,⁴ and thus after showing some fruit of repentance to restore them to their place of communion.

V. Those of the heretics who repent at death ought to be received; ⁵ yet they ought to be received, of course, not without discrimination, but with an examination ⁶ as to whether they show true repentance and have the fruits which bear witness to their zeal for salvation.

VI. The fornications of canonical persons ⁷ must not be accounted as marriage, but their union must by all means be dissolved. For this is both advantageous for the safety of the Church, and will not give heretics an opportunity to attack us on the

⁶ Likewise in the 13th canon of Nice, the bishop was instructed before giving Communion to the dying penitent to make "the necessary inquiry." Cf. Hefele, I. 419.

⁷ Balsamon and Zonaras understand "canonical persons" to refer to all those enumerated in the canons, i.e. clerics, monks, nuns, and those girls who, while living at home, have professed virginity (P.G. 138, 603-607). Aristemus, however, applied the term only to professed virgins (P.G. 138, 606-607). The Benedictine editors agree with the latter view, which they support by arguments based on Basil's use of the term in Letters 52 and 173, where it certainly refers to the virgins.

τὴν τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν ἄδειαν ἐπισπωμένων πρὸς ἑαυτούς.

Ζ'. Ἀρρενοφθόροι¹ καὶ ζωοφθόροι, καὶ φονεῖς, καὶ φαρμακοί, καὶ μοιχοί, καὶ εἰδωλολάτραι τῆς αὐτῆς καταδίκης εἰσὶν ἠξιωμένοι. ὥστε ὃν ἔχεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τύπον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων φύλαξον. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τριάκοντα ἔτεσι μετανοήσαντας ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ, ἣν ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἔπραξαν, οὐδ' ἀμφιβάλλειν ἡμᾶς προσῆκεν εἰς τὸ παραδέξασθαι. ἥ τε γὰρ ἀγνοία συγγνώμης ἀξίους αὐτοὺς ποιεῖ, καὶ τὸ ἐκούσιον τῆς ἐξαγορεύσεως, καὶ ἡ παράτασις ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ γενομένη. σχεδὸν γὰρ ὅλην γενεάν ἀνθρώπου παρεδόθησαν τῷ Σατανᾷ, ἵνα παιδευθῶσι μὴ ἀσχημονεῖν. ὥστε κέλευσον αὐτοὺς ἤδη ἀνυπερθέτως δεχθῆναι, μάλιστα εἰ καὶ δάκρυα ἔχουσι δυσωποῦντά σου τὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν, καὶ βίον ἐπιδείκνυνται ἄξιον συμπαθείας.

Η'. Ὁ ἀξίην παρὰ τὸν θυμὸν κατὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ

¹ ἀρρενοφθόροι E.

¹ i.e. not those who have actually offered sacrifice to idols, but those who sought the aid of Satan in performing tricks and prodigies. Cf. Balsamon and Zonaras, P.G. 138, 607-609.

² i.e. not that all are punished for an equal period of time, but that all must submit to the four grades of punishment. Cf. Balsamon and Zonaras, P.G. 138, 607-609.

³ Although this number is supported by all the MSS., the Benedictine editors think it clearly an error, since even after a wilful sin of this kind, according to the canons of Basil, the person would have been received to communion after twenty years at the most. It seems possible, however, to explain the case without changing the thirty years. We must remem-

ber that we have won men to ourselves by granting them licence to sin.

VII. Those who defile themselves with men or with beasts, and murderers, and poisoners, and adulterers, and idolators¹ are deemed worthy of the same condemnation.² Therefore whatever decree you have in the case of others observe also in the case of these. But we should by no means hesitate about receiving those who have repented thirty years³ for the impurity⁴ which they committed in ignorance. For ignorance renders them deserving of pardon—as well as the willingness of their confession, and the long period of time that has elapsed. For they have been given over to Satan⁵ for almost a whole generation of man that they may be taught not to act unseemly. Hence command them now to be received without delay, especially if they have tears to turn the goodness of your heart and if they exhibit a life worthy of compassion.

VIII. He who in anger has used an axe against

ber that Basil is not here prescribing a period of penance for the sin, but merely says that in this given case the person who has already spent thirty years in penance should be admitted. It may be that the case had dragged on unnoticed for more than the prescribed time without an appeal from the penitent.

⁴ Balsamon and Zonaras think that this "impurity" was incest, which the man committed with a relative, not knowing his relationship to the person. Cf. P.G. 138, 607-611.

⁵ i.e. shut out from communion with the faithful. Cf. Balsamon and Zonaras, P.G. 138, 607. Cf. also Cor. 5. 5, where St. Paul orders the Corinthians to deliver the incestuous adulterer "to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved." παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ἄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.

γαμετῆς χρησάμενος φονεύς ἐστί. καλῶς δέ με
 ὑπέμνησας καὶ ἀξίως τῆς σεαυτοῦ συνέσεως εἰπεῖν
 περὶ τούτων πλατύτερον· διότι πολλὰ ἐν τοῖς
 ἔκουσίοις καὶ ἀκουσίοις διαφοραί. ἀκούσιον μὲν
 γάρ ἐστι παντελῶς καὶ πόρρω τοῦ κατάρξαντος
 τὸ ἀκοντίσαντα¹ λίθον ἐπὶ κῦνα ἢ δένδρον ἀν-
 θρώπου τυχεῖν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὄρμη ἦν τὸ θηρίον
 ἀμύνασθαι, ἢ τὸν καρπὸν κατασεῖσαι· ὑπέβη δέ
 αὐτομάτως τῇ πληγῇ κατὰ πάροδον ὁ παραπεσών·
 ὥστε τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀκούσιον. ἀκούσιον μὲντοι καὶ
 εἴ τις βουλόμενος ἐπιστρέψαι τινά, ἱμάντι ἢ ῥάβδῳ
 μὴ σκληρᾷ τύπτει, ἀποθάνη δὲ ὁ τυπτόμενος. ἢ
 γὰρ πρόθεσις ἐνταῦθα σκοπεῖται, ὅτι βελτιῶσαι
 ἢ βούλετο τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα, οὐκ ἀνελεῖν. ἐν τοῖς
 ἀκουσίοις ἐστὶ κάκεινο,² τὸ ἀμνυόμενον τινα ἐν

¹ ἀκοντίζοντα editi antiq̄i.

² ὁμοίως add. editi antiq̄i.

¹ In the Synod of Elvira (Canon 5), murder of a servant committed in anger was punished by a seven years' penance if the blow was delivered with the intent to kill, and by a five years' penance if it were not so delivered. Cf. Hefele, I. 140. Basil punishes voluntary murder with a twenty years' penance (Canon 56), and involuntary murder with ten years' penance (Canon 57). The Benedictine editors think that not all cases of involuntary murder were visited with the ten years' punishment, but only those which Basil says approach the voluntary. Cf. P.G. 138, 472; Hefele, I. 140.

² Throughout this disquisition on voluntary and involuntary acts, Basil seems to be applying the principles laid down by Aristotle in his Nicomachean Ethics. In Book III, chap. I, the philosopher teaches that only voluntary acts are imputable to man for praise or blame, and, moreover, that anger or desire does not take away voluntariness from the act. This doctrine is applied to the man who in anger used an axe against his wife. For the act prompted by anger is none the less volun-

his wife is a murderer.¹ But rightly did you remind me—and in a manner befitting your intelligence—to speak more extensively about these matters, for there are many differences between voluntary and involuntary acts.² For entirely involuntary and far from the purpose of the instigator is it when a person throws a stone at a dog or a tree and hits a man.³ For his purpose was to ward off a beast or to shake down fruit, but a chance passer-by accidentally fell in with the blow, wherefore such an act is involuntary. Moreover, it is involuntary also if a person with a desire of punishing another should beat him with a strap or pliant rod, and he should die from the beating. For in this case consideration is taken of the purpose—that he wished to improve the offender, not to kill him.⁴ Among involuntary acts is also the case of the man who, while defending

tary and therefore the man is blamed as a murderer. In Book V, chap. 8, Aristotle proposes the general principle that what is done through ignorance is involuntary. He then goes on to enumerate some of the circumstances into which ignorance may enter. "Now, since there are three kinds of hurts in the intercourse of society, those which are done in ignorance are mistakes, that is, whenever a man does the mischief to a different person, in a different manner, with a different instrument, or from a different motive from what he intended; for perhaps he did not intend to strike, or not with this instrument, or not this person, or not for this purpose, but something different from his purpose happened; as, for example, he did not intend to wound, but merely to prick, or he did not intend to wound this person, or not in this manner." We shall see as we proceed how Basil applies these principles to the present case.

³ Here we have the ignorance of person; hence the act is involuntary.

⁴ Here the death of the one beaten is outside the intention of the chastiser, who meant merely to correct and not to kill him.

μάχη ξύλω ἢ χειρί, ἀφειδῶς ἐπὶ τὰ καίρια τὴν πληγὴν ἐνεγκεῖν, ὥστε κακῶσαι αὐτόν, οὐχ ὥστε παντελῶς ἀνελεῖν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἤδη προσεγγίζει τῷ ἔκουσίῳ. ὁ γὰρ τοσοῦτῳ χρησάμενος ὄργανῳ πρὸς ἄμυναν, ἢ ὁ μὴ πεφεισμένως τὴν πληγὴν ἐπαγαγών, δῆλός ἐστι, διὰ τὸ κεκρατῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους, ἀφειδῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ξύλω βαρεῖ, καὶ ὁ λίθῳ μέλζον τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης χρησάμενος, τοῖς ἀκουσίοις ἐναριθμεῖται, ἄλλο μὲν τι¹ προεθόμενος, ἄλλο δέ τι² ποιήσας. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ θυμοῦ τοιαύτην ἤνεγκε τὴν πληγὴν, ὥστε ἀνελεῖν τὸν πληγέντα· καίτοι ἢ σπουδῆ ἦν αὐτῷ συντρίψαι τυχόν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ παντελῶν θανατῶσαι. ὁ μὲντοι ξίφει χρησάμενος, ἢ ὥτιμιον τοιοῦτον, οὐδεμίαν ἔχει παραίτησιν· καὶ μάλιστα ὁ τὴν ἀξίνην ἀκοντίσας. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀπὸ χειρὸς φαίνεται πλήξας, ὥστε τὸ μέτρον τῆς πληγῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἠκόντισεν, ὥστε καὶ τῷ βαρεῖ τοῦ σιδήρου, καὶ τῇ ἀκμῇ, καὶ τῇ διὰ πλείστον φορᾶ, ὀλεθρίαν ἀναγκαίως τὴν πληγὴν γενέσθαι.

Ἐκούσιον δὲ πάλιν παντελῶς, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἀμφιβολίαν ἔχον, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ τῶν ληστῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐφόδων. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ διὰ κρήματα ἀναιροῦσι, τὸν ἔλεγχον ἀποφεύγοντες· οἱ τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπὶ φόνοισ³ ἔρχονται, οὔτε φοβῆσαι, οὔτε σωφρονίσει, ἀλλ' ἀνελεῖν⁴ τοὺς⁵ ἐναντιουμένους ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ προαιρούμενοι. καὶ μὲντοι, κἂν δι' ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν περιέργον φάρμακόν τις ἐγκεράσῃ, ἀνέλη δέ, ἐκούσιον τιθέμεθα

¹ τοι editi antiq̄i.² om. editi antiq̄i.³ φόνους E.⁴ ἀναιρεῖν E.⁵ αὐτοὺς editi antiq̄i.

himself against another in a fight with a club or with the hand, directs his blow unsparingly to the vital parts so as to injure him, not so as to kill him outright.¹ Yet this is beginning to approach the voluntary.² For he who makes use of such a means of self-defence or inflicts his blows unsparingly is clearly unsparing of the man by reason of his being overcome by passion. Likewise also he who makes use of a heavy club or a stone too great for human resistance is numbered among the involuntary, because he intended one thing but effected another. For in his anger he dealt such a blow as to kill his victim, although his purpose was, perhaps, to thrash him soundly, but not to kill him outright. But he who makes use of a sword or any other such weapon has no excuse, and particularly he who hurled the axe. For it is clear that he did not strike while holding it in his hand so as to be in control of the measure of his blow, but he hurled the weapon, with the result that by the weight of the iron, its edge, and the impetus of its flight over a long distance, the blow was necessarily fatal.

And again entirely voluntary and admitting of no doubt are, for instance, the acts of robbers and the attacks of soldiers. For the former kill for the sake of money and avoid exposure, and men in warfare proceed to slaughter openly, proposing neither to terrify nor to chastise but to kill their opponents. But even if anyone mix a curious drug for another purpose and cause death, we posit such an act as

¹ Here, too, the death follows outside the intention of the one who, in defending himself, killed his assailant. Hence the murder is involuntary.² Cf. p. 30, note 2.

τὸ τοιοῦτον· οἷον ποιούσιν αἱ γυναῖκες πολλάκις, ἐπαοιδαῖς τισι καὶ καταδέσμοις πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῶν φίλτρον ἐπάγεσθαι τινὰς¹ πειρώμεναι, καὶ προσ-
 διδοῦσαι² αὐτοῖς φάρμακα, σκοτώσιν ἐμποιοῦντα
 ταῖς διανοαίαις. αἱ τοιαῦται τοίνυν³ ἀνελοῦσαι,
 εἰ καὶ ἄλλο προελόμεναι ἄλλο ἐποίησαν, ὅμως
 διὰ τὸ περιέργον καὶ ἀπηγορευμένον τῆς ἐπιτη-
 δεύσεως ἐν τοῖς ἑκουσίως φονεύουσι καταλογί-
 ζονται. καὶ αἱ τοίνυν τὰ ἀμβλωθρίδια διδοῦσαι
 φάρμακα φονεύτριαί εἰσι καὶ αὐταί, καὶ αἱ δεχό-
 μεναι τὰ ἐμβρυοκτόνα δηλητήρια. ταῦτα μὲν εἰς
 τοσοῦτον.

¶ Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόφασις, κατὰ μὲν τὴν
 τῆς ἐννοίας ἀκολουθίαν ἐξ ἴσου καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ
 γυναῖξιν ἀρμόζει, περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐξεῖναι γάμου
 ἐξίστασθαι, παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας. ἡ δὲ συνή-
 θεια οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν
 πολλὴν εὐρίσκομεν⁴ ἀκριβολογίαν, τοῦ μὲν ἀπο-
 στόλου λέγοντος· "Ὅτι ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ

¹ om. E.² om. E.³ προδίδουσαι E.⁴ τὴν add. E.

¹ Cf. notes on Canon 2. Here Basil subjects to the punish-
 ment for murder not only those who take, but also those who
 administer, drugs causing abortion. This view is traced to
 Canon 21 of An. yrs, if we accept Routh's (*Reliquiae Sacrae*)
 rendition of the phrase καὶ τούτῳ συντίθενται, and translate:
 "The same punishment will be inflicted on those who assist
 them," i.e. in causing miscarriages. Cf. Hefele, I. 220.

voluntary; just as women often do when by certain
 incantations and magic bindings they strive to bring
 men under their spell, and offer them drugs that
 cause a darkening of the intelligence. Such women,
 then, when they cause death, although they ac-
 complished one thing when intending another, never-
 theless on account of the curious and forbidden
 character of their pursuit are counted among those
 who murder voluntarily. And so women who give
 drugs that cause abortion are themselves also
 murderers as well as those who take the poisons
 that kill the foetus.¹ So much for such matters.

IX. And the decision of the Lord that it is not
 lawful to withdraw from wedlock save on the ground
 of fornication,² according to its logical sense applies
 alike to both men and women. Yet custom does not
 so obtain, but in the case of women we find great
 strictness, as when the Apostle³ says: "He who is

¹ Basil is here referring to the scriptural prohibition of
 divorce, contained in Matt. 5. 31 and 32; Matt. 19. 9; Mark
 10. 11 and 12; Luke 16. 18; 1 Cor. 7. 10 and 11. He had
 already studied these texts and summed up the doctrine con-
 tained in them in the *Moralia*, Regula 73. 1: ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἄνδρα
 ἀπὸ γυναῖδος ἢ γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς χωρίζεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἂν ἐπὶ
 πορνείᾳ ἄλφ, ἢ εἰς τὴν θεοσεβείαν κωλύηται. . . . "Ὅτι οὐκ ἐξεστὶ
 τῷ ἀπολίσσαντι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, γαμεῖν ἄλλην, ὅσπερ τῆν
 ἀπολειλυμένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρός, ἐτέρῳ γαμίσθαι.

"That a man must not be separated from his wife, nor a
 wife from her husband, unless either be detected in adultery,
 or be an impediment to the piety of the other. . . . That it is
 not lawful for a man who has dismissed his wife to marry
 another, nor for a woman dismissed by her husband to be
 married to another."

² Cf. 1 Cor. 6. 16: ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ ἐν
 σώματι ἐστιν;

"Or know you not that he who is joined to a harlot, is
 made one body?"

ἐν σώμα ἔστι τοῦ δὲ Ἱερεμίου· "Ὅτι, ἐὰν γένηται γυνὴ ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ, οὐκ ἐπιστρέψει πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ μαινομένη μιανθήσεται· καὶ πάλιν· Ὁ ἔχων μοιχαλίδα ἄφρων καὶ ἄσεβής· ἢ δὲ συνήθεια καὶ μοιχεύοντας ἄνδρας καὶ ἐν πορνείαις ὄντας κατέχεσθαι ὑπὸ γυναικῶν προστάσει, ὥστε ἢ τῷ ἀφειμένῳ ἀνδρὶ συνοικοῦσα οὐκ οἶδα εἰ δύναται μοιχαλὶς χρηματίζειν¹ τὸ γὰρ ἔγκλημα ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἀπολλύσεως τὸν ἄνδρα ἄπτεται, κατὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν ἀπέστη τοῦ γάμου, εἶτε καὶ² τυπτομένη, μὴ φέρουσα³ τὰς πληγὰς, ὑπομένειν ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον ἢ διαζευχθῆναι τοῦ συνοικοῦντος· εἶτε τὴν εἰς τὰ⁴ χρήματα ζημίαν μὴ φέρουσα, οὐδὲ αὕτη ἢ πρόφασις ἀξιόλογος. εἰ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐν πορνείᾳ αὐτὸν ζῆν, οὐκ ἔχομεν τοῦτο ἐν τῇ συνήθειᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ τὸ παρατήρημα· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπίστου ἀνδρὸς χωρίζεσθαι οὐ προσετάχθη⁵

¹ χρηματίζειν editi antiqi.² γὰρ E.³ φέρει editi antiqi.⁴ om. E.⁵ προσετάχθη E, editi antiqi.

¹ Cf. Jerem. 3 1: ἐὰν ἐξαποστείλῃ ἄνθρωπος τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέλθῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ, μὴ ἀνακάμπτουσα ἀνακάμψει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτι; οὐ μοινομένη μιανθήσεται ἢ γυνὴ ἑκείνη; "If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and marry another man, shall he return to her any more? Shall not the woman be polluted and defiled?" The English is here based on a different version.

² Cf. Proverbs 18. 22: ὁ δὲ λατίζων μοιχαλίδα ἄφρων καὶ ἄσεβής. "But he that keepeth an adulteress is foolish and wicked."

³ The Benedictine editors point out that this custom, which Basil admits is at variance with the doctrine of Christ, was probably introduced under the influence of the Roman law, which recognized the husband's right to divorce an adulterous wife, but did not, on the other hand, permit a wife to divorce an adulterous husband.

joined to a harlot, is made one body," and Jeremiah 1: "If a wife shall be with another man, she shall not return to her husband, but being polluted, she shall be polluted," and again: ² "He who keeps an adulteress is foolish and wicked." But custom ordains that men who commit adultery and live in fornication be received by their wives.³ Therefore whether the woman who cohabits with the man who has been dismissed may be called an adulteress ⁴ I do not know, for here the charge concerns the woman who has dismissed her husband ⁵—on what ground she departed from the marriage. If she was beaten and did not bear with the blows, she ought rather to have endured than be separated from her mate; or if she did not bear with a loss of money, neither is this excuse worthy of consideration. But if she does so on account of his living in fornication, we do not have this observance in the custom of the Church, but a wife has been commanded not to separate even from an unbelieving husband,⁶ but

⁴ i.e. not whether she is absolutely free from sin, but whether she ought to undergo the canonical punishment for adultery.

⁵ Basil would place the penalty for adultery rather on the wife who illegally dismissed her husband.

⁶ Cf. 1. Cor. 7. 13 and 14: καὶ γυνὴ ἧτις ἔχει ἄνδρα ἄπιστον, καὶ αὐτὸς σκευδοκεῖ οἰκεῖν μετ' αὐτῆς, μὴ ἀφίεται αὐτόν. ἡγιασται γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῇ γυναίκῃ, καὶ ἡγιασται ἢ γυνὴ ἢ ἄπιστος ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπεὶ ἄρα τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀκάθαρτα ἔσσι, νῦν δὲ ἁγιά ἐσσι.

"And if any woman hath a husband that believeth not, and he consent to dwell with her, let her not put away her husband. For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife; and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the believing husband: otherwise your children should be unclean; but now they are holy."

γυνή, ἀλλὰ παραμένειν, διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς ἐκβάσεως. τί γὰρ οἶδας, γύναι, εἰ τὸν ἄνδρα σώσεις; ὥστε ἡ καταλιπούσα, μοιχαλὶς, εἰ ἐπ' ἄλλον ἦλθεν ἄνδρα, ὁ δὲ καταλειφθεὶς συγγνωστός ἐστι,¹ καὶ ἡ συνοικοῦσα τῷ τοιούτῳ οὐ κατακρίνεται. εἰ μέντοι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀποστάς τῆς γυναικός, ἐπ' ἄλλην ἦλθε, καὶ αὐτὸς μοιχός, διότι ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι, καὶ ἡ συνοικοῦσα αὐτῷ μοιχαλὶς, διότι ἀλλότριον ἄνδρα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν μετέστησεν.

I. Οἱ ὀμνύοντες μὴ καταδέχονται τὴν χειροτονίαν, ἐξομνύμενοι, μὴ ἀναγκαζέσθωσαν ἐπιτορκεῖν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ δοκεῖ τις εἶναι κανὼν ὁ συγχωρῶν τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀλλὰ πείρα ἐγνώκαμεν, ὅτι οὐκ εὐδοῦνται οἱ παρορκήσαντες. σκοπεῖν δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ὄρκου, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ἀφ' ἧς ὀμωμόκασι, καὶ τὰς κατὰ λεπτόν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασι προσθήκας, ὡς ἐὰν μηδεμίαν μηδαμῶθεν παραμυθία, χρῆ παντελῶς εἶναι τοῖς τοιούτοις. τὸ μέντοι κατὰ Σευήρον πρᾶγμα, ἦτοι

¹ om. E.

¹ 1 Cor. 7. 16.

² St. Basil clearly indicates here that the man who, being illegally dismissed by his wife, cohabits with another woman is by no means blameless. Pardon is not granted to the guiltless, but to the guilty. He simply states that custom does not authorize the imposing of the canonical penance for fornication on such a man. Cf. Hefele's comment on Canon 10 of Arles, I. 189.

³ i.e. to the public penance for adultery.

⁴ i.e. by inducing them to take orders.

⁵ This canon is unknown to us. The Benedictine editors think that St. Athanasius followed it when he advised the bishop Dracontius, who upon being raised to the episcopacy

to abide with him, because of the uncertainty of the outcome. "For how knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband?"¹ Therefore she who has abandoned her husband is an adulteress, if she has gone to another man. And he who has been abandoned is pardonable,² and she who cohabits with such a man is not condemned.³ But if a man has departed from his wife and gone to another woman, both he himself is an adulterer because he causes her to commit adultery, and she who cohabits with him is an adulteress because she caused the husband of another to go over to herself.

X. Those who swear that they do not receive ordination and decline it under oath should not be forced to commit perjury.⁴ For even if there seems to be a canon⁵ that condones such men, yet by experience we have learned that those who have committed perjury do not prosper. Consideration, however, must be given to the form of the oath, and its words, and the disposition under which it was taken, and the subtle additions in the words; since if no excuse exists at all such men must be altogether dismissed. The case of Severus,⁶ however, that is, the

had fled in accordance with an oath he had previously taken, to disregard his oath and return to his church.

⁶ This canon is obscure and quite involved. The Benedictine editors have offered a possible solution which I shall outline briefly. Longinus, a priest in the field subject to Mestia, had been deposed for some delinquency, but had been permitted to retain the honour of the priesthood. The bishop Severus, therefore, had sent another priest named Cyriacus to administer in the place of Longinus. Now Severus, when he had previously ordained Cyriacus, had forced him to take an oath that he would remain at Mindana. Hence, if Cyriacus remained in the field subject to Mestia, he would be guilty of violating his oath. If, on the other hand, he returned to

τὸν ὑπὸ τούτου χειροτονηθέντα πρεσβύτερον, τοιαύτην τινά μοι δοκεῖ παραμυθίαν ἔχειν, εἰ καὶ σοι συνδοκεῖ. τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐκείνον τὸν ὑποκείμενον τῇ Μηστείᾳ,¹ ᾧ ἐπεκηρύχθη ὁ ἀνθρωπος, κέλευσον Οὐασόδοις² ὑποτελεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ κἀκεῖνος οὐ παρορκήσει³ μὴ ἀναχωρῶν τοῦ τόπου καὶ ὁ Δογγίνος, ἔχων τὸν Κυριακὸν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκ ἐρημώσει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν διὰ τῆς ἀργίας καταδικάσει, καὶ ἡμεῖς δόξομεν μὴ παρὰ κανόνας ποιεῖν τι, συμπεριφερόμενοι τῷ Κυριακῷ, ὁμόσαντι μὲν συμπαραμένειν Μινδανῶσι, καταδεξαμένῳ δὲ τὴν μετάθεσιν. ἡ γὰρ ἐπάνοδος φυλακῆ ἔσται τοῦ ὄρκου. τὸ δὲ εἶξαι αὐτὸν⁴ τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ εἰς ἐπιτορκίαν αὐτῷ οὐ λογισθήσεται, διὰ τὸ μὴ προσκείσθαι τῷ ὄρκῳ, μηδὲ πρὸς βραχὺ ἀναχωρήσειν⁵ Μινδάνων, ἀλλὰ παραμενεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐφεξῆς. Σενήρω δὲ προφασίζομένῳ τὴν λήθην ἡμεῖς συγχωρήσομεν, εἰπόντες, ὅτι⁶ τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστης οὐ περιόψεται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὸ τοιοῦτου λυμαινομένην, ποιούντος μὲν ἀκανονίστως τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὄρκῳ δὲ κατα-

case of the presbyter ordained by him, seems to me to have some such excuse—if it likewise seems so to you. Order that region which is subject to Mestia and to which the man has been assigned to come under Vasoda, for thus he¹ will not commit perjury since he will not be withdrawing from the place, and Longinus,² since he will have Cyriacus with him, will not desert the Church, and will not damn his own soul through idleness.³ And we shall seem to be doing nothing contrary to the canons by making concessions to Cyriacus, who swore that he would remain at Mindana but accepted the transfer. For his return will be a safeguarding of his oath. And his yielding to the arrangement will not be accounted against him as perjury, because it was not added in the oath that he would not depart from Mindana for a little while but that he would remain there for the future. But to Severus who pleads forgetfulness we shall grant forgiveness, saying that He who knows secret things will not allow His Church to be ravaged by such a man, who first of all acts uncanonically,

since that place was not subject to the same chorepiscopus as Mindana, where he had sworn to remain.

¹ i. e. Cyriacus.

² Balsamon and Zonaras think that Longinus was a wealthy man who had threatened to lay waste the church if Cyriacus were withdrawn from the field subject to Mestia. Cf. P.G. 138, 627. The Benedictine editors, however, as has been explained above, think that Longinus was a priest stationed at the field of Mestia, who had been deposed for some crime.

³ The phrase διὰ τῆς ἀργίας is the principal argument for the Benedictines' interpretation in the previous note. They show that ἀργία is the punishment of deposition in the 13th of the Apostolic Canons, and that Basil used it in this sense in the letter to Paregorius. He also employs the verb ἀργεῖν in the same sense in Canon 69.

¹ Μηστία E; Μισθία editi antiq̄i; Μησθεία nonnulli MSS.

² Οὐασάδοις editi antiq̄i. ³ παρορκίσει editi antiq̄i.

⁴ αὐτῶν E. ⁵ ἀναχωρήσαι editi antiq̄i.

⁶ δ add. E.

Mindana, the field subject to Mestia would be without a priest and the responsibility would redound upon Longinus, whose delinquency had caused him to be deposed from the active ministry. Hence, Basil orders the field that was subject to Mestia to be subjected to Vasoda, the place to which Mindana was subject. In this way the field could retain its priest, Cyriacus, who could remain there without violating his oath,

δεσμούντος παρὰ τὰ εὐαγγέλια, παρορκεῖν δὲ διδάσκοντος δι' ὧν μετετέθη, ψευδομένου δὲ νῦν¹ δι' ὧν τὴν λήθην σχηματίζεται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐσμὲν καρδιῶν κριταί, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἀκούομεν κρίνομεν, δῶμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδιακρίτως αὐτὸν δεξώμεθα, συγγνώμην δόντες ἀνθρωπινῶ πάθει τῆ λήθῃ.

ΙΑ'. Ὁ δὲ τὸν ἀκούσιον ποιήσας φόνον ἀρκούντως ἐξεπλήρωσε τὴν δίκην ἐν τοῖς ἕνδεκα ἔτεσι. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν πληγέντων τὰ Μωυσέως² παρατηρήσομεν· καὶ τὸν κατακλιθέντα μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πληγῶν ἅς ἔλαβε, βαδίσαντα δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆ ῥάβδῳ αὐτοῦ, οὐ λογισόμεθα πεφονεύσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐξανάστη μετὰ τὰς πληγὰς—ἀλλ' οὖν τῷ μὴ προελέσθαι αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὁ τυπτήσας φονεῦτής μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀκούσιος διὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν.

ΙΒ'. Τοὺς διγάμους παντελῶς ὁ κανὼν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἀπέκλεισε.

ΙΓ'. Τοὺς ἐν πολέμοις φόνους οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς φόνοις οὐκ ἐλογίσαντο· ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, συγγνώμην δόντες τοῖς ὑπὲρ σωφροσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας ἀμυνομένοις. τάχα δὲ καλῶς ἔχει συμβουλευεῖν,

¹ om. editi antiq̄i.

² Μωσέως editi.

¹ According to the Benedictine editors not all involuntary homicide was punished with ten years' penance, but that only which approached the voluntary. Cf. Canon 8 and notes.

² Cf. Canon 8 and notes, also Canon 57.

³ Cf. Exodus, 21. 18 and 19: 'Ἐάν δὲ λοιδορῶνται δύο ἄνδρες καὶ πατάξωσιν τὸν πλησίον λίθῳ ἢ πικρῆ, καὶ μὴ ἀποθήνῃ, κατακλιθὲν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην, | ἐάν ἐξαναστῆς ὁ ἄνθρωπος περιπατήσῃ ἐξω ἐπὶ ῥάβδου, ἀθάως ἔσται ὁ πατάξας· πλην τῆς ἀργίας αὐτοῦ ἀποτίσει καὶ τὰ ἰατρεία.

and then binds by oath contrary to the Gospels, and teaches men to commit perjury by the means employed in the transfer, and now lies in that he pretends forgetfulness. But since we are not judges of the human heart, but judge from what we hear, let us leave vengeance to the Lord, and ourselves receive him without discrimination, granting pardon to his forgetfulness as a human failing.

XI. He who has committed involuntary homicide.¹ has paid the penalty sufficiently in these eleven years.² For it is evident that in the case of those who have been struck down we shall observe the law of Moses;³ but him who fell down under the blows which he received, but walked again with the aid of his stick, we shall not consider to have been murdered. If, however, he did not rise after the blows, he shall be so considered; but because the one who struck him did not deliberately propose to kill the man, he is indeed a homicide, though an involuntary one on account of his intention.

XII. Digamists the canon⁴ has completely excluded from the ministry.

XIII. Homicide in war our fathers did not consider as homicide—making a concession, in my opinion, to those who fight in defence of temperance and religion. But perhaps it is well to advise that

"If men quarrel and the one strike his neighbour with a stone or with his fist, and he die not, but keepeth his bed: if he rise again and walk abroad upon his staff, he that struck him shall be quit, yet so that he make restitution for his work, and for his expenses upon the physicians."

⁴ Cf. Tim. 3. 2-13; Tit. 1. 5-9; 1 Peter 5. 1-4; Canon 17 of the Apostolic Canons: "If anyone after baptism has been joined in a second matrimony, or have a concubine, he cannot be a bishop, or a priest, or a deacon, or any of those who serve in the sacred ministry." Cf. Hefele, I. 464.

ὡς τὰς χεῖρας μὴ καθαρὸς τριῶν ἐτῶν τῆς κοινωνίας μόνῃς ἀπέχεσθαι.

ΙΔ'. Ὁ τόκους λαμβάνων, ἐὰν καταδέξηται τὸ ἄδικον κέρδος εἰς πτωχοὺς ἀναλώσει, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοῦ νοσήματος τῆς φιλοχρηματίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι, δεκτός ἐστιν εἰς ἱερωσύνην.

ΙΕ'. Θαυμάζω δέ σου, τὴν γραμματικὴν ἀκριβείαν ἐπὶ τῆς Γραφῆς ἀπαιτοῦντος, καὶ λογιζομένου ὅτι ἠναγκασμένη ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις τῆς ἐρμηνείας τὸ αὐτῆς εὐσημον ἐκδιδούσης, οὐ τὸ κυρίως ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς φωνῆς σημαίνουσα μετατιθείσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ μὴ ἀργῶς παρελθεῖν τὸ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ζητητικῶν κινήθην πρόβλημα, τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιᾷ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔλαχον γένεσιν. ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων γὰρ ἐξηχθη ἀμφότερα τὰ γένη. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον, ὅτι ταῦτόν ἐστιν ἑκατέροις ἰδίωμα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ διανήχεται τὸ ὕδωρ τὰ δὲ ἐπινήχεται τῷ ἀέρι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν κοινῇ αὐτῶν ἔπε.

¹ Balsamon and Zonaras say the counsel contained in this canon remained a dead letter, and was not put into effect. However, it was quoted by the Bishops against the Emperor Phocas when he wished to have all those killed in war honoured as martyrs. Cf. P.G. 138, 635.

² Clerics were forbidden to practise usury by the 44th of the Apostolic Canons, the 12th canon of Arles (314), and the 17th of Nice (325). Cf. Hefele, I. 434.

³ This canon is an answer to some exegetical difficulty involving the 9th verse of Psalm 8: τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας τῆς θαλάσσης τὰ διαπορευόμενα τριβῶν θαλασσῶν.

"The birds of the air and the fishes of the sea, that pass through the paths of the sea."

men with unclean hands abstain from communion alone¹ for three years.

XIV. He who takes usury, if he consents to spend his unjust gain upon the poor, and thereafter to be freed of the disease of avarice, shall be received into holy orders.²

XV.³ But I wonder at your demanding verbal precision in the Scripture, and considering that the diction is forced in the interpretation which sets forth the Scripture's meaning but does not translate exactly what is signified by the Hebrew word. But since we ought not to pass over indifferently questions stirred up by an inquiring person, the winged creatures of the heavens and the fishes of the sea received at the very creation of the world the same origin. For both kinds were brought forth from the waters.⁴ And the reason is that both have the same peculiarity. For one swims through the water, the other in the air. On this account, therefore, was

⁴ Cf. Gen. I. 20-22: καὶ εἶπε ὁ θεός: Ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἕρπετά ψυχῶν ζωῶν καὶ πετεινά πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. | καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός τὰ κῆρη τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ἕρπετῶν, ἃ ἐξήγαγεν τὰ ὕδατα κατὰ γένη αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶν πετεινὸν πτερωτὸν κατὰ γένος: καὶ ἰδεν ὁ θεός ὅτι καλὰ. | καὶ ἠλόγησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεός λέγων. Αὐξάνεσθαι καὶ πληθύνεσθε, καὶ πληρώσατε τὰ ὕδατα ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ πληθυνέσθωσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

"God also said: Let the waters bring forth the creeping creature having life, and the fowl that may fly over the earth under the firmament of heaven; and it was so. And God created the great whales, and every living and moving creature, which the waters brought forth, according to their kinds, and every winged fowl according to its kind. And God saw that it was good. And he blessed them, saying: Increase and multiply, and fill the waters of the sea: and let the birds be multiplied upon the earth."

μνήσθη. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ λόγου ὡς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύας ἀκαταλλήλως ἀποδοθέν,¹ ὡς δὲ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐν ὕδασι διαιτώμενα καὶ πάνυ οἰκίως. τὰ γὰρ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑποτέτακται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλάσσης· καὶ οὐκ αὐτοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ διαπορευόμενα τρίβους θαλασσῶν. οὐ γὰρ εἶτι ἐνύδρον, καὶ ἰχθύς ἐστιν, ὡς τὰ κητώδη, φάλαιναι,² καὶ ζύγαιναι,³ καὶ δελφίνες, καὶ φῶκαι, καὶ προσέτι ἵπποι, καὶ κύνες, καὶ πρίονες, καὶ ξιφίαι, καὶ οἱ θαλάσσιοι βοῦς,⁴ εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ ἀκάληφαι, καὶ κτένες, καὶ τὰ ὀστρακόρινα πάντα, ὧν οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἰχθύς, καὶ πάντα ἃ διαπορεύεται τρίβους θαλασσῶν,⁵ ὡς εἶναι τρία τὰ γένη, πετεινὰ οὐρανοῦ, ἰχθύας θαλάσσης,⁶ καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἐνύδρων τοῖς ἰχθύσιν ἀντιστελλόμενα διαπορεύονται καὶ αὐτὰ τὰς τρίβους θαλασσῶν.

Ις. Ὁ δὲ Νεεμᾶν⁷ οὐχὶ μέγας παρὰ Κυρίῳ, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτῷ⁸ τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ· τουτέστι, τῶν παραδυναστευόντων ἦν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Σύρων. πρόσεχε οὖν ἀκριβῶς τῇ Γραφῇ καὶ αὐτόθεν εὐρήσεις τὴν λύσιν τοῦ ζητήματος.

mention made of them in common. And the form of the expression as applied heterogeneously to fishes, and to all creatures that live in the waters, is indeed very appropriate. For the winged creatures of the sky are subject to man, as are also the fishes of the sea; and not only the fishes themselves but also all creatures that traverse the paths of the seas. For if a thing lives in water it is not necessarily a fish, as, for example, sea-monsters, whales, sharks, dolphins, seals, and also sea-horses, sea-dogs, saw-fish, sword-fish, and sea-cows, and, if you will, sea-nettles, cockles, and all testaceous animals, none of which are fish, and all creatures that traverse the paths of the seas: so that there are three kinds—birds of the sky, fishes of the sea, and all creatures that live in the sea, but are contrasted with fishes, though they also traverse the paths of the seas.

XVI. Naamon was not great with the Lord, but with his own lord; that is, he was one of those who had great influence with the king of the Syrians. So read the Scriptures carefully, and there you will find the solution of your question.¹

¹ Cf. 4 Kings 5, which deals with Naamon, general of the army of the king of Syria, and how he was cleansed of leprosy by Elishaeus.

¹ ἀπεδόθη editi antiq̄i.

² φάλαιναι quinque MSS. ; βάλαιναι editi antiq̄i.

³ ζύγαιναι editi antiq̄i ; ζυγαῖναι nonnulli MSS.

⁴ βόες editi antiq̄i.

⁵ θαλάσσης editi antiq̄i.

⁶ ὡς εἶναι . . . θαλασσῶν om. E.

⁷ Ναιμᾶν nonnulli MSS. ; Ναυμᾶν editi antiq̄i.

⁸ παρὰ τῷ E.

CLXXXIX

Εὐσταθίῳ ἀρχιάτρῳ.¹

Ἔστι μὲν καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τοῖς τὴν ἰατρικὴν μετιούσι φιλανθρωπία τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον σπουδαζομένων ἀπάντων ὁ τὴν ὑμετέραν προτιθεὶς ἐπιστήμην ἐπιτυχεῖν ἂν τῆς προεπούσης κρίσεως, καὶ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν τοῦ προσήκουτος.² εἴπερ τὸ πάντων προτιμότατον, ἡ ζωὴ. φευκτόν ἐστι καὶ ἐπώδυνον, εἰ μὴ μεθ' ὑγείας ἐξῆ ταύτην ἔχειν ὑγείας δὲ χορηγὸς ἡ ὑμέτερα τέχνη. ἀλλὰ σοι διαφερόντως περιδέξιός ἐστιν ἡ ἐπιστήμη, καὶ μείζονας ποιεῖς σεαυτῷ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τοὺς ὄρους, οὐ μέχρι τῶν σωμάτων περιοριζῶν τὴν ἐκ τῆς τέχνης χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν ὑρρωστημάτων ἐπινοῶν τὴν διόρθωσιν. ταῦτα δὲ λέγω, οὐ μόνον ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν φήμαις ἐπόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κατ' ἑμαυτὸν διδαχθεὶς πείρᾳ, ἐν πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις, καὶ διαφερόντως νῦν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν ἀνεκδιγητῷ κακίᾳ· ἦν ρεύματος ποιηροῦ δίκη κατὰ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἐπιρρυσέσαν³ εὐμηχάνως διέχεας, τὴν βαρεῖαν ταύτην φλεγμονὴν τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν τῇ ἐπαντλήσει τῶν παρηγορικῶν λόγων διαφορήσας. ἐγὼ γάρ,⁴ πρὸς τὴν ἐπάλληλον τῶν

¹ ἰατρῷ editi antiqui.² προεπουτος Vat., Coisl. secundus, duo Regii.³ ἐπιρρυσέσαν Parisiensis; ἀπορρυσέσαν Basileensis.⁴ δέ editi antiqui.

LETTER CLXXXIX

Τῷ Εὐσταθίῳ, Chief Physician¹

WITH all of you, in truth, who follow medicine. philanthropy is a practice. And it seems to me that he who should place your science above all things that are pursued in life would hit upon the proper judgment, and would not fall short of what is fitting,—at least if the most desired of all things, life, is to be shunned and is painful unless one may possess it with good health; and the dispenser of health is your profession. But in your hands the science is especially expert, and you extend the boundaries of your philanthropy, not limiting the favour of your profession to bodies, but taking thought also of the correction of spiritual infirmities. And this I say, not alone because I follow the reports of the many, but also because I have been informed by personal experience on many occasions and especially now in the indescribable wickedness of our enemies; for when it streamed down upon our life like a noxious torrent you skilfully dispersed it, dispelling this heavy inflammation of our heart by the suffusion of your soothing words. For I, looking back upon our

¹ Written in 374 or the beginning of 375. Cf. Letter CLI and note. The present letter is found also among the works of Gregory of Nyssa. On the margin of one MS. (Regius 2896) these words are found: *ἰστέον ὅτι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην τοῦ Νύσσης εἶναι λέγουσιν οἱ τιθεῖς. εἴκοι δέ, ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τῆς γραφῆς.* "One should know that some say that this letter belongs to him of Nyssa; and it seems probable judging from the character of its style." This letter is generally considered to-day to be a letter of Gregory of Nyssa written against the Pneumatomachi.

ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ποικίλῃ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρήσει ἀποβλέπων, σιωπᾶν ὧμην δεῖν καὶ δεχέσθαι καθ' ἡσυχίαν τὰ ἐπαγομένα, μηδὲ ἀντερεῖν τοῖς καθωπλισμένοις τῷ ψεύδει, τῷ πονηρῷ τούτῳ ὄπλῳ, τῷ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀληθείας πολλακίς τὴν ἀκμὴν εἰσωθούντι. σὺ δέ, καλῶς ποιῶν, μὴ καταπροδιδόναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐνεκελεύου,¹ ἀλλὰ διελέγχειν τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὡς ἂν μὴ πολλοὶ παραβλαβεῖεν, κατευημεροῦντος τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ ψεύδους.

Ἔδοξαν οὖν μοι παραπλήσιόν τι ποιεῖν τῷ Αἰσωπέῳ μύθῳ οἱ τὸ ἀπροφάσιστον καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναλαβόντες μῖσος. ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐγκλήματα τινα τῷ ἀρνίῳ τὸν λύκον προφέρειν ἐποίησεν, αἰσχυρόμενον δῆθεν τὸ δοκεῖν ἄνευ δικαίας προφάσεως ἀναιρεῖν τὸν μηδὲν προλυπήσαντα· τοῦ δὲ ἀρνός² πάσαν τὴν ἐκ συκοφαντίας ἐπαγομένην αἰτίαν εὐχερῶς διαλύοντος, μηδὲν μᾶλλον ὑφίεσθαι τῆς ὀρμῆς τὸν λύκον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν δικαίοις ἠττάσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ὀδοῦσι νικᾶν· οὕτως οἷς τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν μῖσος ὡς τι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσπουδάσθη, ἐρυθριῶντες τάχα τὸ δοκεῖν ἄνευ αἰτίας μισεῖν, αἰτίας πλάττουσι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἐγκλήματα· καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν λεγομένων μέχρι παντός ἐπιμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν τούτο, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἄλλο, καὶ αὐθις ἕτερον τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν δυσμενείας τὸ αἰτιον λέγουσι. βέβηκε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἢ κακία· ἀλλ' ὅταν τούτου τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἀποσεισθῶσιν, ἐτέρῳ προσφύονται, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου πάλιν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἕτερον· κἂν πάντα διαλυθῇ τὰ θεολήματα, τοῦ μισεῖν οὐκ ἀφίστανται. τρεῖς θεοὺς προσβεύεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν αἰτιῶνται, καὶ

enemies' successive and subtle attacks against us, thought that I should remain silent and receive calmly what was being directed against me, and not contradict those who had armed themselves with falsehood, that noxious weapon which frequently thrusts its point even through the truth. But you, acting nobly, urged us not to abandon the truth, but to refute the slanderers, that many might not be injured through falsehood's gaining the victory over the truth.

Now those who have assumed that undisguised feeling of hatred against us seemed to me to be doing something like that related in Aesop's fable. For just as he made the wolf—through shame, forsooth, of seeming without just cause to kill one who had previously done him no harm—prefer certain charges against the lamb, and, when the lamb easily refuted the entire accusation falsely brought against him, the wolf in no wise ceased from his attack, but though defeated in justice was victorious in teeth; thus those who have pursued their hatred for us as something noble, blushing perhaps at seeming to hate without accusation, invent accusations and charges against us; and from first to last they do not abide by anything they say, but say now this, and soon that, and again something else as the reason of their enmity toward us. And their malice rests upon nothing, but whenever they are shaken from one charge, they cling to another, and from that in turn they seize another: and if all their charges are dispelled they do not cease their hating. They accuse us of worshipping three gods and they

¹ ἐνεκέλευες editi antiqui; ἐνεκελεύσω Nyss.

² ἀρνίου editi antiqui; ἀροῦ Nyss.

περιηχούσι τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ πιθανῶς κατασκευάζοντες τὴν διαβολὴν ταύτην οὐ παύονται. ἀλλ' ὑπερμάχεται ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ἐν κωφῷ πρὸς πάντας καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας δεικνύντων ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἀναθεματίσται παρ' ἡμῶν πᾶς ὁ τρεῖς λέγων θεοὺς, καὶ οὐδὲ Χριστιανὸς εἶναι κρίνεται. ἀλλ' ὅταν τοῦτο ἀκούσῃσι, πρόχειρος αὐτοῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Σαβέλλιος, καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἐκείνου νόσος ἐπιθρυλλεῖται τῷ ἡμετέρῳ λόγῳ. πάλιν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἡμεῖς τὸ σὺνηθες ὅπλον τὴν ἀλήθειαν προβαλλόμεθα, δεικνύντες ὅτι ἐπίσης τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην αἴρεσιν φρίττομεν.

Τί οὖν; ἄρα μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐγχειρήσεις ἀποκαμώντες¹ ἡσύχασαν; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ καινοτομίαν ἡμῖν προφέρουσιν, οὕτωςι τὸ ἐγκλημα καθ' ἡμῶν συντιθέτες τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ὁμολογούντων² μίαν ἀγαθότητα, καὶ μίαν δύναμιν, καὶ μίαν θεότητα λέγειν³ ἡμᾶς αἰτιῶνται. καὶ οὐκ ἔξω τοῦτο φασι τῆς ἀληθείας λέγομεν γάρ. ἀλλ' ἐγκαλοῦντες τοῦτο προφέρουσιν, ὅτι ἡ συνήθεια αὐτῶν τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχει, καὶ ἡ Γραφή οὐ συντίθεται. τί οὖν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἡμεῖς; οὐ νομίζομεν δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπικρατοῦσαν συνήθειαν νόμον καὶ κανόνα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ ποιεῖσθαι λόγον. εἰ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν ἔστιν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ὀρθότητος ἡ συνήθεια, ἔξῃστι καὶ ἡμῖν πάντως ἀντιπροβάλλεσθαι τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπικρατοῦσαν συνήθειαν. εἰ δὲ παραγράφονται ταύτην ἐκεῖνοι, οὐδὲ ἡμῖν πάντως ἀκολουθητέον ἐκείνοις. οὐκοῦν ἡ θεόπνευστος ἡμῖν διαιτησάτω Γραφή, καὶ παρ' οἷς ἂν εὕρηθῃ τὰ

din this into the ears of the masses, and they cease not to rig up this calumny plausibly. But truth does battle in our behalf, as both publicly to all and privately to those we meet we show that anyone who asserts three gods is anathematized by us and is judged not even to be a Christian. But whenever they hear this they have Sabellius at their hand against us, and his pestilent heresy is rumoured to be our doctrine. Again against this also we hold forth our customary armour of defence, even the truth, by showing that we shudder at such a heresy as much as at Judaism.

What then! After so many attempts did they grow weary and hold their peace? Not at all! But they now accuse us of innovation, thus formulating their charge against us because we confess three Persons; and they charge us with asserting one Goodness, and one Power, and one Godhead. And not without truth do they say this, for we do so assert. But they accuse and make this charge, that their custom does not contain this and Scripture does not so formulate. What then do we reply to this? We do not consider it right that the custom which prevails among them be made the law and canon of orthodox doctrine. For if custom is valid in furnishing proof of orthodoxy, it is entirely possible for us also to hold forth in our defence the custom prevailing among us. And if they reject this custom, it is not at all necessary for us, either, to follow them. Accordingly, let the divinely-inspired Scripture arbitrate between us, and the doctrines of whichever side are found to be in

¹ ἀποκμώντες editi antiq̄i.

² ὁμολογούντας unus ex Regiis MSS.

³ λέγοντας Medicæus.

δόγματα συνφδὰ τοῖς θεοῖς λόγοις, ἐπὶ τούτους ἤξει πάντως τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ ψῆφος. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐγκλημα; δύο γὰρ κατὰ ταῦτον ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν προενήνεκται· ἐν μὲν τὸ διαιρεῖν τὰς ὑποστάσεις· ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μηκέτι μηδὲν τῶν θεαπρεπῶν ὀνομάτων πληθυντικῶς ἀριθμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μίαν, καθὼς προείρηται, τὴν ἀγαθότητα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μοναδικῶς ἐξαγγέλλειν. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν ὑποστάσεων οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν ἀλλοτριῶς οἱ τὴν ἑτερότητα τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θείας δογματίζοντες φύσεως. οὐ γὰρ εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς τρεῖς λέγοντας οὐσίας μὴ καὶ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις λέγειν. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μόνον ἐστὶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι, τὸ τὰ ἐπιλεγόμενα¹ τῇ θείᾳ φύσει ὀνόματα μοναδικῶς καταγγέλλειν.

Ἄλλ' ἔτοιμος ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ σαφῆς ὁ λόγος. ὁ γὰρ καταγινώσκων τῶν μίαν λεγόντων θεότητα ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῷ πολλὰς λέγουσι, ἢ τῷ μηδεμίαν, συνθήσεται. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ δυνατὸν ἕτερον τι παρὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐπινοῆσαι. ἀλλ' οὔτε πολλὰς λέγειν ἢ θεόπνευστος συγχωρεῖ διδασκαλία, εἶπου καὶ μέμνηται, μοναχῶς τῆς θεότητος² μνημονεύουσα, ὅτι· Ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος· καὶ ἐτέρωθεν· Τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἢ τε αἰδῖος αὐτοῦ δυναμὶς καὶ θειότης. εἰ οὖν εἰς πλήθος ἐκτείνειν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν θεοτήτων μόνον τῶν τὴν πολύ-

harmony with the words of God, to that side will surely go the verdict of the truth. What, then, is the charge? For two charges at the same time have been made in the accusation against us: one, that we separate the Persons, and the other, that we never employ in the plural any of the names appropriate to God, but speak in the singular, as has been said, of one Goodness, one Power, one Godhead, and all others similarly. Now as regards the separation of the Persons, those who maintain a distinction of substances in the divine nature would not be at variance with us. For it is not logical that those who assert three substances should not also assert three Persons. Accordingly, this alone remains of the charge—that we proclaim in the singular the names applied to the divine nature.

However, we have a clear and ready argument against this. For he who condemns those who assert one Godhead will of necessity agree with him who asserts many or who asserts none. For it is not possible to conceive of any other alternative than the one mentioned. But neither does inspired teaching permit us to speak of many Godheads—for whenever it makes mention thereof, it always speaks of the Godhead in the singular. "For in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead."¹ And in another place: "For the invisible things of him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made: his eternal power also and divinity."² If, therefore, to extend the number of Godheads into a plurality is characteristic only of

¹ ἐν ἀδδ. editi antiqui.

² μοναχῶς τῆς θεότητος] τῆς θεότητος μοναδικῶς αὐτῆς editio Paris.

¹ Cf. Col. 2, 9. The Septuagint adds *σωματικῶς*, i.e. "corporeally."

² Rom. 1, 20.

θεον πλάνην νεροσηκότων ἐστί, τὸ δὲ καθόλου ἀρνεῖσθαι τὴν θεότητα τῶν ἀθέων ἂν εἴη, μίς λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ διαβάλλων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν θεότητα; ἀλλ' ἐκκαλύπτουσι φανερώτερον τὸν τοῦ λόγου σκοπὸν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς καταδέχεσθαι τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ὡσαύτως τιμᾶσθαι τῷ τῆς θεότητος ὀνόματι συντιθέμενοι, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συναριθμούμενον, μηκέτι καὶ τῇ τῆς θεότητος ἐννοία συμπαραλαμβάνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ Πατρὸς μέχρι τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἰσταμένην τὴν τῆς θεότητος δύναμιν, ἀποκρίνει τῆς θεϊκῆς δόξης τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Πνεύματος. οὐκοῦν ἀπολογητέον καὶ ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν οἰοί τε ὤμεν, διὰ βραχέων καὶ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐννοίαν.

Τίς οὖν ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος; παραδιδούς ὁ Κύριος τὴν σωτήριον πίστιν τοῖς μαθητευομένοις τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ συνάπτει καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. τὸ δὲ συνηγμένον ἅπαξ διὰ πάντων φαμέν τὴν συνάφειαν ἔχειν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τινὶ συντεταγμένον, ἐν ἑτέροις ἀποσχοινίζεται. ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ζωοποιῷ δυνάμει, καθ' ἣν ἐκ τοῦ φθαρτοῦ βίου εἰς ἀθανασίαν ἢ φύσις ἡμῶν μετασκευάζεται, συμπαραληφθεῖσα ἢ τοῦ Πνεύματος δύναμις Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς ἑτέροις, οἷον ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐννοία, καὶ τὸ ἅγιόν τε καὶ ἄδιδον, σοφόν, εὐθές, ἡγεμονικόν, δυνατόν, καὶ πανταχοῦ δηλοῦντι, τὸ ἀχώριστον ἔχει ἐν πάσι τοῖς πρὸς τὸ κρείττον ὑπειλημμένοις ὀνόμασι.¹ οὐκοῦν ἡγουμένα καλῶς ἔχειν τὸ ἐν τοσαύταις ἐννοίαις ὑψηλαῖς τε καὶ θεοπρεπέσι συναπτόμενον Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ ἐν οὐδενί

those who labour under the error of polytheism, and the complete denial of the Godhead would be a mark of atheism, what argument is this which maligns us for confessing one Godhead? But they reveal more clearly the aim of their argument—in the case of the Father to admit that He is God, and agreeing that the Son likewise be honoured by the name of Godhead, but not to go on and comprehend the Spirit also, who is numbered with the Father and Son, in the concept of the Godhead, but while conceiving of the power of the Godhead as passing from the Father to the Son, to differentiate the nature of the Spirit from the divine glory. Hence we also must make a defence, as best we can and briefly, against this conception.

What, then, is our argument? The Lord when giving over the faith of salvation to those who are disciples of his doctrine unites with the Father and the Son the Holy Spirit also. And what has once been united we declare maintains the union in all respects. For being united in one respect it is not separated in others. But in the quickening power by which our nature is transformed from the corruptible life into immortality, the power of the Spirit, being comprehended with the Father and the Son, and in many other respects, as in the concept of the good, the holy, and the eternal, the wise, the right, the supreme, the powerful, and everywhere in fact, clearly possesses inseparability in all terms that are employed in the higher sense.¹ Therefore we hold it right to maintain that the Holy Spirit being united with the Father and the Son in so many lofty and divine con-

¹ See Introduction to Vol. I, pp. xxv ff.

¹ καὶ τὴν συνάφειαν add. editi antiq.

διακεκρίσθαι νομίζειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶδαμέν τινα τῶν περὶ τὴν θείαν φύσιν ἐπινοουμένων ὀνομάτων τὴν κατὰ τὸ κρείττον καὶ τὸ χείρον διαφορὰν, ὡς εὐαγῆς¹ εἶναι οἶεσθαι τὴν ἐν τοῖς καταδεεστέροις τῶν ὀνομάτων κοινωσίαν συγχωροῦντας τῷ Πνεύματι, τῶν ὑπεραιρόντων κρίνειν ἀνάξιον. πάντα γὰρ τὰ θεοπρεπῆ νοήματά τε καὶ ὀνόματα ὁμοτίμως ἔχει πρὸς ἀλλήλα, τῷ μηδὲν περὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου διαφωνεῖν² σημασίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ὑποκείμενον χειραγωγεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ προσηγορία, ἐφ' ἕτερον δὲ ἢ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ τοῦ δυνατοῦ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου, ἀλλ' ὅσαπερ ἂν εἴπῃς ὀνόματα, ἐν διὰ πάντων ἐστὶ τὸ σημαίνόμενον. κὰν Θεὸν εἴπῃς, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνεδείξω ὃν διὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ὀνομάτων ἐνόησας. εἰ δὲ πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα τῇ θείᾳ φύσει ἐπιλεγόμενα ἰσοδυναμεῖ ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου ἔνδειξιν, ἀλλὰ³ κατὰ ἄλλην ἔμφασιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν ὀδηγοῦντα, τίς ὁ λόγος τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι κοινωσίαν, πρὸς Πατέρα τε καὶ Υἱὸν συγχωροῦντα τῷ Πνεύματι, μόνῃς ἀποσχοινίζειν αὐτὸ τῆς θεότητος; ἀνάγκη γὰρ πᾶσα ἢ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δίδοναι τὴν κοινωσίαν, ἢ μηδὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς συγχωρεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἄξιον, οὐδὲ ἐν τούτῳ⁴ πάντως ἀνάξιον. εἰ δὲ μικρότερον, κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων λόγον, ἐστὶν ἢ ὥστε τοῦ τῆς θεότητος ὀνόματος πρὸς Πατέρα τε καὶ Υἱὸν τὴν κοινωσίαν χωρῆσαι, οὐδὲ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν θεοπρεπῶν ὀνομάτων μετέχειν⁵ ἄξιον. καταμανθανόμενα γὰρ καὶ συγκρινόμενα πρὸς ἄλ-

ceptions is separated in none. For we do not even know any distinction as to better or worse regarding the terms employed about the divine nature, so as to consider it to be pious, while granting the Spirit community in terms of an inferior kind, to judge Him unworthy of those that transcend. For all conceptions and terms proper to God are held of equal honour one with another, through the fact that there is no discrepancy in the signification of the subject.¹ For the designation of "good" does not lead the mind to one subject, and that of "wise," and of "powerful," and of "just" to another, but whatever terms you use, the thing that is signified by them all is one. And if you speak of "God," you have indicated the same one whom you had in mind when you used the other terms. But if all the terms which are applied to the divine nature are of equal force with one another according to the designation of the subject, though leading our mind to the same object by emphasis on different aspects, what reason is there, when granting to the Spirit participation with the Father and the Son in the other terms, for excluding Him from the "godhead" alone? For it is entirely necessary either to grant community in this also or not to admit it in the rest. For if He is worthy in the latter, He is surely not unworthy in the former. But if He is too insignificant, as our adversaries say, to enter on a community with the Father and Son in the term "godhead," He is not worthy of sharing any of the other divine attributes either. For if the terms are considered and compared

¹ i. e., all the Persons being equal, all the terms applied to them are of equal honour.

¹ εὐαγῆς editi antiq̄, excepta Haganoensi.

² διαφέρειν editi antiq̄. ³ ἀλλ' οὐ unus ex Regiis.

⁴ τοῦτοις nonnulli MSS.

⁵ ἢν add. editi antiq̄.

ἄλλα τὰ ὀνόματα διὰ τῆς ἐκάστοις ἐνθεωρουμένης¹ ἐμφάσεως, εὔρεθι, σεται μηδὲν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προσηγορίας ἔλαττον ἔχοντα. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν τῷ ὀνόματι πολλὰ καὶ τῶν καταδεστέρων ἐπονομάζεται· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ φείδεται ἢ θεία Γραφή τῆς ὁμωνυμίας ταύτης, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπεμφαινόντων πραγμάτων, ὡς ὅταν τὰ εἰδωλα τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ προσηγορία κατονομάξῃ. θεοὶ γάρ, φησὶν, οἱ οὐκ ἐποίησαν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀρθήτωσαν, καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς βληθήτωσαν· καὶ, Πάντες, φησὶν, οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνων δαιμόνια. καὶ ἡ ἐγγαστρίμυθος ἐν ταῖς μαγγανείαις αὐτῆς ψυχαγωγούσα τῷ Σαοῦλ² τὰς ἐπιζητούμενας ψυχὰς, θεοὺς ἐωρακέναι φησὶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Βαλαάμ οἰωνιστῆς τις ὢν καὶ μάντις, καὶ διὰ χειρὸς τὰ μαντεία φέρων, καθὼς φησιν ἡ Γραφή, καὶ τὴν ἐκ δαιμόνων διδασκαλίαν διὰ τῆς οἰωνιστικῆς περιεργίας ἐαυτῷ κατορθώσας, παρὰ Θεοῦ συμβουλευέσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Γραφῆς ἰστορεῖται. καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτά ἐστι συλλεξάμενον ἐκ τῶν θείων παραθέσθαι Γραφῶν, ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τὰς λοιπὰς τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς προσηγορίας πρωτεύει, ὅτε, καθὼς εἴρηται, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπεμφαινόντων ὁμωνυμίας λεγόμενον εὐρίσ-

¹ ἐκάστοις ἐνθεωρουμένης] ἐν ἐκάστοις θεωρουμένης editi antiqui.

² τὸν Σαοῦλ editi antiqui.

¹ Cf. Jerom. 10. 11: Οὕτως εἴριτε αὐτοῖς θεοὶ οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐποίησαν ἀπολέσθωσαν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τούτου. "Thus then shall you say to them: The gods that have not made heaven and earth, let them perish from the earth, and from among those places that are under heaven."

with one another according to the significance inherent in each, none will be found to be inferior to the title of "God." And proof of this is the fact that even many inferior things are named by this term. And, moreover, divine Scripture does not refrain from using the same term, even in the case of incongruous things, as when it designates idols with the title of "God." "For the gods," it says, "that have not made heaven and earth, let them perish from the earth, and let them be cast beneath the earth."¹ "And," it says, "all the gods of the Gentiles are devils."² And the witch³ in her necromancies, calling up for Saul the spirits which he sought, says that she saw gods. Moreover, also Balaam,⁴ who was an augur and a seer, bearing in his hands the oracles, as Scripture says, and having procured for himself through his spell in augury instruction from demons, is described by Scripture as taking counsel "with God." And it is possible to gather many such examples from sacred Scripture and to prove that this term is not pre-eminent over the other titles appropriate to God, since, as has been said, we find it applied equivocally

¹ Cf. Psal. 95, 5: ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνων δαιμόνια, ὁ δὲ Κύριος τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησεν. "For all the gods of the Gentiles are devils: but the Lord made the heavens."

² Cf. 1 Kings 28, 13: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ βασιλεὺς Μὴ φοβοῦ, εἶπον τίνα ἑώρακας; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Θεοὺς ἑώρακα ἀναβαίνοντας ἐκ τῆς γῆς. "And the king said to her: Fear not: what hast thou seen? And the woman said to Saul: I saw gods ascending out of the earth."

⁴ Cf. Num. 22, 20: καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Βαλαάμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Εἰ καλέσαι σε πάρεσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι, ἀναστὰς ἀκολούθησαν αὐτοῖς: ἀλλὰ τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἐν λαλήσω πρὸς σέ, τοῦτο ποιήσεις. "God therefore came to Balaam (in the night), and said to him: If these men be come to call thee, arise and go with them: yet so, that thou do what I shall command thee."

κομεν. τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου ὄνομα, καὶ τοῦ ἀφθάρτου, καὶ τοῦ εὐθέως, καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, οὐδαμοῦ κοινοποιούμενον πρὸς τὰ μὴ δέοντα παρὰ τῆς Γραφῆς ἐδιδάχθημεν, οὐκοῦν εἰ ἐν τοῖς ἐξαιρέτως ἐπὶ μόνῃς τῆς θείας φύσεως εὐσεβῶς λεγομένοις ὀνόμασι κοινωεῖν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸν Πατέρα οὐκ ἀντιλέγουσι, τίς ὁ λόγος, τοῦτω μόνῳ κατασκευάζειν ἀκοινωνητον εἶναι, οὐ μετέχειν ἐδείχθη, κατὰ τινα ὁμώνυμον χρῆσιν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα;

Ἄλλὰ λέγουσι φύσεως ἐνδεικτικὴν εἶναι τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην, ἀκοινωνητον δὲ εἶναι πρὸς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος φύσιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴδὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο κοινωρίας μετέχειν. οὐκοῦν δεξιάτωσαν, διὰ τίνων τὸ τῆς φύσεως παρηλλαγμένον ἐπέγνωσαν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν δυνατόν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς τὴν θείαν φύσιν θεωρηθῆναι, καὶ τό τε οἰκείως ἔχον καὶ τὸ ἄλλοτρίως διὰ τῶν φαινομένων εὔρειν, οὐκ ἂν πάντως ἐδεήθημεν λόγων ἢ τεκμηρίων ἐτέρων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ζητουμένου κατάληψιν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ μὲν ὑψηλοτέρα τῆς τῶν ζητουμένων ἐστὶ κατανοήσεως, ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων τινῶν περι τῶν διαφενγόντων τὴν γνώσιν¹ ἡμῶν λογιζόμεθα, ἰνάγκη πᾶσα διὰ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἡμᾶς χειραγωγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῆς θείας φύσεως ἔρευναν. οὐκοῦν ἐὰν ἴδωμεν διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων τὰς ἐνεργείας τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐνεργουμένας διαφόρους εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐνεργούσας φύσεις ἐκ τῆς ἐτερότητος τῶν ἐνεργειῶν στοχασόμεθα.² οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται τὰ

to incongruous things. But we have been taught by Scripture that the terms "holy," and "incorruptible," and "righteous," and "good" are nowhere applied indiscriminately to improper things. Therefore, if in the terms employed piously, especially with reference to the divine nature alone, they do not deny that the Holy Spirit is associated with the Son and the Father, what is their reason for representing Him as having no association in this term only, in which by a certain equivocal usage both demons and idols have been shown to participate?

But they say that this term is indicative of nature, and that the nature of the Spirit is not shared by Father and Son, and on this account He does not even participate either in the community implied in this term. Therefore let them show by what means they have observed what is different in their nature. For if it were possible for the divine nature itself to be perceived by itself, and what is peculiar and strange to it could be discovered by phenomena, we surely would not have needed words or other signs for the apprehension of what we seek. But since it is too sublime for the intellectual grasp of those who investigate it, and since we reason from certain signs about things which escape our knowledge, it is entirely necessary that in the inquiry about the divine nature we be guided by its activities. Accordingly, if we see that the activities manifested by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are different, from the diversity of their activities, we shall conjecture that the acting natures also are different. For it is

¹ μνήμην editi antiq̄i.

² στοχασόμεθα editi antiq̄i.

διστώτα κατὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν εἶδος ἀλλήλοις συνενεχθῆναι (οὔτε ψύχει τὸ πῦρ, οὔτε θερμαίνει ὁ κρύσταλλος), ἀλλὰ τῆ τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾷ συνδιαχωρίζονται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ αἱ παρὰ τούτων ἐνεργεῖαι. ἐὰν δὲ μίαν νοήσωμεν τὴν¹ ἐνέργειαν Πατρὸς τε καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἐν μηδενὶ διαφέρουσάν τι ἢ παραλλάσσουσαν, ἀνάγκη τῆ ταυτότητι τῆς ἐνεργείας τὸ ἠνωμένον τῆς φύσεως συλλογίζεσθαι.

Ἀγιάζει, καὶ ζωοποιεῖ, καὶ φωτίζει, καὶ παρακαλεῖ, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὁμοίως ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. καὶ μηδεὶς κατ' ἐξ-αίρετον ἀπονεμέτω τῆ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν ἁγιαστικὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀκούσας τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα λέγοντος· Πάτερ, ἁγιάσον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνοματί σου. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ἐνεργεῖται τοῖς ἁγίοις παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς τε καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· πᾶσα χάρις καὶ δύναμις, ἡ ὁδηγία, ἡ ζωὴ, ἡ παράκλησις, ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἀθάνατον μεταβολή, ἡ εἰς ἐλευθερίαν μετάστασις, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, ὃ μέχρις ἡμῶν² καταβαίνει. ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς οἰκονομία, ἐν τε τῇ νοητῇ κτίσει καὶ τῇ αἰσθητῇ, εἴ τι χρῆ διὰ τῶν γνωσσκομένων ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων στοχάζεσθαι, οὐδὲ αὐτῆ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου³ Πνεύματος ἐνεργείας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐξω καθέστηκεν, ἐκάστου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀξίαν

not possible for things that are distinct by reason of their nature to be united with one another in the form of their activities (fire does not freeze, nor does ice heat), but by the distinction of their natures the activities produced by them are also differentiated from one another. And if we perceive one activity of Father and Son and Holy Ghost, differing or varying in no respect at all, by the identity of the activity we must conclude the unity of their natures.

The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit in like manner sanctify and quicken and enlighten and comfort, and all such things. And let no one attribute in a special manner to the activity of the Spirit the power of sanctifying, when he has heard the Saviour¹ in the Gospel say to the Father regarding the disciples; "Father, sanctify them in thy name." And likewise too all other things are performed equally among the worthy by the Father and the Son and Holy Spirit—every grace and virtue, guidance, life, consolation, change into immortality, passing into freedom, and whatever other blessings there are that come down to us. And the dispensation above us, as regards both intelligent and perceptive creatures, if at all from what we know we are to conjecture regarding what is above us, is itself not constituted apart from the operation and power of the Holy Spirit, each thing according to its own

¹ Cf. John 17, 11 and 17: καὶ οὐκ ἐτι εἰμὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰσὶ, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σε ἔρχομαι. πᾶτερ ἄγιε, τήρησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνοματί σου, οὓς δέδωκάς μοι, ἵνα ὡσάν ἐν, καθὼς ἦμεις. . . ἁγιάσον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου. "And now I am not in the world, and these are in the world, and I come to thee. Holy Father, keep them in thy name whom thou hast given me; that they may be one, as we also are." "Sanctify them in truth."

¹ ἐὰν δὲ . . . τῆν] ἰδόντες οὖν τὴν editi antiq̄i.

² ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων editi antiq̄i.

³ παναγίου editi antiq̄i.

τε καὶ χρείαν τῆς ὠφελείας μεταλαμβάνοντας. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἄδηλος τῇ αἰσθήσει τῇ ἡμετέρα ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄνω τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως διάταξις¹ τε καὶ διοικήσεις, ὅμως ἐκ τῆς ἀκολουθίας εὐλογώτερον ἂν τις σύνθοιτο διὰ τῶν ἡμῖν γνωρίμων ἐνεργῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνων τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος δύναμιν, ἣ ἀπεξενώσθαι τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὑπερκειμένοις οἰκονομίας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνο λέγων ψιλλὴν καὶ ἀκατάσκευον τὴν βλασφημίαν προβάλλεται,² οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ κατασκευάζων τὴν ἀτοπίαν. ὁ δὲ συντιθέμενος καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς μετὰ Πατρός καὶ Τίου τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Πνεύματος οἰκονομείσθαι, ἐναργεῖ τεκμηρίῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ζωὴν ἐπερειδόμενος περὶ τούτων δισχυρίζεται. οὐκοῦν ἢ τῆς ἐνεργείας ταυτότης ἐπὶ Πατρός τε καὶ Τίου καὶ Πνεύματος ἀγίου δέικνυσι σαφῶς τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπαράλλακτον. ὥστε κἂν φύσιν σημαίη τὸ τῆς θεότητος ὄνομα, κυρίως καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐφαρμόζεσθαι ταύτην ἢ τῆς οὐσίας κοινῆς συντίθεται.

Ἄλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἔνδειξιν τὴν προσηγορίαν τῆς θεότητος φέρουσιν οἱ πάντα κατασκευάζοντες, ὡς περ οὐκ ἀκηκοότες παρὰ τῆς Γραφῆς, ὅτι χειροτονητῆ³ φύσιν οὐ γίνεταί. Μωϋσῆς δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐχειροτονήθη θεός, οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος τοῦ χρηματίζοντος, ὅτι Θεὸν σε δέδωκα τῷ Φαραώ.⁴ οὐκοῦν ἐξουσίας τινός, εἴτε ἐποπτικῆς εἴτε ἐνεργητικῆς, ἔνδειξιν ἢ προσηγορία φέρεται. ἢ δὲ θεία φύσιν ἐν

worth and need partaking of His help. For even if the disposition and government of things above our nature are not clear to our perception, still by inference one might more logically conclude from what we do know that the power of the Spirit is operative also in what is above than that He is excluded from that dispensation. For he who says this latter utters blasphemy bare and unfounded, making up the absurdity without reason. But he who concludes that also the things above us are governed by the power of the Spirit together with the Father and the Son makes affirmation about these things supported by clear testimony disclosed in the course of his own life. Therefore the identity of activity in the case of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit indicates clearly the absence of unlikeness in their nature. Accordingly, even if the term "godhead" does signify nature, community of substance argues that this appellation is properly applied to the Holy Spirit also.

But I do not understand how those who are ready to invent anything cite the term "godhead" as indicating the objects of nature, as if they had not heard from Scripture that nature is not a matter of appointment. But Moses was appointed a god of the Egyptians when the divine voice¹ said to him; "Behold, I have made thee the God of Pharaoh." Therefore the term bears an indication of a kind of power, either of guardianship or of activity. The

¹ Exodus, 7, 1.

¹ δι᾿ ἁλίαις editi antiq̄i.

² προβάλλεται editi antiq̄i.

³ χειροτονία editi antiq̄i et Nyss., sed non Hag. et Basil primus.

⁴ τοῦ Φαραῶ nonnulli MSS.

πάσι τοῖς ἐπινοουμένοις ὀνόμασι, καθὼ ἐστι, μένει ἀσήμαντος, ὡς ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος. ἐνεργέτην γάρ, καὶ κριτὴν, ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα μαθόντες,¹ ἐνεργειῶν διαφορὰς ἐδιδάχθημεν· τοῦ δὲ ἐνεργούντος τὴν φύσιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐνεργειῶν κατανοήσεως ἐπιγινώσκει δυνάμεθα. ὅταν γὰρ ἀποδιδῶ τις λόγον ἐκάστου τε τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως περὶ ἣν τὰ ὀνόματα, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέρων ὑποδώσει λόγον. ὦν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἕτερος, τούτων καὶ ἡ φύσις διάφορος. οὐκοῦν ἄλλο μὲν τί ἐστὶν ἡ οὐσία, ἣς οὐπω λόγος² μνηυτῆς ἐξευρέθη· ἕτερα δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ὀνομάτων ἡ σημασία, ἐξ ἐνεργείας τινὸς ἢ ἀξίας ὀνομαζομένων.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐνεργείαις μηδεμίαν εἶναι διαφορὰν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων κοινωνίας εὐρίσκομεν· τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν παραλλαγῆς οὐδεμίαν καταλαμβάνομεν ἐναργῆ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν· καθὼς εἴρηται, τῆς τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ταυτότητος τὸ κοινὸν τῆς φύσεως ὑποσημαινούσης.³ εἴτε οὖν ἐνεργείας ὄνομα ἢ θεότης, ὡς μίαν ἐνεργείαν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὕτω μίαν φαμέν εἶναι⁴ τὴν θεότητα· εἴτε⁵ κατὰ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δοξὰς, φύσεως ἐνδεικτικόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς θεότητος ὄνομα, διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εὐρίσκειν ἐν τῇ φύσει παραλλαγὴν, οὐκ ἀπεικότως μιᾶς θεότητος τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα διοριζόμεθα.

¹ μαθόντες Medicaeus.

² om unus Regius

³ ἐπισημαινούσης Medicaeus.

⁴ καὶ add. tres MSS. non antiquissimi.

⁵ καὶ add. duo Regii.

divine nature, however, in all the names that are devised for it remains as it is—inexplicable, just as we teach. For having learned that it is kind and discerning, good and just, and many other such things, we were taught the different kinds of its activities: but we are not in any way the better able to understand the nature of the active agent through our apprehension of its activities. For whenever anyone gives a definition of each of these names and of the nature of which they are terms, he will not give the same definition for both. But of those whose definition is different, the nature also is different. Therefore one thing is the substance (for which no informative definition has yet been found), and another is the significance of the names applied to it as the result of some activity or value.

Accordingly, that there is no difference in the activities, we learn from the community of names; but of the variation in nature we apprehend no clear proof, because, as has been said, identity of activities indicates community of nature. Therefore, if Godhead be the name of an activity, as we assert that there is one activity of Father and Son and Holy Spirit, and that in this sense there is one Godhead: or if, according to the opinion of the many, the name of "godhead" is indicative of a nature, since we find no difference in their nature, not without reason do we define the Holy Trinity as of one Godhead.

Ἀμφιλοχίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰκονίου.

Ἀξίως τῆς σεαυτοῦ¹ ἐμμελείας καὶ σπουδῆς, ἣς ἂν ἐπαινέτης ἐμὶ ἐγὼ, ἐμερίμνησας τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἰσαύρων. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τῷ παντὶ λυσιτελέστερον ἦν εἰς πλείονας ἐπισκόπους καταδιαιρεθῆναι τὴν μέριμναν, αὐτόθεν εἶναι δῆλον καὶ τῷ τυχόντι νομίζω· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν σὴν σύνεσιν τοῦτο ἔλαθεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχει καὶ ἐπεσημήνω καλῶς καὶ ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ² οὐκ εὐκολον εὑρεῖν ἄνδρας ἀξίους, μήπου³ ἕως βουλόμεθα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ἀξιόπιστον ἔχειν, καὶ ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἀκριβέστερον ποιεῖν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκονομείσθαι, λάθωμεν διὰ τὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἀδόκιμον εἰς εὐτέλειαν τὸν λόγον καταβαλόντες, ἀδιαφορίας μελέτην τοῖς λαοῖς ἐμποιεῖν; οἶδας γὰρ καὶ αὐτός, ὅτι ὁποῖοι δ' ἂν ὦσιν οἱ προεστώτες, τοιαῦτα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ⁴ πολὺ καὶ τὰ ἤθη τῶν ἀρχομένων γίνεσθαι εἴωθεν. ὥστε τάχα βέλτιον ἕνα τινα δόκιμον, εἴπερ καὶ τοῦτο ῥᾶδιον, προβαλέσθαι τῆς πόλεως προστάτην, καὶ ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ ἐκείνου κινδύνῳ οἰκονομείσθαι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον· μόνον ἐὰν ᾖ τις δούλος Θεοῦ, ἐργάτης

¹ ἑαυτοῦ nonnulli MSS.

² ἐπεὶ δὲ] ἐπειδὴ editi antiq̄i.

³ μήπω E, editi antiq̄i.

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM¹

You have cared for the affairs of the Isaurian² church in a manner worthy of your decorum and zeal, of which I am ever an admirer. That, however, it would be more beneficial to the whole for the burden to be divided among several bishops I think is of itself evident even to the casual observer. Nor, indeed, has this escaped your sagacity, but you have both noted well how things stand and have informed us. But since it is not easy to find worthy men, shall we not perchance, while wishing to have the prestige of numbers and to cause the Church of God to be governed more strictly by more men, unwittingly cast the word into contempt by reason of the unworthiness of those called, and engender the practice of indifference among the laity! For you yourself know that whatever the rulers are, such for the most part are the characters of those governed accustomed to become. Hence it is perhaps better to propose some one man of proved worth, if indeed even this were easy, as ruler of the city, and to entrust to him as his responsibility the management of details, provided he be a servant of God, a workman that needeth not

¹ Written in 374. On Amphilocheus cf. first note of Letter CLXXXVIII.

² A titular see in the province of Lycosonia, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Iconium. Although in the heart of the Roman empire, the Isaurians long continued to be a nation of wild barbarians, always threatening their neighbours with fresh invasions. At this time the Isaurian episcopate was disorganized by raids and Arian persecution.

⁴ om E, nonnulli MSS.

ἀνεπαίσχυντος, μὴ σκοπῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ἵνα σωθῶσιν ὃς ἐὰν εἰδῇ ἑαυτὸν μικρότερον πρὸς τὴν φροντίδα, προσλήψεται¹ ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν θερισμόν. ἐὰν οὖν εὕρωμεν τοιοῦτον, ὁμολογῶ πολλῶν ἀντάξιον εἶναι τὸν ἕνα, καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λυσιτελέστερον, καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ἀκινδυνότερον, οὕτως οἰκονομῆσαι τῶν ψυχῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ῥάδιον ᾖ,² σπουδῆ γενέσθω ἡμῖν πρότερον ταῖς μικροπολιτείαις ἢ τοῖς μικροκομίαις ταῖς ἐκ παλαιῶν ἐπισκόπων θρόνον ἐχοῦσαις δοῦναι τοὺς προϊσταμένους· καὶ τότε τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀναστήσομεν,³ μήποτε ἐμπόδιον ἡμῖν πρὸς τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα οἰκονομίαν γένηται ὁ προβαλλόμενος,⁴ καὶ εὐθύς ἀρξώμεθα ἡμεῖς τοῖς οἴκοι πολεμεῖν, διὰ τὸ πλειόνων βούλεσθαι ἀρχειν, καὶ μὴ καταδέχεσθαι τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων. ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο βαρὺ ᾖ, καὶ ὁ χρόνος μὴ ἐπιτρέπη, ἐκεῖνο σπουδασάτω ἢ σὴ συνέσεις, τοῦ ποιῆσαι περιγράψαι τῷ Ἰσαύρων⁵ τὸν ἴδιον κύκλον, διὰ τὸ χειροτονῆσαι αὐτὸν προσοίκους τινας. τὸ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἡμῖν ὑπάρξει τεταμιευμένον, εἰς τὸ κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα καιρὸν δοῦναι πᾶσι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπισκόπους, ὃς ἂν κυριωτέρους⁶ εἶναι κρίνωμεν αὐτοί, διὰ πολλῆς ἐξετάσεως δοκιμάσαντες.

¹ eis add. E.² ἢ editi antiq̄i.³ ἀναστήσομεν E.⁴ προβεβλημένος duo MSS.⁵ Ἰσαύρω E, editi antiq̄i.⁶ καιριωτέρους emend. G.-M.

¹ Cf. 2 Tim. 2. 15: σπουδάσον σεαυτὸν δόκιμον παραστήσαι τῷ θεῷ, ἐργάτην ἀνεπαίσχυντον, ὀρθοθυμῶντα τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας. "Carefully study to present thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth."

to be ashamed,¹ not considering the things that are his own,² but those of the many, that they may be saved:³ who, if he knows himself unequal to the care, will take unto himself workers for the harvest. Now if we can find such a man, I confess that one is worth many, and that it is more advantageous for the churches, and fraught with less danger for ourselves, to direct the care of souls in this way. But if this is not easy, let our zeal be, first to appoint overseers for the small towns and villages which of old had an episcopal seat; and then we shall restore the bishop of the city, lest perchance he who is proposed may become a hindrance to us in our subsequent administration, and we immediately enter on a domestic quarrel because of his wish to rule over greater numbers and not to accept the ordinations of the bishops. But if this is difficult and time does not permit it, let your Intelligence⁴ look to this—that you cause a strict circuit to be defined for the Isaurian bishop because he has ordained some of his neighbours. Hereafter, however, the right shall be reserved for ourselves on the proper occasion to appoint for all the rest bishops, men whom we ourselves shall judge the most suitable, approving of them after careful examination.

¹ Cf. Phil. 2. 4: μὴ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος σκοπεῖτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἑτέρων ἕκαστος. "Each one not considering the things that are his own, but those that are other men's."

² Cf. I Thess. 2. 16: κωλυόντων ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἔθνεσι λαλῆσαι ἵνα σωθῶσιν, εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας πάντοτε· ἔφθασε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος. "Prohibiting us to speak to the Gentiles, that they may be saved, to fill up their sins always: for the wrath of God is come upon them to the end."

⁴ A title generally addressed to bishops and laymen of distinction.

Ἐρωτήσαμεν Γεώργιον, ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ἡ θεοσεβεία σου, καὶ εἶπεν ἃ καὶ ἡ σὴ εὐλάβεια ἀνήνεγκεν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν, ἐπιρρίψαντας ἐπὶ Κύριον τὴν μέριμναν τοῦ οἴκου, πιστεύω γὰρ τῷ ἁγίῳ Θεῷ, ὅτι δώσει σύνεσιν,¹ πρὸς τὸ² ἐτέρῳ τρόπῳ ἐξελεῖσθαι τῶν ἀναγκῶν, καὶ ἡμῖν ἄλυτον³ τὴν ζωὴν προξενῆσαι. ἐὰν οὖν οὐ δοκῇ⁴ τοῦτο, αὐτὸς καταξιώσον ὑπομνηστικόν μοι ἀποστεῖλαι, περὶ τίνος χρῆ ἀξιώματος σπουδὴν εἰσενέγκασθαι, ἵνα ἀρξώμεθα αἰτεῖν ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν δυνάμει φίλων τὴν χάριν ταύτην, εἴτε προίκα, εἴτε καὶ μετρίου τιμηματος, ὡς ἂν ἡμᾶς Κύριος⁵ εὐδοώσῃ.

Ἐπέστειλα τῷ ἀδελφῷ Οὐαλερίῳ,⁶ ὡς προσέταξας. τὰ Νύσσης⁷ πράγματα ὁμοιά ἐστι τοῖς⁸ παρὰ τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας καταλειφθεῖσι,⁹ καὶ προκόπτει ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τῇ συνεργίᾳ τῶν σῶν προσευχῶν. οἱ μέντοι τότε ἀπορραγεῦντες ἡμῶν, οἱ μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ δὲ μένουσι τὴν ἐκείθεν ἀναμένοντες φήμην. δυνατὸς δὲ ὁ Κύριος καὶ τούτων ματαιώσαι τὰς ἐλπίδας, κάκεινοις ἀπρακτον τὴν ἐπάνοδον ποιῆσαι.

Τὸ μάννα ὁ Φίλων¹⁰ ἔρμηνεύων ἔφη, ὥσπερ ἐκ παραδόσεώς τινος Ἰουδαϊκῆς δεδιδυγμένος, τοιαύτην αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ποιότητα, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν

We have questioned George,¹ as your Godliness² urged, and he told what your Sanctity also has reported—upon which matters we must keep silence, throwing the care of the house upon the Lord. For I trust to holy God that He will grant us the wisdom to free ourselves from our difficulties in another way, and to secure for ourselves an untroubled life. Now if this does not seem best, do you yourself deign to send me a reminder as to what dignity³ we should now use our influence to obtain, that we may begin to ask each of our friends in power for this favour, either gratis or for a small honorarium, according as the Lord may prosper us.

I have written to brother Valerius⁴ as you directed. Affairs at Nyssa are just as they were left by your Godliness, and are progressing toward the better by the aid of your prayers. Of those, however, who then separated from us, some have gone off to the court, others remain awaiting news therefrom. But the Lord is able both to frustrate the hopes of the latter, and to render the return of the former impossible.

Philo in explaining manna, as though he had been taught by a certain Jewish tradition, said that such was its quality that it changed according to the

¹ A frequent title of address, generally used to bishops, and occasionally to other members of the clergy and to the emperor.

² According to the Benedictine editors some rank or office conferred by a document in the Emperor's own hand, i.e. *codicillaria dignitas*. They expressed themselves as surprised that Basil would approach any official in this manner, since according to Cod. Theod. 6, 22 this was forbidden under penalty of a heavy fine. They are inclined to believe, moreover, that these laws were not strictly observed under Valens.

⁴ Probably a bishop.

¹ sic. G., M.; σὺν ἡμῖν MSS. ² τῷ E.

³ ἄλυτον editi antiqui. ⁴ δοκεῖ Coisl. secundus.

⁵ om. H.

⁶ Οὐαλερίῳ Coisl. secundus.

⁷ Νύσσης E.

⁸ τῶν E.

⁹ καταληφθεῖσι E.

¹⁰ Φείλων E.

¹ This George cannot be identified with any certainty.

φαντασίαν τοῦ ἐσθίουτος μετακρινᾶσθαι· καὶ εἶναι μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ οἰνοὶ κέγχρον ἐψημένον¹ ἐν μέλιτι, παρέχειν δὲ νῦν μὲν ἄρτου, νῦν δὲ κρέως· καὶ κρέως τοιοῦδε, ἢ πετεινοῦ ἢ χερσαίου· νῦν δὲ λαχάνου, καὶ λαχάνου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκάστων· καὶ ἰχθύος, ὡς τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον γένος ποιότητος ἀκριβῶς ἐν τῇ γέυσει τοῦ ἐσθίουτος διασώζεσθαι.

Ἄρματα ἀναβάτας τριστάτας ἔχοντα οἶδεν ἢ Γραφή, διὰ τὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρμάτων δύο εἶναι τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, τὸν τε ἡνίοχον καὶ τὸν ὀπλίτην· τὰ δὲ² τοῦ Φαραῶ δύο μὲν εἶχε τοὺς πολεμοῦντας, ἕνα δὲ τὸν τὰς ἡνίας τῶν ἵππων ἔχοντα.

Σύμπιος ἡμῖν ἐπέστειλε θεραπευτικὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ κοινωνικὴν, ᾧ ἡμεῖς ἀντιγράψαντες ἐπέμψαμεν τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ σου τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα ἄγαν ἐγκρίνας κελύσης αὐτῷ ἀποσταλῆναι, δηλονότι μετὰ προσθήκης καὶ σῶν γραμμάτων.

Ἐρρωμένος, εὐθυμος ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὑπερευχόμενός μου χαρισθείης μοι καὶ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου φιλανθρωπία.

imagination of the eater: that of itself it was like millet boiled in honey, while yet it gave the taste¹ now of bread and now of flesh,—and of flesh that would be that of either bird or beast,—and now of vegetable, even the vegetable of each one's desire, and of fish, in such a way that the peculiar flavour of each kind was preserved exactly in the eater's taste.

Scripture knows of chariots with three riders² because other chariots had two riders, the driver and the soldier, but those of the Pharaoh had the two fighting men and the man who held the reins of the horses.

Sympius³ wrote us a letter exhibiting respect and communion, and the letter we wrote in reply we have sent to your Piety, in order that when you have given it your complete approval you may order it to be sent to him—of course with an addition also of a letter of your own.

In good health, joyful in the Lord, and with prayer for me, may you be spared to me and God's Church through the kindness of the Holy One.

¹ τὴν ποιότητα must apparently be supplied as object of παρέχειν.

² ἀναβάτας τριστάτας. This expression, which occurs in Ex. 15, 4, is translated in the English versions as "captains." Its meaning here, however, seems to be "three riders," which may well be the correct interpretation of the passage from Exodus. The Douay version clearly does not translate the Greek ἄρματα Φαραῶ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν, ἐπιλέκτους ἀναβάτας τριστάτας· κατεπόθησαν ἐν ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ. "Pharaoh's chariots and his army he hath cast into the sea: his chosen captains are drowned in the Red Sea."

³ Bishop of Seleucia, in Isauria. Attended the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381, and was buried in the martyrdom of St. Thecla.

¹ ἐψημένον nonnulli MSS.

² γε E.

Ἀμφιλοχίω, ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰκονίου.

Ἐντυχόντες τοῖς γράμμασι τῆς εὐλαβείας σου, πολλὴν τῷ Θεῷ τὴν χάριν ἔσχομεν, ὅτι ἀρχαίως ἀγάπης ἵχνη εὗρομεν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασι τῆς ἐπιστολῆς· ὅς γε οὐκ ἔπαθες τὸ τῶν πολλῶν, οὐδὲ φιλονείκως ἔσχες πρὸς τὸ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς κατάρξει τῆς ἀγαπητικῆς ὁμιλίας· ἀλλ' ὡς πεπαιδευμένος τὸ ἐκ ταπεινοφροσύνης μεγαλείου περιγυόμενον τοῖς ἀγίοις, οὕτως εἴλου διὰ τῶν δευτερείων ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῶν ἀποφανθῆναι. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος νόμος τῆς ἐν Χριστιανοῖς νίκης, καὶ ὁ ἕλαττον ἔχειν καταδεξάμενος στεφανοῦται. ἵνα οὖν μὴ ἀπολειφθῶμεν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ζήλου, ἰδοὺ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντιφθεγγόμεθά σου τὴν σεμιότητα, καὶ δείκνυμεν τὴν προαίρεσιν ἡμῶν, ὅτι Θεοῦ χάριτι τῆς κατὰ τὴν πίστιν συμφωνίας ἐρρωμένης ἡμῖν,¹ οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστι τὸ ἐμποδίζον πρὸς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα, καθὼς ἐκλήθημεν ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι διὰ² τῆς κλήσεως.³ τῆς οὖν σῆς ἐστὶν ἀγάπης τῇ ἀγαθῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἀποδοῦναι,

¹ ἡμῖν quatuor MSS.

² om. E.

³ πίστεως E, κλήσεως Medicaeus.

¹ Placed in 374. There is a serious error in the title of this letter. Basil is here attempting to renew charitable relations with the recipient, and this could hardly have happened with Amphilochius, with whom he had always been in very close friendship. Tillemont (note 70) suspects that it was written to one of the Lycian bishops mentioned in Letter CCXVIII, but this seems improbable, because the present letter is probably the one referred to in the preceding, and Letter CCXVIII,

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM¹

ON reading the letter of your Piety, we gave great thanks to God, that we had found traces of an ancient charity in the words of your epistle: for you at least did not have the experience of the many and you were not contentious about your not being the first to begin an affectionate correspondence: but, as you have learned the great reward that accrues to the saints from humility, so you chose by taking second place to appear ahead of us. For this indeed is the law of victory among Christians, and it is he who has consented to hold an inferior place that is crowned. Therefore, that we may not be wanting in the noble rivalry, behold we also in return greet your august Reverence, and make manifest our view that since by the grace of God harmony in the faith is strengthened among us, there is nothing else to hinder our being one body and one spirit, even as we have been called in one hope of our calling.² Therefore it is the duty of your Charity to give to the good beginning

in which the affair with the Lycian bishops is discussed, was written in 375. Again, the bishop to whom Basil is writing here was a Metropolitan, but the bishop of Myra, Metropolitan of Lycia, was not one of those who sought communion with Basil. Tillemont's second conjecture is more probable, that this letter was addressed to the Sympius or Symposius mentioned in the preceding letter, bishop of Seleucia, who took part in the Council of Constantinople in 381. This receives confirmation in Letter CCIV, where Basil mentions the Isaurians as in communion with him.

² Cf. Eph. 4, 4: "Ἐν σώμα καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν." "One body and one Spirit; as you are called in one hope of your calling."

συστατεῖν¹ μὲν περὶ σεαυτὸν τοὺς ὁμοψύχους, δηλώσαι δὲ καὶ χρόνον καὶ τόπον τῆς συντυχίας, ἵνα οὕτω τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι ἀπολαβόντες ἀλλήλους, τῷ ἀρχαίῳ εἶδει τῆς ἀγάπης τὰς ἐκκλησίας οἰκονομήσωμεν, τοὺς παρ' ἑκατέρου μέρους βαδίζοντας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὡς ἴδια μέλη προσιέμενοι, προπέμποντες ὡς ἐπὶ οἰκείους, καὶ ὑποδεχόμενοι² πάλιν ὡς παρ' οἰκείων. τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ποτε τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὸ καύχημα, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα μικροῖς συμβόλοις³ ἐφοδιαζόμενοι οἱ ἐξ ἑκάστης ἐκκλησίας ἀδελφοὶ πάντας πατέρας καὶ ἀδελφούς εὕρισκον ὃ νῦν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφήρηται ἡμῶν ὁ ἐχθρὸς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατὰ πόλεις περιγεγραμμέθα, καὶ ἕκαστος δι' ὑποψίας ἔχομεν τον πλησίον. καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο, ἢ ἐψύξαμεν τὴν ἀγάπην, ἀφ' ἧς μόνως τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὰς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν εἶπε χαρακτηρίζεσθαι; καὶ εἰ δοκεῖ, πρότερον αὐτοὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων γνωρίσατε ἑαυτούς, ἵνα γινώμεν πρὸς τίνας ἡμῖν ἔσται ἡ συμφωνία, καὶ οὕτως ἐκ κοινῆς συγκαταθέσεως τόπον τινὰ τοῖς⁴ ἀμφοτέροις ἀνεπαχθῆ, καὶ χρόνον ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις πρέποντα ἐκλεξάμενοι, δραμούμεθα παρ' ἀλλήλοις,⁵ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμᾶς κατευοδώσει.⁶

¹ συντάττειν tres MSS. non antiquissimī.

² ἀποδεχόμενοι editi antiq̄i.

³ συμβολαίοις editi antiq̄i.

⁴ τῶν editi antiq̄i.

⁵ ἀλλήλους editi antiq̄i.

⁶ κατευοδώσαι E.

its due sequel also,—to marshal about yourself men of like mind,¹ to designate both a time and place of meeting, in order that thus, by the grace of God, after receiving one another, we may govern the churches by the old kind of love, admitting as our own members those of the brethren who come from each part, sending forth as to intimate friends, and receiving in turn as from intimates. For this was once the boast of the Church, that when journeying with little tokens from one end of the world to the other the brethren from each church found all men as fathers and brothers: this boast along with everything else the enemy of Christ's churches has taken from us, and we are circumscribed city by city, and we each hold our neighbour in suspicion. For what else shall we say than that we have let our charity grow cold,² by which alone our Lord has said His disciples are distinguished.³ And if it seems best, do you yourselves first acquaint yourselves with one another, that we may know with whom we shall be in agreement. And thus, when by common consent we have selected a place agreeable to both parties, and a time suitable for travelling, we shall hasten to one another, and the Lord will prosper our journey. May you be in good

that the meeting aimed to bring about was effected by correspondence.

¹ Cf. Matt. 24, 12: καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν φυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν. "And because iniquity hath abounded, the charity of many shall grow cold."

² Cf. John 13, 35: ἐν τούτῳ γνώσονται πάντες ὅτι ἐμοὶ μαθηταὶ ἐστε, εἴαν ἀγάπην ἔχητε ἐν ἀλλήλοις. "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another."

¹ Whether the proposed meeting took place, and what meeting is here referred to, cannot be determined. Perhaps all

ἔρρωμένος καὶ εὐθυμος εἶης, ὑπερευχόμενός μου,
καὶ χαρισθείης μοι τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου¹ φιλανθρωπία.

CXCII

Σωφρονίῳ μαγίστρῳ.

Εἰ αὐτὸς διπλὴν ἔλαβες χάριν, ὡς αὐτὸς τῇ
ἀνυπερβλήτῳ προθυμία περὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἔργα
ἐπέστειλας ἡμῖν, μίαν μὲν τῷ² δέξασθαι γράμ-
ματα, δευτέραν δὲ τῷ³ ὑπουργῆσαι τῇ χρεία ἡμῶν
πόσῃν τινὰ χρῆ νομίζειν ἡμᾶς ἔχειν τὴν χάριν,
γράμμασί τε τῆς ἡδίστης φωνῆς ἐντυχόντας,⁴ καὶ
τὴν ἐπιζητηθεῖσαν χρείαν τοσούτῳ τάχει πληρω-
θεῖσαν ὀρώντας. ὥστε ἡδέως δεξάμενοι τὸ ἀπο-
σταλὲν διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτοῦ φύσιν, πολλῶ ἥδιον
αὐτὸ προσηκάμεθα τῷ⁵ σὲ εἶναι τὸν τῆς κατα-
σκευῆς αὐτοῦ προεστῶτα. παράσχοι δὲ ἡμῖν ὁ
Κύριος ἰδεῖν σε ἐν τάχει, ὥστε ἀπὸ γλώττης
ὁμολογήσαι τὴν χάριν, καὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἐν
σοὶ καλῶν ἀπολαῦσαι.

CXCIII

Μελετίῳ ἀρχιάτρῳ.⁶

Ἡμῖν⁷ οὐδ' ὅσον ταῖς γεράνοις ὑπάρχει τὰ
δυσχερῆ τοῦ χειμῶνος διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἕνεκα μὲν
τοῦ προιδέσθαι τὸ μέλλον οὐδὲν ἴσως τῶν

¹ Θεοῦ add. editi antiqui.

² τὸ Ε.

³ τὸ Ε.

⁴ εὐτυχούσι in ras. E.

⁵ τὸ Ε.

⁶ ἀρχιτηρῷ Medicæus MS. et duo alii recentiores; ἱατρῷ
Regius primus et Bigot.

⁷ δε add. E et Hari.

health and joyful, praying for me, and may you be
spared to me through the kindness of the Holy
One.

LETTER CXCII

TO SOPHRONIUS, THE MASTER¹

IF you yourself have received a twofold favour, as
you with your insuperable zeal for good works have
written us,—first by having received my letter, and
second by having rendered the service to us,—how
great a gratitude should we be considered to have,
both by reason of having read your letter with its
most delightful words and of seeing the service we
had sought so quickly accomplished! Therefore,
though we gladly received the message because of
its own intrinsic worth, much more gladly did we
accept it because you were the one who directed its
preparation. But may the Lord permit us to see
you soon, that we may express our gratitude orally
and enjoy all your noble qualities at one time.

LETTER CXCIII

TO MELETIUS, CHIEF PHYSICIAN²

IT is not within our power, as it is with cranes, to
flee the hardships of winter, but in foreseeing the
future we are perhaps not at all inferior to cranes—

¹ Of the year 374. For Sophronius and other letters
addressed to him, cf. Letters XXXII, LXXVI, XCVI,
CLXXVII, CCLXXXII.

² Of the year 375. All that is known of this Meletius is
derived from the present letter.

γεράνων χείρους ἐσμέν· τῷ δὲ κατὰ τὸν βίον αὐτεξουσίῳ τοσοῦτον τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀπολιμπανόμεθα, ὅσον καὶ τοῦ πέτεσθαι δύνασθαι, μικροῦ δεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ με ἀσχολίαί τινές τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων ἐπέσχαν·¹ ἔπειτα δὲ πυρετοὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ λάβροι οὕτω μου τὸ σῶμα κατεδάπανησαν, ὥστε ἐφάνη τι καὶ ἐμοῦ λεπτότερον, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμαντοῦ· εἶτα τεταρταίων προσβολαὶ πρὸς πλείου ἢ εἴκοσι διαρκέσασαι κύκλους. νυνὶ δὲ ὅτε δοκῶ τῶν πυρετῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι, οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδυναμίας διαίκεται, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐν τούτῳ ἀποδεῖν ἀραχνίου. ὅθεν μοι πᾶσα μὲν ὁδὸς ἄβρατος, πᾶσα δὲ πνεύματος προσβολὴ πλείονα φέρει τὸν κίνδυνον ἢ αἱ τρικυμῖαι τοῖς πλέουσιν. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ὑπὸ δωματίῳ κεκρῦφθαι, καὶ ἀναμένειν τὸ ἔαρ, ἐάνπερ διαρκέσαι πρὸς αὐτὸ δυνηθῶμεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιαμάρτοιμεν² ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ τοῖς σπλάγγχνους ἐνιδρυμένου. ἐὰν δὲ διασώσῃ ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος τῇ μεγάλῃ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ, ἀσμενέστατα μὲν τὴν ἐσχατιᾶν ὑμῶν καταληψόμεθα, ἀσμενέστατα δὲ σὲ τὴν φίλην ἡμῶν κεφαλὴν περιπτυσσόμεθα. μόνου εὐχου πρὸς τὸ συμφέρειν τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν οἰκονομείσθαι.

CXCIV

Ζωίλφ.

Οἷα ποιεῖς, ὦ θαυμάσιε, προλαμβάνων ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ τῆς ταπεινώσεως μέτρον; ὅς γε τοιούτους

¹ κατέσχαν editi antiq̄i.² διαμάρτοιμεν E; προδιαρπασθῶμεν, "are snatched away beforehand." Vaticanus et Claromontanus

although as regards freedom of life we are as far behind birds almost as in ability to fly. For in the first place certain duties of the business of life have detained me: and secondly, continuous and violent fevers have so wasted my body that there has appeared to be something even thinner than I—myself thinner than myself! Furthermore, there are the attacks of quartan fever which have lasted for more than twenty cycles. And now when I seem to be free from the fevers, I am in such a condition from weakness that in thinness I do not fall short of a spider's web. Wherefore, every road is impassable to me, and every puff of wind brings greater danger than the largest waves to those at sea. It is necessary, therefore, to keep under cover at home, and to await the spring—if we shall only be able to last till then instead of collapsing utterly beforehand through the disease which is settled in our inwards. But if the Lord by His mighty hand brings us through safely, most gladly shall we come to your distant land, and most gladly shall we embrace your dear self. Only pray that our life be ordered according to our soul's advantage.

LETTER CXCIV

To ZOILUS¹

AM me, admirable sir, why do you anticipate us in the measure of humility—you who, though so

¹ Of the year 375. All that can be determined about this Zoilus is derived from the present letter.

ὦν τὴν παιδευσιν, καὶ οὕτως εἰδὼς ἐπιστέλλειν, ὡς δηλοῖ τὰ γράμματα, ὅμως ἀξιοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τολμηροτέρα τινὶ ἐγχειρήσει καὶ ὑπερβαινούση σου τὴν ἀξίαν, συγγνώμης παρ' ἡμῶν τυγχάνειν. ἀλλὰ τῆς εἰρωνείας ταύτης ἀφέμενος, ἐπιστέλλει ὑμῖν διὰ πάσης προφάσεως, εἴτε γὰρ ἡμῶν λόγων μέτεστιν, ἥδιστα λογιῶν ἀνδρῶν γράμμασιν ἐντευξόμεθα· εἴτε καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης καλὸν ὅσον ἐστὶ παρὰ τῆς Γραφῆς πεπαιδευμένα, τοῦ παντὸς ἀξίαν τιθέμεθα ἀνδρῶν ἀγαπῶντος ἡμᾶς ὁμίλιαν. εἴη δὲ σε γράφειν ἢ εὐχόμεθα σοὶ ἀγαθά, ὑγίαιαν σώματος καὶ εὐθηρίαν οἴκου παντός.

Τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα μηδὲν ἀνεκτότερα γίνωσκε τῆς συνηθείας εἶναι. ἀρκεῖ δὲ τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐνδείξασθαι σοὶ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν τὴν ἀσθένειαν. τὴν γὰρ νῦν κατέχουσιν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ ἀρρωστεῖν ὑπερβολήν, οὔτε λόγῳ ἐνδείξασθαι βᾶδιον, οὔτε ἔργῳ πεισθῆναι, εἰπερ ἐκείνων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἦδεις, εὐρέθη τι πλείον παρ' ἡμῶν¹ εἰς ἀρρωστίαν. Θεοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔργον δοῦναι ἡμῖν δύναμιν, πρὸς τὸ ἐν ὑπομονῇ φέρειν τὰς ἐπὶ συμφέροντι ἡμῖν ἐπαγομένας εἰς τὸ σῶμα πληγὰς παρὰ τοῦ εὐεργετοῦντος ἡμᾶς Κυρίου.

CXCV

Εὐφρονίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Κολωνείας Ἰερουσαλὴμ.

Διὰ τὸ μακρὰν ἀπφικίσθαι τῶν ὁδευομένων τοπων τὴν Κολώνειαν, ἣν ὁ Κύριος ἔδωκεν ὑπὸ

¹ ἡμῶν E; ἡμῶν alii MSS. et editi.

highly educated and so versed in writing, as your letter shows, nevertheless, as if in some undertaking quite bold and beyond your rank, ask to obtain pardon from us! But drop this pretence, and write to us on every pretext. For if we have any claim to eloquence, most gladly shall we read the letters of an eloquent man: and if we have learned from Scripture how great is the good of love, of all worth do we regard correspondence with a man who loves us. And may it be possible for you to write of the blessings that we pray for you—health of body and the well-being of your whole house.

But, as for our own affairs, rest assured that they are no more tolerable than usual. And it is enough to say so much, and to indicate to you the weakness of our body. For, regarding the excessive sickness that now possesses us, it is easy neither to describe it with words nor to be convinced of it in fact, if indeed anything in the way of sickness has been found greater in my own case than what you yourself have known. But it is the work of the good God to give us strength to endure with patience the blows that for our benefit are inflicted upon our body by the Lord who blesses us.

LETTER CXCV

TO EUPHRONIUS, BISHOP OF COLONIA IN ARMENIA¹

SINCE Colonia which the Lord has given to be guided by you is situated far from traversed places, although

¹ Of the year 375. This Euphronius was later made Metropolitan of Nicopolis. Cf. Letters CCXXVII, CCXXVIII, CCXXIX, and CCXXX.

σοι διυθύνεσθαι, πολλάκις κὰν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιστέλλωμεν¹ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν, ὀκνηρῶς πέμπομεν γράμματα πρὸς τὴν εὐλάβειάν σου, μηδένα ἐλπίζοντες εἶναι² τὸν μέχρις ἐκείνων διακομίζοντα. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἡ αὐτὸν σε παρέσεσθαι³ προσδοκῶντες, ἢ διαπεμφθῆσεσθαι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων οἷς ἐπεστείλαμεν, καὶ γράφομεν τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ σου, καὶ προσαγορευόμεν σε διὰ τοῦ γράμματος, ὁμοῦ μὲν σημαίνοντες ὅτι δοκοῦμεν ἐτι εἶναι ὑπὲρ τῆς⁴ γῆς, ὁμοῦ δὲ παρακαλοῦντες προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὁ Κύριος ἐλαττώσῃ τὰς θλίψεις, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦτο βάρος τῆς ὀδύνης τῆς νῦν ἐπικειμένης ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, οἷον τι νέφος, ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀπαγάγῃ. ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο εἰὰν ταχείᾳ δῶ τὴν ἐπάνοδον τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις, οἳ νῦν εἰσιν ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, δίκας διδόντες ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας.

CXCVI

Ἐβουργίῳ.

Διάττειν σε ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας, ἄλλοτε κατ' ἄλλο μέρος τῆς βαρβαρικῆς ἀνίσχοντα, νῦν μὲν σιτηρέσια στρατιωτικὰ παρέχοντα,⁵ νῦν δὲ βασιλεῖ φαινόμενον μετὰ λαμπροῦ τοῦ σχήματος, ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄγγελος φήμη ἀγγέλλουσα ἡμῖν⁶ οὐ διαλείπει. εὐχόμεθα δὲ τῷ Θεῷ, κατὰ λόγον⁷

¹ ἐπιστέλλωμεν E.² εἶναι om. E.³ παραθέσθαι E.⁴ om. E.⁵ στρατιωτικὰ παρέχοντα] τῶν στρατιωτικῶν editi antiqui.⁶ ἡμῶν E.⁷ νούν Combesisius.

we often write to the other brethren in Armenia Minor, we send a letter to your Piety with reluctance, expecting that there will be no one to convey it to that distant spot. But now, hoping either that you yourself will be present or that our letter will be forwarded by the bishops to whom we have sent it, we are writing to your Piety, and salute you by letter, both informing you that we seem to be still above the ground and exhorting you to pray for us, that the Lord may lighten our afflictions, and drive from us this great weight of pain which now rests upon our heart like a kind of cloud. And this will come to us, if He will grant a speedy return for those most God-beloved bishops who are now in dispersion, paying the penalty for their orthodoxy.

LETTER CXCVI

TO ABURGUS¹

THAT you are darting hither and yon like a star, arising now here now there in the barbarian land, now furnishing provisions to the army, and now appearing before the Emperor in resplendent array, fame, the messenger of good tidings, does not cease to announce to us. And we pray God that, with

¹ Of the year 375. For Aburgius, an old friend and fellow-countryman of Basil's, cf. Letters XXXIII, LXXV, CLXXVIII and CCCIV. The present letter appears also as Letter CCXLI of Gregory Nazianzene, where the title is read Ἐβουργίῳ.

σοι προΐουσαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἐπὶ μέγα σε προσελθεῖν, καὶ φανῆναι ποτε τῇ πατρίδι. ἕως ἔσμεν ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τοῦτον ἀνέλκομεν.¹ τοσοῦτον γὰρ μέτεστω ἡμῖν τοῦ βίου, ὅσον ἀναπνεῖν μόνον.

CXCVII

Ἀμβροσίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Μεδιολάνων.

Μεγάλαι αἰεὶ καὶ πολλαὶ τοῦ Δεσπότου ἡμῶν αἱ δωρεαί, καὶ οὔτε τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν μετρητὸν, οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος ἀριθμητὸν. μία δὲ τῶν μεγίστων δωρεῶν ἐστὶ τοῖς εὐαισθητῶς δεχομένοις τὰς χάριτας καὶ ἡ παροῦσα αὕτη, ὅτι πλείστον² ἡμᾶς τῇ θέσει τοῦ τόπου διηρημένους ἔδωκεν ἀλλήλοις συνάπτεσθαι διὰ τῆς ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι προσφωνήσεως. καὶ γνώσεως τρόπον διττὸν ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο· ἓνα μὲν διὰ τῆς συντυχίας, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν διὰ τῆς τοῦ γράμματος ὁμιλίας. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐγνωρίσαμεν σε δι' ὧν ἐφθέγγω, καὶ ἐγνωρίσαμεν, οὐ τὸν σωματικὸν χαρακτήρα ταῖς μνήμαις ἡμῶν ἐντυπωσάμενοι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἔσω ἀνθρώπου τὸ κάλλος τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῶν λόγων καταμαθόντες, ὅτι ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ περισεύματος τῆς καρδίας λαλεῖ, ἔδοξάσαμεν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν, τὸν καθ' ἐκάστην γενεὰν ἐκλεγόμενον τοὺς αὐτῷ εὐαρεστούντας· ὃς πρότερον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ποιμνίων τῶν προβύτων ἤγειρεν ἄρχοντα

¹ ἔλκομεν editi antiq̄i.

² πλείον editi. Paris.

¹ Written in 375 to St. Ambrose, who had been elevated to the archiepiscopate of Milan only the year before. This letter

your enterprise proceeding in accordance with your plan, you may approach very near, and may show yourself at some time in our native land, while we are above the earth and breathe this air. For the only part we have in life is that we still breathe.

LETTER CXCVII

TO AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN¹

Even great and many are the gifts of our Master, and neither can their greatness be measured nor their multitude enumerated. And one of the greatest gifts to those who are sensible of receiving his benefits is even this present one—that he has granted us who are very widely separated by an interval of space to be united to each other through communication by letter. And a double means of acquaintance has He granted us: one by meeting, and the other through intercourse by letter. Since, then, we have become acquainted with you through what you have said, and since we have become acquainted with you, not by having your bodily characteristics imprinted upon our memory, but by coming to know the beauty of the inner man through the variety of his discourse,—because each of us speaketh out of the abundance of the heart,²—we have glorified our God who chooses in every generation those who are pleasing to Him; who once selected from his sheepfold a leader for his

is an answer to a request that the relics of St. Dionysius of Milan who died in Cappadocia be returned to his native city.

² Cf. Matt. 12, 34: ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ περισεύματος τῆς καρδίας τὸ σῶμα λαλεῖ. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."

τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἀμῶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰπολίου ἐνδυναμώσας διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὕψωσεν εἰς προφήτην· ἔνν δὲ ἄνδρα ἐκ τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως, ἀρχὴν ὄλου ἔθνους πεπιστευμένον, ὑψηλὸν τῷ φρονήματι, γένους λαμπρότητι, περιφανείᾳ βίου, λόγων δυνάμει, πασι¹ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον περιβλεπτον, εἴκλευσεν εἰς τὴν τῶν ποιμνίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιμέλειαν· ὃς πάντα ῥίψας τὰ τοῦ βίου πλεονεκτήματα καὶ ἠγησάμενος αὐτὰ ζημίαν ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσῃ,² τοὺς οἰακας δέξασθαι ἐπετράπη³ τῆς μεγάλης καὶ περιβοήτου νηὸς ἐπὶ τῇ εἰς Θεὸν⁴ πίστει, τοῦ Χριστοῦ⁵ Ἐκκλησίας, ἄγε τοίνυν, ὦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρ' ἀνθρώπων παρέλαβες ἢ ἐδιδάχθης τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς σε ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ τῶν κριτῶν τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν καθέδραν⁶ τῶν ἀποστόλων μετέθηκεν, ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα, διόρθωσαι τὰ ἀρρωστήματα τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰ τινος ἄρα τὸ πάθος τῆς Ἀρειανῆς⁷ μανίας ἤψατο· ἀνανέωσαι τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῶν πατέρων ἴχνη, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπης ὃν κατεβάλου⁸ θεμέλιον ἐποικοδομεῖν σπουδάξῃ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν προσήσεων, οὕτω γὰρ δυνασόμεθα ἐγγύς ἀλλήλων εἶναι τῷ πνεύματι, εἰ καὶ τῇ αἰκήσει τῇ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς παμπληθὲς ἀποκίσμεθα.

¹ πράγμασι editi antiqui; ἔργοις edit. Hagan.

² κερδήσῃ Harl. et. Medic.

³ ἐπετράπη Harl. et. Medice.

⁴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ] τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐ.

⁵ προσερίαν editi antiqui.

⁶ Ἀρειανικῆς editi antiqui.

⁷ κατεβάλλου τοῦτον editi antiqui.

⁸ Χριστὸν Ἐ.

people,¹ and having strengthened Amos² through the Holy Spirit raised him from his goat-pen to be a prophet; and now from the imperial city He has drawn for the care of Christ's flock a man entrusted with the government of a whole nation, a man eminent for intellect, illustrious lineage, prominence in life, and power of speech, an object of admiration to all of this world, a man who, having cast aside all the advantages of life and having counted them as loss that he might gain Christ,³ has been entrusted to receive the tiller of the great ship famous for its faith in God, even the Church of Christ. Come then, O man of God—since not from men have you received or been taught the gospel of Christ, but the Lord Himself has transferred you from the judges of the earth to the seat of the Apostles—fight the good fight; correct the infirmities of the people, in case the disease of the Arian madness has indeed touched any; renew the ancient footsteps of the Fathers; and hasten to build upon the foundation which you have already laid of your love for us by the continuance of your salutations. For thus we shall be able to be near each other in spirit, even if in our earthly habitation we are most widely separated.

¹ Cf. Psal. 77. 70: καὶ ἐξελέξατο Δαυεὶδ τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ποιμνίων τῶν προβάτων. "And he chose his servant David, and took him from the flocks of sheep."

² Cf. Amos 1. 1.

³ Cf. Phil. 3. 8: ἀλλὰ μενούργε καὶ ἠγοῦμαι πάντα ζημίαν εἶναι διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου μου, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα ἐζημιώθηνα· καὶ ἠγοῦμαι ἀκύβηλα εἶναι, ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω. "Furthermore, I count all things to be but loss for the excellent knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord; for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them but as dung, that I may gain Christ."

Ἡ¹ δὲ περὶ τὸν μακαριώτατον Διονύσιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον φιλοτιμία σου καὶ σπουδὴ πᾶσάν σοι μαρτυρεῖ ἀγάπην πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, τιμὴν εἰς τοὺς προλαβόντας, σπουδὴν περὶ τὴν πίστιν. ἡ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς εὐνοὺς τῶν ὁμοδούλων διάθεσις τῆν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Δεσπότην ἔχει, ᾧ δεδουλευκασί· καὶ ὁ τοὺς διὰ πίστιν ἠθληκότας τιμῶν δῆλός ἐστι τὸν ἴσον ζῆλον ἔχων τῆς πίστεως, ὥστε μία αὕτη πράξις πολλῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχει τὴν μαρτυρίαν. γνωρίζομεν δέ σου τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγάπῃ, ὅτι οἱ σπουδαιότατοι ἀδελφοί, οἱ παρὰ τῆς εὐλαβείας σου εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔργου διακονίαν προτιμηθέντες, πρῶτον μὲν παντὶ τῷ κλήρῳ ἔπαινον ἠνεγκαν διὰ τῆς ἐμμελείας τῶν τρόπων· ἐν γὰρ τῇ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς εὐσχημοσύνη τὸ κοινὸν πάντων εὐσταθὲς κατεμήνου· ἔπειτα πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ ἐμμελείᾳ χρησάμενοι, κατετόλμησαν μὲν χειμῶνος ἀβάτου, ἔπεισαν δὲ μετὰ πάσης εὐτονίας τοὺς πιστοὺς φύλακας τοῦ μακαρίου σώματος τὰ φυλακτήρια τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς παραχωρῆσαι τούτοις. καὶ γίνωσκε ὅτι οὔτε ἀρχαὶ οὔτε δυναστεῖαι ἀνθρώπων ἐξίσχυσαν ἂν ποτε βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους, εἰ μὴ τὸ εὐτονον τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν ἀδελφῶν τούτων ἐξεδυσώπησεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν συγχώρησιν. συνηργήσε δὲ μάλιστα πρὸς τὸ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ σπουδαζόμενα καὶ ἡ παρουσία τοῦ ποθεινοτάτου καὶ εὐλαβεστάτου υἱοῦ ἡμῶν Θερασίου

¹ Hinc ad finem om. E.

¹ Successor of Protasius as bishop of Milan A.D. 346. He is mentioned in connexion with the Council of Milan, A.D. 335. Through the influence of the Emperor Constantius he was

Now your warm interest and zeal regarding the most blessed bishop Dionysius¹ bear witness to your complete love of the Lord, your respect for your predecessors, and your zeal for the faith. For a man's disposition toward the loyal among his fellow-servants has as its basis² the Master whom they have served, and he who honours those who have contended for the faith shows that he has an equal zeal for the faith, so that this one act of yours bears witness to much virtue. But we are informing your Charity³ in Christ that the most zealous brethren who have been chosen by your Piety for the execution of the good work⁴ have first of all brought praise upon all the clergy by reason of the consistency of their character; for in the decorum that has characterized them they have revealed the steadfastness common to all. Secondly, employing all zeal and propriety, they braved an impassable winter, and persuaded the faithful guardians of the blessed body with all persistency to yield to them the safeguarding of their own lives. And rest assured that neither governments nor dominions of men would ever have availed to overpower those men, if the persistency of purpose of these brethren had not shamed them into acquiescence. But in accomplishing the object of their zeal the presence of our most beloved and pious son Therasius,⁵

induced to sign a document partially condemnatory of St. Athanasius, but his name is said to have been erased by Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli. He was banished by the Emperor to Cappadocia, where he died A.D. 374.

² Lit., is referable to the Master.

³ A Byzantine title which is very common and usually employed when addressing bishops.

⁴ The action taken regarding Dionysius.

⁵ This Therasius is not otherwise known.

τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου, ὃς αὐθαιρέτως τὸν κόπον τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ὑποδεξάμενος, ἔπαυσε μὲν τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς ὀρμῆς τῶν ἐκεῖ πιστῶν, λόγῳ δὲ συμπίσας τοὺς ἀντεχομένους, ἐπὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν Κύριον μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης εὐλαβείας ἀνελόμενος τὰ λείψανα, συνδιδάσασε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· ἃ μετὰ τοσαύτης χαρᾶς ὑποδέξασθε, μεθ' ὧσης λύπης προέπεμψαν οἱ φυλάσσοντες. μηδεὶς διακρινέσθω· μηδεὶς ἀμφιβαλλέτω· οὐτός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀήττητος ἀθλητής. ταῦτα γνωρίζει τὰ ὄστα ὁ Κύριος, τὰ συνδιαθλήσαντα τῇ μακαρίᾳ ψυχῇ. ταῦτα μετ' αὐτῆς στεφανώσει ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως αὐτοῦ τῇ δικαίᾳ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· ὅτι δεῖ ἡμᾶς παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομισῆται ἕκαστος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξε διὰ τοῦ σώματος. μία λάρναξ ἦν ἡ ὑποδεξαμένη τὸ τίμιον ἐκεῖνο σώμα· οὐδεὶς ὁ πλησίον αὐτοῦ κατακείμενος· ἐπίσημος ἢ ταφή· μάρτυρος ἢ τιμῆ. Χριστιανοὶ οἱ ξενίσαντες καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ κατέθετο τότε, καὶ ἀνείλοντο νῦν· οὗτοι ἐκλανσαν μὲν ὡς πατέρος καὶ προστάτου στερούμενοι· προέπεμψαν δέ, τὴν ὑμετέραν

¹ Cf. Rom. 4. 20: εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει, etc., "In the promise also of God he staggered not by distrust; but was strengthened in faith, etc." Basil's almost unreasonably insistency on the authenticity of the relics may be easily explained. The abuse of relics, which assumed such great dimensions a little later, was already at this time causing considerable concern. The Western Church, however, was far more careful and scrupulous in the handling and treatment of relics. Hence, the sending of clerics by Ambrose, and the

fellow-presbyter, contributed especially, for, after voluntarily assuming the toils of the journey, he put down the violent attacks of the faithful there, and, after persuading the refractory by his words, in the presence of presbyters and deacons and many others of those who feared the Lord, he took up the relics with becoming piety and helped the brethren to preserve them. Do you receive these relics with joy as great as the grief with which their guardians have sent them on. Let no one stagger,¹ let no one be uncertain: this is indeed that unconquerable athlete. These bones the Lord recognizes, for they shared in the contest along with the blessed departed's soul. These and also it will He crown on the righteous day of His requital, according to what is written: "We must stand before the judgment seat of Christ that everyone may receive according as he hath done in the body."² One coffin it was that received that honoured body: no one lay beside him: glorious was his burial: worthy of a martyr his honour. Christians, who had received him as a guest, with their own hands laid him away then and have taken him up now. They wept as though they were being bereft of a father and protector: but they sent him on, considering your joy of

assurances of the piety and the care of those "who have surrendered" and those "who have received" mentioned in this letter.

² Cf. 2 Cor. 5. 10: τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομισῆται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθόν, εἴτε κακόν. "For we must all be manifested before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the proper things of the body, according as he hath done, whether it be good or evil." Cf. also Rom. 14. 10.

χαρὰν τῆς ἰδίας παρακλήσεως προτιμότεραν θέμενοι. οἱ παραδόντες τοῖνυν εὐλαβεῖς· οἱ ὑποδεξάμενοι ἀκριβεῖς. οὐδαμοῦ ψεῦδος, οὐδαμοῦ δόλος· μαρτυροῦμεν ἡμεῖς· ἀσυκοφάντητος ἔστω παρ' ὑμῶν ἡ ἀλήθεια.

CXCVIII

Εὐσεβίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων.¹

Μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀφφικιαλίων κομισθεῖσαν ἡμῖν, μίαν ἄλλην ἐδεξάμην μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποσταλεῖσαν. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπεστείλαμεν, οὐ πολλὰς μὲν, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ² ἐπιτυχεῖν τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφικνουμένων, πλὴν πλείους τῶν τεσσάρων, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Σαμοσάτων κομισθεῖσας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις γράμμασι τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας ἐσφραγισμένας διεπεμψάμεθα τῷ αἰδεσιμωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ Λεοντίῳ τῷ ἐξισωτῇ τῆς Νικαίας, παρακαλέσαντες δι' ἐκείνου τῷ φροντίζοντι τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου ἀδελφοῦ

¹ τῷ αὐτῷ ὄντι ἐν ἐξορίᾳ καθ' ἃ μὴ δυναθῆ τινασ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων πρὸς αὐτὸν στείλαι Reg. secund., Coisl. secund. et Paris.

² ἐπεστείλαμεν—μηδὲ om. E.

¹ Written in the spring of 375. Cf. Loofs 22, 46, note 5. For Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, cf. the previous letters addressed to him: Letters XXVII, XXX, XXXI, XXXIV, XLVII, XLVIII, XCV, XCVIII, C, CXXVII, CXXVIII,

greater worth than their own consolation. Therefore, they who have surrendered him are pious; they who have received him are scrupulously strict. Nowhere has there been deceit; nowhere fraud, we ourselves bear witness to this; let the truth be free from all calumny on your part.

LETTER CXCVIII

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA¹

AFTER the letter that was conveyed to us by the *officiales*,² I thereupon received another which had been sent to us. And we ourselves have sent letters—not many indeed, because of our not meeting with people going in your direction, but more than four—among which also, following the first letter of your Godliness, were those conveyed to us from Samosata which we have sent on under seal to our most revered brother Leontius,³ the Peraequator⁴ of Nicaea, urging that through him they be given over to the steward of the household of our most revered brother

CXXXVI, etc. Three MSS. (Reg. secundus, Coisl. secundus, Paris) place the following beside the title: *Τῷ αὐτῷ ὄντι ἐν ἐξορίᾳ καθ' ἃ μὴ δυναθῆ τινασ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων πρὸς αὐτὸν στείλαι.* "To the same who is in exile, telling why he was unable to send some of his presbyters to him."

³ According to the Benedictine editors, by this term is meant "Omnium dignitatum sive civilium, sive Palatinarum sive militarium apparitores."

² Nothing is known of this Leontinus except from this letter.

⁴ Officials who made local and extraordinary revisions in the census after Diocletian. They were chosen either from old magistrates or from the chief municipalities.

Σωφρονίου ἀποκομισθῆναι, ὥστε ἐκεῖνον ἐπιμελεθῆναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς¹ διακομιδῆς. ἐπεὶ οὖν πολλὰς διαβαίνοσι χεῖρας αἱ ἐπιστολαί, εἰκὸς τὴν παρὰ ἓνα ἀσχολίαν ἢ ῥαθυμίαν αἰτίαν γενέσθαι τοῦ μὴ ὑποδέχεσθαι² τὴν σὴν εὐλάβειαν. ὥστε συγγνώμην ἔχε, παρακαλοῦμεν, τῇ σπάνει τῶν γραμμάτων.

Τὸ δέ, ὅτι ἀποστεῖλαι τινα δέον ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐποίησαμεν τοῦτο, αὐτὸς μὲν τῇ σεαυτοῦ συνέσει ὀρθῶς ἐπεξήτησας³ καὶ καθήψω ἡμῶν γίνωσκε δὲ τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν χειμῶνα τοσαύτου γεγενῆσθαι, ὥστε πάσας μὲν ὁδοὺς ἐγκλεισθῆναι μέχρι τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα, μηδένα δὲ ἡμᾶς ἔχειν τὸν εὐθαρσῶς πρὸς τὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ δυσχερῆ διακείμενον. καὶ γάρ, εἰ καὶ πολυάνθρωπόν πως εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ ἱερατεῖον ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀμελετήτως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὰς ὁδοιπορίας, διὰ τὸ μῆτε ἐμπορεύεσθαι μήτε τὴν ἔξω διατριβὴν αἰρεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐδραίας τῶν τεχνῶν μεταχειρίζεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἐκεῖθεν ἔχοντας τὴν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ ἐφημέρου⁴ βίου. αὐτίκα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦτον, ὃν νῦν ἀπεστείλαμεν πρὸς τὴν εὐλάβειάν σου ἐκ τῆς χώρας μεταστειλάμενοι, ἔχρησάμεθα αὐτῷ διακομῆ τῶν πρὸς τὴν σὴν ὁσιότητα γραμμάτων, ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα σαφῶς διαγγείλῃ, καὶ τὰ αὐτόθεν ἡμῖν ἐιργῶς καὶ ταχέως τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι διακομίσῃ. καὶ τὸν ποθεινότατον ἀδελφὸν Εὐσέβιον τὸν ἀναγνώστην πάλαι ἐπειγόμενον πρὸς τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐπέσχομεν, τὸ τῶν ἀέρων εὐκραεὲς ἀναμένοντες. καὶ νῦν μέντοι ἐν φροντίδι οὐ τῇ τυχοῦσῃ εἰμί, μήποτε αὐτῷ τὸ περὶ τὰς ὁδοιπορίας ἀηθές

Sophronius,¹ so that he may see to their conveyance to you. Since, therefore, the letters pass through many hands it is likely that press of business on the part of someone or carelessness is the cause of your Piety's not receiving them. So grant pardon, we beg, for the infrequency of our letters.

But as to the fact that, when we should have sent some one directly from ourselves, we did not do so, you in turn in keeping with your sagacity have rightly inquired and reprehended us. Yet you should know that the winter here among us has been so severe that all roads were closed until the days of Easter, and we had no one courageously enough disposed to face the hardships of the journey. For even if our clergy seems to be numerous, yet it is composed of men who are unpractised in travel, because they do not go trafficking nor follow the out-of-doors life, but generally practise the sedentary arts, deriving therefrom the means for their daily livelihood. Take for instance this brother whom we have sent to your Piety: we have summoned him from the country and have employed him as the carrier of our letters to your Holiness, in order that he may both inform you clearly as to our affairs and by God's grace report to us clearly and speedily news from you. And we have detained, awaiting mild weather, our most desired brother Eusebius,² the reader, who has long been anxious to go forth to your Godliness. But for the present I am under no slight concern lest his inexperience in travelling produce in him an

¹ Otherwise unknown.² Otherwise unknown.¹ ἡμᾶς editi antiq̄i.² ἀποδέχεσθαι editi antiq̄i.³ ἐπεξήτησας editi antiq̄i.⁴ ἐφ' ἡμέραν editi antiq̄i.

ξενισμὸν ἐμποίησῃ, καὶ ἀρρωστίας αἰτίαν παρὰ ῥάσχη τῷ σώματι εὐαφόρμως ἔχοντι πρὸς τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

Τὰ μέντοι καινοτομηθέντα περὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν περιττὸν ἡμᾶς ἐστὶ διὰ γραμμάτων σημαίνειν, αὐτῶν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀκριβῶς δυναμένων ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν διαγγεῖλαι. γίνωσκε δέ, τιμιωτάτῃ μοι κεφαλῇ, ὅτι ἠίκα ταῦτα ἐπέστελλον, οὕτω διεκέμην φαύλως, ὥστε πάσας με λοιπὸν τοῦ ζῆντας ἐλπίδας ἐπιλελοιπέναι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐξαριθμήσασθαι δυνατὸν τῶν ἐπιγινομένων μοι συμπτωμάτων τὸ πλήθος, καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πυρετῶν, καὶ τὴν κακοήθειαν ὅποια.¹ πλὴν ὅτι ἐκ πάντων ἐν τῷ συναγόμενον, πληρῶσαι ἡμᾶς λοιπὸν τὸν χρόνον τῆς παροικίας τοῦ δυστήνου τούτου καὶ ὀδυνηροῦ βίου.

CXCIX

KANONIKH B'

Ἀμφιλοχίῳ περὶ κανόνων.

Πάλαι² πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τῆς εὐλαβείας σου προταθείσας³ ἡμῖν ἐρωτήσεις ἀποκρινάμενος, οὐκ ἀπέστειλα τὸ γράμμα, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρωστίας τῆς μακρᾶς καὶ ἐπικινδύνου ἀσχοληθείς, τοῦτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν διακονουμένων. ὀλίγοι⁴ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ὁδοῦ ἔμπειροι καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ὑπηρεσίας.

¹ *desolam editi antiq.*

² *Deest initium huius epistolae in pluribus MSS. usque ad verba ἡρώτησας ἡμᾶς.*

injurious effect, and bring about a cause for illness in his body, which is subject to ill-health.

However, it is superfluous for us to make known by letter such innovations as have been made in the East, since the brethren themselves are able to give you accurate information on their own account. But you should know, my most honoured friend, that as I write these words, I am so wretchedly disposed that all hope of continuing to live has left me. For it is not possible even to enumerate the multitude of misfortunes that come upon me, and to tell of my illness and the intensity of my fevers, and the nature of my evil plight: except that from all these one conclusion is to be drawn—we have already fulfilled the time of our sojourn in this miserable and painful life.

LETTER CXCIX

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, ON THE CANONS¹

SOME time ago, after having composed a reply to certain questions proposed to us by your Piety, I did not send the letter, being busied on the one hand with my long and dangerous illness, and because on the other of the lack of messengers. For few are those among us who are both experienced in travelling and prepared for such services.

¹ *Written in 375. Cf. introductory note of Letter CLXXXVIII.*

² *προτεθείσας editi antiq.*

⁴ *καὶ add. E.*

ὥστε μαθῶν τὰς αἰτίας τῆς βραδυτήτος, δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν συγγνώμην.

Ἐθαυμάσαμεν δέ σου τὴν φιλομάθειαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην, ὅτι καὶ μαθεῖν καταδέχη, τὴν τοῦ διδάσκειν τάξιν πεπιστευμένος, καὶ μαυθάνειν παρ' ἡμῶν, οἷς οὐδὲν μέγα προσέστι πρὸς¹ γνώσιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ καταδέχη διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιεῖν πρᾶγμα οὐ ραδίως παρ' ἑτέρου γινόμενον, χρὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ προθυμίᾳ σου καὶ τῇ ἀγαθῇ σπουδῇ συναίρεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν.

ΙΖ' Ἡρώτησας ἡμᾶς περὶ Βιάνορος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, εἰ δεκτός ἐστιν εἰς τὸν κλῆρον, διὰ τὸν ὄρκον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδη τινα² κοινὸν ὄρον περὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁμωμοκότων τοῖς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν κληρικοῖς οἶδα ἐκτεθεικώς· ὥστε τῶν μὲν δημοσίων αὐτοὺς ἀπέχεσθαι συλλόγων, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐνεργεῖν τὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπηρεσίαν ἀδειαν αὐτῷ παρέχει, διότι οὐκ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐστὶν ἡ ἱερωσύνη, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἰκονίῳ ἦν, ὡς³ αὐτὸς ἐπέστειλας ἡμῖν, τῆς Ἀντιοχείας εἰς οἰκισμὸν ἀντηλλάξατο. ἐστὶν οὖν δεκτός ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀπαιτούμενος παρὰ τῆς εὐλαβείας σου μεταμέλестαι ἐπὶ τῇ εὐκολίᾳ τοῦ ὄρκου, ὃν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπίστου ἀνδρὸς ἐξωμόσατο, βαστάσαι⁴ τὴν ἐνόχλησιν τοῦ μικροῦ ἐκεῖνου κινδύνου μὴ δυνηθείς.

ΙΗ'. Περὶ τῶν ἐκπεσουσῶν παρθένων τῶν

¹ eis E.

² om. E.

³ καὶ add. E.

⁴ βαστάζει E.

Therefore do you, having learned the reasons for our tardiness, grant us pardon.

But we have marvelled alike at your zeal for knowledge and your humility, in that you not only consent to learn, although you have been entrusted with the office of teaching, but also to learn from us, in whom there is nothing great in the way of knowledge. But yet, since through fear of God you consent to perform an act that would not easily happen with another man, we on our part ought to co-operate with your eagerness and good zeal, even beyond our power.

XVII. You have asked us about Bianor, the presbyter, whether he is to be received among the clergy on account of his oath. Now I know that I have already issued to the clergy of Antioch a certain general rule¹ regarding all who had sworn along with him: that they should abstain from public gatherings, but should perform their priestly duties in private. And this very fact too grants him freedom for the performance of his duties—that the sphere of his functions is not at Antioch, but at Iconium; which city, as you yourself have written to us, he has selected for residence in place of Antioch. Therefore that man is to be received after being asked by your Piety to feel repentance for the rashness of the oath which he swore before the unbeliever,² when he was unable to endure the annoyance of that trifling danger.

XVIII. Concerning fallen virgins who, after pro-

² The Benedictine editors think that the "unbeliever" was some influential Arian at Antioch, who had taken advantage of the bishop Meletius to impose on the clergy some unorthodox oath.

¹ This letter is not extant.

καθομολογησαμένων τὸν ἐν σεμνότητι βίον τῷ Κυρίῳ, εἶτα διὰ τὸ ὑποπεσεῖν τοῖς πάθεσι τῆς σαρκὸς ἀθετουσῶν τὰς ἑαυτῶν συνθήκας, οἱ μὲν πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀπλῶς¹ καὶ πρῶως συμπεριφερόμενοι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις τῶν κατολισθαιόντων, ἐνομοθέτησαν δεκτὰς εἶναι μετὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν θυγάμων διαταξάμενοι. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, ἐπειδὴ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι προϊούσα ἡ Ἐκκλησία, κραταιότερα γίνεται, καὶ πληθύνεται νῦν τὸ τάγμα τῶν παρθένων, προσέχεται ἀκριβῶς τῷ τε κατ' ἐννοίαν φαινομένῳ πράγματι, καὶ τῇ τῆς Γραφῆς διανοίᾳ, ἣν δυνατὸν ἐξευρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκολουθοῦ. χηρεία γὰρ παρθενίας ἐλάττων² οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ τῶν χηρῶν ἀμάρτημα πολλῶ δεύτερον ἐστὶ τοῦ τῶν παρθένων. Ἰδόμεν τοίνυν τί γέγραπται Τιμοθέῳ παρὰ τοῦ Παύλου. Νεωτέρας δὲ χήρας παραιτοῦ. ὅταν γὰρ καταστρηιάσῃσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, γαρμῆν θέλουσιν, ἔχουσαι κρίμα, ὅτι τὴν πρώτην πίστιν ἠθέτησαν. εἰ τοίνυν χήρα κρίματι ὑπόκειται βαρυστάτη, ὡς τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ἀθετήσασα πίστιν, τί χρὴ λογίζεσθαι ἡμᾶς περὶ τῆς παρθένου, ἥτις νύμφη ἐστὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ σκεδὸς ἱερὸν ἀνατεθὲν τῷ Δεσπότη; μέγα μὲν ἀμάρτημα καὶ δούλην λαθραίοις γάμοις ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτιδοῦσαν φθορᾶς ἀναπλῆσαι τὸν οἶκον, καὶ καθυβρίζειν διὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ βίου τὸν κεκτημένον· πολλῶ δὲ δήπου χαλεπώτερον τὴν νύμφην μοιχαλίδα γενέσθαι καί, τὴν πρὸς τὸν νυμφίον ἔνωσιν ἀτιμάσασαν, ἠδοναῖς ἀκολάστοις ἑαυτὴν ἐπιδοῦναι.

¹ ἀπλῶς E et alii; ἀπλοῖκῶς nonnulli MSS.

² ἐλάττω E.

fessing to the Lord the life in holiness, then, by succumbing to the lusts of the flesh, have made their vows void, our fathers,¹ in simple terms and gently showing indulgence to the weaknesses of the fallen, decreed that they should be received after a year, ranking them on the principle of a likeness to digamists. But it seems to me, since by God's grace the Church as it advances is becoming stronger, and the order of virgins is now increasing, that we should give strict attention both to the act as it appears to us on reflection, and to the meaning of Scripture as it is possible to discover it through inference. For widowhood is inferior to virginity: consequently the sin also of widows is much less than that of virgins. Let us see accordingly what is written to Timothy by Paul;² "But the younger widows avoid. For when they have grown wanton in Christ, they will marry: having damnation, because they have made void their first faith." If, then, a widow lies under a very heavy charge, on the ground that she has made void her faith in Christ, what must we think of the virgin who is a spouse of Christ and a sacred vessel dedicated to the Lord! A great sin indeed it is that even a handmaid giving herself over to secret marriage should fill the house with corruption, and through her evil life do an affront to her master; but it is far worse, of course, that the bride should become an adulteress and, dishonouring her union with the bridegroom, give herself over to licentious pleasures. Therefore

¹ The nineteenth canon of Ancyra decreed that "all who have taken a vow of virginity, and have broken that vow, must submit to the decrees and prescriptions concerning bigamists." Cf. Hefele, I, 218.

² 1 Tim. 5. 11, and 12.

οὐκοῦν ἡ μὲν χήρα, ὡς δούλη διεφθαρμένη, καταδικάζεται, ἡ δὲ παρθένος τῷ κρίματι τῆς μοιχαλίδος ὑπόκειται. ὥσπερ οὖν τὸν ἄλλοτρία γυναικὶ συνιόντα μοιχὸν ὀνομάζομεν, οὐ πρότερον παραδεξάμενοι εἰς κοινωνίαν, πρὶν ἢ παύσασθαι τῆς ἀμαρτίας, οὕτω δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τὴν παρθένον ἔχοντος διατεθησόμεθα. ἐκεῖνο δὲ νῦν προδιομολογείσθαι ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον, ὅτι παρθένος ὀνομάζεται ἡ ἑκουσίως ἑαυτὴν προσαγαγούσα τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ ἀποταξαμένη τῷ γάμῳ, καὶ τὸν ἐν ἀγιασμῷ βίον προτιρήσασα. τὰς δὲ ὁμολογίας¹ τότε ἐγκρίνομεν, ἀφ' οὐπερ ἂν ἡ ἡλικία τὴν τοῦ λόγου συμπλήρωσιν² ἔχη. οὐδὲ³ γὰρ τὰς παιδικὰς φωνὰς πάντως κυρίας ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἡγεῖσθαι προσήκεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰ δέκα ἕξ ἢ δέκα καὶ ἑπτὰ γενομένην ἔτη, κυρίαν οὖσαν τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀνακριθεῖσαν ἐπὶ πλείον εἶτα παραμείνας, καὶ λιπαροῦσαν διὰ ἰκεσιῶν πρὸς τὸ παραδεχθῆναι, τότε ἐγκαταλέγεσθαι χρὴ ταῖς παρθένοις, καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς τοιαύτης κυροῦν, καὶ τὴν ἀτέτησιν αὐτῆς ἀπαραιτήτως κολάζειν. πολλὰς γὰρ γονεῖς προσάγουσι καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων τινὲς πρὸ τῆς ἡλικίας, οὐκ οἰκοθεν ὀρμηθείσας πρὸς ἀγαμίαν, ἀλλὰ τι βιωτικὸν ἑαυτοῖς δικαιούμενοι. ἥς οὐ βράδιως προσδέχεσθαι δεῖ, ἕως ἂν φανερώς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν ἐρευνησῶμεν γνώμην.

¹ τὰς δὲ ὁμολογίας] τὴν δὲ ὁμολογίαν editi antiqui.

while the widow, as a corrupted handmaid, is condemned, the virgin lies under the charge of adultery.¹ Just as, therefore, we call him an adulterer who associates with the wife of another, not receiving him into communion until he cease from the sin, so clearly shall we also decree in the case of him who keeps the virgin. But we must now agree beforehand on this—that she is named a virgin who willingly has consecrated herself to the Lord, and has renounced marriage, and has preferred the life of holiness. And we sanction their professions from that time at which their age possesses the fullness of reason. For it is not proper to consider children's words entirely final in such matters, but she who is above sixteen or seventeen years, and is mistress of her faculties, who has been examined carefully and has remained constant and has persisted in her petitions for admittance, should then be enrolled among the virgins, and we should ratify the profession of said virgin, and inexorably punish her violation of it. For parents, and brothers, and other relatives bring forward many girls before the proper age, not because these girls have an inner urge toward celibacy, but in order that their relatives may provide some worldly advantage for themselves.² Such should not be received readily, until we shall have clearly examined into their own personal inclination.

¹ In Canon 58 Basil sets down a fifteen years' punishment for adultery.

² Balsamon gives, as an example, those who because of their poverty find it difficult to provide for their daughters. Zonaras gives another example, namely, that their relatives might not be obliged to supply them with a dowry. Cf. P. G. 138, 651.

² ἐμπλήρωσιν editi antiqui.

³ οὐ ἔ.

ΙΘ'. Ἄνδρῶν δὲ ὁμολογίας οὐκ ἔγνωμεν, πληρὴν ἐκ μή τινας ἑαυτοὺς τῷ τάγματι τῶν μοναζόντων ἐγκατηρίθμησαν· οὐ κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον δοκοῦσι παραδεχέσθαι τὴν ἀγαμίαν. πληρὴν καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐκείνο ἠγοῦμαι προηγέσθαι προσήκειν¹ ἐρωτᾶσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ λαμβάνεσθαι τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν ὁμολογίαν ἑναργῆ, ὥστε, ἐπειδὴν μετατίθενται πρὸς τὸν φιλόσαρκον καὶ ἡδονικὸν βίον, ὑπάγειν αὐτοὺς τῷ τῶν πορνεούτων ἐπιτιμίῳ.

Κ'. Ὅσαι γυναῖκες, ἐν αἱρέσει οὔσαι, παρθενίαν ὁμολόγησαν, εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα γάμον ἀνθείλοντο, οὐχ ἠγοῦμαι χρήναι καταδικάζεσθαι ταύτας. ὅσα γὰρ ὁ νόμος λέγει, τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ. αἱ δὲ μήπω ὑπελθοῦσαι τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐδὲ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἐπιγινώσκουσι τοῦ Δεσπότη. ὥστε δεκταὶ εἰσι τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ πάντων καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄφεσιν ἔχουσαι² ἐκ τῆς πίστεως τῆς εἰς Χριστόν. καὶ καθόλου τὰ ἐν τῷ κατηχουμένῳ βίῳ γενόμενα εἰς εὐθόμην οὐκ ἄγεται. τούτους δὲ δηλονότι ἄνευ βαπτίσματος ἡ Ἐκκλησία οὐ παραδέχεται. ὥστε ἀναγκαιότατον³ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς γενέσεως.

¹ προσήκειν E, editi antiq̄i.

² ἔχουσιν editi antiq̄i.

³ ἀναγκαιότατα Regius quidem.

¹ Basil recommends an explicit profession of the vow of chastity in place of the tacit vow which he says monks were accustomed to take. Besides nuns who lived the common life, other women living in the world sometimes took the vow of virginity. Basil states here that, in the case of a man, he knows of no such profession of celibacy, except for the monks who take a tacit vow of celibacy. He recommends that in the future an explicit vow of celibacy be exacted of the monks.

XIX. But we do not recognize the professions of men except such as have enrolled themselves in the order of monks; these seem to have taken up celibacy in silence. Yet even as regards them I think that the following course of action should precede; they should be questioned and a clear profession received from them,¹ so that whenever they return to the life of the flesh and pleasure they may undergo the punishment of fornicators.

XX. As to such women as have professed virginity while in heresy and then afterwards have preferred marriage, I do not think that these ought to be condemned.² For "What things soever the law speaketh, it speaketh to them that are in the law."³ And those who have not yet come under the yoke of Christ do not recognize the laws of the Lord. Therefore, they should be received by the Church, sharing with all the remission that is accorded in these things because of their faith in Christ. And in general such things as are committed in the catechumenical state are not called into account. But these persons, of course, the Church does not receive without baptism. Therefore it is most necessary in these cases to observe the rights of birth.⁴

² According to the Greek commentators, Basil is speaking here of those women who in heresy transgressed a vow of virginity by entering the marriage state. If they entered the Church, they were not to be called to account for their infidelity committed while they were in heresy, since they were not as yet subject to the law of the Church. Moreover, their sin had been forgiven by baptism, just as the sins committed by those in the catechumenical state. Cf. P. G. 138, 654-657.

³ Rom. 3. 19.

⁴ Probably the rights of baptism, the birth of the soul into the Church.

ΚΑ'. Εἰ ἀνὴρ γυναικὶ συνοικῶν, ἐπειδὴν μὴ ἄρκεσθεῖς τῷ γάμῳ εἰς πορνείαν ἐκπέσῃ, πόρνον κρίνομεν τὸν τοιοῦτον, καὶ πλείον αὐτὸν παρατίνομεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις· οὐ μέντοι ἔχομεν κανόνα, τῷ τῆς μοιχείας αὐτὸν ὑπαγαγεῖν¹ ἐγκλήματι, ἐὰν εἰς ἐλευθέραν γάμου ἢ ἀμαρτία γένηται· διότι ἢ μοιχαλῖς μὲν, Μιαινομένη, φησί, μιανθήσεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀναστρέψει πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα αὐτῆς· καὶ Ὁ κατέχων μοιχαλίδα ἄφρων καὶ ἀσεβής· ὁ μὲντοι πορνεύσας οὐκ ἀποκλεισθήσεται τῆς πρὸς² γυναῖκα ἑαυτοῦ συνοικήσεως· ὥστε ἢ μὲν γυνὴ ἀπὸ πορνείας ἐπανιόντα τὸν ἀνδρα αὐτῆς παραδέξεται, ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ τὴν μιανθεῖσαν τῶν οἴκων ἑαυτοῦ ἀποπέμψει. καὶ τούτων δὲ ὁ λόγος οὐ ῥαδίος· ἢ δὲ συνήθεια οὕτω κερκᾶτηκε.

ΚΒ'. Τοὺς ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς ἔχοντας γυναῖκας, εἰ μὲν ἄλλοις προμεμνηστευμένας εἶεν ἀφηρημένοι, οὐ πρότερον χρὴ παραδέχεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ ἀφελέσθαι αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπ' ἐξουσίᾳ³ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μνηστευσαμένων ποιῆσαι, εἴτε βούλουτο λαβεῖν αὐτάς, εἴτε ἀποστήναι· εἰ δὲ σχολάζουσιν τις λάβει,

¹ ἰπάγειν editi antiqui.

² τῆν add. E.

³ ἐξουσίας unus Regius.

¹ A married man who cohabited with an unmarried woman was subjected, not to the punishment for adultery (fifteen years), but to that for fornication (seven years). Cf. Canons 59 and 77. This was in accord with the Mosaic law and the Roman law, but in the Christian law any carnal intercourse in which one of the parties, either the man or woman, is married, is adultery.

² Jeremias, 3. 1. Cf. Canon 9 and note.

³ Prov. 18. 22. Cf. Canon 9 and note.

XXI. In the case of a man married to a woman, whenever not being satisfied with his marriage he falls into fornication,¹ we judge such a person a fornicator, and we hold him to a longer period in his punishment; but we have no canon which subjects him to the charge of adultery, if the sin be committed against some unmarried woman; because, it says, "The adulteress polluted shall be polluted,"² and shall not return to her husband: and "He that keepeth an adulteress is foolish and wicked."³ However, he who has committed fornication shall not be excluded from living with his wife. Therefore the wife will receive her husband when he returns from fornication,⁴ but the husband will dismiss the polluted woman from his house. But the reasoning in these matters also is not easy, but the custom has so obtained.

XXII. Regarding men who hold women by abduction, if they have carried off women who had been betrothed to others, they must not be received before they have separated from them and have placed them in the power of those to whom they were originally betrothed, whether the latter wish to receive them or to give them up.⁵ But if anyone takes a girl who is

⁴ Cf. Canon 9 and note.

⁵ The eleventh canon of Ancyra had decreed that "Damsels who are betrothed, who are afterwards carried off by others, shall be given back to those to whom they are betrothed even when they had been treated with violence." Hefele (I, 211) comments on this canon as follows: "This canon treats only of betrothed women (by the *sponsalia de futuro*), not of those who are married (by the *sponsalia de praesente*). In the case of the latter there would be no doubt as to the duty of restitution. The man who was betrothed was, moreover, at liberty to receive his affianced bride who had been carried off, or not. It was thus that Saint Basil had already decided

ἀφαιρείσθαι μὲν δεῖ, καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀποκαθιστᾶν, ἐπιτρέπει δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν οἰκείων, εἴτε γονεῖς εἴεν, εἴτε ἀδελφοί, εἴτε οἵτινες οὖν προσετώτες τῆς κόρης· κἂν μὲν ἔλθωται αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι, ἵστασθαι τὸ συνοικέσιον· ἐὰν δὲ ἀνανεύσῃ,¹ μὴ βιάζεσθαι. τὸν μὲντοι ἐκ διαφθορᾶς εἴτε λαθραίας εἴτε βιαιοτέρας γυναῖκα ἔχοντα ἀνάγκη τὸ τῆς πορνείας ἐπιγνώναι ἐπιτίμιον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τέσσαρσιν ἔτεσιν ὠρισμένη τοῖς πορνεύουσιν ἢ ἐπιτίμησις. χρῆ τῷ πρώτῳ ἐκβάλλεσθαι τῶν προσευχῶν, καὶ προσκλαίειν αὐτοὺς τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας· τῷ δευτέρῳ δεχθῆναι εἰς ἀκρόασιν· τῷ τρίτῳ εἰς μετάνοιαν· τῷ τετάρτῳ εἰς σύστασιν μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ, ἀπεχομένους τῆς προσφορᾶς· εἶτα αὐτοὺς² ἐπιτρέπεσθαι τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.

ΚΙ΄. Περὶ δὲ τῶν δύο ἀδελφᾶς γαμοῦντων, ἢ ἀδελφοῖς δυοῖν γαμονύμενων, ἐπιστολίδιον ἡμῶν ἐκπεφώνηται, οὗ τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπεστείλαμέν³ σου τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ ἰδίου γυναῖκα λαβὼν οὐ πρότερον δεχθήσεται πρὶν ἀποστῆναι αὐτῆς.

¹ ἀνανεύσει: editi antiqui.

² αὐτοῖς plures MSS.

³ ἀπέστειλα editi antiqui.

in Canon 22 of his canonical letter to Amphilocheus." There is an error here in placing Basil's decree before that of the Synod of Ancyra. The latter was held in 314, while the present letter was written in 375.

¹ Hence the consent of the parents or guardians of the girl was necessary before she could be received. Cf. Canons 38, 40, 42.

² Cf. Canons 26, where Basil advises against those guilty of fornication marrying. They may, however, be permitted to enter matrimony if they wish.

not betrothed, it is necessary to take her away and restore her to her relatives, and commit her to their discretion, whether they are parents or brothers, or whoever have authority over the maiden:¹ and if they choose to surrender her to him, the union shall be valid,² but if they refuse, violence is not to be employed. However, he who holds a wife by secret or somewhat violent seduction must acknowledge the punishment for fornication. And punishment for four years has been prescribed for fornicators. In the first year they must be excluded from the prayers,³ and weep for themselves at the door of the church: in the second year they are to be admitted to the place of the "hearers": in the third to penance: in the fourth to "standing" with the laity, abstaining from the oblation: then the communion with the Good⁴ is to be permitted them.

XXIII. Concerning those who marry two sisters, or are married to two brothers, a letter has been published by us,⁵ a copy of which we sent to your Piety. But he who takes the wife of his own brother shall not be received until he depart from her.⁶

¹ i.e. placed outside the doors of the church among the "mourners."

² i.e. Holy Communion.

³ Cf. Letter CLX, where Basil absolutely condemns the marriage of a man to the sister of his deceased wife, as being contrary to custom.

⁴ It was decreed in the second canon of the Synod of Neocaesarea: "If a woman married two brothers, she shall be excommunicated till her death; if she is in danger of death and promises in case of recovery to break off this illegitimate union, she may, as an act of mercy, be admitted to penance. If the woman or husband die in this union, the penance for the survivor will be very strict." Cf. Hefele, VII. 225.

ΚΔ'. Χήραν, τὴν καταλεγείσαν εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν χηρῶν, τοῦτέστι, τὴν διακουομένην ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἔκρινεν ὁ ἀπόστολος γαμοῦμένην παροραῖσθαι. ἀνδρὶ δὲ χηρεύσαντι οὐδεὶς ἐπίκειται νόμος, ἀλλ' ἰκανὸν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τὸ τῶν διγύμων ἐπιτίμιον. ἢ μέντοι χήρα ἑξηκονταετῆς γεγονυῖα, εἰάν ἔληται πάλιν ἀνδρὶ συνοικεῖν, οὐ καταξιώθησεται¹ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κοινωνίας, ἕως ἂν τοῦ πάθους τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας παύσηται. εἰάν μέντοι πρὸ ἑξήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμήσωμεν² αὐτήν, ἡμέτερον τὸ ἔγκλημα, οὐ τοῦ γυναιίου.

ΚΕ'. Ὁ τὴν διεφθαρμένην ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα κατέχων τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ φθορᾷ ἐπιτίμιον ὑποστήσεται, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ἔχειν συχωρηθήσεται.

ΚΖ'. Ἡ πορνεία γάμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γάμου ἀρχή. ὥστε, εἰάν ἢ δυνατὸν τοὺς κατὰ πορνείαν συναπτομένους χωρίζεσθαι, τοῦτο κράτιστον. εἰάν δὲ στέργωσιν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὸ συνοικέσιον, τὸ μὲν τῆς πορνείας ἐπιτίμιον γνωρίζτωσαν· ἀφιέσθωσαν δέ, ἵνα μὴ χειρόν τι γένηται.

ΚΖ'. Περὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, τοῦ κατ' ἄγνοιαν

¹ ἀξιώθησεται E.

² ἀριθμήσωμεν editi antiqi.

¹ i.e. must no longer be provided for out of the Church fund. From Acts 6. 1, we learn that widows were provided for by the Church. According to 1 Tim. 5. 9, those who were sixty years or over and had been married only once were permitted to perform certain temporal ministrations in the Church. It is probably to those that Basil refers as those who are enrolled among widows. Basil here considers that such widows

XXIV. The Apostle judged that a widow who is enrolled among the widows, that is, who is supported by the Church, if she marries, is to be contemned.¹ No law, however, is imposed on a widower, but for such a person the penalty for digamists is sufficient. But if a widow who is sixty years old chooses to live again with a man, she will not be deemed worthy of the communion of the Good until she ceases from the passion of impurity. If, however, we have enrolled her before her sixtieth year,² ours is the fault, not the woman's.

XXV. He who possesses as his wife one deflowered by himself will undergo the punishment for rape, but will be permitted to keep the woman.³

XXVI. Fornication is not matrimony: nay, it is not even the beginning of matrimony. Therefore, if it is possible that those joined by fornication be separated, that is best. But if they are in every way satisfied with the union, let them acknowledge the penalty for fornication:⁴ but let them be allowed to continue with each other, lest some greater evil result.

XXVII. In the case of the presbyter who through were forbidden to marry. Not all widows, however, were so forbidden. St. Paul (1 Cor. 7. 39) permitted them to marry, "but if her husband die she is at liberty; let her marry to whom she will; only in the Lord."

³ Cf. 1 Tim. 5. 9: χήρα καταλεγέσθω μὴ ἑλαττον ἐτῶν ἑξήκοντα, γεγονυῖα ἐνὸς ἀνδρός γυνή. "Let a widow be chosen of no less than threescore years of age, who hath been the wife of one husband."

⁴ Rape, like fornication, did not prevent the man from marrying the girl, if she and her parents consented; the fact of subsequent marriage, however, did not free him from the necessity of performing the penance of rape. Cf. Canon 22.

⁵ Cf. Canon 22.

ἀθέσμῳ γάμῳ περιπαρέντος, ὄρισα ἃ ἐχρῆν καθέδρας μὲν μετέχειν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἐνεργεῖν ἀπέχεσθαι. ἀρκετὸν γὰρ τῷ τοιούτῳ ἡ συγγνώμη. εὐλογεῖν δὲ ἕτερον, τὸν τὰ οἰκεία τημελεῖν ὀφείλοντα τραύματα, ἀνακόλουθον. εὐλογία γὰρ ἁγιασμοῦ μεταδόσις ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ἔχων, διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοίας παράπτωμα πῶς ἕτέρῳ μεταδώσει; μήτε τοῖνυν δημοσίᾳ μήτε ἰδίᾳ εὐλογεῖτω, μήτε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατανεμέτω ἑτέροις, μήτε τι ἄλλο λειτουργεῖτω, ἀλλὰ ἀρκεύμενος τῇ προεδρίᾳ προσκλαιέτω¹ τῷ Κυρίῳ, συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἀνόμημα.

ΚΗ'. Ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν γελοῖόν μοι κατεφάνη, τὸ εὔξασθαι τινα νείων ἀπέχεσθαι κρεῶν. ὥστε καταξιώσον διδάσκειν² αὐτοῦς τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν προσευχῶν καὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν ἀπέχεσθαι τὴν μέντοι χρήσιν ἀδιάφορον εἶναι συγχώρησον. οὐδὲν γὰρ κτίσμα Θεοῦ ἀπόβλητον μετ' εὐχαριστίας λαμβανόμενον. ὥστε ἡ εὐχὴ καταγέλαστος, οὐχ ἡ ἀποχὴ ἀναγκαία.

ΚΘ'. Ἀρχοντας μέντοι ὀμνύειν, ἐπὶ τὸ³ κακοποιεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους, καὶ πάνυ θεραπεύεσθαι

¹ ἑτέροις καὶ add. editi antiqi et tres MSS.

² διδάξαι editi antiqi.

³ τῷ Ε.

¹ The Greek commentators give various examples of a possible unlawful marriage, in which a priest might be unknowingly implicated. Balsamon says that if a man married a girl of whom he or his father was the tutor, or if he married a nun or a blood relation, such would be an unlawful marriage. Zonaras mentions only the last two, while Aristenus names as the forbidden persons a widow, an idiot, an actress, or one consecrated to God. Cf. P. G. 138, 677-682.

ignorance has been implicated in an unlawful marriage,¹ I have laid down what must be done—he should retain his seat, but abstain from the rest of his offices.² For it is enough to pardon such a one. But for him who should heal his own wounds to bless another is unfitting. For benediction is the communication of sanctification. But how will he who does not possess this because of his transgression through ignorance impart it to another! Therefore let him bless neither publicly nor privately, nor let him distribute the Body of Christ to others, nor perform any other function, but being satisfied with his seat of dignity let him with tears call upon the Lord to pardon him the sin which he committed through ignorance.

XXVIII. One thing, however, seems to me ridiculous, that anyone should vow to abstain from the flesh of swine. So deign to teach them to refrain from ignorant vows and promises; but concede that its use is indifferent.³ For no creature of God taken with thanksgiving is to be rejected.⁴ Therefore the vow is quite ridiculous, the abstinence not necessary.

XXIX. But any condition of things wherein those in authority swear to injure their subjects should by

² Thus, he could perform no priestly offices either in public or in private, but could retain his seat of honour among the priests.

³ A vow should be made only in regard to a better possible good; hence a vow made in regard to things in themselves indifferent has no binding force.

⁴ Cf. 1 Tim. 4. 4: ὅτι πᾶν κτίσμα Θεοῦ καλόν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον, μετὰ εὐχαριστίας τοῖς πιστοῖς καὶ ἐπεγνωκόσι τῇ ἀλήθειᾳ. "For every creature of God is good and nothing to be rejected that is received with thanksgiving." The Douay version is evidently based on a different text.

προσήκε.¹ θεραπεία δὲ τούτων διττή· μία μὲν, μὴ ὀμνύειν αὐτοὺς διδάσκεισθαι προχείρως· ἕτερα δέ, μὴ ἐπιμένειν ἐν ταῖς πονηραῖς κρίσεσιν. ὥστε ὄρκῳ προληφθεῖς τις εἰς κακοποιίαν² ἑτέρου, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ προπετεία τοῦ ὄρκου μετάνοιαν ἐπιδεικνύσθω, μὴ μέντοι προσχίματι εὐλαβείας τὴν πονηρίαν ἑαυτοῦ βεβαιούτω.³ οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἡρώδῃ συνήνεγκεν εὐορκήσαντι, ὃς ἵνα μὴ ἐπιορκήσῃ δῆθεν, φονεὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ προφήτου. ἅπαξ δὲ ὁ ὄρκος ἀπηγόρευται πολλῶ δὲ δήπου εἰκὸς τὸν ἐπὶ κακῷ γινόμενον κατακεκρίσθαι. ὥστε μεταφρονεῖν τὸν ὀμνύοντα χρῆ,⁴ οὐχὶ σπουδάζειν βεβαιοῦν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἀνόσιον. ἐξέτασον γὰρ πλατύτερον τὴν ἀτοπίαν. εἴ τις ὁμόσειεν⁵ ἐξεορύξει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ,⁶ εἰ καλὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἰς ἔργον ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ; εἴ τις φονεύσει; εἴ τις ὄλωσ δι' ὄρκου ἐντολήν τινα παραβῆσεσθαι; ὅμοσα γὰρ καὶ ἔστησα, οὐχὶ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φυλάξασθαι τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου. ὥσπερ δὲ τὴν ἐντολήν ἀμεταθέτους κρίμασι προσήκε βεβαιοῦσθαι, οὕτω

¹ προσήκει editi antiqui.

² κακῶς E.

³ διαβεβαιούτω E.

⁴ om. E.

⁵ ὁμόσει editi antiqui.

⁶ ἐξεορύξει τοὺς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὀφθαλμοὺς E.

¹ A vow made to do evil not only has no binding force, but must be broken.

² i.e. let him not carry out the evil which he swore to do, under the pretence of performing a sacred duty in fulfilling his vow.

all means be corrected.¹ And their correction should be of a twofold nature. First, they should be taught not to swear lightly: and second, they should not persist in wicked designs. Therefore, anyone who has been predisposed by oath to injure another, let him manifest repentance for the rashness of the oath, but let him not confirm his iniquity under a pretence of piety.² For it did not behove Herod who, after taking oath, in order that he might avoid perjuring himself, became a murderer of the prophet.³ But the oath has been altogether forbidden,⁴ and of course it is much more reasonable that the oath taken for an evil end be condemned. Therefore it is necessary that he who has taken the oath shall alter his opinion, and be not desirous of confirming his own wickedness. For examine the absurdity more fully. If anyone should swear to gouge out his brother's eyes, would it be noble in him to carry such a matter to fulfilment? If anyone should swear to commit murder? if anyone in general should swear under oath to transgress some commandment? For "I have sworn and determined," not to commit sin, "but just to keep the judgments of thy justice."⁵ But just as it is fitting that the commandment be strengthened by unchangeable

² Cf. Matt. 14. 9 and 10: καὶ ἐλυπήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ τοῦ συνανακειμένους ἐκέλευσε δοθῆναι· καὶ πέμψας ἀπεκεφάλισε τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ. "And the king was struck sad: yet because of his oath, and for them that sat with him at table, he commanded it to be given. And he sent, and beheaded John in the prison."

⁴ Cf. Matt. 5. 34: ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὁμόσαι ὄλωσ· "But I say to you not to swear at all," etc.

⁵ Cf. Psal. 118. 106: ὁμόμοκα καὶ ἔστησα τοῦ φυλάξασθαι τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου. "I have sworn and am determined to keep the judgments of thy justice."

τὴν ἁμαρτίαν παντοίως καθήκει ἀκυροῦσθαι καὶ ἀφανίζεσθαι.

Α'. Περὶ τῶν ἀρπαζόντων κανόνα μὲν παλαῖον οὐκ ἔχομεν, ἰδίαν δὲ γνώμην ἐποίησάμεθα· τρία ἔτη καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συναρπάζοντας αὐτοῖς ἔξω τῶν εὐχῶν γίνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ μὴ βιαίως γινόμενον¹ ἀνεύθυνόν ἐστιν, ὅταν μὴ φθορὰ ἢ μηδὲ κλοπὴ ἡγουμένη τοῦ πράγματος. αὐτεξουσία δὲ ἢ χήρα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸ ἀκολουθήσαι. ὥστε τῶν σχημάτων ἡμῶν οὐ φροντιστέον.

ΑΑ'. Ἡ ἀναχωρήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὄντος, πρὸ τοῦ πεισθῆναι περὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἐτέρῳ συνοικῆσασα, μοιχᾶται.

ΑΒ'. Οἱ τὴν πρὸς θάνατον ἁμαρτίαν ἁμαρτᾶ-

¹ γενόμενον plures MSS.

¹ The eleventh canon of Ancyra, quoted in note 5, p. 113, did not prescribe any punishment for the abductor.

² i.e. according to Balsamon and Zonaras (P. G. 138, 687-691) among the "hearers," but according to Aristenus (P. G. 138, 691) among the "prostrates." The Benedictine editors distinguish two classes of prayers, namely, "those of the prostrates" and "those of the faithful"; and in this case understand "the prayers of the faithful." Moreover, since Aristenus says that the punishment of abductors was the same as that of fornicators, the Benedictines would interpret the "three years outside the prayers" of the faithful in the light of Canon 22; and would place the abductor in the first year among the "mourners," in the second among the "hearers," in the third among the "prostrates," and finally in the fourth would admit him to the "prayers of the faithful" among the "standers." This explanation seems plausible.

³ Cf. 1 Cor. 7. 39: εἰν δὲ κοιμηθῆ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ἢ θέλει γαμηθῆναι. "But if her husband die, she is at liberty: let her marry to whom she will."

⁴ Balsamon (138, 687-690) interprets τῶν σχημάτων in the sense of "pretences," and explains the case in question as

judgments, so it is proper that the sin be by every means cancelled and done away with.

XXX. Regarding abductors we have no ancient canon, but we have formed our own judgment¹—that for three years both the abductors themselves and those who aid them in the abduction should remain outside the prayers.² But whatever does not take place through violence is not liable to punishment, whenever neither seduction nor robbery precedes the deed. The widow, moreover, is free and it is in her power to follow.³ Accordingly we should pay no heed to pretences.⁴

XXXI. The wife of a man who has gone away, and has disappeared, if before being convinced of his death she has taken her abode with another, commits adultery.⁵

XXXII. Those clerics who commit the sin unto death⁶ are deposed from their rank, but are not shut

follows:—If a widow who wishes to be married but is ashamed to enter a second marriage should pretend that she has been abducted, whereas she willingly went off with the man, no heed should be given to her pretences. He did not employ force and so there is no question of abduction. Zonaras (P. G. 138, 690-691) interprets τῶν σχημάτων as "the apparel," and understands the case to refer to a widow who had already assumed the customary dress of the widows of the Church, but who had not yet dedicated herself by vow to continence. Hence she is still free to marry, and no heed is to be given to the apparel.

⁵ This canon with Canons 36 and 46 were published as one canon, the 93rd in the Council in Trullo. Cf. P. G. 137, 830-831.

⁶ Cf. 1 Epist. John 5. 16 and 17: εἰν τις ἴδῃ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτάνοντα ἁμαρτίαν μὴ πρὸς θάνατον, αἰτήσῃ, καὶ δώσῃ αὐτῷ ζωὴν, τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν μὴ πρὸς θάνατον. ἔστιν ἁμαρτία πρὸς θάνατον· οὐ περὶ ἐκείνης λέγω ἵνα ἐρωτήσῃ· πᾶσα ἀδικία ἁμαρτία ἐστὶ· καὶ ἐστὶν ἁμαρτία οὐ πρὸς θάνατον. "He that knoweth

νουτες κληρικοὶ τοῦ βαθμοῦ κατάγονται, τῆς κοινωνίας δὲ τῶν λαϊκῶν οὐκ ἐξείργονται· οὐ γὰρ ἐκδικήσεις δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.

ΛΓ'. Ἡ γυνὴ ἢ διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ κνήσασα καὶ ἀμελήσασα τοῦ κνήματος τῷ τοῦ φόνον ἐγκλήματι ὑποκείσθω.

ΛΔ'. Τὰς μοιχευθείσας γυναικας¹ καὶ ἐξαγορευούσας δι' εὐλάβειαν, ἢ ὅπως οὖν ἐλεγχόμενας, δημοσιεύειν οὐκ ἐκέλευσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ θανάτου αἰτίαν παρὰσχωμεν ἐλεγχθείσαις· ἴστασθαι δὲ αὐτὰς ἄνευ κοινωνίας προσέταξαν μέχρι τοῦ συμπληροῦσθαι τὸν χρόνον τῆς μετανοίας.

ΛΕ'. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ καταλειφθέντος ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ

¹ om. E.

his brother to sin a sin which is not to death, let him ask, and life shall be given to him, who sinneth not to death. There is a sin unto death: for that I say not that any man ask. All iniquity is sin. And there is a sin unto death."

Each of the commentators offers a different interpretation for the "sin unto death." Balsamon thinks that it is one of the more grievous mortal sins, which is punished by death, such as murder. According to this interpretation the present canon is a complement to the fourth canon of the first letter, where it is laid down that a deacon who committed fornication should be deposed but not excommunicated. Fornication, since it was not punishable by death, would not be a sin unto death, in this sense. St. Basil, here asked if a cleric who committed a sin even graver than fornication, one, for example, punishable by death like murder, is to be deposed only and not also excommunicated, answers in the affirmative. Cf. P. G. 138, 694-695. Zonaras understands the sin unto death to be a sin consummated in deed, as opposed to a sin not unto death or one which exists in the mind only and has not been executed in act. Cf. P. G. 138, 695. Aristenus interprets the sin unto death as a carnal sin. Cf. P. G. 138, 695. The Benedictine editors think that Basil here refers to the more

out from the communion of the laity, "For thou shalt not punish twice for the selfsame."¹

XXXIII. Let the woman who gave birth on the road and took no care² of her offspring, be subjected to the charge of murder.³

XXXIV. Women who have committed adultery and have confessed through piety,⁴ or were in any way whatever convicted, our fathers did not command to be denounced publicly, lest we give cause for their being convicted and put to death;⁵ but they commanded them to stand without communion until their time of penance should be fulfilled.⁶

XXXV. In the case of the husband who has been

grievous mortal sins. Balsamon's explanation seems preferable.

¹ Cf. Nahum 1. 9: τί λογιεῖσθε ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον συντελεῖται αὐτὸς ποιήσεται, οὐκ ἐκδικήσει δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν θλίψει. "What do ye devise against the Lord? he will make an utter end! there shall not rise a double affliction." The Douay version is based on a different text from the Greek.

² i. e. when she could have cared for it. If the mother was not physically able to care for it, and the child died of neglect, the mother was pardoned. Cf. Canon 52.

³ According to Balsamon and Zonaras, the woman was to be punished thus even when the infant did not die but was found and taken care of by someone else. Cf. Canon 2.

⁴ i. e. privately. This canon furnishes evidence for the practice of private confession of sin to the priest. Cf. O. D. Watkins, *A History of Penance*, Vol. I. 323.

⁵ i. e. lest her husband, if he saw her performing all the grades of penance, become suspicious of her sin and kill her. Cf. P. G. 138, 698-702. Another explanation is lest the civil law punish her with death, the penalty for adultery. Cf. Migne, *Penitence*, Sec. II, Chap. II, Adoncisements à la confession publique—*Theologiae Cursus Completus*. Vol. 20, 377 and 378.

⁶ The time of penance for adultery was fifteen years. Cf. Canon 58.

τῆς γυναικὸς ¹ χρὴ σκοπεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐγκαταλείψεως· κἂν φανῆ ἀλόγως ἀναχωρήσασα, ὁ μὲν συγγνώμης ἐστὶν ἄξιος, ἡ δὲ ἐπιτιμίου. ἡ δὲ συγγνώμη τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ κοινωνεῖν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ δοθήσεται.

ΔΣ'. Στρατιώτιδες, αἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀφανῶν ὄντων γαμηθεῖσαι, τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπόκεινται λόγῳ, ὥπερ ἂν ² καὶ αἱ διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν μὴ ἀναμείνασαι τὴν ἐπίνοδον· πλὴν ἔχει τιὰ συγγνώμην τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνταῦθα διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον πρὸς θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ὑπόνοιαν.

ΔΖ'. Μετὰ τὸ ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ὁ γαμήσας ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ μοιχείαν ἐγκληθήσεται, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἀνεύθυνος ἔσται.

ΔΗ'. Αἱ κόραι αἱ παρὰ γνώμην πατρὸς ἀκολουθήσασαι πορνεύουσι· διαλλαγέντων δὲ τῶν γονέων, δοκεῖ θεραπείαν λαμβάνειν τὸ γεγονός· οὐκ εὐθὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀποκαθίστανται, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμηθήσονται τρία ἔτη.

¹ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς om. E.

² ἂν om. E.

¹ Cf. Canon 9, where Basil mentions some reasons that do not justify a woman in separating from her husband.

² i.e. he is not to be separated from the Church, but he may not cohabit with another woman. Cf. Zonaras, P. G. 138, 702. According to Aristenus (*ibid.*), the sense is that even if he does live with another woman, he is to be pardoned, that is, is not to be subjected to the punishment for adultery.

deserted by his wife, it is necessary to examine the cause for the desertion: ¹ and if she appears to have departed without reason, he is deemed worthy of pardon; ² and she of punishment. Moreover, permission will be granted such a man to have communion with the Church.

XXXVI. The wives of soldiers who, after the disappearance of their husbands, have married, are subjected to the same reasoning as those who, on account of the absence of their husbands on travel, have not awaited their return; ³ but in this case the action has some excuse because of the existence of a greater suspicion of death.

XXXVII. He who has married after the wife of another has been taken from him shall in the case of the first woman undergo punishment for adultery, ⁴ but in the case of the second he shall be guiltless. ⁵

XXXVIII. Girls who follow a man without the knowledge of their father ⁶ commit fornication; but when the parents have been reconciled to her, the act seems to receive a remedy; however, they are not restored immediately to communion, but will pay the penalty for three years. ⁷

³ Cf. Canon 31 and note.

⁴ i.e. a punishment of fifteen years. Cf. Canon 58.

⁵ i.e. the adulterer who has dismissed the wife of another will not be impeded from entering matrimony with a woman who is free to marry. Cf. Balsamon, Zonaras, Aristenus, P. G. 138, 703-706.

⁶ Cf. second note on Canon 22, also Canons 40, 42.

⁷ This canon applies, not to girls who have been raped, but to those who have married without the knowledge of their father. The Benedictine editors agree with Aristenus in thinking that this period of three years applies to their time as "prostrates," but that an additional year was required of them among the "standers."

ΛΘ'. Ἡ τῷ μοιχῷ συζῶσα μοιχαλὶς ἐστὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον.¹

Μ'. Ἡ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ δεσπότητος ἀνδρὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐκδιδοῦσα² ἐπόρνευσεν ἢ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα πεπαρρησιασμένη³ γάμῳ χρησαμένη ἐγήματο. ὥστε ἐκεῖνο μὲν πορνεία, τοῦτο δὲ γάμος. αἱ γὰρ συνθήκαι τῶν ὑπεξουσιῶν οὐδὲν ἔχουσι βέβαιον.

ΜΑ'. Ἡ ἐν τῇ χηρείᾳ ἑαυτῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσα ἀνδρὶ συνοικεῖν ἀνεγκλητος, εἰ μηδεὶς ἐστὶν ὁ διασπῶν τὸ συνοικέσιον τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἰπόντος· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ᾧ θέλει γαμηθῆναι· μόνον ἐν Κυρίῳ.

ΜΒ'. Οἱ ἀνευ τῶν κρατούντων γάμοι πορνείαι εἰσι. οὔτε οὖν πατρὸς ζῶντος, οὔτε δεσπότητος, οἱ συνιώντες ἀνεύθυνοί εἰσι. ὡς ἐὰν⁴ ἐπινεύσωσιν οἱ κύριοι τὴν συνόκησιν, τότε λαμβάνει τὸ τοῦ γάμου βέβαιον.

ΜΓ'. Ὅς θανάτου πληγὴν τῷ πλησίον ἔδωκε φονεύς ἐστὶν, εἴτε ἤρξε τῆς πληγῆς εἴτε ἡμίνατο.

¹ πάντα τὸν χρόνον] παντὶ τρόπῳ editi antiqui.

² ἐκδοῦσα editi antiqui. ³ πεπαρρησιασμένη E.

⁴ ὡς ἐὰν] ὥστε ἐὰν Regius 3027; ἕως ἂν in Pandectis.

¹ Hence she cannot be received to penance until she separates from the adulterer. Cf. Zonaras and Aristenus, P. G. 138, 710.

² Cf. notes on Canon 22, also Canons 38 and 42.

XXXIX. She who lives with an adulterer is an adulteress the whole time.¹

XL. She who contrary to the will of her master gives herself up to a man has committed fornication;² but if thereafter she has lived in a married state that has been openly acknowledged, she is married. Therefore the former is fornication, the latter marriage. For the contracts of those who are subject to another have no force.

XLI. She who in a state of widowhood possesses authority over herself³ to live with a man is without reproach in so doing, if there is no one to disrupt the union, since the Apostle says; "But if her husband die, she is at liberty: let her marry to whom she will: only in the Lord."⁴

XLII. Marriages without the consent of superiors are fornication.⁵ Therefore, when neither the father nor the master is living, those who come together are guiltless, just as, if the authorities consent to the union, it then receives the stability of marriage.

XLIII. He who has dealt a deadly blow to his neighbour is a murderer,⁶ whether he was the first to strike or acted in self-defence.

¹ i.e. from the jurisdiction of parents, superiors, or guardians. Cf. Canon 42.

² 1 Cor. 7, 39. Cf. also Canons 24 and 30.

³ This canon lays down the general principle that the consent of parents, masters or guardians is necessary for the validity of the marriages of those subject to them. Canons 22, 38, 40, 41 contain applications of this general principle.

⁴ Either voluntary or involuntary, depending on his intention and the instrument used. Cf. Aristenus, P. G. 138, 718. The punishment for the former was a penance of twenty years (cf. Canon 56), for the latter ten years (cf. Canon 57). See also Canon 8 for the different kinds of voluntary and involuntary murder.

ΜΔ'. Ἡ διάκονος ἢ τῷ Ἑλληνι συμπορνεύσασα δεκτὴ ἔστιν εἰς μετάνοιαν,¹ εἰς δὲ τὴν προσφορὰν δεχθήσεται τῷ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει, δηλονότι, ἐν ἀγγελίᾳ ζωσα. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν πίστιν Ἑλληνα πάλιν τῇ ἱεροσουλῆα προσιών, ἐπὶ τὸν ἕμετον ὑποστρέφει. ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς διακόνου τὸ σῶμα, ὡς καθιερωμένον, οὐκέτι ἐπιτρέπομεν ἐν χρήσει εἶναι σαρκικῇ.

ΜΕ'. Ἐάν τις τὸ ὄνομα λαβὼν τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ, ἐνυβρίξῃ τὸν Χριστόν, οὐδὲν ὄφελος αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς προσηγορίας.

Μς'. Ἡ δὲ τῷ καταλειφθέντι πρὸς καιρὸν παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς κατὰ ἀγνοίαν γημαμένη, εἴτα ἀφεθείσα διὰ τὸ ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν² προτέραν, ἐπόρνευσε μὲν, ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ δέ, γάμου οὐν³ οὐκ εἰρχθήσεται. κάλλιον δέ, εἰ μὲν ἄλλως οὕτως.

ΜΖ'. Ἐγκρατῖται καὶ Σακκοφόροι καὶ Ἀποτακ-

¹ τὴν κοινωλίαν Ε.

² om. Ε.

³ om. Ε.

¹ We have little definite knowledge of the institution of deaconesses in the early Church. Some have identified it with the order of widows, who at the age of sixty were permitted to consecrate their lives to the performance of certain temporal offices in the Church, engaging at the same time to observe a life of continence. However, there is sufficient evidence to believe that the two orders were distinct. The deaconesses received a sort of formal consecration from the hands of the bishops, and besides performing for women those temporal acts of charity which the deacons performed for men, seem also to have assisted at the baptismal ceremony of women. When we remember that the ceremony called for immersion and for the anointing of the entire body, we can readily appreciate that in the case of women to be baptized, the offices of consecrated women would be required. These functions are assigned to the deaconesses by the *Didascalia*

XLIV. The deaconess¹ who committed fornication with the Greek is to be admitted to repentance, and she shall be admitted to the oblation in the seventh year, that is, if she live in chastity. But the Greek who, after accepting the faith, again enters upon the sacrilege, returns to his vomit. But the body of the deaconess, on the ground that it has been consecrated, we no longer permit to remain in carnal usage.

XLV. If any one, after receiving the name of Christian,² revile Christ,³ there shall be no profit to him from the title.

XLVI. She who unwittingly married a man temporarily abandoned by his wife, and was then dismissed on account of the return of his former wife to him, has truly committed fornication, but in ignorance. Therefore she shall not be debarred from marriage. It will be better, however, if she remains thus.⁴

XLVII. Encratites⁵ and Saccophori⁶ and Apotac-

Apostolorum. In the Apostolic Constitutions they are assigned the duty of maintaining order among the women in church, and of acting as intermediaries between the clergy and the women of the congregation. Despite the fact that it was enacted (*Const. Apost.* 8. 27) that the deaconess gives no blessing, and that she fulfils no function of priest or deacon, abuses existed especially in Syria and Asia.

² i.e. by receiving baptism and accepting the orthodox faith.

³ i.e. by rejecting ecclesiastical traditions and the canonical definitions or by refusing to live according to the precepts of the Christian religion. Cf. Balsamon, P. G. 138, 722.

⁴ This canon together with Canons 31 and 36 appear as Canon 93 of the Synod in Trullo.

⁵ Cf. note on Canon 1.

⁶ These were Manichaean solitaries. They were denounced under pain of capital punishment, in a law of Theodosius of the year 382.

τίται τῷ αὐτῷ οὐχ ὑπόκεινται λόγῳ, ὡς καὶ Ναυατιανοί, ὅτι περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων κανὼν ἐξεφωνήθη, εἰ καὶ διάφορος τὰ δὲ κατὰ τούτους ἀποσειώπηται. ἡμεῖς μέντοι ἐνὶ λόγῳ ἀναβαπτίζομεν τοὺς τοιούτους. εἰ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπηγόρευται τὸ τοῦ ἀναβαπτισμοῦ, ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, οἰκονομίας τινὸς ἕνεκα,¹ ἀλλ' ² ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος ἰσχυρὸν ἔχεται. ὅτι ἐπειδὴ ὡσπερ Μαρκιωνιστῶν ἔστιν ἀποβλάστημα ἢ κατ' αὐτοὺς αἵρεσις, βδελυσσομένων τὸν γάμον, καὶ ἀποστρεφόμενων τὸν οἶνον, καὶ τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ μημασιμένην εἶναι λεγόντων, οὐ δεχόμεθα αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, εἰ μὴ βαπτισθῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον βάπτισμα. μὴ γὰρ λεγέτωσαν ὅτι εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, οἳ γε κακῶν ποιητὴν ὑποτιθέμενοι τὸν Θεόν, ἐφαιμίλλως τῷ Μαρκίῳ καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς αἵρέσεσιν. ὥστε, εἰ μὴ ἀρέσῃ τούτο, δεῖ πλείονας ἐπισκόπους ἐν ταύτῳ γενέσθαι καὶ οὕτως ἐκθέσθαι τὸν κανόνα, ἵνα καὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸ ἀκίνδυνον ἢ καὶ ὁ ἀποκρινόμενος τὸ ἀξιόπιστον ἔχη ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀποκρίσει.

ΜΗ'. Ἡ δὲ ἐγκαταλειφθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην,³ μένειν ὀφείλει. εἰ γὰρ

¹ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτῶν add. E.

² om. E.

³ ἄγκυρος add. editi antiqui.

¹ Apotactitae or Apostolici, an ascetic sect in Phrygia, Cilicia and Pamphylia of the third and fourth centuries. They rejected private property and condemned marriage. They sought authority for their views in the Apocryphal Acts of Andrew and of Thomas. It seems highly improbable that

titae¹ are not² subject to the same reasoning as are Novatians,³ because regarding the latter a canon⁴ has been promulgated, even if it is different: but the affairs of the former have been passed over in silence. We, however, for one and the same reason rebaptize such. But if among yourselves rebaptism is prohibited, just as it is also among the Romans, because of some consideration, nevertheless let our reason have force. For, inasmuch as their heresy is an offshoot of the Marcionists,⁵ who feel a loathing for marriage, and turn away from wine, and say that the creature of God is defiled, we do not receive them into the Church unless they are baptized in accordance with our baptism. For let them not say, who in emulation of Marcion and the other heretics suppose God to be the maker of evil, that we have rebaptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Accordingly, if this be acceptable, more bishops ought to come together and afterwards publish a canon, in order that there may be no danger to him who has acted, and that he who replies may have some authority in making answer about such things.

XLVIII. She who has been deserted by her husband, ought, in my judgment, to remain.⁶ For if there was any real historical connection between this sect and the Marcionists, as Basil asserts.

² With the Benedictine editors, I have inserted οὐχ in the text, since it seems necessary for the context.

³ Cf. the note on Canon I.

⁴ i.e. the eighth canon of Nice and the seventh canon of Laodicea, in which the baptism of Novatians was recognized as valid.

⁵ Cf. the note on Canon I.

⁶ i.e. she ought not to marry again during the lifetime of her first husband. Cf. P. G. 138, 730-734.

ὁ Κύριος εἶπεν, ὅτι Ἐάν τις καταλίπη γυναῖκα ἐκτὸς λόγου πορνείας, ποιῇ αὐτὴν μοιχᾶσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ μοιχαλίδα αὐτὴν ὀνομάσαι ἀπέκλεισεν αὐτὴν τῆς πρὸς ἕτερον κοινωνίας. πῶς γὰρ δύναται ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι, ὡς μοιχείας αἴτιος, ἢ δὲ γυνὴ ἀνέγκλητος εἶναι, ἢ μοιχαλὶς παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἕτερου ἀνδρα κοινωνίαν προσαγορευθεῖσα;

ΜΘ'. Αἱ πρὸς ἀνάγκην γενόμεναι φθοραὶ ἀνεύθυνοι ἔστωσαν. ὥστε καὶ ἡ δούλη, εἰ ἐβιάσθη παρὰ τοῦ οἰκείου δεσπότου, ἀνεύθυνος ἔστιν.

Ν'. Τριγαμίας νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν. ὥστε νόμος γάμος τρίτος οὐκ ἄγεται. τὰ μέντοι τοιαῦτα ὡς ρυπάσματα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὀρώμεν δημοσίαις δὲ καταδικαίς οὐχ ὑποβάλλομεν, ὡς τῆς ἀνειμμένης πορνείας αἰρετώτερα.

CC

Ἀμφιλοχίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰκονίου.

Ἡμᾶς ἀρρωστίαὶ ἐξ ἀρρωστιῶν τε¹ διαδέχονται, καὶ ἀσχολίαι ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τε ὁμοῦ πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπηρεάζοντων συνέσχον παρὰ πάντα τὸν χειμῶνα, καὶ τὸν μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς χρόνον. διὸ οὔτε

¹ om. E.

¹ Matt. 5. 32.

² i.e. no ecclesiastical law. Third marriages were recognized by civil law. Cf. Balsamon, Zonaras, Aristenus, P. G. 138, 735.

³ Cf. Canon 4, where Basil refers to third marriages as a moderated fornication. From Balsamon it appears that the

the Lord said that "whosoever shall put away his wife, excepting the cause of fornication, maketh her to commit adultery,"¹ from the fact that He calls her an adulteress He forbids her intercourse with another man. For how can the man be guilty, as being the cause of adultery, but the woman be without guilt, who was called by the Lord an adulteress on account of her intercourse with another man?

XLIX. Let women who have been corrupted by force stand guiltless. Thus even a slave, if she has been violated by her own master, is guiltless.

L. There is no law regarding trigamy.² Accordingly, a third marriage is not consummated under the law. Nevertheless, we regard such matters as filth of the Church.³ But we do not subject them to public penance⁴ on the ground that such relations are to be preferred to unrestrained fornication.

LETTER CC

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM⁵

SICKNESS after sickness attacks us in turn, and our preoccupation both with ecclesiastical affairs and with men who insult the churches has detained us during the whole winter, even to the time of this letter.

Church did not sanction third marriages, but once the parties lived together by mutual consent she did not order them to separate. Basil says in the fourth canon that custom authorized the imposition of a five-year separation for trigamists.

⁴ That is, to "mourning" outside the doors of the church. They were immediately received to the place of the "hearers." Cf. Aristenus, P. G. 138, 735. Cf. also Canon 4.

⁵ Written in the spring of 375. Cf. Loofs, 22, 46, note 5. For Amphilochius, cf. the first note of the previous letter.

ἀποστεῖλαί τινα οὔτε ἐπισκέψασθαι¹ τὴν εὐλάβειάν σου δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἐγένετο. εἰκάζομεν δὲ καὶ τὰ σά τοιαῦτα ἕτερα εἶναι· οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν λέγω, μὴ γένοιτο· παράσχοι γὰρ ὁ Κύριος υἰείαν τῷ σώματι σου διαρκῆ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' ὅτι ἡ μέριμνα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ σοὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐμβάλλει περισπασμόν. καὶ νῦν ἐμελλόν τινα ἀποστέλλειν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκεν, ὥστε γνωρίσαι ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ τῆς διαθέσεώς σου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ποθεινότατος υἱὸς Μελέτιος, παραπέμπων τοὺς νεολέτους, ὑπέμνησεν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι εἶπεν σε δι' αὐτοῦ προσειπεῖν, ἐδεξάμεθα τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῶν γραμμάτων ἄσμενοι, καὶ τῷ διακόνῳ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπεδράμομεν, ἀνδρὶ ἔξαρκούντι καὶ ἀντ' ἐπιστολῆς εἶναι, διὰ τε τὸ τοῦ τρόπου φιλόληθες, καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀγνοεῖν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς. δι' οὐ παρακαλοῦμεν τὴν εὐλάβειάν σου προηγουμένως εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα δῶ Κύριος ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ φορτικοῦ τούτου σώματος, ταῖς δὲ ἐκκλησίαις αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην, σοὶ δὲ ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἀδειαν τοῦ, ἐπειδὴν διαθῆ² τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λυκαονίαν ἀποστολικῶς, ὡς ἐνῆρξω, ἐπισκέπτεσθαι καὶ τὰ ὧδε, κἂν τε ἐνδηλώμεν τῇ σαρκί, κἂν ἀποδημήσαι ἤδη πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ἐπιταχθῶμεν, ἵνα αὐτός, ὡς ἰδίῳν, ὑπερ οὖν καὶ ἔστιν, ἀντέχη τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τόπων καὶ στηρίξης μὲν τὰ σαθρά, ἐπεγεύρης δὲ τὰ νωθρά, πάντα δὲ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Πνεύματος, τοῦ ὄντος ἐν σοί, μετακοσμήσης πρὸς τὸ εὐάρεστον τῷ Κυρίῳ.

¹ τινὰ πρὸς add. E.

² διαθῆς multi MSS.

Therefore, it has not been possible for us to send some one or to visit your Piety. And we surmise that your situation likewise is quite the same—I do not speak with reference to my sickness, God forbid, for may the Lord give your body continued health for fulfilling His commandments—but on the ground that solicitude for the churches brings the same distraction upon you also. And now I was on the point of sending some one for this very purpose—to inform us concerning your condition. But since our most beloved son, Meletius,¹ who is moving the newly-enlisted soldiers, has reminded us that it was possible to salute you through him, we have gladly seized the opportunity of writing, and we have hastened to the carrier of our letter, a man capable even of taking the place of a letter because both of his truth-loving character and his being in no wise unfamiliar with our affairs. Through him we beseech your Piety especially to pray for us, in order that the Lord may grant me deliverance from this wearisome body, and to His churches peace, and to you rest and—whenever you have disposed of affairs in Lycaonia in apostolic fashion, as you have begun—freedom to visit this place also, in order that, whether we are dwelling in the flesh or have already been commanded to depart to the Lord, you yourself may extend your interests to our regions as to your own, as indeed they are your own, strengthen what is weak, and rouse what is slothful, and by the grace of the Spirit who is in you transform all thought to what is pleasing to the Lord.

¹ A young recruiting officer and friend of Basil. He is not mentioned elsewhere.

Τοὺς δὲ τιμιωτάτους υἱοὺς ἡμῶν Μενέτιον καὶ Μελίτιον,¹ οὓς πόρρωθεν οἰδας καὶ ἑαυτοῦ κρίνεις, ἔχε ἐν παρακαταθήκῃ,² εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. αὐταρκες γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτο πρὸς πάντας ἀσφάλειαν. ὥστε καὶ τοὺς συνόντας τῇ ὁσιότητί σου, καὶ πάντα τὸν κλῆρον καὶ τὸν λαὸν τὸν ὑπὸ σου ποιμαινόμενον, καὶ τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους ἀδελφούς ἡμῶν³ καὶ συλλειτουργοὺς προσειπεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν καταξίωσον. τῆς μνήμης τοῦ μακαριωτάτου μάρτυρος Εὐψυχίου μέμνησο, καὶ μὴ ἀναμείνης δευτέραν ὑπόμνησιν, μηδὲ ἐμπρόθεσμον σπουδάσης ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπάντησιν, ἀλλὰ προλαβεῖν καὶ εὐφρᾶναι ἡμᾶς, ἐὰν ἄρα ἔτι ὤμεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ἕως τότε ἐρρωμένους ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὑπερευχόμενος⁴ ἡμῶν, διαφυλαχθείης ἡμῖν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις χάριτι τοῦ ἁγίου.

CCI

Ἀμφιλοχίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰκονίου.

Πολλῶν ἕνεκεν ἐπιθυμῶ⁵ συντυχεῖν σοι, ἵνα καὶ συμβούλῳ χρήσωμαι περὶ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ πραγμάτων, καὶ ὄλως ἵνα διὰ μακροῦ θεασάμενος σε ἔχω παραμυθίαν τινὰ τῆς ἀπολείψεως. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀμφοτέροισ ἐπέσχευ, ἧ τε ὑμῖν συμβᾶσα ἀσθένεια, καὶ ἡ παλαιότερα ἡμῶν ἀρρωστία, μῆπω ἀπολείψασα, ἀμφοτέροις δῶμεν συγγνώμην, εἰ βούλει, ἀμφοτέροι, ὥστε δι' ἑαυτῶν ἀλλήλους ἀφεῖναι τοῦ ἐγκλήματος.

¹ Μενέτιον καὶ Μελίτιον] Μελίτιον καὶ Μελέτιον E, Harl., Med.

² παραθήκη nonnulli MSS.

³ ἀδελφούς ἡμῶν] ἐπισκόπους Claromontanus.

⁴ om. editi antiq.

⁵ ἐπιθύμουν Vat.

As for our most honoured sons Menetius and Melitius,¹ whom you have long known and consider your own, keep them in your care and pray for them; for this is sufficient to ensure them all security. Hence be kind enough to salute in our name also those who are with your Holiness, both all the clergy and the laity under your pastoral care, and our most God-beloved brethren and fellow-ministers. Call to mind the memory of the blessed martyr Euppsychius,² and do not await a second reminder, and be not anxious to make your coming on the appointed day, but anticipate it and make us happy—if indeed we shall still be on this earth. Until then, strong in the Lord and with prayers for us, may you be preserved to us and to God's churches by the grace of the Holy One.

LETTER CCI

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM³

For many reasons do I desire to meet you, both that I may employ you as an adviser on the matters in hand, and in general that, beholding you after a long time, I may have some consolation for your absence. But since the same causes have detained both of us, the sickness which has befallen you and our illness of longer standing which has not yet left us, let us both grant each other pardon, if you will, so that of ourselves we may free each other of blame.

¹ Nothing more is known about him than is mentioned here.

² For Euppsychius, cf. Letter C and note.

³ Written in spring of 375. Cf. Loofs, 47, note. For Amphilocheius, see previous letters addressed to him.

CCII

Ἀμφιλοχίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰκονίου.

Καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ποι πολλοὺ ἀξίον τὸ συντυγ-
χάνειν τῇ σεμνότητί σου, νῦν δὲ καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε
τοιούτων ἐστὶ τὸ συνάγον ἡμᾶς πρᾶγμα. ἀλλ'
ἐπειδὴ τὰ λείψανα τῆς ἀρρωστίας μου τοιαῦτα,
ὡς μηδὲ τὴν βραχυτάτην μοι κίνησιν συγχωρεῖν,
ὅς γε ἵνα τὴν μέχρι τῶν μαρτύρων ὁδὸν ὀχλήματι
πορευθῶ πάλιν μικροῦ πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπέστρεψα
νόσου, ἀνάγκη συγγνώμης τυχεῖν παρ' ὑμῶν. κἂν
μὲν ἢ δυνατὸν ὑπερτεθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ὀλίγαις
ὑστερον ἡμέραις, καὶ συνέσομαι ὑμῖν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ
χάριτι καὶ κοινωνήσω τῶν φροντίδων. ἐὰν δὲ
ἐπίγῃ τὰ σπουδαζόμενα, πύξτε μὲν τῇ τοῦ
Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ τὰ χερσί, συναριθμήσατε δὲ με
ἑαυτοῖς ὡς παρόντα καὶ τῶν καλῶς γινομένων
συνεφαπτόμενον. ἐρωμένος καὶ εὐθυμος ἐν
Κυρίῳ ὑπερευχόμενός μου, φυλαχθεῖς τῇ τοῦ
Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ χάριτι τοῦ ἁγίου.

CCIII

Τοῖς παραλιώταις ἐπισκόποις.

Ἐγένετό μοι πολλὴ ὀρμὴ τῆς συντυχίας ὑμῶν,
καὶ ἀεὶ τι ἐπεγένετο¹ κώλυμα, ἐμποδίζον μου τῇ

¹ ἐγένετο editi antiqui.¹ Written in the early summer of 375. Cf. Loofs, 22, 47, note. On Amphilocheus, see previous letters addressed to him.² i.e. to the chapel of certain martyrs. It seems useless to speculate as to who these martyrs were.

LETTER CCIII

LETTER CCII

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM¹

IN any event a meeting with your august Reverence means much to me, but now especially so, when the matter which brings us together is so important. But since the vestiges of my illness are of such a nature as to permit me not even the slightest movement—in fact, just that I might journey by carriage as far as the martyrs,² I almost had a relapse again into the same disease—I must obtain pardon from you. Now if the matters can be postponed until a few days later, I shall be with you by God's grace and share in your anxieties. But if the business is pressing, with God's help carry out the affairs at hand, but count me as present with yourself and as taking part in your good work. In good health and joyful in the Lord, and with prayers for me, may you be preserved to God's Church by the grace of the Holy One.

LETTER CCIII

TO THE MARITIME BISHOPS

I HAVE had a great desire to meet you, but some hindrance has always supervened to thwart my

¹ Written in the late summer of 375. Cf. Loofs, 21. Eustathius had effected a separation of a part of the coast of Pontus from the Church of Caesarea, which for a time caused Basil much grief. On the advice of the bishops of Cappadocia Basil addressed an expostulation to these separatists for not coming to him.

προθυμία.¹ ἡ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένεια συνεπόδισέ² με³ (ἢν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε πάντως, ὅση μοι πάρεστιν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας μέχρι τοῦ γήρως τούτου, συντραφεῖσά μοι καὶ παιδεύουσά με, κατὰ τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν τοῦ πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ οἰκονομοῦντος Θεοῦ), ἢ αἱ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπιμέλειαι, ἢ οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπανισταμένους τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγῶνες. διὸ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ καὶ λύπῃ διάγω, συνειδὼς ὅτι τὸ καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐλλέλειπται μοι. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς ἐπιδημίαν καταδεξαμένον, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ὑποδείγμασι τῶν πρακτέων ῥυθμίση τὸν βίον ἡμῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας φωνῆς ἀναγγεῖλῃ ἡμῖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας, ὅτι Ἐν τούτῳ γνωσονται πάντες ὅτι ἐμοὶ μαθηταὶ ἐστε, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους.⁴ καὶ ὅτι ἐξιτήριον δῶρον τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς, μέλλων συμπληροῦν τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ οἰκονομίαν, τὴν ἐαυτοῦ εἰρήνην ὃ Κύριος κατέλιπεν εἰπὼν· Εἰρήνην ἀφήμι ὑμῖν, εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν· οὐ δύναμαι πείσαι ἑμαυτὸν, ὅτι ἄνευ τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις⁵ ἀγάπης καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ, τὸ εἰς ἐμέ ἤκου,⁶ εἰρηνεύει πρὸς πάντας δύναμαι ἄξιος⁷ κληθῆναι δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. πολὺν μὲν γὰρ ἀνέμεναι χρόνον, εἴ ποτε καὶ παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης

¹ τὴν προθυμίαν Vat et Reg. primus.

² συνεπόδισε E, editi antiq̄i.

³ μοι E.

⁴ ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους] ἀγάπην ἔχετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις E in marg. prima manu, duo alii MSS.; ἀγάπην ἔχετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις editi antiq̄i.

⁵ ἐν ἀλλήλοις] πρὸς ἀλλήλους editi antiq̄i, eis ἀλλήλους quatuor MSS.

wish. For either my sickness of body detained me (and you are not at all unaware how serious a malady has been with me from early manhood to my present old age, reared with me and chastening me in accordance with the just judgment of God who dispenses all things in wisdom), or the cares of the churches, or my struggles with those who are revolting against the word of truth. Wherefore up to the present I have lived in great affliction and grief, realizing that as far as concerns you I have fallen short of my duty. For having heard it said by God, who took upon Himself a sojourn in the flesh on this account that by the examples of the tasks which were laid upon him to do He might both order our life and by His own voice might announce to us the Gospel of the Kingdom, that "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another;"¹ and also that, when the Lord was about to fulfil the dispensation in the flesh, He left His own peace to His disciples as a farewell gift,² saying; "Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you,"³ I am unable to persuade myself that without love toward one another, and without, as far as I am concerned, being peaceful toward all, I can be called a worthy servant of Jesus Christ. For a long time have I waited in the hope that some visit might be made

¹ Cf. John 13. 35. The Septuagint has for the last phrase: ἐὰν ἀγάπην ἔχητε ἐν ἀλλήλοις.

² Gregory Nazianzene (*Orat.* 14, 223) speaks of our Lord leaving peace: ὡς περ ἄλλο τι ἐξιτήριον.

³ John 14. 27.

⁴ τὸ εἰς ἐμέ ἤκου] εἰς ἐμέ ἤκουτος E, editi antiq̄i.

⁷ ἄξιος Reg. secundus et Coisl. secundus.

γένηται τις πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπισκέψις. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι δημοσίᾳ προκείμενοι πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ προβεβλημένοι σκόπελοι, ἡμεῖς τὸν θυμὸν τῶν αἰρετικῶν κυμάτων ὑποδεχόμεθα, καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ῥηγνύμενοι,¹ τὰ κατόπιν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐπικλύζουσι. τὸ δὲ ἡμεῖς ὅταν εἶπω, οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀναφέρω δύναμιν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν, τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ δυνατόν ἑαυτοῦ δεικνύντος, καθά φησιν ὁ προφήτης ἐκ προσώπου Κυρίου λέγων ἡ² ἐμὲ οὐ φοβηθήσεσθε, τὸν τιθέτα ἄμμον ὄριον τῇ θαλάσῃ; τῷ γὰρ ἀσθεσετάτῳ πάντων³ καὶ εὐκαταφρονήτῳ πράγματι, τῇ ψάμμῳ, τὴν μεγάλην καὶ βαρεῖαν θάλασσαν ἐπέδησεν ὁ δυνατός. ἐπεὶ οὖν τοιούτων⁴ τι ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀκόλουθον ἦν παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης καὶ τῶν γνησίων τινὰς ἀποστέλλεσθαι συνεχῶς εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἡμῶν καταπονυμένων, καὶ γράμματα ἀγαπητικὰ φοιτᾶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς⁵ συνεχέστερον, τοῦτο μὲν στηρίζοντα ἡμῶν τὴν προθυμίαν, τοῦτο δέ, καὶ εἰ τι σφαλλόμεθα, ἐπανορθούμενα,⁶ οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα γὰρ μυριοῖς σφάλμασιν ὑποκεῖσθαι, ἄνθρωποι ὄντες καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ζῶντες.

¹ Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνον, ἡ διὰ τὸ μὴ συνιδεῖν τὸ πρέπον, παρελίπετε⁷ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἡμῖν,⁸ ἀδελφοὶ τιμωτάτοι, ἡ διὰ τὸ προ-

to us by your Charity. For you are not unaware that we, being publicly exposed to all, like headlands jutting out into the sea, receive the fury of the heretical waves, and that, although they break about us, they do not overflow what is behind us. But when I say "we" I do not refer to human power, but to the grace of God, who manifests His power through the weakness of men, as the prophet speaks in the person of the Lord,¹ saying; "Will ye not fear Me, who have set the sand a bound for the sea?" For by the weakest and most contemptible thing of all, the sand, the Mighty One has bound the great and sullen sea. Since, then, the situation with us is somewhat similar, it would have been proper for some of the true brothers to be sent frequently by your Charity to visit us who are in distress, and for affectionate letters to come to us more often, on the one hand to confirm our resolution, on the other hand to set us aright if we falter at all. For we do not deny that we lie exposed to countless falterings, since we are men and live in the flesh.

But since hitherto, either because you did not perceive what was proper, you failed to give us our due, most honoured brethren, or, because you were

¹ Cf. Jerem. 5. 22: *μὴ ἐμὲ οὐ φοβηθήσεσθε; λέγει Κύριος, ἡ ἀπὸ προσώπου μου οὐκ εὐλαβηθήσεσθε; τὸν τάξαντα ἄμμον ὄριον τῇ θαλάσῃ, πρόσταγμα αἰώνιον, καὶ οὐχ ὑπεβήσεται αὐτό, καὶ ταραχθήσεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐνθήσεται, καὶ ἡγήσουσιν τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς καὶ οὐχ ὑπεβήσεται αὐτό.* "Will not you then fear me, saith the Lord: and will you not repent at my presence? I have set the sand a bound for the sea, an everlasting ordinance, which it shall not pass over: and the waves thereof shall toss themselves, and shall not prevail: they shall swell, and shall not pass over it."

⁶ ὅμιν E, nonnulli MSS.

¹ ῥηγνύμενα alii editi.

² om. E.

³ om. Vat. et duo alii.

⁴ τοιούτῳ editi antiq̄i.

⁵ ἐπιτρέψατε add. E, ἐπιτρέψασθαι add. editi antiq̄i.

⁶ διορθούμενα editi antiq̄i.

⁷ παραλείπεται editi antiq̄i.

ληφθῆναι παρὰ τινῶν εἰς τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν διαβολάς, οὐκ ἐνομίσατε ἡμᾶς ἀξίους εἶναι ἀγαπητικῆς ἐπισκέψεως· ἰδοὺ νῦν καὶ κατάρχομεν τοῦ γράμματος αὐτοί, καὶ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας ἡμῖν αἰτίας ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐτοιμῶς ἔχειν¹ ἐφ'² ὑμῶν ἀποδύσασθαι· μόνον³ εἰάν καταδέχωνται οἱ ὑβρίζοντες ὑμᾶς ἀντιπρόσωποι ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐλαβείας καταστῆναι. ἐλεγχθέντες μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἡμῶν ἐπιγνωσόμεθα, καὶ ὑμεῖς μετὰ τοὺς ἐλέγχους συγγνώμην ἔξετε παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν⁴ ἡμῶν κοινωρίας ἑαυτοὺς ὑποστέλλοντες, καὶ οἱ ἐλέγξαντες μισθὸν ἔξουσιν, ὡς τὴν κεκρυμμένην ἡμῶν κακίαν δημοσιεύσαντες. εἰάν δὲ πρὸ τῶν ἐλέγχων καταδικάζητε ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐσόμεθα ἠδικημένοι, ἐκτὸς τοῦ ζημιωθῆναι τὸ πάντων ἡμῶν τιμωτάτου κτήμα τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀγάπην· ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ πείσεσθαι⁵ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔχοντες, καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ δόξετε μάχεσθαι τῷ εἰπόντι· Μὴ ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν⁶ κρίνει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰάν μὴ ἀκούσῃ πρῶτον, καὶ γινῶ τί ποιεῖ ; ὁ δὲ καταχέων ἡμῶν τὰς λοιδορίας, τὸν δὲ τῶν λεγομένων ἐλεγχον μὴ ἐπάγων, φανήσεται ποιητὴν ἑαυτῷ προσηγορίαν ἐπενευκίων, ἐκ τῆς ἀτόπου τῶν λόγων χρήσεως. τὸν γὰρ διαβάλλοντα πῶς ἄλλως προσῆκεν ὀνομάζειν, ἢ οὐχὶ ἦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιτηδεύει προσηγορίαν αὐτῷ τιθεμένων ; μήτε οὖν ὁ λοιδορῶν ἡμᾶς διάβολος ἔστω, ἀλλὰ κατήγορος· μάλλον δὲ μηδὲ τὸ⁷ τοῦ κατηγόρου δεχέσθω ὄνομα, ἀλλ' ἀδελφὸς ἔστω ἐν

won over by certain men to the calumnies uttered against us, you did not consider us worthy of a visitation of love, behold now we are beginning the correspondence ourselves, and we profess to be ready to divest ourselves in your presence of the charges that are being brought against us, provided only that those who revile us consent to stand face to face with us before your Piety. For if we are convicted, we shall acknowledge our error, and you after such conviction will receive pardon in the sight of the Lord for betaking yourselves away from the communion of us sinners, and our accusers will receive a reward for having made public our hidden iniquity. But if you condemn us before hearing the evidence, we shall in no wise suffer injury, except for the loss of the possession we honour most of all, our love for you ; you, however, will seem both to suffer this same loss, since you will not have us, and also to be in conflict with the Gospel¹ which says ; “ Doth our law judge any man, unless it first hear him, and know what he doth ? ” And, thirdly, he who pours abuses upon us, adducing no proof for what he says, will be shown to have brought an evil name upon himself by reason of his outrageous use of language. For how else should we designate a slanderer, if we do not put on him the name that he assumes by his very action ? And therefore let him who abuses us be, not a slanderer, but an accuser, nay rather let him accept not even the name of accuser, but let him be a brother admonishing in

¹ John 7. 51.¹ ἔχοντες editi antiq.² ἐφ' editi.⁶ πείσεσθε editi antiq.³ μόνως editi antiq.⁴ ἀμαρτιῶν Harl.⁶ ὑμῶν E, Med. ; om. alii MSS.⁷ τῷ E.

ἀγάπη νουθητῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ διορθώσει ἐπάγων τὸν ἔλεγχον· μήτε ὑμεῖς λοιδοριῶν γένησθε¹ ἀκροαταί, ἀλλ' ἐλέγχων δοκιμασταί· μήτε ἡμεῖς ἀνιάτρευτοι καταλειφθῶμεν, μὴ φανερομένης ἡμῖν τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν.

Μὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς ὁ λογισμὸς κατεχέτω, ὅτι οἱ τὴν παραλίαν οἰκοῦντες ἔξω ἐσμὲν τοῦ πάθους τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ οὐδὲν τῆς παρ' ἐτέρων ἐπικουρίας δεόμεθα· ὥστε τίς ἡμῖν χρεία τῆς πρὸς ἐτέρουσ κωνωνίας; ὁ γὰρ Κύριος τὰς μὲν νήσους² τῆς ἡπείρου διὰ θαλάσσης διέστησε, τοὺς δὲ νησιώτας τοῖς ἡπειρώταις διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης συνέδησε. οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς χωρίζει ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τὸν χωρισμὸν ὑποστῶμεν. εἰς ἡμῶν Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐλπίς ἡ αὐτή· εἴτε κεφαλὴν ἑαυτοῦ τῆς καθόλου Ἐκκλησίας λογίσεσθε, οὐ δύναται ἡ κεφαλὴ εἰπεῖν τοῖς ποσὶ, χρείαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω· εἴτε καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ τάξει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν μελῶν ἑαυτοῦς τάσσετε, οὐ δύνασθε λέγειν τοῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι κατατεταγμένοις³ ἡμῖν⁴ τῷ, χρείαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχομεν.⁵ αἱ τε γὰρ χεῖρες ἀλλήλων δέονται, καὶ οἱ πόδες ἀλλήλους στηρίζουσι, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐν τῇ συμφωνίᾳ τὸ ἐναργὲς τῆς καταλήψεως ἔχουσιν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἐπιζητοῦμεν τὴν σύμπνοιαν ὑμῶν. οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι κἂν μὴ παρήτε τῷ σώματι, τῇ διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν βοθηθείᾳ μέγα παρέξετε ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς ὀφελος. ὑμᾶς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε παρὰ ἀνθρώποις εὐπρεπὲς οὔτε τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον ταῖς τοιαύταις

¹ γίνεσθε Harl. et Med.

² μὲν νήσους] νήσους μὲν ἀπὸ editi antiq̄i.

love, and bringing in the evidence for our correction; and do you not be hearers of abuse, but examiners of evidence; and let us not be abandoned uncured, our error not having been made manifest to us.

For do not let this consideration hold you back—that we who inhabit the sea-coast are outside of the suffering of the many, and have no necessity at all of aid from others, so what need have we of communion with others? For the Lord has divided the islands from the mainland by sea, but He has bound the islanders with the people of the mainland by love. Nothing separates us from one another, brethren, unless we establish the separation by deliberate choice. Our Lord is one, our faith one, our hope the same. If you consider yourselves the head of the universal Church, the head cannot say to the feet: “I have no need of you.” Or if you assign yourselves to another position among the ecclesiastical members, you cannot say to us who have been placed in the same body: “We have no need of you.” For the hands need each other, and the feet steady each other, and it is through their working in concert that the eyes possess their clearness of perception. For we confess our weakness and we seek agreement with you. For we know that even if you are not present in the body, by the aid of your prayers you will furnish us with much help at most critical times. Moreover, it is not becoming before men nor pleasing to God for you to employ such words as

³ τεταγμένοις editi antiq̄i.

⁴ ὑμῖν E.

⁵ ἔχω Harl. et Med.

κεκρῆσθαι φωναίς, αἷς οὐδὲ τὰ ἔθνη κέκρηται τὰ μὴ εἰδῶτα¹ τὸν Θεόν. ἀλλὰ κακείνα ἀκούομεν, κἀν εἰς πάντα αὐτάρκη τὴν χώραν νέμονται,² τῆς γούν τῶν μελλόντων ἕνεκεν ἀδηλίας τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμμαχίαν ἀσπάξασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπιμειλίαν ὡς ἔχουσάν τι κέρδος μεταδιώκειν. ἡμεῖς δέ, ἐκείνων ὄντες τῶν πατέρων, οἱ ἐνομοθέτησαν διὰ μικρῶν χαρακτήρων τὰ τῆς κοινωνίας³ σύμβολα ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς πέρατα περιφέρεισθαι, καὶ πάντας πᾶσι πολίτας καὶ οἰκείους εἶναι, νῦν ἀποτέμνομεν ἑαυτοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ οὔτε ἐπαισχυνόμεθα τῇ μονώσει, οὔτε ζηρίαν φέρειν τὸν διασπασμὸν τῆς ὁμοιοῦς τιθέμεθα· οὔτε φρίσσομεν, ὅτι εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάνει ἡ φοβερὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν προφητεία, εἰπόντος, ὅτι Διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν, ψυγῆσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν;

Μὴ ταῦτα, ἀδελφοὶ τιμιώτατοι, μὴ ἀνάσχησθε τοῦτο,⁴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρελθούσι παρακαλέσατε ἡμᾶς γράμμασιν εἰρηνικοῖς καὶ ἀγαπητικαῖς προσφωνήσεσιν, οἷον εἰ πράξις τινὶ ἐπαφῇ τὸ τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν ἔλκος, ὃ ἐκ τῆς παρελθούσης ἀμελείας ἐνεποιήσατε ἡμῖν, παραμυθούμενοι. καὶ εἴτε αὐτοὶ βούλεσθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπαντήσαι καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐρευνῆσαι⁵ τὰ ἀρρωστήματα ἡμῶν, εἰ ὄντως τοιαῦτά ἐστιν οἷα⁶ ἀκούετε, ἢ ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ ψεύδους προσθήκαις βαρύτερα ὑμῖν ἀπαγγέλλεται⁷ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἡμῶν, γενέσθω⁸ καὶ τοῦτο ἔτοιμοι ἡμεῖς ὑπτίαις χερσὶ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑμῶν ὑποδέξασθαι, καὶ προσθεῖναι⁹ ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἀκριβῆ

not even the heathen that know not God have employed. But even they, as we hear, even if they inhabit a land in all ways self-sufficient, at any rate on account of the uncertainty of the future gladly welcome an alliance with each other and seek intercourse as possessing some advantage. But we, although sprung from those fathers who decreed that by small signs the tokens of communion should be carried about from one end of the earth to the other, and that all should be fellow-citizens and neighbours to all—do we cut ourselves off from the inhabited world, and are we neither ashamed of our isolation, nor do we reckon it a loss to endure the severance of our unanimity, nor do we shudder that on us will come the fearful prophecy of our Lord, who has said: "Because iniquity hath abounded, the charity of many shall grow cold?"¹

Do not, most honoured brethren, do not suffer this, but rather console us for what has passed with letters of peace and salutations of love, soothing as it were with a gentle touch the wound in our heart, which you have inflicted upon us by your past neglect. And if you yourselves wish to come to us and inquire in your own person into our infirmities, to see if they are really such as you hear, or whether sins on our part made more grievous by the addition of falsehoods are being reported to you, let even this be done. We are indeed ready to receive your coming with outstretched hands, and to offer ourselves to a

¹ Matt. 24. 12.⁴ ταῦτα editi antiqui.⁵ τε add. E.⁶ & editi antiqui.⁷ ἀπαγγέλλετε E.⁸ γενέσθω E.⁹ προσθεῖναι E.¹ εἰδῶτα E.² νέμονται E.³ ἐπιμειλίαι editi antiqui, E in marg. manu prima.

βάσανον· μόνον ἀγάπη ἠγείσθω¹ τῶν γινομένων· εἶτε καὶ βούλεσθε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ὑποδείξαι τινα τόπον, ἐν ᾧ γενόμενοι καὶ ὑμῖν² τὸ ὀφειλόμενον τῆς ἐπισκέψεως χρέος ἀποπληρώσωμεν καὶ ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐνδεχομένην πείραν παρέξομεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ προλαβόντα ἰάσασθαι, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδεμίαν διαβολαίς³ χώραν καταλιπεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο γενέσθω. πάντως γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἀσθενῆ περιφέρομεν σάρκα, ἀλλ' ἕως ἀναπνέωμεν,⁴ ὑπεύθυνοί ἐσμεν μηδὲν ἐλλιμπᾶναι τῶν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Μὴ οὖν παραλογίσθητε ἡμῶν τὴν παράκλησιν ταύτην, μὴ εἰς ἀνάγκην ἡμᾶς ἀγάγητε καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ἐξειπεῖν τὴν ὀδύνην ἡμῶν. μέχρι γὰρ νῦν, γινώσκετε, ἀδελφοί, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν λύπην στέγομεν, αἰσχυρόμενοι τοῖς πόρρωθεν ἡμῶν κοινωτικοῖς τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτρίωσιν ὑμῶν διαγείλαι, ἵνα μὴ κάκείνους θλίψωμεν καὶ χαρᾶν τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἐμποιήσωμεν. ταῦτα μόνος ἐπέστειλα νῦν γνώμη δὲ τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ πάντων ἀδελφῶν ἔπεμψα,⁵ οἱ καὶ παρεκάλεσάν με, μὴ τῷ τυχόντι χρήσασθαι διακόνῳ τοῦ γράμματος, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶ ὃς δυνήσεται ὅσα διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς παρήκαμεν φοβούμενοι μὴ εἰς ἀμετρίαν πολλὴν τὸν λόγον ἐκβάλωμεν, ταῦτα διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συνέσεως, ἣν ἔχει ἐκ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναπληρώσαι. λέγομεν δὲ τὸν ποθεινότατον ἡμῖν καὶ εὐλαβέστατον ἀδελφὸν Πέτρον τὸν συμπρεσβύτερον, ὃν καὶ δέξασθε ἐν ἀγάπῃ καὶ προπέμψατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρηνικῶς, ἵνα γένηται ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἀγγελος.

¹ προηγεσθω editi antiq.

strict examination; only let love rule the proceedings. Or if you even wish to indicate some place near yourselves, where we may come and thus shall both discharge the duty of the visit we owe you and submit ourselves as far as possible to your investigation, so that we may remedy the past and leave no ground for slanders in the future, let even this be done. For in any event, even if we carry about a sickly body, yet, as long as we draw breath, we are obliged to overlook nothing that leads to the edification of the churches of Christ.

Do not therefore misunderstand this petition of ours; do not drive us to the necessity of disclosing our distress to others also. For up to now, rest assured, brethren, that we have concealed our grief within ourself, being ashamed to inform the more distant members of our communion of your alienation from us, that we may not afflict them and produce joy in those that hate us. All this I am now writing alone, but I am sending it with the consent of all the brethren in Cappadocia, who have also besought me not to employ any chance letter-carrier but a man who will be able through his own sagacity—which by the grace of God he possesses—to supplement whatever we have omitted in the letter through fear of carrying our discussion beyond all due measure. And we mean our very beloved and reverend brother, Petrus, our fellow-presbyter, whom we bid you both to receive in love and to send forth to us in peace, that he may be for us a messenger of good tidings.

² ἡμῖν editi antiq.

³ διαβολῆς editi antiq.

⁴ ἀναπνέωμεν nonnulli MSS.; ἐν πνέωμεν editi antiq.

⁵ ἔγραψα E, editi antiq.

Τοῖς Νεοκαισαρεύσιν.

Πολὸν χρόνον ἀπεσιωπήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀδελφοὶ τιμωτάτοι ἡμῖν καὶ περιπόθητοι, ὥσπερ οἱ πρὸς ὀργὴν διαναστάτες, καίτοι τίς οὐτὼ βαρύνῃς¹ καὶ δυσδιάλλακτος τῷ λελυπηκότι, ὥστε ὀλη σχεδὸν ἀνθρώπου γενεᾶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ μίσους ὀργὴν συμπαρεκτείνει; ὃ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν γινόμενον,² οὐδεμιᾶς τοῦ διεξέυχθαι δικαίας ἀφορμῆς ὑπαρχούσης, οὐκοῦν ὅσα γε ἴσμεν αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐναντίον, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἡμῖν φιλίαν καὶ ἔνωσιν ἐνυπαρχόντων τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς³ ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ πρώτου, τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ Κυρίου διαρρηθῆναι εἰπόντος, ὅτι Ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκονται πάντες, ὅτι ἐμοὶ μαθηταὶ ἐστε, εἰν ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους; καὶ πάλιν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου σαφῶς τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης καλὸν παριστῶντος ἡμῖν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν οἷς ἀποφαίνεται πλήρωμα νόμου εἶναι τὴν ἀγάπην, τοῦτο δὲ ὅταν προτίθῃσι πάντων ἰμοῦ τῶν μεγάλων τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης καλόν, ἐν οἷς φησιν Ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα χαλκὸς ἠχῶν, ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον. καὶ εἰν ἔχω προφητείαν,

¹ Βαρύμενος Paris.² γενόμενον editi antiqui.

¹ Written in the late summer of 375. Cf. Loofs, 21. Newman (*Church of the Fathers*, p. 98) says by way of an introduction to this letter: "If Basil's Semi-Arian connexions brought suspicion upon himself in the eyes of Catholic believers, much more would they be obnoxious to persons attached, as certain Neocæsareans were, to the Sabellian party, who were

TO THE NEOCAESAREANS¹

For a long time we have kept silence as regards one another, our most honourable and beloved brethren, just as men who stand aloof in anger. And yet who is so exceedingly wrathful and irreconcilable to his offender that he prolongs the anger arising from his hatred for almost a whole generation of man? And this it is possible to see happening in our case, although there is no just reason for having been separated—at least as far as we ourselves know—but, on the contrary, many strong reasons have always existed for the highest friendship and union between us, one indeed, the greatest and the first, the commandment of the Lord,² who explicitly said: "By this shall all men know you are My disciples, if you love one another," and again the Apostle,³ who sets clearly before us the blessing of charity, on the one hand when he shows that the fulfilling of the law is charity, on the other when he places the blessing of charity before all the great things together, when he⁴ says: "If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. And if I should have

in the opposite extreme to the Semi-Arians, and their especial enemies in those times. It is not wonderful, then, that he had to write to the church in question in a strain like the following." The principal agent in the slandering of Basil was probably Atarbius, Bishop of Caesarea.

² John 13. 35.

³ Cf. Rom. 13. 10: Ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται· πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη. "The love of our neighbour worketh no evil. Love therefore is the fulfilling of the law."

⁴ 1 Cor. 13. 1-3.

καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνώσιν, καὶ ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστᾶν,¹ ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν εἰμι. κἂν ψωμίω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου, καὶ παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καυθῆ, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι· οὐχ ὡς δυναμῶμαι ποτὲ τῶν ἀπειρημένων ἐκάστου δίχα τῆς ἀγάπης ἐνεργηθῆναι. ἀλλὰ βουλομένου τοῦ ἀγίου, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπε, τῷ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τρόπῳ τὴν κατὰ πάντων ὑπεροχὴν προσμαρτυρῆσαι τῇ ἐντολῇ.

Δεύτερον δέ, ὅτι εἴ τι μέγα συμβάλλεται πρὸς συνάφειαν καὶ τὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχεῖν διδασκάλων, οἱ αὐτοὶ ὑμῖν τέ εἰσι καὶ ἡμῖν διδάσκαλοί τε τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Θεοῦ,² καὶ πατέρες πνευματικοί, οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ὑμετέραν θεμελιώσαντες. Γρηγόριον λέγω τὸν πᾶνυ, καὶ ὅσοι ἐφεξῆς ἐκείνῳ τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν³ ἐπισκοπῆς τὸν θρόνον διαδεξάμενοι, ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ὥσπερ τινὲς ἀστέρες ἐπανατέλλοντες,⁴ κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰχνῶν ἐπέβησαν, ὥστε διάγνωστα⁵ καταλιπεῖν τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν⁶ πολιτείας τὰ σημεῖα τοῖς βουλομένοις. εἰ δὲ καὶ αἱ σωματικαὶ οἰκειότητες οὐκ ἀπόβλητοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγα⁷ συμβαλλόμενοι πρὸς ἀρραγῆ συνάφειαν καὶ κοινωνίαν βίου, καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν⁸ ὑπῆρξε πρὸς ὑμᾶς⁹ τὰ

¹ μεθιστάνειν editi antiq̄i.

² ἡμῶν editi antiq̄i.

³ δύσγνωστα E.

⁴ μεγάλα editi antiq̄i.

² Χριστοῦ E, Med.

⁴ καὶ add. E.

⁶ αὐτῶν editi antiq̄i.

⁸ ἡμῖν editi antiq̄i.

⁹ ἡμᾶς editi antiq̄i.

prophecy and should know all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I should have all faith so as to remove mountains and have not charity, I am nothing. And if I should distribute all my goods and deliver my body to be burned and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing"; not that each of the things just enumerated can really be done without charity, but that the Holy One wishes, as He Himself said, to add to his commandment, through the use of the figure of hyperbole, testimony to its superiority over everything.¹

And, secondly, if sharing the same teachers contributes at all greatly to union, both you and we have not only the same teachers of God's mysteries, but also the same spiritual fathers who from the beginning have laid the foundations of your church. I mean the famous Gregory² and all who, having succeeded in turn to his chair in your episcopate, one following the other like rising stars, have so walked in the same footsteps as to leave the marks of his heavenly administration visible to any who wish to see them. And if also blood relationships are not to be despised but are greatly conducive to an unbroken union and community of life, these claims also have always existed between

¹ B. Jackson suggests that Basil has in mind Mark 11. 23: ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὅς ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ ὄρει τοῦτο, Ἄρθητι, καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ μὴ διακριθῆ ἔν τῃ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ πιστεύσῃ ὅτι ἃ λέγει γίνεσθαι ἔσται αὐτῷ ὃ εἶπῃ. "Amen I say to you, that whosoever shall say to this mountain, Be thou removed and be cast into the sea, and shall not stagger in his heart, but believe, that whatsoever he saith shall be done; it shall be done unto him."

² Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bishop of Neocaesarea, about 233-270.

δίκαια. τίνος οὖν ἔνεκεν, ὃ σεμνοτάτῃ πόλειον (δί' ὑμῶν γὰρ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ διαλέγομαι), οὐ γράμμα ἡμερον¹ αὐτόθεν, οὐ φωνὴ δεξιά, ἀλλ' ἠνοικταί μὲν ὑμῶν τὰ ὄτα τοῖς διαβύλλειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν; ὥστε τοσοῦτον² πλέον στενάξειν ὀφείλω, ὅσῳ περ ἂν μᾶλλον ἴδω τὸ σπουδαζόμενον αὐτοῖς κατορθούμενον ἐπειδὴ τὸ τῆς διαβολῆς ἔργον φανερόν ἔχει τὸν καθηγούμενον, ὃς ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὑπάρχων ἀδικημάτων γνώριμος, ἀπὸ ταύτης μάλιστα τῆς πονηρίας χαρακτηρίζεται, ὥστε καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. πλὴν ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἀνάσχεσθέ³ μου τῆς παρρησίας ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῖς διαβύλλουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀναπετάσαντες, πάντα ἀνεξετάστως ταῖς ψυχαῖς παραδέχεσθε· καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς τὸ ψεῦδος φυλοκρινῶν.⁴ τίς ἠπόρησέ ποτε πονηρῶν ἐγκλημάτων μόνος ἀγωνιζόμενος; τίς ἠλέγχθη ψευδόμενος μὴ παρόντος τοῦ συκοφαντουμένου; ποῖον ῥῆμα οὐκ ἔστι πιθανόν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, εἰ μὴ ὁ μὲν λοιδορος διατείνεται, ἡ μὴν οὕτως ἔχειν, ὁ δὲ λοιδορούμενος μῆτε παρῆ, μῆτε ἐπακοῦη τῶν βλασφημιῶν; οὐδὲ αὐτὴ ἡ τοῦ βίου συνήθεια παιδεύει ὑμᾶς πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀκροατὴν γενήσεσθαι,⁵ μὴ ὄλον ἀπάγεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ προλαβόντος, ἀλλ' ἀναμένειν καὶ τὴν ἀπολογία τοῦ ἐναγομένου, ἵν' οὕτως ἐκ τῆς παραθέσεως ἐκατέρων τῶν λόγων διαδειχθῇ ἡ ἀλήθεια; κρίμα δίκαιον κρίνατε πρόσταγμα ἔστιν ἐν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων εἰς σωτηρίαν.

¹ ἡμέτερον editi antiq; ἡμέτερον E, Harl.

² τοσοῦτῳ Reg. secundus. ³ ἀνασχεσθαι E.

⁴ φυλλοκρινῶν Med.; φιλοκρινῶν editi antiq.

you and us. For what reason then, O most august of cities (for through you I address the entire city), is there no friendly letter from you, no kindly voice, but rather have your ears been opened to those who try to slander? Wherefore I ought to groan so much the more as I see their purpose successfully accomplished; for the work of slander has a clear author, one who, known from many past crimes, is especially distinguished by his present wickedness, so that the sin becomes even a name for him.¹ Nay, do you endure my frankness: in opening both ears to those who slander us, you take within your soul everything without inquiry, and there is no one to distinguish the true from the false. Who has ever been free from false accusations when struggling alone? Who has been convicted of lying when the victim of his calumny has not been present? What words are not credible to those who hear them, if the abuser insists that they are really so, and the object of his abuse is not at hand and does not hear the revilings? Does not the very custom of the world teach you in this matter, that it is necessary for one who will be a fair and impartial listener not to be led entirely away by the one who is the first to speak, but to await also the defence of him who is accused, that thus from the comparison of both arguments the truth may be made manifest? "Judge a just judgment,"² is one of the precepts most necessary for salvation.

¹ i. e. ὁ Διάβολος.

² Cf. John 7. 24: μὴ κρίνετε κατ' ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν κρίνατε. "Judge not according to the appearance, but judge just judgment."

³ γενέσθαι E, Med.

Καὶ ταῦτα λέγω, οὐκ ἐπιλελησμένος τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ῥημάτων, ὅτι φεύγων ἐκεῖνος τὰ ἀνθρώπινα κριτήρια, ὅλον ἑαυτοῦ τὸν βίον ταῖς εὐθύναις τοῦ ἀνεξαπατήτου δικαστηρίου ἐταμιεύετο ἐν οἷς φησιν Ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν ἵνα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀνακριθῶ, ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴ προλαβοῦσαι διαβολαὶ ψευδεῖς κατέσχον ὑμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς, καὶ διαβέβληται μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ βίος, διαβέβληται δὲ ἡ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν πίστις, εἰδὼς ὅτι τρισὶν ὁμοῦ προσώποις τὴν βλάβην προστρίβεται ὁ διαβάλλων τὸν τε γὰρ συκοφαντούμενον ἀδικεῖ, καὶ πρὸς οὗς ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, καὶ¹ ἑαυτὸν τῆς μὲν ἑμαυτοῦ βλάβης κἂν ἀπεσιώπησα, εὖ ἴστε, οὐ καταφρονῶν τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν² ὑπολήψεως, (πῶς γὰρ ὅς γε ἵνα μὴ ταύτην ζημιωθῶ, ταῦτα ἐπιστέλλω καὶ ἀγωνίζομαι νῦν;) ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι ἐν τρισὶ τοῖς βλαπτομένοις ὁ τὰ ἐλάττονα ζημιούμενος εἰμὶ ἐγώ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀποστεροῦμαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀφαιρέισθε· καὶ ὁ τούτων αἴτιος ἐμὲ μὲν ὑμῶν διίστησι, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἄλλοτριῶν τοῦ Κυρίου διότι οὐκ ἐστὶ Θεῷ ἐκ τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων οἰκειωθῆναι. ὑμῶν οὖν μᾶλλον ἔνεκεν ἢ ἑμαυτοῦ ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους, καὶ τοῦ ὑμᾶς ἐξελεῖσθαι βλάβης οὐκ ἀνεκτῆς. τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ μείζων πάθος³ κακόν τις τὸ τιμιώτατον τῶν ὄντων ζημιωθείς, τὴν ἀλήθειαν;

Τί οὖν φημι, ἀδελφοί; οὐχ ὅτι ἀναμάρτητός τις ἐγώ, οὐθ' ὅτι ὁ βίος ὁ ἐμός οὐχι πλήρης ἐστὶ μυρίων ἐλαττωμάτων· οἶδα γὰρ ἑμαυτὸν καὶ οὐ

And as I say this, I am not unmindful of the words of the apostle, that he, fleeing man's judgments, reserved his whole life for the examination of the infallible seat of judgment, when he¹ said: "But to me it is a very small thing to be judged by you or by man's day." But yet since false slanders have already taken possession of your ears, both our life has been slandered, and our faith in God has been slandered; for I realize that the slanderer inflicts injury on three persons at once: he injures him whom he calumniates, those with whom he has conversation, and himself; my own injury I would have passed over in silence, rest assured, not because I feel contempt for my reputation among you (for how could I do so, I who am now writing this and striving just that I may not lose it), but through seeing that of the three who are injured, the one who suffers the least loss is I myself. For while I am deprived of you, you are being robbed of the truth; and while he who is responsible for this is separating me from you, he is alienating himself from the Lord; because it is not possible for one to become united with God through that which is forbidden. On your account, therefore, rather than my own do I utter these words, and to rescue you from an unbearable injury. For what greater evil could one suffer than the loss of truth, of all things the most precious?

What then am I saying, brethren? Not that I am a sinless man, nor that my life is not full of numberless defects. For I know myself, and indeed I do not

¹ 1 Cor. 4. 3.

¹ αὐτὸς add. E.

² ὑμῶν editi antiqui.

³ πάθος editi antiqui, excepto Hagan.

διαλείπω γε στάζων¹ τὸ δάκρυν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, εἴ πως δυνηθείην ἐξιλιάσασθαι μου τὸν Θεόν καὶ διαφυγεῖν τὴν ἀπειληθείσαν κολασίν· ἄλλ' ὅτι ὁ τὰ ἡμέτερα κρίνων, εἰ μὲν καθαρὸν ἔχειν διαβεβαιούται τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, καρφολογεῖτω ἡμῶν² τὸ ὄμμα. ὁμολογοῦμεν γὰρ δεῖσθαι πολλῆς τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὀγκυιούντων ἐπιμελείας· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἶποι, καὶ τοσοῦτω γε πλεόν οὐκ ἔρει, ὅσῳ περ ἂν μάλλον ἢ καθαρὸς,³ διότι ἴδιον τῶν τελείων τὸ μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπεραίρειν, ἐπεὶ πάντως ὑπόδοκοι τῇ ἀλαζονείᾳ τοῦ Φαρισαίου γενήσονται, ὃς ἑαυτὸν δικαίων κατέκρινε τὸν τελώνην, μετ'⁴ ἐμοῦ ζητεῖτω τὸν ἰατρόν, καὶ μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ κρινέτω, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ Κύριος, ὃς ἀποκάλυψαι τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκοτούς καὶ φανερώσει τὰς βουλάς τῶν καρδιῶν. μεμνήσθω δὲ καὶ τοῦ εἰπόντος· μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθήτε· καί,⁵ Μὴ καταδικάζετε, ἵνα μὴ καταδικασθῆτε. ὄλωσ δέ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ μὲν ἰσίσιμα ἡμῶν ἐστὶ τὰ πλημμελήματα, τί οὐχὶ πείθεται⁶ τῷ διδασκάλῳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν λέγοντι· Ἐλεγεξον, ἐπιτιμησον, παρακάλεσον; εἰ δὲ ἀνίατος ἡμῶν ἡ ἀνομία, τί

¹ στενάζων K.

² ἡμῶν K.

³ αὐτὸς add. editi antiq̄i.

⁴ μήτ' editi antiq̄i.

⁵ τοῦ add. editi antiq̄i.

⁶ πείθεσθε K, editi antiq̄i.

¹ Cf. Matt. 7. 4 and 5: ἢ πὼς εἶπεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, Ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου; καὶ ἴδου, ἡ δοκὸς ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου; ὑποκριτὰ, ἐκβαλε πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. "Or how sayest thou to thy brother: Let me cast the mote out of thy eye; and behold a beam is in thy own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thy

cease to shed tears over my sins in the hope that somehow I may be able to propitiate my God and escape the threatened chastisement. But as for the man who judges our affairs, if he is certain that his own eye is clear, let him pick the mote from our eye.¹ For we acknowledge that we are in need of much care from those who are sound. But if he should not say this (and the purer he is the more he will refrain from saying it, because it is characteristic of the perfect not to exalt themselves, since they will surely become liable to the charge of the boastfulness of the Pharisee, who while justifying himself condemned the publican), let him with me seek a physician and let him not judge before the time, until the Lord comes, who will reveal the hidden things of darkness and will make manifest the counsels of hearts.² But let him be mindful also of Him who³ said: "Judge not that you may not be judged," and "Condemn not that you may not be condemned."⁴ And in general, brethren, if our faults are curable, why does he not obey the teacher of the churches, who says: "Reprove, entreat, rebuke"?⁵ But if our lawlessness is incurable, why

own eye, and then shalt thou see to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

² Cf. 1 Cor. 4. 5; ὥστε μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ τὴν κρίνετε, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ Κύριος, ὃς καὶ φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκοτούς, καὶ φανερώσει τὰς βουλάς τῶν καρδιῶν. καὶ τότε ὁ ἑσπαιος γενήσεται ἐκάστω ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. "Therefore judge not before the time; until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise from God."

³ Matt. 7. 1.

⁴ Cf. Luke 6. 37: μὴ καταδικάζετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ καταδικασθῆτε. "Judge not, and you shall not be judged."

⁵ 2 Tim. 4. 2.

οὐχὶ εἰς πρόσωπον ἡμῶν ἀντικαθίσταται καὶ δημοσιεύσας ἡμῶν τὰ ἀνομήματα ἐλευθεροῖ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν βλάβης τὰς ἐκκλησίας; μὴ τοίνυν ἀνάσχησθε τῆς ὑπ' ὀδόντα λαλουμένης καθ' ἡμῶν λοιδορίας. τούτο γὰρ κὰν παιδίσκη μία τῶν ἐκ μύλωνος ποιήσειε, κὰν τῶν ἀγοραίων τις μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς ἐπιδείξαιτο, οἷς ἡ γλῶσσα πρὸς πᾶσαν ἠκόνηται λοιδορίαν. ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἐπίσκοποι κληθῶσιν εἰς ἀκρόασιν. ἔστι κληῖρος κατὰ πᾶσαν τοῦ Θεοῦ παροικίαν συναχθήτωσαν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. λεγέτω μετὰ παρησίας ὁ βουλόμενος, ἵνα ἔλεγχος ἢ τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ μὴ λοιδορία. ὑπ' ὄψιν ἀγέτω τὰ λαυθάνοντά μου τῆς πονηρίας· μισεῖτω δὲ μηδὲ τότε, ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖτω ὡς ἀδελφόν. ἐλεεῖσθαί που δικαιοτέροι ἐσμεν παρὰ τῶν μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀναμαρτήτων οἱ¹ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἡμεῖς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλεπαίνεσθαι.

Εἰ δὲ περὶ πίστιν τὸ σφάλμα, δειχθήτω ἡμῶν ἡ συγγραφή· πάλιν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν κριτήριον καθισάτω. ἀναγνωσθήτω τὸ ἔγκλημα. δοκιμάσθητω, εἰ μὴ ἀγνοία τοῦ ἐγκαλοῦντος ἔγκλημα εἶναι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον, ἢ τῆ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει κατεγνωσμένον ἐστὶ τὸ γράμμα. πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν καλῶν οὐ δοκεῖ εἶναι τοιαῦτα τοῖς τὸ κριτήριον τῆς διανοίας οὐκ ἀκριβεῖς κερτημένοις. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἰσοβαρῆ τῶν ὄγκων οὐκ ἴσα εἶναι δοκεῖ, ὅταν μὴ ἰσορρόπως ἔχωσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας αἱ πλάστιγγες. καὶ τὸ μέλι ἤδη πικρὸν τισι κατεφάνη, τὴν γευστικὴν αἴσθησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους διεφθαρμένοις. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐχ ὑγιᾶς ἔχων πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ὄντων οὐκ εἶδε, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων ὑπέθετο. καὶ τοίνυν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων

does he not stand before our face and by publishing our folly free the churches, as far as we are concerned, from injury? Therefore, do not tolerate the calumny which is being uttered between the teeth against us. For this would even a lussy from the bake-shop do, in this way would even one of the market loafers extravagantly swagger, whose tongue is whetted for every calumny. But there are bishops; let them be called for a hearing. There is a clergy in every parish¹ of God; let the most esteemed be gathered. Let whoever wishes speak with frankness, that the business may be a proof, not mere abuse. Let the secrets of my wickedness be brought to view; but let him then cease to hate, but admonish as a brother. For we sinners are more justly to be pitied by blessed and sinless men than to be objects of their anger.

But if our error concern faith, let the treatise be shown to us; again let a just public tribunal hold session. Let the charge be read out. Let there be an investigation as to whether the charge seem not due to the ignorance of the accuser rather than that the work is condemned through its own nature. For many good things do not seem to be so to those who do not possess a keen judgment of the mind. For even the equal weights of material bodies do not seem to be equal when the balances are not equal to each other. And honey also seems bitter to some, whose sense of taste has been destroyed by sickness. Nay, even an eye which is not healthy does not see many things that exist, but surmises many things which do not exist at all. And so also in the realm

¹ On the meaning of *παροικία*, cf. Letter LXVI and note.

¹ *ei editi antiqi.*

δυνάμεις τὸ ἴσον ὁρῶ πολλάκις γινόμενοι, ὅταν τῆς τῶν συγγραψαμένων ἕξεως ὁ κριτῆς ἀπολιμπάνηται. δεῖ γὰρ σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς παρασκευῆς ὠρμηθῆναι τὸν τε κρίνοντα τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸν συγγράφοντα. ἢ τὰ μὲν γεωργίας ἔργα οὐ δυνατός¹ ἐστὶ κρίνειν ὃ γε μὴ γεωργικός, καὶ τὸ ἐκμελῆς τε καὶ ἐμμελῆς τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν ῥυθμῶν οὐ διαγνώσεται ὃ μὴ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχων τῆς μουσικῆς· λόγων δὲ κριτῆς εὐθὺς ὁ βουλόμενος ἔσται,² ὃ μῆτε διδάσκαλον ἔχων ἑαυτοῦ δεικνύσαι, οὔτε χρόνον ἐν ᾧ μεμάθηκεν, οὔτε ὅλους ἐπαίτων τι μικρὸν ἢ μεῖζον τῶν περὶ λόγους. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁρῶ, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς λογίοις³ τοῦ Πνεύματος οὐ παντὶ ἐξῆν ἐπιβάλλειν τῇ ἕξετάσει τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔχοντι τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς διακρίσεως, καθὼς ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐν ταῖς διαίρεσεσι τῶν χαρισμάτων εἰπὼν· ᾧ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος δίδοται λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλω δὲ λόγος γνώσεως, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα· ἑτέρω δὲ πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Πνεύματι,⁴ ἄλλω δὲ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων· ἄλλω προφητεία, ἄλλω διακρίσεις πνευμάτων. ὥστε εἰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τὰ ἡμέτερα, δεικνύτω ἑαυτὸν ἔχοντα τὸ χάρισμα τῆς διακρίσεως τῶν πνευματικῶν ὃ τὰ ἡμέτερα κρίνειν βουλόμενος· εἰ δέ, ὡς αὐτὸς λοιδορεῖ, ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, δειξάτω ἑαυτὸν ἔμπειρον τῆς σοφίας τοῦ κόσμου,⁵ καὶ τότε αὐτῷ τὰς ψήφους τῆς κρίσεως ἐπιτρέψομεν. καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω ταῦτα πρὸς ἀποφυγὴν τῶν ἐλέγχων ἐπινοεῖσθαι

¹ οὐ δυνατός] ἄδύνατος Harl. et duo alii.

² ἔσται editi antiqui.

³ λόγοις E, Basil. secund. et Paris. editi.

of literature I see the same thing often happening, whenever the critic falls short of the experienced skill of authors. For the critic of literature and the author ought to start out with about the same equipment. Indeed, one who is not a farmer cannot judge the works of agriculture, and he who has no understanding of music will not distinguish between discord and harmony in musical rhythms; but whoever wishes will straightway be a critic of letters, though he be unable to name his teacher or the time when he studied, and although he understand nothing at all, little or much, about letters. And I see that in the utterances of the Spirit also, it has not been possible for everyone to devote himself to the investigation of His words, but only for him who possesses the Spirit which gives discernment, as the Apostle¹ has taught us, speaking on the diversity of graces; "To one indeed by the Spirit is given the word of wisdom, and to another the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit, to another faith in the same Spirit, to another the working of miracles, to another prophecy, to another the discerning of spirits." Therefore if our affairs are spiritual, let him who wishes to judge our affairs show that he has the grace of spiritual discernment. But if, as he himself falsely charges, they are of the wisdom of this world, let him show that he is experienced in the wisdom of this world, and then we shall turn over to him the votes of the decision. And let no one think that these things are being invented by

¹ 1 Cor. 12. 8-10.

⁴ ἄλλω δὲ χαρίσματα λαμπῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Πνεύματι add. editi antiqui

⁵ τούτου add. editi antiqui.

παρ' ἡμῶν. ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐπιτρέπω, ποθεινότατοι ἀδελφοί, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ποιήσασθαι τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων ἡμῖν τὴν ἐξέτασιν. οὕτως ἐστὲ βραδεῖς τὴν διάνοιαν, ὥστε πάντων¹ δεῖσθαι τῶν συνηγῶρων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς εὑρεσιν; ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἀναντίρρητα ὑμῖν φανῇ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, πείσατε τοὺς ἐρεσχελοῦντας ἀφίσθαι πάσης φιλονεικίας· ἐὰν δέ τι δοκεῖ² καὶ ἀμφίβολου ἐχειν, ἐρωτήσατε ἡμᾶς διὰ τινῶν μεσιτῶν δυναμένων πιστῶς διακοησασθαι τὰ ἡμέτερα· ἢ καὶ ἐγγράφους, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἀπαιτήσατε³ ἡμᾶς τὰς ἀποδείξεις. πάντως δὲ παντὶ τρόπῳ σπουδάσατε μὴ ἀνεξέταστα ταῦτα καταλιπεῖν.

Πίστεως δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας τίς ἂν καὶ γένοιτο ἐναργεστέρα ἀποδείξεις ἢ ὅτι τραφέντες ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τίτθ⁴ μακαρία γυναικί, παρ' ὑμῶν ὠρμημένη; Μακρίναν λέγω τὴν περιβοήτου, παρ' ἧς ἐδιδάχθημεν τὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Γρηγορίου ῥήματα, ὅσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀκολουθία μνήμης διασωθέντα αὐτὴ τε ἐφύλασσε, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔτι νηπίους ὄντας ἔπλαττε καὶ ἐμόρφου τοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας δόγμασιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν δύναμιν ἀπελάβομεν, τοῦ λόγου ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς ἡλικίας συμπληρωθέντος, πολλὴν ἐπελθόντες γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν, εἰ τινὰς εὔρομεν τῷ παραδοθέντι κανόνι τῆς εὐσεβείας στοιχοῦντας, τούτους καὶ πατέρας ἐπεγραψάμεθα καὶ ὁδηγούς τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν πορείαν ἐποιησάμεθα. καὶ μέχρι γε τῆς ὥρας ταύτης, χάριτι τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς κλήσει ἁγία εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν, οὐδένα οἶδαμεν λόγον ἐχθρὸν τῆς ὑγιαίνουσας διδασκαλίας ταῖς καρδίαις παραδεξάμενοι, οὐδὲ

us as a subterfuge from the charges. For I leave it to you, most beloved brethren, to make the investigation by yourselves of the accusations brought against us. Are you so slow of mind that you need all the advocates for the ascertainment of the truth? But if these matters seem to you by yourselves indisputable, persuade those who are indulging in idle talk to drop all strife. But if anything seems even ambiguous, question us through certain mediators who can faithfully assist our affairs, or if it seems best, demand proofs of us in writing also. But by all means and in every manner see to it that these affairs do not remain unexamined.

And what indeed could be a clearer proof of our faith than that we were brought up by our grandmother, a blessed woman who came from amongst you? I mean the illustrious Macrina, by whom we were taught the sayings of the most blessed Gregory (as many as she herself retained, preserved to her time in unbroken memory), and who moulded and formed us while still young in the doctrines of piety. And when we ourselves received the power of thinking, after reason had been developed in us by age, having travelled over many a land and sea, whomever we found walking according to the traditional rule of piety, these we both listed as fathers and regarded as guides of our souls in the journey to God. And even to this hour, by the grace of Him who summoned us with a holy calling to the knowledge of Himself, we are conscious of having received into our hearts no doctrine inimical to sound teaching, nor

¹ πάντως editi Basil. secund. et Paris.

² δοκῇ editi antiqui, sed non edit. Hagan.

³ ἀπαιτήσασθε E. ⁴ τήθη E.

μολυνθέντες ποτὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τῇ δυσωνύμῳ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν βλασφημίᾳ. ἀλλ' εἴ τινὰς ποτε ὠρμημένους ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ διδασκάλου εἰς κοινωσίαν προσελαβόμεθα, ἐπικρυπτομένους τὴν ἐν τῷ βάθει νόσον, καὶ ῥήματα λαλοῦντας εὐσεβῆ, ἢ τοῖς γε παρ' ἡμῶν λεγομένοις μὴ ἀντιτείνοντας, οὕτω προσηκάμεθα, οὔτε πᾶσαν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς¹ κρίσιν ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἀλλὰ ταῖς προεξενεχθείσαις² περὶ αὐτῶν ψήφοις παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἀκολουθήσαντες. ἐγὼ γὰρ δεξάμενος γράμματα³ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατρὸς Ἀθανασίου τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου, ᾧ καὶ ἔχω ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ προβάλλομαι τοῖς ἐπιζητοῦσιν, ἐν οἷς φανερώς διηγόρευσεν, εἴ τις ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀρειανῶν αἵρέσεως βούλοιτο μετατίθεσθαι, ὁμολογῶν τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ⁴ πίστιν, τοῦτον προσίεσθαι, μηδὲν διακρινομένους ἐπ' αὐτῷ· καὶ τοῦτου τοῦ δόγματος κοινωνοῦς μοι παρεχομένους τοὺς τε τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἐπισκόπους ἅπαντας, νομίζων ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἀκολουθεῖν ἀνδρὶ τοσοῦτω διὰ τὸ ἀξιοπίστον τῶν νομοθετησάντων, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τὸν τῆς εἰρηνοποιίας μισθὸν ὑποδέξασθαι, τοὺς ταύτην ὁμολογούντας τὴν πίστιν ἐγκατέτασσαν τῇ μερίδι τῶν κοινωρικῶν.

Δικαιώτερον δὲ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς κρίνεσθαι μὴ ἐξ ἐνὸς ἢ δευτέρου τῶν μὴ ὀρθοδοξούντων πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπισκόπων συνημμένων ἡμῖν χάριτι τοῦ Κυρίου. ἐξετασθῶσι δὲ Πισίδαι, Λυκαῶνες,

of having at any time defiled our souls by the abominable blasphemy of the Arians. But if we ever received into communion anyone who came from that teacher, they concealed the malady deep in their hearts and uttered pious words or at least did not oppose what was expressed by us, and thus we received them, and we did not entrust the whole decision regarding them to themselves, but followed the decisions made in their regard by our fathers. For after I had received a letter of the most blessed Father Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, which I both have in my possession and show to whoever ask for it, in which he has clearly ordered that, if anyone wish to come over from the heresy of the Arians by confessing the faith of Nicaea, we should receive him without making any discrimination in his case, and since he produced for me quite all the bishops both of Macedonia and Achaea as his supporters in this view, I, thinking it necessary to follow so great a man because of the trustworthiness of those who made the law, and likewise desiring to receive the reward of peace-making, enrolled those who confessed this faith in the party of communicants.

But it would be more just that our affairs be judged, not by one or two, who do not walk uprightly according to the truth, but by the multitude of bishops throughout the world who are united with us by the grace of the Lord. Let the Pisidians, Lycaonians,

² προσεξεχθείσαις E.

³ παρὰ add. edit. Paris.

⁴ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ] τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τὴν editi antiqui.

¹ ὅτε . . . κατ' αὐτοὺς] οὐ . . . κατὰ τοὺς τοιοῦτους editi antiqui.

Ἰσαυροί, Φρύγες ἐκότεροι, Ἀρμενίων ὅσον ὑμῖν ἔστι πρόσκοικον, Μακεδόνες, Ἀχαιοί, Ἰλλύριοι, Γάλλοι, Ἰσπανοί,¹ Ἰταλία σύμπασα, Σικελιώται, Ἀφροί, Αἰγύπτου τὸ ὑγαίον, τῆς Συρίας ὅπσον λείψανον οἴτινες πέμποσιν τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς γράμματα καὶ πάλιν δέχονται παρ' ἡμῶν. ὧν ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἕκ τε τῶν ἐκείθεν φερομένων γραμμάτων μαθεῖν καὶ ἕκ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν ἀντιπεμπομένων αὐτοῖς διδαχθῆναι, ὅτι σύμφυχοι πάντες ἐσμέν, τὸ ἐν φρονούντες. ὥστε ὁ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν ἀποδιδράσκων μὴ λανθανέτω ὑμῶν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, πάσης ἑαυτὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπορρηγνύς. περιβλέψασθε,² ἀδελφοί, πρὸς τίνας ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἡ κοινωνία ἐπειδὴν παρ' ἡμῶν μὴ δεχθῆτε, τίς λοιπὸν ὑμᾶς ἐπιγνώσεται; μὴ ἀγάγητε ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀνάγκην σκυθρωπῶν τι βουλευσασθαι περὶ τῆς φιλτάτης ἡμῖν ἐκκλησίας. μὴ ποιήσητέ με, ἃ νῦν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ κρύπτω τῇ ἑμαυτοῦ, κατ' ἑμαυτὸν στεναίζων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν κακότητα, ὅτι αἰτίας οἰκ οὔσης, αἱ μέγιστα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀδελφῶν τάξιν ἐπέχουσαι,³ αὐταὶ νῦν διεσπῆκασιν μὴ με⁴ ποιήσητε ταῦτα πρὸς πάντας ὁμοῦ τοὺς κοινωνικοὺς ἀποδύρασθαι. μὴ ἐκβιάσθητέ με ἀφείναι ῥήματα, ἃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τῷ ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ χαλιῶν κεκρυμμένα ἔχω παρ' ἑμαυτῶ. βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ἐκποδῶν γενέσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐκκλησίας ὁμοιοεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἢ διὰ τὰς μεираκιώδεις ἡμῶν μικροψυχίας κακὸν τοσοῦτον ἐπάγεσθαι τοῖς λαοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐρωτήσατε τοὺς πατέρας

¹ Σπάνιοι Harl., Vat., Coisl. secund., uterque Reg.

Isaurians, both Phrygians, as much of Armenia as is near you, the Macedonians, Achaeans, Illyrians, Gauls, Spaniards, all of Italy, the Sicilians, the Africans, the sound part of Egypt, whatever is left of Syria—let all, whoever both send letters to us and receive letters from us in return, be questioned. From the letters which are being conveyed from those regions, and from those which are being sent back to them from here, it is possible for you to learn that we are all of one mind, having the same ideas. So let him who flees communion with us, who cuts himself off from the whole Church, not escape the notice of your keen mind. Look around you, brethren, and see with whom you are in communion; once you are not received by us, who henceforth will acknowledge you? Do not bring us to the necessity of giving disagreeable advice about the church most dear to us. Do not make me complain of the things that I now conceal in my heart, as I bewail to myself and bemoan the wickedness of the age, because without cause the greatest of the churches, those which from of old have maintained a fraternal relationship toward one another, even these churches have now separated; do not, I say, make me complain of these things to all alike who are in communion. Do not force me to utter words which up to now I have by the bridle of reason kept concealed within me. Better is it for us to be put out of the way and for the churches to agree with one another than through our childish pettiness to bring so great an evil upon the people of God. Question your fathers and they will tell

² οὗτ' add. editi antiq̄i.

³ κατέχουσαι E.

⁴ τε E.

ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀναγγελοῦσιν ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἰ καὶ τῇ θέσει τοῦ τόπου διηρῆσθαι ἐδόκουν αἱ παροικίαι,¹ ἀλλὰ τῷ γε φρονήματι ἐν ἡσασ, καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ ἐκυβερνώοντο. συνεχεῖς μὲν τοῦ λαοῦ αἱ² ἐπιμιξίαι· συνεχεῖς δὲ τοῦ κλήρου ἐπιδημίαι· αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς ποιμέσι τοσοῦτον περιῆν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπης, ὥστε ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν διδασκάλῳ τῷ ἑτέρῳ καὶ ἡγεμόνι χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰ πρὸς Κύριον.

CCV

Ἐλπιδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ.

Πάλιν ἡμεῖς τὸν ἀγαπητὸν καὶ συμπρεσβύτερον Μελέτιον ἐκινήσαμεν, ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν ἀγάπην προσηγορίας ἡμῶν διακομίζοντα. οὐ εἰ καὶ πάνν ἐγνώκειμεν φείδεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν, ἣν ἐκουσίως ἑαυτῷ ἐπηγάγετο, δουλαγωγῶν τὴν σάρκα διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅμως καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς πρέπον εἶναι κρίναντες³ διὰ τοιούτων προσφθέγγεσθαι σε, τῶν δυναμένων ὅσα διαφεύγει τὸ γράμμα παρ' ἑαυτῶν ῥαδίως ἀναπληρῶσαι, καὶ οἰοεὶ ἀντ' ἐπιστολῆς ἐμψύχου γενέσθαι τῷ τε γράφοντι καὶ τῷ δεχομένῳ, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ δὲ πόθον ἀναπληροῦντες, ὃν ἔχει αἰεὶ περὶ τὴν σὴν τελειότητα, ἀφ' οὗ εἰς πείραν ἀφίκετο τῶν ἐν σοὶ καλῶν, καὶ νῦν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ὡς σέ⁴ ἔδυσωπήσαμεν· δι' οὗ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπισκέψεως ἀποπληροῦμεν⁵ χρέος, καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν προσεύχεσθαι

¹ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι· add. edit. Basil. secund. et Paris.

² om. E.

³ κρίνοντες MSS. recentiores.

⁴ ἐλθεῖν ὡς σέ] om. Med. et Harl.

⁵ ἀναπληροῦμεν E.

you that even if the parishes seemed to be divided by geographic position, they were yet one in mind and were governed by one counsel. Continuous was association among the people, continuous was mutual visiting among the clergy; and among the pastors themselves there was such love for one another that each used the other as teacher and guide in matters pertaining to the Lord.

LETTER CCV

To ELPIDIUS, BISHOP¹

AGAIN we have sent forth our beloved fellow-presbyter Meletius to convey our salutations to your Charity. Even though we had quite decided to spare him on account of the illness which of his own will he had brought upon himself by enslaving his flesh according to the Gospel of Christ, yet having judged it to be proper for ourselves to greet you through such men as can by their own words easily supply what is lacking in the letter, and, as it were, can act as a living epistle both to him who writes and to him who receives, and since also we are satisfying his own yearning, which he has always had for your Perfection ever since he had experience of your good qualities, we have now importuned him to go to you; through him we shall pay the debt of a visit and

¹ Of the year 375. Elpidius here was evidently bishop of some maritime town in the East, separated by Eustathius of Sebaste from his communion ostensibly for holding communion with the intruding Arian bishop of Amasea, but really because he was a friend of Basil. Cf. Letter COLI. Cf. also Letter CCVI, where Basil consoles him for the loss of a little grandson.

σε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα δω¹ ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διαύγειν, τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐπιθρείας ἀπαλλαγέντας.²

Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῇ σῆ συνέσει ἀκόλουθον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον καταφαίνεται εἰς ταῦτόν ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις ἐλθεῖν, καὶ συντυχεῖν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τιμητάτοις ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦσιν ἐπισκόποις, αὐτὸς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπόδειξον τόπον καὶ καιρὸν καθ' ὃν ἔσται τοῦτο, καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιστεῖλον, ἵνα ἐπὶ ὠρισμένοις καταλιπόντες ἕκαστος τὴν ἐν χερσίν ἀσχολίαν, δυνηθῶμέν τι τῶν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἀνελεῖν μὲν τὰς ἐξ ὑπονοιῶν νῦν ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγγνωμένας λύπας, κυρῶσαι δὲ τὴν ἀγάπην, ἧς ἀνευ ἀτελῆ εἶναι πάσης ἐντολῆς ἐργασίαν αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος διωρίσατο.

CCVI

¹ Ἐλπίδιω ἐπισκόφῳ παραμυθητικῇ.³

Νῦν μάλιστα τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείας αἰσθάνομαι, ὅτε ὁρῶ μοι τοσοῦτον ἐμποδίζουσαν τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ὠφελείᾳ. εἰ γάρ μοι κατὰ νοῦν⁴ ἐχώρει τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ἂν δι' ἐπιστολῶν οὐδὲ διὰ μέσων ἀνθρώπων προσεφθεγγόμην ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἂν δι' ἑμαντοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης ἀπεπλήρουν χρέος καὶ ἐγγύθεν ἀπέλανον τοῦ πνευμα-

¹ 347 nonnulli MSS.

² ἀπαλλαγείσιν E et editi antiqui.

³ ἐτέρῳ ὁμοίᾳ ἐπὶ ἐκγόνου ἀποβολῆ Regius secundus; παραμυθητικῇ τιμὴ ἐπὶ ἐκγόνου ἀποβολῆ Paris. Eccl.

shall beseech you to pray for us and for the Church of God, that the Lord may grant us to pass a quiet and restful life, freed from the abuse of the enemies of the Gospel.

But if it seems to your Intelligence fitting and necessary for us to go to each other at a common meeting-place, and to meet also the rest of the most honoured brethren, the bishops who live on the sea-coast, do you yourself tell us a place and time in accordance with which this shall take place, and write to the brethren, that each one leaving in charge of designated men the business he has in hand, we may be able to do something for the edification of the Church of God, and to uproot the troubles which arise from our present suspicions of one another, and strengthen the love without which the Lord Himself has declared to us that the performance of every commandment is incomplete.

LETTER CCVI

To ELPIDIUS, BISHOP, CONSOLATORY ¹

Now especially am I conscious of the weakness of my body, when I see that it is so great a hindrance to the welfare of my soul. For if my affairs were turning out according to my expectation, not through letters nor even intermediaries would I be greeting you, but in person would I both be fulfilling the debt of affection and enjoying at first hand the

¹ Written in 375. On Elpidius, cf. the previous letter and note.

τικου¹ κέρδους. νῦν δὲ οὕτω διάκειμαι, ὡς ἀγαπητῶς καὶ τὰς τῆς πατρίδος κινήσεις ὑφίστασθαι, ὡς ἀναγκαίως ποιούμεθα ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν παροικίας. ἀλλὰ παράσχοι ὁ Κύριος καὶ ὑμῖν ἰσχὺν καὶ προθυμίαν, καὶ ἐμοὶ πρὸς τῇ σπουδῇ² ἦν ἔχω νῦν, καὶ δύναμιν, ὥστε, καθὼς παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, πραγματεῦσασθαι ἡμῖν³ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, γενομένους ἐπὶ τῆς Κομανικῆς ἐνορίας.

Φοβοῦμαι δὲ περὶ τῆς σῆς κοσμιότητος, μήπου⁴ σοι ἐμπόδιον γένηται ἢ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων λύπη. καὶ γὰρ ἔμαθον ὅτι σε ἔθλιψε παιδίου τελευτή· οὐ τὴν στέρησιν, ὡς μὲν πάμπαν, λυπηρὰν εἰκὸς εἶναι, ὡς δὲ ἀνδρὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἤδη διαβεβηκότι τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἐπισταμένῳ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τὴν φύσιν ἐκ⁵ τῆς κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐμπειρίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς πνευματικῆς διδασκαλίας, ἀκόλουθον μὴ πάντῃ δύσφορον εἶναι τῶν οἰκειοτάτων τὸν χωρισμόν. καὶ γὰρ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπαιτεῖ ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ Κύριος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ συνηθεία ζῶσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ κανόνι τῆς πολιτείας τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ Κυρίου κεχρήμεθα, καὶ τοῖς προλαβοῦσι τῶν μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν ὑποδείγμασιν, ὧν τὸ μεγαλοφύες τῆς διανοίας ἐπὶ τῶν περιστατικῶν καιρῶν μάλιστα διεδείκνυτο. ἵνα οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλπιζομένοις ἀληθινῆς διαθέσεως καταλίπῃς τῷ βίῳ, δεῖξον σαυτοῦ μὴ καμπτόμενον τῷ πάθει, ἀλλ' ὑψηλότερον ὄντα τῶν λυπηρῶν, τῇ μὲν

spiritual advantage. But now I am in such a state that I must submit to be content even with the journeys in my own country which we must necessarily make when we inspect the parishes in our district. But may the Lord grant to you both the ability and the desire, and to me, in addition to the eagerness which I now have, the strength also, so that, according to the request I have made of you, the pleasure may be realized by us, through our coming to the country of Comana.

But I am concerned about your Decorum lest your domestic sorrow prove a hindrance to you. For I have learned that the death of a little child has afflicted you, whose loss, for you as a grandfather, is naturally grievous, but for a man who has already attained to such a degree of goodness, and who knows human nature both from daily experience and from spiritual training, it is fitting that the separation from near relatives be not in all respects hard to endure. For the Lord does not exact the same due both from us and from ordinary men. For these live by habit, but we use as a rule of life the commandment of the Lord and the pre-eminent examples of those blessed men whose nobility of soul was especially shown in the face of adverse fortune.¹ In order, then, that you yourself may leave behind to the world an example of manliness and of the true attitude based upon the things for which we hope, show yourself not bowed down by grief, but lifted above your sorrows, by being patient

¹ i.e., the martyrs.

¹ τοῦτου add. editi antiq̄i.

² τῇ σπουδῇ] τὴν σπουδὴν editi antiq̄i.

³ ὑμῖν editi antiq̄i.

⁴ μή που editi antiq̄i.

⁵ τε add. E.

θλίψει ὑπομένων, τῇ δὲ ἐλπίδι χαίρων. μηδὲν οὖν τούτων γένηται κώλυμα πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίζομένην ἡμῖν συντυχίαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ νηπίοις ἀπάρκης ἢ ἡλικία πρὸς τὸ ἀνέγκλητον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑπεύθυνοί ἐσμεν τὰ διατεταγμένα ἡμῖν ὑπηρετεῖν τῷ Δεσπότη καὶ εἰς πάντα εὐθετοὶ εἶναι τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἧς μεγάλους τοὺς μισθοὺς τοῖς πιστοῖς καὶ φρονίμοις οἰκονόμοις¹ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐταμεύσατο.

CCVII

Τοῖς κατὰ Νεοκαισάρειαν² κληρικοῖς.

Ἡ μὲν συμφωνία τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν μίσους, καὶ τὸ μέχρις ἐνὸς πάντας ἀκολουθῆσαι τῷ προεστώτι τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου, ἔπειθέ με ὁμοίως ἀποσιωπᾶν πρὸς ἅπαντας, καὶ μήτε γράμματος φιλικοῦ μήτε τινὸς ὁμιλίας κατάρχειν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ πέττειν³ τὴν ἐμαντοῦ λύπην ἐπειδὴ δὲ χρὴ πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς μὴ⁴ ἀποσιωπᾶν, οὐχ ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἀντιλογίας ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκδικῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ συγχωρήσωμεν εὐδοκῆσθαι τῷ ψεύδει καὶ τοὺς ἠπατημένους μὴ ἐναφῶμεν τῇ βλάβῃ, ἀναγκαῖον ἐφάνη μοι καὶ τοῦτο προθεῖναι⁵ τοῖς πᾶσι, καὶ ἐπιστεῖλαι ὑμῶν τῇ συνέσει, εἰ καὶ ὅτι πρῶην κοινῇ παντὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ γράψας, οὐδεμιᾶς παρ' ὑμῶν ἀποκρίσεως ἤξιώθην.⁶

¹ om. E.

² Νεοκαισαρείας editi antiqui.

³ πέσσειν editi Hag. et Basil.

⁴ πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς μὴ] μήτε πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς quinque

MSS.

⁵ προσθεῖναι E et alii.

in tribulations and by rejoicing in our hope. Therefore let none of these things be a hindrance to the meeting for which we hope. For though to infant children their tender age is sufficient to free them from blame, yet we are held responsible to serve the Master by fulfilling the injunctions that have been laid upon us and to be altogether ready for the administration of churches, for which service Our Lord has reserved great rewards for the faithful and wise stewards.

LETTER CCVII

TO THE CLERGY AT NEOCAESAREA¹

THE unanimity of your hatred against us and the fact that to a man you all follow him who heads the war against us,² induced me to keep silent with all alike, and neither to begin a friendly correspondence nor any communication, but calmly to nurse my grief. Yet since I ought not to be silent before slanders—not that we may avenge ourselves by contradicting them but that we may not suffer the lie to prosper and may avoid involving in the injury those who have been deceived—it has seemed necessary for me to set this matter before all, and to write to your Intelligence, even though, when I wrote recently to the whole priesthood in common, I was not deemed by you worthy of a reply. Do

¹ Written in the late summer of 375. Cf. Loofs, 21. For the setting, cf. Letter CCIV and note.

² i.e. Atarbius of Neocaesarea.

³ γράψας . . . ἤξιώθην] γράψαντες . . . ἤξιώθημεν editi antiqui.

μη̄ κολακεύετε, ὦ ἀδελφοί, τοὺς τὰ πονηρὰ δόγματα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν ἐπάγοντας· μηδὲ καταδέξησθε περιορᾶν ἐν γνώσει ὑμετέρα τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῶν ἄσεβων διδασμάτων καταστρεφόμενον. Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυς καὶ Μάρκελλος ὁ Γαλάτης μόνοι ἐκ πάντων ἐτόλμησαν καὶ διδάξαι τὰτα καὶ γράφαι, ἅπερ νῦν παρ' ὑμῖν ὡς ἴδια ἑαυτῶν εὐρήματα ἐπιχειροῦσι προφέρειν οἱ καθηγούμενοι τοῦ λαοῦ, βαμβαίνοντες¹ τῇ γλώσσει, καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς πιθανὴν κατασκευὴν ἄγειν² τὰ σοφίσματα τὰτα καὶ τοὺς παραλογισμοὺς ἐφαρκοῦντες. οὗτοι ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρητα καθ' ἡμῶν δημηγοροῦσι, καὶ πάντα τρόπον τὰς συντυχίας ἡμῶν ἐκκλίνουσι. τίνας ἔνεκεν; οὐχὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς δόγμασιν ἑαυτῶν³ ἔλεγχον ὑφορώμενοι; οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν κατηναισχύντησαν, ὥστε καὶ ὀνειρούς τινὰς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συμπλάσαι, διαβάλλοντες ἡμῶν τὰς διδασκαλίας ὡς βλαβερὰς· οἱ κἂν πάντα τὰ τῶν φυλλοχόων μνηῶν φαντάσματα ταῖς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλαῖς υποδέξωνται, οὐδεμίαν ἡμῖν βλασφημίαν δυνήσονται προστρίψασθαι, πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν⁴ ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἐκκλησίας μαρτυρούντων τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.

Κἂν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐρωτηθῶσι τοῦ ἀκηρύκτου τούτου καὶ ἀσπόνδου πολέμου, ψαλμοὺς λέγουσι καὶ τρόπον μελωδίας τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν⁵ κεκρατηκυίας συνηθείας παρηλλαγμένον, καὶ τοιαῦτα

¹ προφέρειν . . . βαμβαίνοντες] προσφέρειν . . . βομβαίνοντες editi antiqi.

² ἐξαγαγεῖν editi antiqi.

³ ἑαυτῶν διδασκασιν E, editi antiqi.

⁴ om. quinque MSS.

not flatter, brethren, those who bring their wicked doctrines to your souls, and do not knowingly consent to permit the people of God to be subverted by these impious teachings. Sabellius¹ the Libyan and Marcellus² the Galatian alone of all men have dared to teach and write these things which now those who guide the people among you are trying to publish as their own discoveries, babbling with their tongues and being incapable of bringing these sophisms and fallacies into even a plausible formulation. They stop at nothing in their harangues against us, and by every means refuse to meet us. For what reasons? Is it not because they suspect a refutation of their wicked teachings? Indeed to such an extent have they treated us with insolence as even to fabricate dreams against us, slandering our teachings as harmful; but even if they receive within their heads all the dreams of the autumn months, they will not be able to attribute any blasphemy to us, since there are many in every church who bear witness to the truth.

And if they are asked the reason for their unproclaimed and truceless war, they mention psalms and a manner of singing which differs from the custom in use among you, and things of this sort for which they

¹ Basil is considered the oldest authority for the statement that Sabellius was an African by birth.

² i.e. of Ancyra. Although present at the Nicene Council on the side of the orthodox, later, while refuting the heterodox writings of Asterius, he was accused of falling himself into doctrines combining the errors of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata.

⁵ ἡμῶν Regii duo, Coisl. secundus, Harl. secunda manu.

τινα, ἐφ' οἷς ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι. ἐγκαλούμεθα δέ, ὅτι καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔχομεν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀσκητὰς, ἀποταξαμένους τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις, ἃς ἀκάνθαις παρεικάζει ὁ Κύριος, εἰς καρποφορίαν ἐλθεῖν¹ τὸν λόγον μὴ συγχωρούσαις, οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὴν νεκρότητα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέρουσι καὶ ἄραντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν σταυρὸν ἔπονται τῷ Θεῷ. ἐγὼ δὲ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην τοῦ ἑμαντοῦ βίου, ἐμὰ εἶναι τὰ ἀδικήματα ταῦτα, καὶ ἔχειν ἀνδρας παρ' ἑμαντῷ, ὑπ' ἐμοὶ διδασκάλῳ, τὴν ἀσκησῶ ταύτην προελομένους. νῦν δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν ἀκούω τοιαύτην εἶναι ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ τάχα τινές καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτεῖαν κατορθοῦσιν. ἀκούω δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν τελείους καὶ μακαρίους ἀνδρας. ἡμεῖς δὲ παῖδες ἔσμεν ἀνδρας γε τὴν τῶν τελείων σύγκρισιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες εὐαγγελικῶς ζῆν προελόμεναι, παρθενίαν μὲν γάμου προτιμῶσαι, δουλαγωγοῦσαι² δὲ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός, καὶ ἐν πένθει ζῶσαι³ τῷ μακαριζομένῳ, μακάριαι τῆς προαιρέσεως, ὅπου ἂν ᾧσι τῆς γῆς. παρὰ δὲ ἡμῖν⁴ μικρὰ ταῦτα, στοιχοῦμένων⁵ ἔτι καὶ εἰσαγομένων πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν. εἰ δὲ τινα ἀκοσμίαν τῷ βίῳ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπιφέρουσιν, ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐ καταδέχομαι ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἡμῖν διαμαρτύρομαι, ὅτι ἃ μέχρι νῦν ὁ Σατανᾶς ὁ πατήρ τοῦ ψεύδους εἶπειν οὐ κατεδέξατο, ταῦτα αἱ ἀφοβοὶ καρδίαι καὶ τὰ ἀχαλίνωτα στόματα ἀεὶ⁶ φθέγγεται ἀδεῶς. γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, ὅτι

¹ ἀελθεῖν editi antiq̄i.

ought to feel ashamed. But we are being accused because we have men practised in piety, who have withdrawn from the world and all earthly cares, which the Lord likens to thorns, since they do not permit the word to come to fruitfulness. Such men carry about in their bodies the mortification of Jesus, and having taken up their cross are following God. I would count it worth my whole life to have these as my faults, and to have men with me and under me as teacher who have chosen this life of asceticism. And now I hear that in Egypt there exists such virtue among men, and perhaps also some in Palestine successfully lead the life according to the Gospel. And I hear that there are some perfect and blessed men in Mesopotamia also. We are but children, in comparison at least with the perfect. And if women also choose to live according to the Gospel, and prefer virginity to marriage, by enslaving the arrogance of the flesh, and by living in a sorrow which is deemed blessed, they are blessed in their choice wherever they are in the world. But among us these instances are few, because mankind is still learning and being introduced to piety. And if they charge any disorderliness to the life of our women, I do not undertake to apologize for them: but this testimony I do make to you, that what Satan, the father of lies, has not undertaken to say up to this time, these audacious hearts and unbridled mouths are ever voicing unscrupulously. But I desire you to know that we

² δουλαγωγοῦσι Reg. secundus.

³ ζῶσι Reg. secundus.

⁴ ἡμῶν E, editi antiq̄i.

⁵ στοιχοῦμένων E, editi antiq̄i.

⁶ om. Vat., Reg. secundus, Coisl. secundus.

ἡμεῖς εὐχόμεθα καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν συντάγματα¹ ἔχειν, ὧν τὸ πολίτευμά ἐστιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, τῶν τὴν σάρκα σταυρωσάντων σὺν τοῖς παθήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, οἱ οὐ μεριμνῶσι περὶ βρωμάτων καὶ ἐνδυμάτων, ἀλλ' ἀπερίσπαστοι ὄντες καὶ εὐπάρεδροι τῷ Κυρίῳ, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας προσμένουσι ταῖς δεήσεσιν. ὧν τὸ στόμα οὐ λαλεῖ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ ψάλλουσιν ὕμνους² τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν διηλεκτῶς, ἐργαζόμενοι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν χερσίν, ἵνα ἔχωσι μεταδίδοναι τοῖς χρείαν ἔχουσι.

Πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ ταῖς³ ψαλμωδίαις ἔγκλημα, ᾧ μάλιστα πρὸς ἀπλουστέρους φοβοῦσιν οἱ διαβάλλοντες ἡμᾶς, ἐκεῖνο εἰπεῖν ἔχω· ὅτι τὰ νῦν κεκρατηκότα ἔθνη πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις συνφῶδᾷ ἐστι καὶ σύμφωνα. ἐκ νυκτὸς γὰρ ὀρθρίζει παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνῳ καὶ⁴ θλίψει καὶ⁵ συνοχῇ δακρύων ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ, τελευταῖον ἐξαναστάντες⁶ τῶν προσευχῶν εἰς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καθίστανται. καὶ νῦν μὲν διχῆ διανεμηθέντες ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὴν μελέτην τῶν λογίων ἐντεῦθεν κρατύνοντες, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν προσοχὴν καὶ τὸ ἀμετεώριστον τῶν καρδιῶν ἑαυτοῖς διοικούμενοι⁷ ἔπειτα πάλιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐνὶ κατάρχειν τοῦ μέλους, οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχοῦσι· καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῆς ψαλμωδίας τὴν νύκτα διανεγκόντες, μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι, ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑπολαμπούσης πάντες κοινῇ, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας, τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφέρουσι τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἴδια ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος τὰ ῥήματα τῆς

boast of having a body of men and women whose conversation is in heaven, who have crucified their flesh with its affections and desires, who do not concern themselves with food and clothing, but, being undistracted and in constant attendance upon the Lord, remain night and day in prayer. Their mouths do not proclaim the works of men, but they sing hymns to our God unceasingly, while they work with their own hands that they may have something to share with those who have need.

But as to the charge about the singing of psalms, with which especially those who slander us try to frighten the more simple, I have this to say: the customs now in vogue are in harmony and accord with all the churches of God. For among us the people rise early at night to go to the house of prayer, and in labour and affliction and continuous tears confessing to God, finally rise from their prayers and enter upon the singing of psalms. And now indeed divided into two groups they sing antiphonally, thereby both strengthening their practice in reciting the Scriptures and securing both their close attention and means of keeping their hearts from distraction. Then again after entrusting to one person to lead the chant, the rest sing the response; and so having passed the night in a variety of psalm-singing, and praying in the meantime, as the day begins to dawn all in common, as of one voice and one heart, intone the psalm of confession to the Lord, each one forming his own expressions of re-

¹ συστήματα editi antiqi.

² ὕμνον editi antiqi.

³ om. editi antiqi.

⁴ ἐν add. editi antiqi.

⁵ ἐν add. editi antiqi.

⁶ ἀναστάντες editi antiqi.

⁷ διακοινοῦμενοι edit. Basil. et Paris.; διακοῦμενοι Hagan.

μετανοίας ποιούμενοι. ἐπὶ τούτοις λοιπὸν εἰ ἡμᾶς ἀποφεύγετε, φεύξεσθε¹ μὲν Αἰγυπτίους, φεύξεσθε δὲ καὶ Λίβυας ἀμφοτέρους, Θηβαίους, Παλαιστίνους, Ἀραβας, Φοίνικας, Σύρους, καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ κατοικισμένους, καὶ πάντας ἀπαξαπλῶς, παρ' οἷς ἀγρυπνίαι καὶ προσευχαὶ καὶ αἱ κοιναὶ ψαλμοφῳδαὶ τετίμηται.

Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἦν, φησί, ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αἱ λιτανεῖαι ἃς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιτηδεύετε.² καὶ οὐ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν λέγω· ἠὲ ἡμῶν γὰρ πάντας ὑμᾶς³ ἐν δάκρυσι ζῆν καὶ μετανοίᾳ διηκεῖ. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ λιτανεύομεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν· πλὴν ὅσον οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνους ῥήμασιν, ὡσπερ ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς λογίοις τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐξιλεοῦμεθα. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Γρηγορίου, τίνας ἔχετε μάρτυρας,⁴ οἷ γε οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκείνου μέχρι νῦν διεσώσασθε; Γρηγόριος⁵ οὐ κατεκαλύπτετο ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν. πῶς γάρ; ὅ γε τοῦ ἀποστόλου γνήσιος μαθητῆς τοῦ εἰπόντος· Πᾶς ἀνὴρ προσευχόμενος ἢ προφητεύων κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων καταισχύνει

¹ φεύξασθε Reg. secundus et Coisl. secundus.

² συνεπιτηδεύετε Reg. secundus et Coisl. secundus.

³ ὑμεῖς E.

⁴ γὰρ add. E.

⁵ μαρτυρίας εἰπέει editi antiqui.

¹ i. e., Upper Libya and Lower Libya, a division made for purposes of administration after Diocletian. Cf. *Cod. Theod.* 8, 1, 16; Athan. *ep. ad Antioch.* P.G. 26, 808 B. Cf. also Augustine *Serm.* 46: Cyrene Libya est, Pentapolis est, contigua est Africae, ad Orientem magis pertinet. . . Libya duobus modis dicitur: vel ista quae proprie Africa est, vel illa Orientis pars quae contigua est Africae et omnino collimitanea.

penitance. Now if on this account you avoid us, you will avoid the Egyptians, and you will avoid also both Libyans,¹ the Thebans, Palestinians, Arabians, Phoenicians, Syrians and those who dwell near the Euphrates, and in a word all among whom vigils and prayers and common psalmody have been prized.

But, he says, these things did not exist at the time of the great Gregory:² But neither did the litanies³ of which you yourselves now make use. And not in accusation of you do I say this, for I prayed that you might all live in tears and continual penance. For we ourselves also do nothing else than make petitions for our sins; yet not so much by human words, as you do, but by the sayings of the Spirit do we appease our God. And that these things did not exist in the time of the wondrous Gregory, what witnesses have you, you who up to the present have preserved nothing that was his?⁴ Gregory did not cover himself at the time of prayer. Indeed, how could he have done so seeing that he was a real disciple of the Apostle who⁵ said: "Every man praying or prophesying with his head covered disgraceth his

² Gregory Thaumaturgus.

³ According to the Benedictine editors, by "litanies" here is not meant processions or supplications, but penitential prayers, a view that seems to find support in the next sentence.

⁴ The Benedictine editors call attention to an apparent contradiction between this passage and *De Spiritu Sancto*, 74, where Basil says that the Church of Neocaesarea had apparently rigidly preserved the traditions of Gregory. They get around this difficulty by confining the rigid conservatism to matters of importance.

⁵ 1 Cor. 11. 4.

τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἄνῆρ μὲν οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ,¹ εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων. ἔφευγε τοὺς ὄρκους ἢ καθαρὰ ἐκείνη ψυχῇ, καὶ ἀξία τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος κοινωνίας, ἀρκουμένη τῷ ναὶ καὶ τῷ οὐ, διὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Κυρίου τοῦ εἰπόντος· Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὁμόσαι ὅλως. οὐκ ἠλείχето εἰπεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸν μωρὸν ἐκείνος· ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ τὴν ἀπειλὴν τοῦ Κυρίου.² θυμὸς καὶ ὄργη καὶ πικρία ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἐκείνου οὐκ ἐξεπορεύετο. λαιδορία ἐμίσει ὡς εἰς βασίλειαν οὐρανῶν οὐκ εἰσάγουσαν. φθόνος καὶ ὑπερηφάνεια τῆς ἀδόλου ψυχῆς ἐκείνης ἀπελήλατο. οὐκ ἂν παρέστη τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, πρὶν καταλλαγῆναι τῷ ἀδελφῷ. ψευδῆ λόγον καὶ τεχνικὸν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τινων μεμηχανημένον οὕτως ἐβδελύττετο,³ ὡς εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ ψεῦδος ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου γεγένηται, καὶ ὅτι Κύριος ἀπολεῖ πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος. τούτων εἰ μηδὲν ἔστιν ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ καθαρῆτε πάντων, τῷ ὄντι ἔστε μαθηταὶ τοῦ μαθητοῦ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Κυρίου. εἰ δὲ μή, σκοπεῖτε μὴ τὸν κῶναπα διωλίσετε, περὶ μὲν ἤχου φωνῆς τοῦ κατὰ τὰς ψαλμωδίας ἰκριβολουμένοι, τὰς δὲ μεγίστας τῶν ἐντολῶν παραλύοντες. εἰς τούτους με τοὺς λόγους ἤγαγεν ἢ ἀνάγκη τῆς ἀπολογίας, ἵνα διδαχθῆτε ἐκβάλλειν τὴν δοκὸν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ τότε ἐξαίρειν

head," and "The man indeed ought not to cover his head because he is the image and glory of God."¹ That pure soul, worthy indeed of communion with the Holy Ghost, shunned oaths, being satisfied with "Yea" and "Nay," according to the precept of the Lord² who said: "I say to you, swear not at all." That man could not bear to call his brother a fool, for he was afraid of the threat of the Lord. Anger, wrath, and bitterness did not proceed from his mouth. Abuse he hated because it does not lead into the kingdom of heaven. Envy and pride were driven from that guileless soul. He would not stand at the altar before being reconciled with his brother. A false and fictitious word made to slander anybody he so loathed as one who knew that falsehood comes from the devil, and that the Lord will destroy all that speak a lie.³ If none of these things is in you, but you are clean of all these things, verily you are disciples of the disciple of the commandments of the Lord. But if not, beware lest you are straining out a gnat⁴ because you are finical about the raising of the voice in psalmody but make the greatest of the commandments of no effect. The necessity of making a defence has forced me to these words, that you might be taught to cast the beam from your own eyes and then draw out the

¹ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ om. quinque MSS. ; αὐτοῦ om. Med. et Harl.

² Θεοῦ Harl. et Med.

³ ἐβδελύσσετο E.

³ Cf. Psal. 5. 6 and 7: οὐ διαμενοῦσιν παράνομοι κατέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου· ἐμίσησας, Κύριε, πάντας τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν ἀνομίαν. ἀπολεῖς πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος. "Neither shall the wicked dwell near thee: nor shall the unjust abide before thy eyes. Thou hatest all the workers of iniquity: thou wilt destroy all that speak a lie."

⁴ Cf. Matt. 23, 24: ὀδηγοὶ τυφλοὶ, οἱ διωλίζοντες τὸν κῶναπα, τὴν δὲ κάμηλον καταπίνοντες. "Blind guides, who strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel."

¹ 1 Cor. 11. 7.

² Matt. 5. 34. Cf. also Matt. 5. 22.

τὰ ἀλλότρια κάρφη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ πάντα συγχωροῦμεν, εἰ καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον παρὰ τῷ¹ Θεῷ. μόνον ἐρρώσθω τὰ προηγούμενα, καὶ τὰς περὶ τὴν πίστιν καινοτομίας κατασιγήσατε. τὰς ὑποστάσεις μὴ ἀθετεῖτε. τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ ἀπαρνεύσθε. τὰς τοῦ Γρηγορίου φωνὰς μὴ παρεξηγήσθε. εἰ δὲ μή, ἕως ἂν ἐμπνέωμεν² καὶ δυνώμεθα φθέγγεσθαι. ἀμήχανον ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆσούτῃ λύμῃ ψυχῶν σιωπᾶν.

CCVIII

Εὐλακίῳ.³

Μακρὸν ἀπεσιώπησας χρόνον, καὶ ταῦτα λαλίστατος ὢν, καὶ μελέτην τοῦτο καὶ τέχνην ποιησάμενος ἀεὶ τι⁴ λαλεῖν καὶ σεαντὸν δεικνύσαι διὰ τῶν λόγων. ἀλλ' εἴκειν ἡ Νεοκαισάρεια ἀντία εἶναί σοι τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς σιωπῆς. καὶ εἴοικαμεν ἀντὶ χάριτος δέχεσθαι τὸ μὴ μνημονεύεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῦ.⁵ ἐπειδὴ ἡμῖν ἡ μνήμη οὐκ ἀγαθὴ ἐστίν, ὡς⁶ ὁ τῶν ἀκούοντων λόγος. ἀλλὰ σὺ πάλαι τῶν μισουμένων ἦσθα δι' ἡμᾶς, οὐ τῶν δι' ἑτέρου⁷ ἡμᾶς μισεῖν ἀνεχομένων. ὁ αὐτὸς τοίνυν ἔσο,⁸ καὶ ἐπιστέλλων οὐπερ ἂν ἦς, καὶ μεμνημένος ἡμῶν τὰ εἰκότα, εἴ τί σοι μέλει τοῦ δικαίου. δίκαιον δῆπου⁹ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῖς ἴσοις ἀμείβεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάρξαντας.

¹ om. E.² ἐμπνέωμεν E.³ Εὐλακίῳ Harl.; φιλικὴ προσηγορία add. E. et Med.⁴ τὸ E.⁵ τὸ μὴ . . . παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῦ] τὸ μνημονεύεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ editi antiq.⁶ ἐστίν ὡς] ὁμοίως ἐστίν ὡςπερ editi antiq.

mote in others. However, we concede everything, if we also concede that nothing goes unscrutinized before God. Only let important things prevail, and silence innovations in the faith. Do not set aside the "persons." Do not deny the name of Christ. Do not misinterpret the words of Gregory. Otherwise, as long as we breathe and can speak, we cannot be silent before so great a danger to souls.

LETTER CCVIII

TO EULANCIUS¹

For a long time you have been silent, and you have been so although you are ordinarily very talkative and have made it a custom and a profession always to say something and to display yourself in words. But Neocaesarea seems to be the cause of your silence toward us. And we seem to accept as a blessing the fact that we are not mentioned by the people there, since the mention of us is not good, according to the report of those who hear it. But for a long time you had been one of those who were hated on account of us, not one of those who dared to hate us on account of others. Therefore be the same as you always have been—wherever you are, writing and being properly mindful of us, if you have any care for justice. Surely it is just for those who began an affection to be repaid in like manner.

¹ Written in 375. Eulancius is unknown except for the contents of this letter.

⁷ δι' ἑτέρου⁷] τῶν ἑτέρων editi antiq.⁸ ἔσο⁸] ἔσο⁸ editi antiq.⁹ δέ που E.

Ἀνεπίγραφος ἐπὶ ἀπολογία.

Συνεκληρώθης ταῖς λύπαις καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀγῶσι. τοῦτο δὲ ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει νεανικῆς ψυχῆς. ὁ γὰρ τὰ ἡμέτερα οἰκονομῶν Θεὸς τοῖς τὰ μεγάλα διαφέρειν δυναμένοις ἀγωνίσματα μείζονας ὑποθέσεις εὐδοκιμήσεων προξενεῖ. καὶ σὺ τοίνυν βάσανον τῆς περὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀρετῆς,¹ ὡσπερ τὴν κάμνον τῷ χρυσίῳ, τὸν σαυτοῦ βίον προέθηκας. εὐχόμεθα οὖν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς βελτίους γενέσθαι, καὶ σε ὁμοιον ἑαυτῷ διαμεῖναι, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγκαλοῦντα μὴ παύσασθαι, οἷα νῦν ἐνεκάλεσας, τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων ἔνδειαν ἀντὶ μεγίστης ἀδικίας ἡμῖν προφέρων. φίλου γὰρ τὸ ἐγκλημα, καὶ ἀνάμενε τῷ² τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπαιτεῖν ὀφλήματα. οὐ γὰρ οὕτω τις ἀτοπὸς εἰμι φιλίας χρήστης.³

Τοῖς κατὰ Νεοκαισάρειαν λογιωτάτοις.⁴

Ὅλωσ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέομην τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ γνώμην δημοσιεύειν ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ⁵ τὰς αἰτίας λέγειν, δι' ἃς νῦν ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων εἰμι τούτων· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλως τῶν φανητιώντων ἐγὼ, οὐδὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα

¹ τὴν ἀρετὴν Vat.² τὸ E, om. editi antiq̄i.³ χρεώστης editi antiq̄i.⁴ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ νεοκαισάρειαν λογιωτάτους E, Harl., unus ex Regiis.⁵ οὕτε E.WITHOUT INSCRIPTION, IN SELF-DEFENCE¹

You have been doomed by fate to sorrows and struggles in our behalf. But this gives proof of your resolute soul. For God who disposes our affairs is wont to assign to those who are able to endure great trials greater opportunities of winning good repute. And you accordingly have offered your own life as a test of honour in dealing with friends, even as the furnace is a test of gold. Therefore we pray to God that the rest may become better and that you may remain like yourself, and that you may not cease making such complaints as you have just now made, charging us with negligence in letter-writing as a very great wrong. For the accusation is that of a friend; and do you remain steadfast in your demand of such debts. For by this method I am not an exceptional debtor of friendship.

TO THE LEARNED IN NEOCAESAREA²

By no means did I need to inform you of my opinions,³ nor to tell the reasons why I am now in these regions. For neither am I one of those who enjoys publicity, nor is my business worthy of so

¹ Written in 375.² Written in the late summer of 375. Cf. Loofs 20 f. This letter is to be taken with Letter CCXXXIII, in which Basil more specifically defends himself against those calumnies of Eustathius of Sebaste which he had borne in silence for three years.³ i.e., on matters of religion.

τοσοῦτων μαρτύρων ἄξιον. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, οὐχ ἄβουλόμεθα ποιούμεν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἃ προκαλοῦνται ἡμᾶς οἱ καθηγουμένοι. ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγε τὸ παντελῶς ἀγνοεῖσθαι πλέον ἐσπούδασαι ἢ τοῖς φιλοδόξοις τὸ διαφαίνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντων, ὡς¹ ἀκούω, τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν τὰ ὅσα διατεθρῦλ- ληται, καὶ εἰσὶ τινες λογοποιοί, δημιουργοὶ τοῦ ψεύδους, πρὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτο μεμισθωμένοι, οἱ τὰ ἐμὰ ὑμῖν ἐξηγοῦνται, οὐκ ᾤηθην δεῖν περιδεῖν ὑμᾶς γνώμη πονηρᾷ καὶ φωνῇ ῥηπώσῃ δίδασκόμενους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εἶπειν τὰ ἔμαντοῦ ὅπως ἔχει. ἐγὼ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκ παιδός μοι πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο συνήθειαν (ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐτράφην παρὰ τῇ ἔμαντοῦ τίτθῃ),² καὶ διὰ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ πλείστον διατριβὴν, ὅτε φεύγων τοὺς πολιτικούς θορύβους, ἐπιτήδειον ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας ἡσυχίαν τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο κατα- μάθων, πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἐφεξῆς ἐνδιέτριψα χρόνον, καὶ διὰ τὴν νῦν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐνοίκησιν, βρα- χείας ἀναπνοῆς ἐκ τῶν κατεχουσῶν ἡμᾶς ἀσχαλιῶν ἐπιτυχῶν, ἄσμενος ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσχατιᾶν ταύτην, οὐχ ὡς ἐτέροις ἐντεῦθεν πράγ- ματα παρέξων, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς τὴν ἔμαντοῦ θερα- पेύσων³ ἐπιθυμίαν.

Τί οὖν χρὴ πρὸς ὀνείρους καταφεύγειν, καὶ ὄνειροσκόπους μισθοῦσθαι, καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδιήμοις ἐστιάσεσιν ἡμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι παροίνιον διήγημα; ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις τισὶν ἦσαν αἱ δια- βολαί, ὑμᾶς ἂν τῆς ἔμαντοῦ γνώμης μάρτυρας

many witnesses. But, I believe, we do not do what we wish, but that to which our superiors summon us. For to be entirely ignored has been my aim more than to be conspicuous is to those fond of glory. But since, as I hear, the ears of all in your city have been deafened, and there are certain newsmongers, fabricators of falsehood, hired for this very purpose, who are explaining my affairs to you, I thought that I ought not to permit you to be taught by an evil mind and a befouling voice, but that I myself ought to tell how my own affairs stand. Furthermore, because of my acquaintance with this region from boyhood (for here I was brought up by my grand- mother),¹ and because of my having remained here for the most part thereafter, when, on fleeing the troubles of civic life, and learning that this was a suitable place for the study of philosophy on account of the quiet of its solitude, I passed a period of many successive years here, and because of my brothers,² now dwelling in this region, I, having obtained a brief breathing spell from the activities that press us, have gladly come to this remote spot, not to cause trouble to others thereby, but of myself to satisfy my own longing.

What, then, is the need of your resorting to dreams, and hiring dream-interpreters, and making of us a subject of stories over the cups at public banquets? For if the slanders had been in circulation in any other community, I should have offered you yourselves as witnesses of my opinions. And

¹ Macrina, at her home in Annesi.

² On Basil's brothers cf. Intro. of Vol. I. Cf. also Letter CCXVI, where Basil speaks of going to the house of his brother Peter near Neocoesarea.

¹ Ὡν editi antiq̄i.

² τῆθ B, unus ex Regiis.

³ θεραπεύων nonnulli MSS.

παρεστησάμην. καὶ νῦν ἀξιώ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκείνων ἀναμνησθῆναι, ὅτε ἐκάλεί μεν ἡμᾶς ἢ πόλις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν νέων ἐπιμέλειαν, πρεσβεία δὲ παρῆν τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ ἐν τέλει μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὅπως πανδημῶν πάντες περιχυθέντες ἡμᾶς, τί μὲν οὐχὶ διδόντες; τί δὲ οὐχ ὑπισχνόμενοι; ὁμως κατασχεῖν ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν. πῶς οὖν ὁ τότε καλούμενος¹ οὐχ ὑπακούων, νῦν ἐπεχειροῦν ἂν² ἄκλητος εἰσωθίζεσθαι;³ πῶς δὲ ὁ τοῦς ἐπαινοῦντάς με καὶ θαυμάζοντας ἀποφεύγων, ἐμελλον ἂν νῦν διώκειν τοὺς διαβάλλοντας; μὴ οἰηθῆτε, ὦ ἄριστοι, οὐχ οὕτως εἶωνα⁴ τὰ ἡμέτερα. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τις ἀκυβερνήτου πλοίου σωφρονῶν ἐπιβαίῃ, οὔτε ἐκκλησία παραβάλοι,⁵ ἢ τὸν κλύδωνα καὶ τὴν ζάλην αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰακῶν καθεζόμενοι ἐμποιοῦσι. πόθεν γὰρ γέγονε θορύβου πλήρης ἢ πόλις, ὅτε οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον, οὐδενὸς διώκοντος, οἱ δὲ ὑπεξήσαν,⁶ οὐδενὸς ἐπιθόντος; χρησιμολόγοι δὲ καὶ ὄνειροσκοποὶ πάντες⁷ ἐμπομολύττοντο; πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ταῦτα; ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ παιδὶ γνῶριμον, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἡγουμένων τοῦ πλήθους; ὦν τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἐχθρας ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς λέγειν, ὑμῖν δὲ συννορᾶν καὶ πάνυ ῥάδιον. ὅταν γὰρ ἢ μὲν πικρία καὶ ἡ διάστασις μηδεμίαν ἔχοι⁸ ὑπερβολὴν εἰς χαλεπότητα, ἢ δὲ τῆς αἰτίας ἐξήγησις ἀνυπόστατος παντελῶς καὶ καταγέλαστος ἢ, δῆλόν ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀρρώστημα, ἄλλοτριῶν μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἐπισυμ-

¹ καὶ add. E, editi antiqui.

² add. Capps.

³ εἰσωθίζεσθαι editi antiqui.

⁴ εἶωλα Harl., unus ex Regiis.

⁵ παραβάλοι editi antiqui.

⁶ ἐπεξήσαν Harl., Med., unus ex Regiis.

now I ask each one of you to recall those past events, when your city invited us to take charge of the youths, and an embassy of your men, the magistrates, came to see us.¹ And after this how they all crowded around us in a body. What offers, what promises, did they omit to make? Yet they were not able to win us over. How, then, could I, who at that time was invited but would not accept, be trying now to force my way in uninvited? How could I, who shunned those who praised and admired me, be now intending to pursue those who slander me? Do not think it, my fine friends. Our cause is not so cheap. For no one in his right mind would board a boat without a pilot, nor entrust himself to a church in which those who sit at the helm are themselves causing the billows and the tossing. For what caused the city to be full of disturbance, when some were fleeing with no one in pursuit, and others were stealing away with no one attacking them, and all the diviners and interpreters of dreams were trying to scare people with their clap-trap? What else can be the cause of all this? Is it not well known even to a child that this is due to the leaders of the crowd? The reasons for their enmity it is not proper for me to declare, but for you it is very easy to perceive. For whenever bitterness and dissension admit of nothing worse as regards harshness, and the explanation of the reason is entirely groundless and ridiculous, it is evident that the disease of the soul, while it affects

¹ On Basil's projected career as a teacher, cf. Intro. Vol. I.

⁷ πάντας editi antiqui, sed non editi Hag. et Basil. prima.

⁸ ἔχει editi antiqui, ἔχη tres MSS.

βαῖνον, οἰκείον δὲ καὶ πρῶτον¹ κακὸν ὑπάρχον τῷ κεκτημένῳ. οἷς καὶ ἄλλο δὴ² τι χάρειν πρόσεστιν. ἀμυσσόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ βάθει καὶ ὀδυνώμενοι, ἐκλαλήσαι τὴν συμφορὰν ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης οὐκ ἐπιτρέπονται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου γνωριμὸν ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν τὸ πάθημα· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀγνοοῖτο,³ οὐ μεγάλη ζημία τοῖς πράγμασι. τὴν δὲ ἀληθεστάτην αἰτίαν δι' ἣν φευκτὴν ἡμῶν τὴν συντυχίαν τίθενται, λαυθά- νουσαν ἴσως τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑμῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω. ἀλλ' ἀκούσατε.

Πίστεως διαστροφή παρ' ὑμῖν μελετᾶται, ἐχθρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἀποστολικαῖς καὶ εὐαγγελικοῖς δόγμασι, ἐχθρὰ δὲ τῇ παραδόσει τοῦ μεγάλου ὡς ἀληθῶς Γρηγορίου καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀπ' ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ μακαρίου Μουσωνίου· οὐ τὰ διδάγματα ἐναντία ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν δηλονότι. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Σαβελλίου κακόν, πάλαι μὲν κινήθην, καταβασθὲν δὲ τῇ παραδόσει τοῦ μεγάλου,⁴ ἐπιχειροῦσι νῦν ἀνανεοῦσθαι οὗτοι, οἱ φόβῳ τῶν ἐλέγχων τοὺς καθ' ἡμῶν οὐείρους πλάττοντες. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς τὰς οἰνοβαρεῖς κεφαλὰς, ἃς ὁ ἐκ τῆς κραιπάλης ἀναφερόμενος ἀτμός, εἴτα ἐγκυμαίνων,⁵ καταφαντάζει, χαίρειν ἀφέντες, παρὰ τῶν ἐρηγορότων ἡμῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβον μὴ δυναμένων ἡσυχάζειν, τὴν βλάβην ὑμῶν ἀκούσατε. Ἰουδαισμός ἐστὶν ὁ Σαβελλισμός, ἐν προσχήματι

the goods of other persons, is strictly and primarily an evil to the possessor himself. These persons also show another interesting trait. For though they are torn to the depths and in agony they cannot for shame disclose their misfortune. This affliction of their soul, however, is made known not only through what they do toward us but also by the rest of their lives. But even if it were not known; it would mean no great harm to the situation. But as to the most genuine reason why they think that intercourse with us must be avoided—a reason which perhaps escapes the knowledge of most of you—I shall inform you. And do you give heed.

A subversion of faith is being contemplated among you, hostile to both apostolic and evangelical doctrines, and hostile to the tradition of the truly great Gregory¹ and of those who followed after him up to the blessed Musonius,² whose teachings are of course still fresh in your minds even now. For the evil of Sabellius, long ago stirred up, but extinguished by the tradition of that great man, these men are attempting to revive, who from fear of exposure are now fashioning those dreams against us. But do you, bidding farewell to those heads heavy with wine, which the vapour rising and swirling from their drunken debauch reveals, hear of the harm being done to you from us who have awakened and who cannot be quiet because of the fear of God. Sabellianism is Judaism³ which is being imported

¹ i. e. Gregory Thaumaturgus.

² Musonius, bishop of Neocæsarea, died in 368. All that is known of this Musonius is derived from this letter and Letter XXVIII.

³ Cf. end of par. 2; Letter CLXXXIX; also *De Spiritu Sancto*, 77.

¹ πρώτως editi antiq̄i.

² om. editi antiq̄i.

³ ἡγροεῖτο editi Paris; ἀγροεῖτο Basil., Hagan.

⁴ Γρηγορίου add. edit. Paris.

⁵ εἴτα ἐγκυμαίνων] ἐκμαίνων Harl., unus ex Regiis.

Χριστιανισμοῦ τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ κηρύγματι ἐπεισαγόμενος. ὁ γὰρ ἐν πράγμα πολυπρόσωπον¹ λέγων² Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ μίαν τῶν τριῶν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐκτιθέμενος, τί ἄλλο ποιεῖ, ἢ οὐχὶ ἀρνείται μὲν τὴν προαιώνιον τοῦ Μονογενοῦς ὑπαρξιν; ἀρνείται δὲ καὶ³ τὴν οἰκονομικὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδημίαν, τὴν εἰς ἄδου κάθοδον, τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τὴν κρίσιν ἀρνείται δὲ καὶ τὰς ἰδιαζούσας τοῦ Πνεύματος⁴ ἐνεργείας. παρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν νῦν καὶ νεανικώτερα ἀκούω τολμᾶσθαι τοῦ ματαιόφρονος Σαβελλίου. λέγονσι γάρ, ὡς οἱ ἀκηκοότες⁵ φασί, διατείνεσθαι τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν σοφοὺς καὶ λέγειν, ὅτι ὄνομα⁶ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς οὐ παραδέδοται, ὄνομα δὲ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου ἐστί· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γάνυσθαι μὲν,⁷ καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν, ὡς ἐπὶ οἰκείῳ εὐρήματι. εἰρηται γάρ, φησὶν Ἐγὼ ἦλθον ἐν⁸ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς μου, καὶ οὐκ ἐλάβετε με· εἰάν ἄλλος ἔλθῃ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι, ἐκεῖνον λήψεσθε. καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰρησθαι, Μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, δῆλόν ἐστι, φασίν,⁹ ὅτι ἐν ἐστὶν ὄνομα. οὐ γὰρ εἰρηται εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ὄνομα.

Ταῦτα ἐρυθριῶν ἔγραφον ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἀφ' αἵματος ἡμετέρου εἰσὶν οἱ τούτοις ἔνοχοι, καὶ καταστενάξω τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, ὅτι ἀναγκάζομαι,

under the appearance of Christianity into the preaching of the Gospel. For he who calls Father, Son, and Holy Spirit one thing under many appearances, and makes one person out of three, what else does he do but deny the existence from eternity of the Only-begotten? And he denies also His dispensatory sojourn among men, His descent into hell, His resurrection, the judgment; and he denies also the special activities¹ of the Spirit. And I hear that even wilder things are now being ventured among you than those of the foolish-minded Sabellius. For they say, as those who have heard relate, that the wise men among you insistently declare that a name for the "Only-begotten" has not been handed down, but a name for the opposite exists²; and over this they are pleased and elated as if over a discovery of their own. For it is written,³ he says: "I came in my Father's name and you received Me not, if another shall come in his own name, him you will receive." And, because it has been said: "Teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,"⁴ it is clear, they say, that there is only one name. For it is not said "in the names," but "in the name."

I write this to you with a blush because those who are guilty of these things are of our blood,⁵ and I groan in my very soul because I am forced, like those

¹ πολυώνυμον edit. Paris.

² om. E.

³ αὐτῶν add. edit. Paris.

⁴ om. E.

⁵ φησὶν Med., unus ex Reglis.

⁶ καὶ add. E.

⁷ Πατρὸς E.

⁸ μὲν add. E.

⁹ ἐπὶ E.

¹ Cf. Vol. I. Introd. pp. xxv. ff.

² The contrast here is, of course, between Christ and the Devil.

³ John 5. 43.

⁴ Matt. 28. 19.

⁵ The allusion is probably to Atarbius.

ὡς περ οἱ πρὸς δύο πυκτεύοντες, τὰς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ λόγου παρατροπὰς κρούων τοῖς ἐλέγχοις καὶ καταβάλλων, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἰσχὺν ἀποδιδόναι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ὁ Ἀνόμοιος ἡμᾶς σπαράσσει, ἐτέρωθεν δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ Σαβέλλιος. ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς παρακαλῶ, τοῖς βδελυροῖς τούτοις καὶ μηδένα παρατρέψαι δυναμένοις σοφίσμασι μὴ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, εἰδέναι δέ, ὅτι ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ,¹ τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, αὐτὸ τὸ καλεῖσθαι αὐτὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πέτρου λόγον· Οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἕτερον ὄνομα ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν, τὸ δεδομένον ἐν² ἀνθρώποις, ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς. πρὸς δὲ τό, ὅτι Ἐγὼ ἦλθον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς μου, ἐκεῖνο εἰδέναι χρῆ, ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αἰτίαν ἐπιγραφόμενος τὸν Πατέρα, ταῦτα λέγει. εἰ δὲ εἴρηται, Πορευθέντες βαπτίζετε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος,³ οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο χρῆ νομίζειν ἐν ἡμῖν ὄνομα παραδεδοσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ὁ εἰπὼν Παῦλος καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμόθεος τρία μὲν εἶπεν ὀνόματα, συνέδησε δὲ αὐτὰ ἀλλήλοις διὰ τῆς καὶ συλλαβῆς· οὕτως ὁ εἰπὼν ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τρία εἰπὼν, συνέπλεξεν αὐτὰ τῷ⁴ συνδέσμῳ, ἐκάστω ὀνόματι ἴδιον ὑποβεβλήσθαι τὸ σημαίνονμενον ἐκδιδάσκων, διότι πραγμάτων ἐστὶ σημαντικὰ τὰ ὀνόματα. τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἰδιάζουσιν καὶ αὐτοτελῆ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν οὐδεὶς τῶν καὶ μικρὸν μετεχόντων τοῦ φρονεῖν ἀμφιβάλλει.⁵ πατρὸς γὰρ καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος φύσις

¹ Ἰησοῦ add. edit. Paris.

² om. Mod., Harl., unus ex Regiis.

who box against two men, to give to the truth its fitting force by smiting with my arguments and striking down the erroneous statements on both sides. For on the one hand Anomoëus attacks us, and on the other, as it seems, Sabellius. But I beseech you to pay no attention to these abominable sophisms, which are powerless to subvert anyone, but to recognize that the name of Christ, which is above every name, is precisely His being called the Son of God, and according to the word of Peter:¹ "There is no other name under heaven, given to men, whereby we must be saved." And as to the saying: "I am come in the name of my Father," you should know this, that He speaks so ascribing the Father as the beginning and cause of Himself. But if it is said: "Go and baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," you must not judge by this that only one name has been handed down to us. For just as one who says "Paul and Silvanus and Timothy," has said three names but joined them to each other by the syllable "and," so he who says the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, though he has said three, he has joined them by the conjunction, showing that a distinct signification underlies each name, because names are significant of things. That things have individual and complete existence no one who has even a little intelligence will question. For of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost the nature is the same, and the

¹ Acts 4. 12.

³ καὶ οὐκ, εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα add. edit. Paris.

⁴ om. E.

⁵ ἀμφιβάλλοι E.

μὲν ἡ αὐτή, καὶ θεότης μία· ὀνόματα δὲ διάφορα, περιωρισμένας καὶ ἀπρητισμένας τὰς ἐννοίας ἡμῖν παριστῶντα. ἀμύχανον γάρ, μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἑκάστου ιδιώμασι τὴν διανοίαν γενομένην ἀσύγχυτον, δυναθῆναι Πατρὶ καὶ Τίῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀποπληρῶσαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀρνῶνται μὴ λέγειν ταῦτα, μηδὲ διδάσκειν οὕτω, κατῴρθωται ἡμῖν τὰ σπουδαζόμενα. καίτοι χαλεπὴν αὐτοῖς οὖσαν ὀρῶ τὴν ἀρνησιν, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν τῶν λόγων τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας. πλὴν ἄλλ' οὐ σκοποῦμεν τὰ παρελθόντα, τὰ παρόντα μόνον ὑγαινεύωσαν. εἰ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένωσι,¹ ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς ἄλλας ἐκκλησίας ἐκβοῆσαι² ἡμᾶς τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς συμφορὰν, καὶ ποιῆσαι παρὰ πλειόνων ἐπισκόπων γράμματα ὑμῖν ἀφικέσθαι, τὸ μέγεθος τοῦτο τῆς ὑποκατασκευαζομένης³ ἀσεβείας καταρρηγνύντα. ἡ γὰρ προὔργου τι ἔσται εἰς τὴν σπουδὴν ἢ πάντως ἢ παροῦσα διαμαρτυρία ἀφήσει ἡμᾶς τῆς αἰτίας ἐπὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου.

¹ Ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἐν συντάγμασιν οἰκείοις κατεβάλλοντο τοὺς λόγους τούτους, οὓσπερ καὶ ἀπέστειλαν πρῶτον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ Μελετίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ λαβόντες παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς προσηκούσας ἀποκρίσεις, ὡς αἱ τῶν τεράτων μητέρες ἐπαισχυνόμεναι τοῖς πηρώμασι τῆς φύσεως, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς αἰσχρὰς ἐαυτῶν ὠδύνας τῷ προσήκοντι σκότῳ κατακρύψαντες τιθηνοῦνται. καθῆκαν δὲ τινα πείραν δι' ἐπιστολῆς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὁμόψυχον ἡμῶν Ἀνθιμον τὸν

¹ ἐπιμένωσι E.² ἐκβοῶσαι E.³ ὑποκατασκευαζομένης editi antiqui.

Godhead is one; but the names are different, presenting to us, as they do, conceptions that are circumscribed and exactly fitting. For unless the mind become free from confusions as to the properties of each, it is impossible for it to render the doxology to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost. If, then, they deny that they say and teach these things, our purpose has been accomplished. Yet I see that this denial is difficult for them because the witnesses to these statements are numerous. However, we do not consider the past, if only the present be sound. But if they persist in these same doctrines, we must proclaim the misfortune among you to other churches also, and cause letters to be sent to you from many bishops to break down this mass of impiety which is being secretly prepared. For the present protest will either be of some avail toward our purpose or certainly will clear us of guilt at the Judgment.

And they have already even in their own writings inserted those doctrines, which they first sent to that man of God, Meletius¹ the bishop; and, after receiving appropriate replies from him, just like mothers of monsters in shame of the deformities of nature, so they likewise bring up their base offspring, concealing them in befitting darkness. And they made an attempt by letter also against Anthimus,²

¹ Melitius of Antioch.² Anthimus of Tyana appears first on friendly terms with Basil. Cf. Letter LVIII. In the year 372 he joins Basil in subscribing to a circular addressed by the Eastern bishops to those of Italy and Gaul. Cf. Letter XCII. But soon after dissensions broke out between them. When the province of Cappadocia was divided with Tyana as the capital of the second division, Anthimus insisted that the ecclesiastical organization

Τυάνων ἐπίσκοπον, ὡς ἄρα Γρηγορίου εἰπόντος ἐν ἐκθέσει Πίστewς, Πατέρα καὶ Τῖον ἐπινοία μὲν εἶναι δύο, ὑποστάσει δὲ ἓν. τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι οὐ δογματικῶς εἴρηται, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστικῶς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Αἰλιανὸν¹ διαλέξει, οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν συνιδεῖν οἱ ἐπὶ λεπτότητι τῶν φρενῶν ἑαυτοὺς μακαρίζοντες. ἐν ἧ πολλὰ τῶν ἀπογραφωμένων ἐστὶ σφάλματα, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν λέξεων δείξομεν ἡμεῖς, ἐὰν ὁ Θεὸς θέλῃ. ἔπειτα μέντοι τὸν Ἕλληνα πείθων, οὐχ ἠγείτο χρῆναι ἀκριβολογείσθαι περὶ τὰ ῥήματα· ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὅπη καὶ συνιδόντα² τῷ ἔθει τοῦ ἐναγομένου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀντιτεῖνοι πρὸς τὰ καίρια. διὸ δὴ καὶ πολλὰς ἂν εὖροις ἐκεῖ φωνάς, τὰς νῦν τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς μεγίστην ἰσχὺν παρεχομένας· ὡς τὸ κτίσμα, καὶ τὸ ποίημα, καὶ εἰ τι τοιοῦτον. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον συναφείας εἰρημένα, εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς θεότητος ἀναφέρουσι λόγον οἱ ἀπαιδευτῶς τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀκούοντες· ὁποῖόν ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο, τὸ

¹ Γελιανὸν E, duo Regii.² συνιδόντα editi antiqui.

should follow the civil, and claimed, as Metropolitan, jurisdiction over several of Basil's suffragans. A bitter quarrel ensued which led Basil to do the one act which Gregory Nazianzene never forgot or forgave. He consecrated Gregory bishop of Sasima, a see which was situated not far from Tyana and over which Anthimus claimed Metropolitan rights, thinking thus to set up a sort of buffer see. In 372, however, peace was established between the two, apparently by the intercession of Gregory. Cf. Gregory Nazianzene, *Or.* XLIII, Letters XLVII, XLVIII, XLIX, L. Soon afterwards a second feud broke out between these two. Anthimus, contrary to all canonical rules, had consecrated a certain Faustius bishop of an Armenian see, after Basil had refused to do so on the ground that he did not produce the proper authority. Cf.

Bishop of Tyana, who is of one mind with us, to the effect that Gregory had said in his Exposition of the Faith¹ that the Father and Son in thought are two, in person one.² But the fact that this was said, not dogmatically, but controversially in the dialogue with Aelianus,³ is a thing that those who pride themselves on their subtlety of intellect have not been able to understand. And in this work are many errors of the copyists, as we shall show from the writings themselves—God willing. Then, moreover, in persuading the Greek, he did not consider it necessary to be precise with his terminology; nay, there are places where he even yields to the custom of him who is being won over, to prevent the latter's insisting in important matters. Wherefore you could find there many expressions which to-day furnish strong support to heretics; for example, "the creature," and "the thing made," and such like. And many things also which have reference to the union with man are attributed to the doctrine of divinity by those who ignorantly listen to what is written; of which nature is precisely this that is

Basil, Letters CXX, CXXI, CXXII. A reconciliation, however, seems again to have been established, as we see from the present letter.

¹ The *ἐκθεσις τῆς πίστewς* of Gregory Thaumaturgus, which is given at length in the Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus by Gregory of Nyssa, and which appears also in the Latin Psalter that Charlemagne gave to Adrian I.

² The Benedictine editors do not believe that Gregory used so Sabellian an expression. Basil explains it on the ground that it was used in controversy with heathens on another subject, and loosely, not dogmatically.

³ Evidently a pagan; known only from this letter and Gregory Thaumaturgus' *Frag. de Trin.* in Migne P. L. 10, 1103, and 1143.

παρὰ τούτων περιφερόμενον. εὐ γὰρ¹ εἶδέναι χρή, ὅτι ὡσπερ ὁ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οὐσίας μὴ ὁμολογῶν εἰς πολυθεΐαν ἐκπίπτει, οὕτως ὁ τὸ ἰδιάζον τῶν ὑποστάσεων μὴ διδοὺς εἰς τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμόν ὑποφέρεται.² δεῖ γὰρ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν οἰοεὶ ἐπεραιοθεΐσαν ὑποκειμένῳ τιμῇ καὶ ἐναργεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐντυπωσαμένην τοὺς χαρακτήρας, οὕτως ἐν περινοίᾳ γενέσθαι τοῦ ποθομένου. μὴ γὰρ νοήσαντες³ τὴν πατρότητα, μηδὲ περὶ ὧν ἀφώρισται τὸ ἰδίωμα τοῦτο ἐνθυμηθέντες,⁴ πῶς δυνατὸν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς⁵ ἔννοιαν παραδέξασθαι; οὐ γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ διαφορὰς προσώπων ἀπαριθμῆσασθαι, ἀλλὰ χρή ἕκαστον πρόσωπον ἐν ὑποστάσει ἀληθινῇ ὑπάρχον⁶ ὁμολογεῖν. ἐπεὶ τὸν γε ἀνυπόστατον τῶν προσώπων ἀναπλασμὸν οὐδὲ ὁ Σαβέλλιος παρητήσατο, εἰπὼν τὸν αὐτὸν Θεόν, ἕνα τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ⁷ ὄντα, πρὸς τὰς ἐκάστοτε παραπιπτούσας χρεῖας μεταμορφούμενον, νῦν μὲν ὡς Πατέρα, νῦν δὲ ὡς Υἱόν, νῦν δὲ ὡς Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον διαλέγεσθαι. ταύτην πάλαι κατασβεσθεΐσαν τὴν πλάνην ἀνανεοῦνται νῦν οἱ τῆς ἀνωνόμου ταύτης αἵρέσεως ἐφευρεταί, οἱ τὰς ὑποστάσεις ἀθετοῦντες, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπαρνούμενοι. οὐς ἐὰν μὴ παύσωνται λαλοῦντες κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀδικίαν, ὀδύρεσθαι χρή μετὰ τῶν ἀρησιχρίστων.

Ταῦτα ἀναγκαίως ὑμῖν διεστείλαμεθα, ἵνα τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν διδαγμάτων βλάβας φυλά-

¹ καὶ τούτο add. editi antiq̄i.

² ἀποφέρεται editi antiq̄i.

³ νοήσαντας E in ras.

⁴ ἐνθυμηθέντας E in ras.

⁵ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς] πρὸς Θεοῦ editi antiq̄i.

being noised abroad by them. For it must be clearly understood that as one who does not acknowledge the community of essence falls into polytheism, so he who does not grant the individuality of the persons is carried off into Judaism. For our mind must first rest as it were upon some foundation, and must have engraved upon it clear marks showing what the foundation is, before it can arrive at an understanding of the desired subject. For if we do not know what Paternity is nor consider Him of whom this special quality has been predicated, how is it possible to grasp the concept of God the Father? For it is not sufficient to enumerate the difference in the Persons, but it is necessary to confess that each Person subsists in a true personality. For not even Sabellius rejected the non-subsistent representation of the Persons, saying that the same God, though one in substance, is transformed on every occasion according to necessary circumstances, and is spoken of now as Father, and now as Son, and now as Holy Spirit. This error, that has long since been quenched, is now being revived by the inventors of this anonymous heresy, who reject the Persons and deny the name of God the Son. And unless they cease to utter iniquity against God,¹ they must wail with those who deny Christ.

We have defined these things for you of necessity, that you may guard yourselves against the harm of

¹ Cf. Psal, 74. 6: μὴ ἐπαίρειε εἰς ὕψος τὸ κέρας ὑμῶν, μὴ λαλεῖτε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀδικίαν. "Lift not your horn on high: speak not iniquity against God"

⁶ ὑπάρχειν editi antiq̄i.

⁷ τῶν ὑποκειμένων edit. Basil. secund., et Paris.

ξησθε. τῷ ὄντι γάρ, εἰ χρηὴ τὰς πονηρὰς διδασκαλίας τοῖς ἀδελφείοις φαρμάκοις ἐξομοιοῦν, ὡς οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν ὄνειροσκοποὶ φασί, ταῦτα ἐστὶ καὶ κώνειον, καὶ ἀκόνιτον, καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον, ταῦτα ψυχῶν δηλητήρια, οὐχ οἱ ἡμέτεροι λόγοι, ἅπερ αἱ οἰνόπληκτοι¹ μὴνιγγες ἐκβοῶσι, πολυφάνταστοι οὔσαι διὰ τὸ πάθος· οὐς εἴπερ ἐσωφρόνουν, ἐχρῆν εἰδέναι, ὅτι ταῖς ἀχράντοις καὶ πάσης κηλίδος κεκαθαρμέναις ψυχαῖς τὸ προφητικὸν ἐνανυάζει χάρισμα. οὔτε γὰρ κατόπτρῳ ῥύπνῳτι δυνατόν τῶν εἰκόνων δέξασθαι τὰς ἐμφάσεις, οὔτε ψυχὴν ταῖς βιωτικαῖς προειλημμένην μερίμναις καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φρονήματος τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπισκοτουμένην πάθει δυνατόν ὑποδέξασθαι τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὰς ἐλλάμψεις, οὐ γὰρ πᾶν ἐνύπνιον εὐθὺς προφητεία, ὡς φησι Ζαχαρίας· κύριος ἐποίησε φαντασίαν, καὶ ὑπέτῳν χειμερινόν, διότι οἱ ἀποφθεγγόμενοι ἐλάλησαν κόπους, καὶ τὰ ἐνύπνια ψευδῆ ἐλάλουν. οὗτοι δὲ κἀκεῖνο ἀγνοοῦσιν, οἱ κατὰ τὸν Ἡσαΐαν ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι καὶ κοίτην φιλοῦντες νυστάξαι, ὅτι πολλακίς ἐνέργεια πλάνης ἀποστέλλεται ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας, καὶ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα ψευδές, ὃ ἐν τοῖς ψευ-

¹ οἰνόφληκτοι: editi antiq̄i.

¹ Cf. Zach. 10. 1 and 2: Αἰτεῖσθε παρὰ Κυρίου ὑπέτῳν χειμερινόν, ὡς φησι Ζαχαρίας· κύριος ἐποίησε φαντασίαν, καὶ ὑπέτῳν χειμερινόν, διότι οἱ ἀποφθεγγόμενοι ἐλάλησαν κόπους, καὶ οἱ μάντιες ὄρισεις ψευδεῖς καὶ τὰ ἐνύπνια ψευδῆ ἐλάλουν, μάταια παρεκάλουν· διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηρῆθησαν ὡς πρόβατα καὶ ἐκακώθησαν, διότι οὐκ ἦν ἰασις. "Ask ye of the Lord rain in the latter season, and the Lord will make snows, and will give them showers of rain, and to everyone

depraved teachings. For in truth, if we may liken depraved doctrines to deadly drugs, as the dream-interpreters among you say, this is hemlock and monkshood and any other man-slaying drug. These, not our words, are the poisons which ruin souls—the things which their wine-soddened brains, subject to hallucinations because of their malady, cry out; and if they were of sound mind they ought to know that in souls which are pure and cleansed from all stain the gift of prophecy shines forth. For neither can a soiled mirror receive the reflections of images, nor can a soul that is already beset with the cares of life and darkened by the passions due to the arrogance of the flesh receive the rays of the Holy Spirit. For not every dream is at once a prophecy, as Zacharias¹ says: "The Lord hath made a vision and showers of rain because those who speak plainly have spoken troubles and told false dreams." But these persons who, according to Isaias,² dream and love to sleep in bed, do not know that frequently an actively working error is sent to "the children of unbelief."³ There exists also a false spirit

grass in the field. For the idols have spoken what was unprofitable, and the diviners have seen a lie, and the dreamers have spoken vanity; they comforted in vain: therefore they were led away as a flock: they shall be afflicted, because they have no shepherd." The portion of the Septuagint quoted by Basil (*ἀρίμων . . . φαντασίας*) does not appear in the Douay rendering.

² Cf. Isaias 56. 10: ἴδετε ὅτι ἐκτεπύφλωνται πάντες, οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, κύνες ἐνεοί, οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὑλακτεῖν, ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι κοίτην, φιλοῦντες νυστάξαι. "His watchmen are all blind, they are all ignorant: dumb dogs not able to bark, seeing vain things, sleeping and loving dreams."

³ Cf. Eph. 2. 2: κατὰ τὸν ἀρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργουῦτος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας. "according to the prince of the power of this air, of the spirit that now worketh on the children of unbelief."

δοπροφήταις¹ γενόμενον τὸν Ἀχαάβ ἐξηπάτησε. ταῦτα εἰδότες,² ἔδει μὴ τοσοῦτον ὑπεραρθῆναι, ὥστε ἑαυτοῖς προφητεῖαν προσμαρτυρεῖν, οἳ γε δέικνυνται καὶ τοῦ οἰωνοσκόπου Βαλαάμ τῆς ἀκριβείας ἀπολειπόμενοι. ὃς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Μωαβιτῶν ἐπὶ μεγίσταις δωρεαῖς μετακληθεῖς, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο³ ἀφείναι φωνὴν παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ ἀρῶσθαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, ὃν οὐκ ἀρᾶται⁴ Κύριος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ Κυρίου αἱ κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον αὐτῶν φαντασίαι συντρέχουσιν, ἀρκείσθωσαν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις, οὐδεμιᾶς βοηθείας ἐκ τῶν ὀνείρων εἰς⁵ τὴν ἀξιοπιστίαν προσδεόμενοι· εἰ δὲ ὁ μὲν Κύριος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰρήνην ἀφῆκεν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐντολὴν καινὴν ἔδωκεν⁶ ἡμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους, τὰ δὲ ὀνειράτα μάχην καὶ διάστασιν καὶ ἀγάπης ἀφαισμηδὸν ὑψηγείται,⁷ μὴ διδόντωσαν καιρὸν τῷ διαβόλῳ διὰ τοῦ ὕπνου ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιβαίνειν, μηδὲ κυριώτερα ποιείτωσαν τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῶν⁸ φαντάσματα τῶν σωτηρίων διδαγμάτων.

¹ προφήταις E, Med.

² εἰδότες E in ras., Med., unus ex Regiis.

³ ἠνέσχετο editi antiq̄i.

⁴ οὐκ ἀρᾶται] οὐ καταρᾶται E, editi antiq̄i.

⁵ πρὸς editi antiq̄i.

⁶ ἔδωκεν E.

⁷ ἀψηγείται editi antiq̄i.

⁸ αὐτοῦ editi antiq̄i.

which came upon the false prophets and deceived Achab.¹ Knowing this, they should not have been so elated as to ascribe prophecy to themselves, who indeed are shown to lack the exactness of even the seer Balaam. He, when he was summoned by the king of the Moabites with the most valuable gifts, could not allow himself to raise his voice against the will of God, nor to curse Israel whom the Lord does not curse.² If, then, their visions in dreams are consonant with the commandments of the Lord, let them be satisfied with the Gospels, for they need no assistance from dreams to acquire credibility. But if the Lord has sent His peace to us and has given a new commandment to us that we love one another, but dreams bring on strife and discord and extinction of love, let them not give the devil a chance to attack their souls in sleep, nor make their fancies of more avail than the teachings of salvation.

¹ Cf. 3 Kings 22. 22: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Κύριος Ἐν τίνι; καὶ εἶπεν Ἐξελεύσομαι καὶ ἔσομαι πνεῦμα ψευδὲς εἰς τὸ στόμα πάντων τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν Ἀπατήσεις καὶ γε δυνήσῃ· ἔξελθε καὶ ποιήσον οὕτως. "And the Lord said to him: By what means? And he said: I will go forth, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord said: Thou shalt deceive him, and shalt prevail: go forth, and do so."

² Cf. Num. 22. 11 and 12: λέγων Ἴδοὺ λαὸς ἐξεληλύθει ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἰδοὺ κεκάλυψε τὴν ὄψιν τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὗτος ἐνκάθηται ἐχόμενός μου καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀρασαί μοι αὐτόν, εἰ ἄρα δυνήσομαι πατάξαι αὐτόν καὶ ἐκβαλῶ αὐτόν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Βαλαάμ Οὐ πορεύσῃ μετ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲ καταράσῃ τὸν λαόν· ἔστιν γὰρ εὐλογημένος. "Saying: Behold, a people that is come out of Egypt hath covered the face of the land: come and curse them, if by any means I may fight with them and drive them away. And God said to Balaam: Thou shalt not go with them, nor shalt thou curse the people: because it is blessed."

CCXI

Ὀλυμπίῳ.

Καὶ τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυχῶν τῆς τιμιότητος σου, ἡδίων ἔμαντοῦ καὶ εὐθυμότερος ἐγενόμην, καὶ τοῖς ποθεινοτάτοις υἱέσιν εἰς ὀμιλίαν ἐλθῶν, αὐτόν σε ἔδοξα καθορᾶν. οἱ πάντῳ μου¹ τὴν ψυχὴν κεκακωμένην παραλαβόντες, οὕτω διέθικαν, ὥστε ἐπιλαθέσθαι με τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν κωνείου, ὃ² οἱ ὄνειροπῶλαι³ καὶ⁴ ὄνειροκάπηλοι, εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐκμισθωσαμένων αὐτοὺς χάριν, καθ' ἡμῶν περιφέρουσιν. ἐπιστολὰς δὲ τὰς μὲν ἔπεμψα,⁵ τὰς δὲ καὶ εἰς ὕστερον δώσομεν, εἰ ἐθέλης. μόνον εἶη τί ὄφελος παρ' αὐτῶν τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν.

CCXII

Ἰλαρίῳ.

Ἐμὲ δὲ τί οἶε πεπουθέναι, ἢ τίνα γνώμην ἐσχηκέναι,⁶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπεδήμησα μὲν τῷ Δαζιμόνι, ἔμαθον δὲ ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις τῆς παρουσίας ἡμῶν ἐξεληλυθέναι σου τὴν λογίότητα; οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ τὸ ἐκ παιδὸς θαῦμα ὃ⁷ ἔσχον περὶ σέ, εὐθύς ἀπὸ διατριβῶν αὐτῶν αἰεὶ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν ἐθέμην τὴν ὀμιλίαν σου, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν οὕτω σπουδαῖον⁸ εἶναι νῦν, ὡς φιλαλήθη ψυχὴν

¹ om. E, Harl.² οἱ E.³ ὄνειροπῶλαι E, alii; ὄνειροπῶλοι editi antiq̄i.⁴ οἱ add. E.⁵ ἔγραψα Regius uterque, Coisl. secundus.⁶ ἴσχειν multi MSS.⁷ om. E.

LETTER CCXI

TO OLYMPIUS¹

AND when I read the letter of your Honour, I became more pleased and cheerful than is my wont, and when I entered into conversation with your most beloved sons, I seemed to behold you yourself. They, when they found my soul in much distress, caused me to forget the hemlock which the dream-vendors and dream-hucksters among you are carrying around against us for the gratification of those who have hired them. But as for letters, I have sent some, others also we shall write later, if you will. Only may there be some benefit from them to those who receive them.

LETTER CCXII

TO HILARIUS²

AND how do you think I felt, or what opinion do you think I had, when I visited Dazimon and learned a few days after our arrival that your Eloquence had departed? For not only on account of the admiration I have had for you from boyhood have I, straightway from school-days, set a high value on your company, but also because nothing is so desirable now as a

¹ Of the year 375. On Olympius, cf. Letters IV, XII, XIII, CXXXI.² Written in the late summer of 375. Cf. Loofs, 20 f. The sole source for our information about this Hilarius is this letter.⁸ σπῶδιον Combefisius.

ὕγιες τῶν πραγμάτων τὸ κριτήριον κεκτημένην ὅπερ ἠγοούμεθα παρὰ σοὶ διασιώζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν λοιπῶν τοὺς πλείστους¹ ὀρώμεν, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις, τοὺς μὲν ὡς τούτους, τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἐκείνους διηρημένους, καὶ συνεκβοῶντας τοῖς στασιάζουσι. σὲ δὲ καὶ φόβον καὶ θεραπείας καὶ παντὸς ἀγεννοῦς πάθους ὑψηλότερον ὄντα, εἰκὸς ὀφθαλμῶ ὑγαιίνοντι καθορᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. καὶ γὰρ αἰσθάνομαι σου μὴ παρέργως² ἔχοντος πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὅπου γε καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔπεμφάς τινα περὶ τούτων ἐπιστολήν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἔναγχος τούτοις ἐδήλους³ γράμμασιν, ἦν τίς ὁ παραλαβὼν ὥστε διακομίσαι, ἠδέως ἂν μάθοιμι, ὥστε εἰδέναι τὸν ἀδικήσαντα. οὐ γὰρ ἐνέτυχόν πω γράμμασι σοῖς⁴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ τούτων.

Πόσον πότε ἂν οὖν⁵ οἶμι πρίασθαι με τὴν ὀμιλίαν σου, ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνωρίσαι μέ σοι τὰ λυποῦντά με (φέρει γὰρ, ὡς οἶσθα,⁶ καὶ τὸ ἔξειπεῖν βραστόνῃν τινὰ τοῖς ὀδυνωμένοις), ἀποκρίνασθαι⁷ τε περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων, οὐ γράμμασιν ἀψύχοις καταπιστεύσαντα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν δι' ἔμαντοῦ ἐναργῶς λέγοντα ἕκαστα, καὶ ἐπεξιόντα. οἱ γὰρ ἐμψυχοὶ λόγοι δραστικωτέραν ἔχουσι τὴν πειθῶν πρὸς τε τὸ εὐεπιχειρήτον καὶ πρὸς συκοφαντίαν εὐάλωτον, οὐκέτι ὅμοιοι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις εἰσί. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀτόλμητον λοιπὸν οὐδέν, ὅπου γε καὶ οἱ τὰ μέγιστα παρ' ἡμῶν πιστευθέντες, οὐς ἠσθανόμεθα⁸ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀρώντες, ὡς μεῖζον τι ὄντας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου, οὗτοι κατεδέξαντο συγγράμματά τινας τὰ ὅποια δήποτε ὡς ἡμέτερα παραπέμπειν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς⁹ διαβάλλειν

truth-loving soul possessed of a sound judgment of affairs—the quality which we think is preserved in you. For we see that most other men are divided, as at the horse-races, some on one side, some on another, acclaiming the leaders of their factions. But since you are above fear and servility and every base passion, it is likely that you see the truth with a sound eye. For I understand that you are not indifferent toward the affairs of the churches, since you sent us a letter regarding them, as you made clear in this your recent letter, and I would gladly ascertain who it was that undertook to deliver it, that I may know who it was that did us injury. For I have not yet received your letter to us about these matters.

How much do you think I would value your company, that I might make known to you what is troubling me (for, as you know, even the telling affords some relief to those in pain), and answer the questions you might ask, not trusting to lifeless letters, but myself telling everything clearly and entering on matters in detail? For the living word makes for more effective persuasion, and it is not, like the written word, open to attack and subject to calumny. For nothing in the way of daring remains to be tried by anyone, since even those who were trusted most by us, whom we, looking among the people recognized as being something better than the common run of mortals, suffered themselves to circulate the writings of someone, whatever in the world they were, as our own,

³ ἐδήλους editi antiq̄i.⁴ τοῖς editi antiq̄i.⁶ om. E, Med., editi antiq̄i.⁸ οἶδας multi MSS.⁷ ἀποκρίνεσθαι editi antiq̄i.⁸ αἰσθανόμεθα E.⁹ ἀπ' αὐτοῖς E.

ταῖς ἀδελφότησιν, ὡς μηδὲν λοιπὸν τοῦ ἡμετέρου
 ὀνόματος φευκτότερον εἶναι τοῖς εὐλαβέσι. τὸ
 γὰρ ἀγνωσθῆναι γενόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιτηδεύσας,
 ὡς οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν ἐπισκευμένων τὴν
 ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν, νῦν καθάπερ τὸ ἐναντίον
 προελόμενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γινώριμον ἔμαυτὸν
 καταστήσαι, οὕτω πανταχοῦ γῆς, προσθήσω δὲ
 ὅτι καὶ θαλάσσης, διατεθρῦλλημαι. οἱ τε γὰρ
 τὸν ἔσχατον ὄρον τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐπιτηδεύοντες,
 καὶ τὸ ἄθειον τῆς ἀνομοιότητος δόγμα ταῖς
 ἐκκλησίαις ἐπάγοντες,¹ πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν πόλεμον
 ἔχουσιν· οἱ τε τὴν μέσσην ἐλαύνοντες, ὡς οἴονται,²
 καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων³ ἀρχῶν ὠρμημέ-
 νοι, τῇ δὲ τῶν λογισμῶν ἀκολουθία μὴ ἐφίεντες
 διὰ τὸ ὑπεναντίον ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῶν πολλῶν, ἡμᾶς
 δυσχεραίνουσι καὶ πλύνουσι μὲν ταῖς λοιδορίαις,
 ἐφ' ὅσον δύνανται, οὐδεμίαν δὲ ἀπέχονται τῆς
 ἐπιβουλῆς, εἰ καὶ ὅτι ὁ Κύριος ἀπράκτους αὐτῶν
 τὰς ἐγχειρήσεις ἐποίησε. ταῦτα πῶς οὐ λυπηρὰ ;
 πῶς οὐχὶ ὀδυνηρὰν μοι τὴν ζωὴν κατασκευά-
 ζοντα ;⁴ ὅς γε μίαν τίθεμαι τῶν κακῶν παρα-
 μυθίαν τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός, ὑφ' ἧς πέπεισ-
 μαὶ μὴ πολὺν χρόνον παραμένειν τῇ δυστήνῃ
 ταύτῃ ζωῇ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον.

Σὲ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς πάθεσι τοῦ σώματος παρακαλῶ

¹ ἐπαγόντες editi antiq̄i.

² αἰόντε E.

³ ἐκείνοις editi antiq̄i.

⁴ κατασκευάζονται editi antiq̄i.

¹ Cf. Introduction, Vol. I.

² The Benedictine editors remark that at first sight Eustathius of Sebaste seems to be meant here, because in Letter CXXVIII Basil speaks of him as occupying a

and thereby set the brotherhoods at variance, so that since then nothing is more shunned by the pious than our name. For although from the beginning I have striven to remain unknown, as perhaps no one else of those who have studied human weakness. now as if I had preferred the opposite, I am become well known to all men, so that I am become a byword all over the earth, and, I shall add, even over the sea. For those who practise the utmost limit of ungodliness and bring into the Church the impious doctrine of Anomoeanism¹ are at war with me. And those who take the middle course,² as they think, and though setting out from those same principles, yet do not yield to the cogency of the arguments because of its offence to the ears of many, irritate us and overwhelm us with abuse as much as they can, and they stop at no intrigue, even though the Lord has made their attempts of no avail. How can this be otherwise than troublesome? How can it help making life painful for me, who hold as the one relief from the evils the frailty of my body, because of which I am convinced that I shall remain for no long time in this unhappy life. So much for this.

And I admonish you in your bodily afflictions to

contemptible half-and-half position. On second thought, however, they say that clearly the same heretics are meant against whom was written the work *De Spiritu Sancto*. "Non medius ille Eustathii status in eo positus erat, quod nec Catholicus potentioribus Arianis, nec Arianus Catholicis videri vellet. nondum aperte eum Arianis coniunctus, nec negare audebat nec probare quae ipsi a Basilio proponebantur. at quos hic commemorat Basilius, hi Catholicae doctrinae bellum apertum indixerant, et quamvis dissimilitudinis impietatem fugere viderentur, iisdem tamen, ac Anomoei, principiis stabant." These Basil attacks in *De Spiritu Sancto*, sect. 13, 25, 34, 52, 60, 69, 75.

μεγαλοφυῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς Θεοῦ διακεῖσθαι· ὃς ἐὰν ἴδῃ ἡμᾶς μετ' εὐχαριστίας δεξαμένους τὰ παρόντα, ἢ ἐπανήσει τὰ λυπούντα, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰώβ, ἢ τοῖς μεγάλοις στεφάνοις τῆς ὑπομονῆς ἀμείψεται ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν καταστάσει.

CCXIII

Ἐπεπίγραφος, ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐσεβεῖ.

Κύριος ὁ παρασχόμενός μοι ταχεῖαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θλίψεσι τὴν ἀντίληψιν αὐτός σοι τῆς ἀναπαύσεως, ἣν ἀπέπαυσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ διὰ τοῦ γράμματος ἐπισκέψει, παράσχοιτο τὴν ἀντίληψιν, τῇ ἀληθινῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ εὐφροσύνῃ τοῦ πνεύματος τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει μισθὸν τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν ἀποπληρῶν, ἔτυχον γάρ πως τὴν ψυχὴν κεκακομένους, ἐν¹ πολυανθρώπῳ συλληψει κτηνώδη τινα καὶ παντελῶς ἄλογον τοῦ λαοῦ καταμαθὼν βραθυμίαν, καὶ τῶν ἀγόντων αὐτοὺς παλαιὰν καὶ δυσδιόρθωτον συνήθειαν τοῦ κακοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀγάπης θησαυρον, ἐπέγνων ὅτι ἐπέλαμψεν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐν πικρίᾳ ζωσὶ γλυκεῖαν παραμυθίαν ὁ οἰκονομῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα, διὸ καὶ ἀντιφθέγγομαί σου τὴν ὁσιότητα,² παρακαλῶν τὴν συνήθη παράκλησιν, μὴ διαλιπεῖν σε εὐχόμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μου ζωῆς, μήποτε, τῇ φαντασίᾳ τοῦ βίου τούτου καταβαπτισθεῖς, ἐπι-

¹ τῇ add. E.

live nobly and in a manner worthy of Him who called us: for He, if He sees that we receive the present with thanksgiving, will either relieve our sufferings, as in the case of Job, or will reward us with the great crowns which reward patience in our existence after this life.

LETTER CCXIII

WITHOUT INSCRIPTION, WITH REFERENCE TO A PIOUS MAN¹

MAY the Lord who has granted me prompt succour in my afflictions Himself grant you the succour of that repose which you have given to us through your present visitation by letter, completing your reward for your consolation of our humility the true and mighty joy of the spirit. For I happened somehow to be depressed in soul when I learned of a brutal and altogether irrational foolhardiness of the laity in a great gathering of men, and the inveterate and incorrigible habit of evil in those who lead them. But when I saw your letter and the treasure of love therein, I understood that He who regulates our affairs had made a sweet consolation to shine upon us who live in bitterness. Wherefore I in turn also salute your Holiness, making of you my usual request not to cease praying for this wretched life of mine, that I may never, drowned in the unrealities of

¹ Written in 375.

² τὴν ὁσιότητα] τῇ ὁσιότητι Reg. secundus, Paris, Coisl. secundus.

λάβωμαι μὲν¹ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγείροντος² ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχόν, ἔπαρσιν δέ τινα παθῶν εἰς κρίμα ἐμπέσω τοῦ διαβόλου· ῥαθυμῆσας δὲ τῆς οἰκονομίας καθεύδων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δεσπότητος καταληφθῶ, ἢ καὶ διὰ τῶν βλαβερῶν ἔργων προστιθεῖς, καὶ τύπτων τὴν συνείδησιν τῶν συνδούλων, ἢ καὶ μετὰ τῶν μεθυόντων γινόμενος, ἐν τῇ δικαιοκρισίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ³ πάθω τὰ τοῖς ποιητοῖς τῶν οἰκονομῶν ἠπειλημένα. παρακαλῶ οὖν σε ἐπὶ πάσῃ προσευχῇ δέεσθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ νήφειν ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσιν, ἵνα μὴ αἰσχύνῃ γινώμεθα καὶ ὄνειδος τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ⁴ Χριστοῦ.

Γίνωσκε δέ με⁵ ἐν προσδοκίᾳ εἶναι τοῦ κατ' ἐπήρειαν τῶν αἰρετικῶν ἀνακληθῆσθαι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐπὶ προφάσει δὴ τῆς εἰρήνης· καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα⁶ καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τόνδε ἐπεσταλκέναι⁷ ἡμῖν σπουδάσαι περὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ τοὺς ὁμοδόξους καὶ ἐπικρατύνοντας⁸ τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συναγαγόντα, μετ' αὐτῶν ὀρμήσαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. ἐμοὶ δὲ τάχα μὲν οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα αὐτὸ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ὁδοπορίαν ἀρκέσει· τέως δὲ οὐδὲ ἀναγκαῖον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφάνη, πλην εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς

this world, become forgetful of God, who raises the needy from the earth;¹ that through suffering some elation I may never fall into the judgment of the devil;² and that I may never be found by the Master neglecting my stewardship and asleep, or, giving it over through injurious deeds, or wounding the conscience of my fellow-servants,³ or being among those who are drunk, and consequently suffer in the just judgment of God what has been ordained for wicked stewards. I urge you therefore in all your prayers to beg God that we may be sober in all things, in order that we may not become a shame and a reproach to the name of Christ, in the revelation of the secrets of our hearts on the great day of the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

But know that I am expecting to be summoned to the court in keeping with the spiteful feelings of the heretics, of course under the guise of peace; and that the bishop here⁴ on hearing of this, wrote us to make haste to be in Mesopotamia, and that the bishop there, having gathered those who are of like mind there and are in control of the churches, set out with them to the Emperor. But even my body will doubtless not be equal to this journey in the winter; and meanwhile the matter has not seemed urgent, either, unless you

¹ Cf. Psal. 112. 7: ὁ ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχόν, καὶ ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἀνηψάν πένητα. "Raising up the needy from the earth, and lifting up the poor out of the dunghill."

² Cf. 1 Tim. 3. 6: μὴ νεόφυτον, ἵνα μὴ τυφωθεῖς εἰς κρίμα ἐμπέσω τοῦ διαβόλου. "Not a neophyte: lest being puffed up with pride, he fall into the judgment of the devil."

³ Cf. 1 Cor. 8. 12: οὕτω δὲ ἀμαρτάνοντες εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ τύπτοντες αὐτῶν τὴν συνείδησιν ἀσθενόσας, εἰς Χριστὸν ἀμαρτάνετε. "Now when you sin thus against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, you sin against Christ."

⁴ Maran (*Vita Basilii* 6) believes this bishop to be Meletius.

¹ om. E.

² ἐγείραντος E, Paris.

³ K. ρίου E.

⁴ τῇ τοῦ editi antiq.

⁵ μὴ editi antiq.

⁶ ἀκούσαντες E, editi antiq.

⁷ ἀπεσταλκέναι editi antiq.

⁸ ἐπικρατούντας editi antiq.

συμβουλευσῆς.¹ ἀναμενῶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῆς θεοσεβείας σου συμβουλήν, ὥστε κρατυνηθῆναι τὴν γνώμην. διὸ παρακαλῶ θάττου ἡμῖν διὰ τινος τῶν σπουδαίων ἀδελφῶν τὸ παραστᾶν τῇ τελειότητί σου καὶ ἐνθέω² συνέσει φανερωθῆναι.

CCXIV

Τερεντίῳ κόμητι.³

“Ὅτε ἠκούσαμεν τὴν σεμνότητά σου πάλιν ἐκβεβιάσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν, εὐθύς μὲν διαταράχθημεν (εἰρήσεται γὰρ τάληθές), λογιζόμενοι ὅπως σοι παρὰ γνώμην ἐστίν, ἅπαξ ἀφένθῃ τῶν δημοσίων φροντίδων, καὶ σχολάσαντι τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, πάλιν ἀναγκάζεσθαι πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ ὑποστρέφειν.⁴ ἔπειτα εἰς ἔννοιαν ἐλθόντες, ὡς⁵ ὅτι τάχα ὁ Κύριος, βουλόμενος τῶν μυρίων ὀδυνῶν, αἱ νῦν τὰς καθ’ ἡμᾶς Ἐκκλησίας συνέχουσι, μίαν ταύτην χαρίσασθαι παραμυθίαν, τὴν σὴν σεμνοπρέπειαν πάλιν ὠκονόμησεν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων φανῆναι, καὶ⁶ δὴ καὶ εὐθυμότεροι ἤμεν, ὡς μέλλοντες ἔτι γοῦν ἅπαξ, πρὶν ἀπιέναι τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης, συντεύξεσθαι τῇ τιμότητί σου.

Ἄλλὰ πάλιν ἡμᾶς ἕτερα φήμη κατέσχευεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας διάγοντος καὶ τὰ ἐν χερσὶ πράγματα ταῖς μεγάλαις ἀρχαῖς συνδιέποντος. πρὸς δὲ τῇ φήμῃ ταύτῃ κατέλαβεν ἡμᾶς ἀκοή,

¹ συμβουλευεῖς Coisl. uterque, Reg. secundus.

² ἐν Θεῷ editi antiqui.

³ γράφει Τερατίνῳ Κ'ω Ε; γράφει καὶ Τερεντίνῳ κόμητι Med.

advise it. For I shall await the advice of your Godliness, so that my opinion may be confirmed. Wherefore I urge that you make clear to me quickly through one of the trusty brethren what seems best to your perfection and inspired intelligence.

LETTER CCXIV

TO COUNT TERENCE¹

WHEN we heard that your august Reverence had again been forced to take charge of public affairs, we were immediately disturbed (for the truth will be told), considering how contrary to your inclination it is, when once you had given up public cares and had devoted yourself to the concerns of your own soul, to be compelled to return again to the same matters. Then when it occurred to us that perhaps the Lord, in His desire to grant this one consolation for the numberless sufferings which are now encompassing the churches among us, had again ordained that your Reverence should appear in public life, we were then somewhat more cheerful, feeling that we were sure to meet your Honour once more at least before departing this life.

But again another rumour has come to us that you are living in Antioch and are transacting the business at hand with the highest authorities. And besides this rumour a report has come to us that also the

¹ Written in the autumn of 375. Cf. Loofs, 21. On Terentius, cf. Letters XCIX and CV.

⁴ ἐπιστρέφειν oditi antiqui.

⁵ om. multi MSS.

⁶ om. Harl. et alius.

ὅτι καὶ οἱ τῆς κατὰ Παυλίῳ συντάξεως ἀδελφοὶ διαλέγονται τινα¹ τῇ ὀρθότητι σου περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνώσεως· ἡμᾶς δὲ λέγω τοὺς τῆς μερίδος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ, Μελετίου, τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. οὗς καὶ γράμματα ἀκούω νῦν τῶν Δυτικῶν περιφέρειν, αὐτοῖς² τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτρέποντα, παραλογιζόμενα δὲ τὸν θαυμασιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἀληθινῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας Μελέτιον. καὶ οὐ³ θαυμάζω τοῦτο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι παντελῶς τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ δὲ, καὶ δοκοῦντες εἶδέναι, φιλονεικότερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθέστερον αὐτοῖς ἐξηγοῦνται. πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεικός ἢ ἀγνοεῖν τὴν ἀληθειαν ἢ καὶ ἀποκρύπτεισθαι τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν εἰς τὸ γράφειν Παυλίνῳ ἦλθεν ὁ μακαριώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθανάσιος. τὴν δὲ σὴν τελειότητα αὐτοῦ ἔχουσαν τοὺς δυναμένους τὰ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐπισκόπων γεγόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰοβιανοῦ βασιλείας ἀκριβῶς διηγήσασθαι, παρακαλοῦμεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πληροφορηθῆναι.⁴ πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐδενὸς κατηγοροῦμεν, πρὸς πάντας δὲ ἔχειν εὐχόμεθα τὴν ἀγάπην, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως, συγχαίρομεν τοῖς

¹ om. tres MSS.² αὐτοῖς E.³ om. E.⁴ διδαχθῆναι editi antiq.

¹ Basil very properly supported Meletius, whose orthodoxy was unquestioned. Meletius, however, on account of his Arian nomination was violently opposed by the Eustathians. For the trouble involving Paulinus and Meletius, cf. Letters LVII, LXVIII, LXXXIX, CXX, CXXIX, and notes.

² This description may apply to either of the two letters written by Pope Damasus to Paulinus on the matter of admit-

brethren of the faction of Paulinus are having some discussion with your Rectitude about union with us, and by us I mean those who are of the party of the man of God, Meletius¹ the bishop. And they, I hear, are now even circulating a letter from the Westerners² which entrusts to them the episcopate of the church at Antioch, but which misrepresents the most admirable bishop of the true church of God, Meletius. And I am not surprised at this. For the former³ are absolutely ignorant of affairs here; and the latter, although they seem to know, report to them more in the spirit of partisanship than of truth. But it is not unlike them either to be ignorant of the truth or to conceal the reason for which the most blessed bishop Athanasius came to write to Paulinus. But since your own Perfection has those who can relate accurately what went on among the bishops under the rule of Jovian,⁴ we beseech you to inform yourselves fully from them. But because we accuse no one, but pray that we may have love toward all and especially toward those who are of the household of the faith,⁵ we congratulate those who have received the letter

ting Vitalius, bishop of the Apollinarian schism at Antioch, to communion. Matters of chronology, however, favour strongly the former.

² i.e. the Westerners.

⁴ Jovian, emperor from June 27, 363, to Feb. 16, 364, is remembered in church history on account of his connection with St. Athanasius, more than for any other of his actions. While firm for orthodoxy, and especially for the re-establishment of St. Athanasius, he was anxious for peace and toleration among his subjects.

⁵ Cf. Gal. 6. 10: ἄρα οὖν ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν, ἐργαζόμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείου τῆς πίστεως. "Therefore, whilst we have time, let us work good to all men, but especially to those who are of the household of the faith."

κομισαμένοις τὰ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης γράμματα. κἄν
 τὴν σεμνὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἔχη αὐτοῖς μαρτυρίαν,
 εὐχόμεθα ἀληθῆ εἶναι ταύτην καὶ¹ δι' αὐτῶν
 τῶν ἔργων βεβαιουμένην. οὐ μέντοι τούτου γε
 ἔνεκεν δυνάμεθά ποτε ἑαυτοὺς πείσαι ἢ Μελέτιον
 ἀγνοῆσαι, ἢ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίας ἐπιλαθ-
 ἔσθαι, ἢ τὰ ζητήματα, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ
 διάστασις γέγονε, μικρὰ ἠγήσασθαι, καὶ ὀλίγην
 ἔχειν διαφορὰν νομίσει πρὸς τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας
 σκοπόν. ἐγὼ γάρ, οὐχ ὅπως εἰ ἐπιστολὴν τις
 ἀνθρώπων δεξιόμενος, ἐπ' αὐτῇ μέγα φρονεῖ, τού-
 του ἔνεκεν ὑποσταλῆναι ποτε καταδέξομαι· ἀλλ'
 οὐδ' ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦκη τῶν οὐρανῶν, μὴ στοιχῆ²
 δὲ τῷ ὑγιαίνοντι λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως, δύναμαι
 αὐτὸν κοινωνὸν ἠγήσασθαι τῶν ἁγίων.

Ἐνθυμήθητι γάρ, ὦ θανμίσιε, ὅτι οἱ παραχα-
 ράκται τῆς ἀληθείας, οἱ τὸ Ἀρειανόν³ σχίσμα⁴
 τῇ ὑγειῇ τῶν πατέρων ἐπεισαγαγόντες⁵ πίστει,
 οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην αἰτίαν προβάλλονται τοῦ μὴ
 παραδέχασθαι τὸ εὐσεβὲς τῶν πατέρων δόγμα,
 ἢ τὴν τοῦ ὁμοσίου διάνοιαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ πονηρῶς
 καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῆς ὅλης⁶ πίστεως ἐξηγοῦνται
 λέγοντες τὸν Υἱὸν κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ὁμοούσιον
 λέγεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν. οἷς εἴν τινα δῶμεν ἀφορμὴν,
 ἐκ τοῦ περιφέρεσθαι τοῖς δι' ἀπλότητα μᾶλλον ἢ
 διὰ κακίαν ταῦτα ἢ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια λέ-
 γουσιν, οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀναντιρρήτους μὲν
 δοῦναι καθ' ἑαυτῶν τὰς λαβίας, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ ἐκείνοις
 κατασκευάσαι τὴν αἵρεσιν, οἷς μία μελέτη ἐστίν,

¹ ἀληθῆ εἶναι ταύτην καὶ] ἀληθεύει αὐτὴν δι' αὐτῶν nonnulli
 MSS.

² στοιχῆ E.

from Rome. And if it bears for them any impressive and mighty testimony, we pray that it be true and confirmed by the facts themselves. Nevertheless, we can never on this account persuade ourselves either to ignore Meletius, or to forget the church under him, or to regard as petty the questions from which the dissension originally arose, and to consider that it makes little difference as regards the aim of religion. For this is my position: not only shall I never consent to dissemble just because somebody has received a letter from human beings and is elated over it; nay, not even if it came from the very heavens but does not agree with the sound doctrine of faith, can I regard him as sharing in communion with the saints.¹

For consider, admirable sir, that the falsifiers of the truth, those who have brought the Arian schism into the pure faith of the fathers, proffer no other excuse for not accepting the pious doctrine of the fathers than their idea of consubstantiality,² which they themselves wickedly and to the calumny of the whole faith set forth, saying that the Son is called consubstantial in person by us. Now if we give them any opportunity, through our being carried away by men who through simplicity rather than wickedness say these and things like these, there is nothing to keep us also from giving them unanswerable arguments against ourselves and establishing firmly the heresy

¹ Cf. Introduction, Vol. I, also Letters VIII and XXXVIII with notes.

² Cf. Vol. I, p. 47, note.

³ Ἀρειανῶν E.

⁵ ἐπεισάγοντες editi antiq.

⁴ σχῆμα E.

⁶ om. quinque MSS.

ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγοις οὐ τὰ ἑαυτῶν κατασκευάζειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἡμέτερα διαβάλλειν.

Τίς δ' ἂν γένοιτο τῆς διαβολῆς ταύτης χαλεπότερα, καὶ μᾶλλον δυναμένη τοὺς πολλοὺς διασαλεύσαι, ἢ εἰ φανείσῃν τινες ἐξ ἡμῶν Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα μίαν ὑπόστασιν λέγοντες, οἳ κἂν πάνυ τὸ τῶν προσώπων διάφορον ἐναργῶς δογματίζωσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Σαβελλίου προειληφθαι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο λέγοντος· ἕνα μὲν εἶναι τῇ ὑποστάσει τὸν Θεόν, προσωποποιεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Γραφῆς διάφορος κατὰ τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἐκάστοτε χρείας· καὶ νῦν μὲν τὰς πατρικὰς ἑαυτῷ περιτιθένας φωνάς, ὅταν τοῦτου καιρὸς ἢ τοῦ προσώπου, νῦν δὲ τὰς Υἱῷ πρεπούσας, ὅταν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλας τινὰς οἰκονομικὰς ἐνεργείας ὑποβαίῃ, νῦν δὲ τὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποδύεσθαι προσώπειον,¹ ὅταν ὁ καιρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου προσώπου φωνὰς ἀπαιτῇ. ἐὰν οὖν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν φανῶσιν τινες ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα λέγοντες, τρία δὲ πρόσωπα τέλεια² ὁμολογοῦντες, πῶς οὐχὶ σαφῆ καὶ ἀναντίρρητον δόξουσι παρέχεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ ἡμῶν;

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι ὑπόστασις καὶ οὐσία οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστι, καὶ αὐτοί, ὡς νομίζω, ὑπεσημήναντο οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἀδελφοί, ἐν οἷς τὸ στενὸν τῆς ἑαυτῶν γλώττης ὑφορώμενοι τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ὄνομα τῇ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ παραδεδώκασιν, ἵνα, εἴ τις εἶη διαφορά τῆς ἐννοίας, σώζοιτο αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ

¹ πρόσωπον quinque MSS.

of those whose one care in their discussions about the Church is not to establish their own ideas but to slander ours.

But what could be more grievous than this calumny and more apt to make the many waver than if some of us should be found saying that the personality of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost is one, we who quite earnestly teach the distinction of the persons, but because of Sabellius' anticipation of this same idea, when he said that God exists in one person, but is represented by Scripture with different distinctions according to the peculiarity of the need arising in each case, and so at one time it applies to Him terms relating to His paternity, when there is a proper occasion to mention this Person, at another time terms suited to the Son, when He descends to care for us or to do some other works of the dispensation, and again He assumes the mask of the Spirit, when the occasion demands the terms referring to such a person. If, then, among us also some are found saying that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one in substance while at the same time confusing three perfect Persons, how do they not appear to offer clear and incontestable proof that the things said of us are true?

As to the point that person and substance are not the same thing, even the brethren of the West themselves, as I believe, subscribe to this, inasmuch as they were aware of the poverty of their own language and gave the word for substance in the Greek tongue, in order that, if there should be any distinction of meaning, it might be preserved in the well-defined and unconfused

² om. Harl., Med., unus ex Regiis.

εὐκρινεῖ καὶ ἀσυγχύτῳ διαστάσει τῶν ὀνομάτων. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν ἐν βραχεῖ εἰπεῖν, ἐκεῖνο ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι ἄν ἔχει λόγον τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον, τοῦτον¹ ἔχει ἢ οὐσία πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν. ἕκαστος γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ τοῦ εἶναι μετέχει, καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἰδιώμασιν ὁ δεῖνα ἔστι καὶ ὁ δεῖνα. οὕτω κακέῖ ὁ μὲν² τῆς οὐσίας λόγος κοινός, οἶον ἢ ἀγαθότης, ἢ θεότης,³ ἢ⁴ εἴ τι ἄλλο νοῦιτο· ἢ δὲ ὑπόστασις ἐν τῷ ἰδιώματι τῆς πατρότητος, ἢ τῆς υἰότητος, ἢ τῆς ἁγιαστικῆς δυνάμεως θεωρεῖται. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀνυπόστατα λέγουσι τὰ πρόσωπα, αὐτόθεν ἔχει ὁ λόγος τὴν ἀτοπίαν· εἰ δὲ ἐν ὑποστάσει εἶναι αὐτὰ ἀληθινῇ συγχωροῦσιν,⁵ ὃ ὁμολογοῦσι, καὶ ἀριθμείωσαν, ἵνα καὶ ὁ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου λόγος διαφυλαχθῇ ἐν τῇ ἐνότῃ τῆς θεότητος καὶ ἢ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπίγνωσις Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἐν τῇ ἀπηρτισμένη καὶ ὀλοτελεῖ ἐκάστου τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ὑποστάσει κηρύσσεται. ὅμως⁶ δὲ ἐκεῖνο βούλομαι πεπεῖσθαι τὴν σεμνότητά σου, ὅτι καὶ σὲ καὶ πάντα τὸν παραπλησίως σοι τῆς ἀληθείας φροντίζοντα, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγωνιζομένους μὴ ἀτιμάζοντα, ἀναμένειν⁷ δεῖ καθηγήσασθαι τῆς συναφείας ταύτης καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, οὓς ἐγὼ στύλους καὶ ἐδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τίθεμαι καὶ τοσοῦτῳ πλέον αὐτοὺς αἰδοῦμαι, ὅσῳ ἂν μακρότερον ἐξοικισθῶσιν, ἀντὶ τιμωρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπαγομένου τοῦ χωρισμοῦ. παρακαλῶ οὖν, φύλαξον ἡμῖν σεαυτὸν⁸ ἀπρό-

differentiation of the terms. But if we are to say briefly what we think, we shall speak as follows: what the generic idea is to the particular, this the substance is to the person. For not only does each one of us participate in "being" in the common meaning of "existence," but So-and-so "exists" in respect to his own individual traits, and so does So-and-so. So even here the concept of existence or substance is generic, like goodness, divinity, or any other abstract concept; but the person is perceived in the special character of fatherhood, or sonship, or of holy power. If then they say that the Persons are not subsistent, the teaching is *ipso facto* absurd; but if they concede, as they do admit, that they subsist in a true personality, let them also enumerate them, in order that the idea of consubstantiality may be preserved in the oneness of the Godhead, and that the recognition of the holiness of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in the complete and perfect personality of each of those named, may be proclaimed. Yet I wish that your august Reverence might be persuaded of this, that you and everyone who, like you, has a care for the truth and does not contemn those who fight for the true faith, should wait for the lead to be taken in this union and peace by the champions of the churches, whom I consider as pillars and the foundation of the truth and of the Church; and I revere them the more, the farther they are removed from home, when exile is brought upon them as punishment. Therefore I beg you, keep yourself

¹ ἀιδιότης Med.⁴ καὶ editi antiqi.⁵ συγχωρησασθαι MSS. recentiores.⁶ ὁμοῦ editi antiqi.⁷ ἂν μένειν editi antiqi.⁸ αὐτὸν plures MSS.¹ τοῦτο E, editi antiqi.² δ. μὲν] om. E.

ληπτον, ἵν' ἔχωμέν σοι γούν ἐπαναπαύεσθαι,¹
ὃν ἐν πάσι βακτηριάν ἡμῖν καὶ ἔρεισμα ὁ Θεὸς
ἐχαρίσατο.

CCXV

Δωροθέῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ.

Εὐθύς ἐπιτυχῶν ἀφορμῆς, ἐπέστειλα τῷ θαυμα-
σιωτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ Τερεντίῳ τῷ κόμητι, λογισάμενος
ἀνυποπτότερον εἶναι τὸ διὰ ξένων αὐτῷ γράφειν
περὶ τῶν προκειμένων, καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενος μηδε-
μίαν ἐγγενέσθαι διατριβὴν τῷ πράγματι τὸν
ποθεινότατον² ἀδελφόν Ἀκάκιον. τῷ διαψη-
φισιτῇ τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἐπάρχων ἔδωκα οὖν³ τὴν
ἐπιστολὴν δημοσίῳ δρόμῳ ὀδεύοντι, ᾧ καὶ ἐνετει-
λάμην πρῶτοις ὑμῖν ἐμφανίσει τὸ γράμμα. τὴν
δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ὁδὸν οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως οὐδεὶς ἀνήγ-
γειλε τῇ συνέσει ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι παν-
τελῶς ἐστὶν ἄπορος, τῆς μεταξὺ χώρας ἀπὸ
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὄρων
πολεμίων πεπληρωμένῃς. εἰ δὲ δεῖ θαλάσση
χρησασθαι, ἔσται καιρὸς, μόνον ἐὰν καταδέξηται
καὶ τὸν πλοῦν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων
πραγμάτων πρεσβείαν, ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἐπίσ-
κοπος Γρηγόριος ὁ ἀδελφός. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὕτε
τοῖς συναπερχομένους αὐτῷ ὁρῶ, καὶ αὐτὸν
γινώσκω παντελῶς ἄπειρον ὄντα τῶν κατὰ τὰς⁴

¹ ἀπρόληπτον . . . ἐπαναπαύεσθαι] ἀπροσπόληπτον ἵνα
ἔχωμέν σοι γνησίως ὡς νῆφ' ἐπαναπαύεσθαι Claroumont.

² ποθεινόν E. ³ om. E, Harl., et alii.

⁴ -ης E, odití antiqí.

for our sake free from preconceived notions, that we
may be able to rest on you, at least, whom God has
vouchsafed to us as in all things a staff and a prop.

LETTER CCXV

TO DOROTHEUS, PRESBYTER¹

IMMEDIATELY availing myself of an opportunity, I
have written to that most excellent man, Count
Terentius,² thinking that it was less suspicious to
send a letter to him through strangers about the
matters at issue, and at the same time desiring that
our beloved brother Acacius³ should experience no
delay in the matter. So I have given the letter
to the revenue-collector in the office of the pre-
fects, as he set out on the public route, and I also
urged him to show you the letter first. But as for
the road to Rome, I do not know why someone has
not told your Intelligence that it is quite impassable
in winter, the country intervening from Constanti-
nople to our confines being full of enemies. But if it
is necessary to go by sea, it will be only opportune
provided that our God-beloved bishop, brother
Gregory,⁴ consents to both the voyage and the
official mission in such important matters. For I do
not know of anyone who can accompany him, and I
know that he is quite inexperienced in ecclesiastical

¹ Written in the autumn of 375. Cf. Loofs, 21. This
Dorotheus is mentioned in Letter CCXLIII as carrying a letter
for Basil.

² Cf. previous letter and note.

³ Perhaps the presbyter of Beroea mentioned in Letters
CCXX, CCLVI.

⁴ i.e. Gregory of Nyssa.

ἐκκλησίας· καὶ εὐγνώμονι μὲν ἀνδρὶ αἰδέσιμον αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν τὴν συντυχίαν, ὑψηλῶ δὲ καὶ μετεώρῳ, ἄνω που καθημένῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούει τῶν χαμόθεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν φθεγγομένων μὴ δυναμένῳ, τί ἂν γένοιτο ὄφελος τοῖς κοινοῖς παρὰ τῆς τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνδρὸς ὀμιλίας, ὃς ἀλλότριον ἔχει θωπείας ἀνελευθέρου τῶ ἦθος;

CCXVI

Μελετίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀντιοχείας.

Πολλὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλαι ἀποδημίαι τῆς πατρίδος ἀπήγαγον. καὶ γὰρ μέχρι τῆς Πισιδίας διέβημεν, ὥστε μετὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐπισκόπων τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰσαυρίᾳ ἀδελφοὺς τυπῶσαι. κακείθεν ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον ἡμᾶς διεδέξατο ἀποδημία, ἰκανῶς τὸν Δαξιμόνα ταράξαντος¹ τοῦ Εὐσταθίου, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναπέισαντος τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀποσχισθῆναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν. ἐγενόμεθα δὲ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ οἰκιδίου Πέτρου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν, ὃ² διὰ τὸ προσεγγίζειν τοῖς κατὰ Νεοκαισάρειαν τόποις πολλῆς μὲν τοῖς ἐκεῖ ταραχῆς παρῆσχεν αἰτίαν, πολλῆς δὲ ὑβρεως ἡμῖν ὑπόθεσιν προεξένησεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔφηνον, οὐδενὸς

¹ παραδάξαντος Ε.

² ὁ: Combesisius.

¹ Written in autumn of 375. Cf. Loofs, 21. Other Letters addressed to Meletius, bishop of Antioch, are LVII, LXVIII, LXXXIX, CXX, CXXIX, CCXVI.

² From this phrase the Benedictine editors argue that Meletius had proposed a journey which Basil had not under-

matters; and that although his dealings would inspire respect with a kindly man and be worth much, yet with a high and elevated personage, one occupying a lofty seat, and therefore unable to listen to men who from a lowly position on the ground would tell him the truth—what advantage could accrue to our common interests from the converse of such a man as Gregory, who has a character foreign to servile flattery?

LETTER CCXVI

TO MELETIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH¹

MANY and divers² journeys abroad have taken us from home. For indeed we went even as far as Pisidia that we might settle the affairs of the brethren³ in Isauria with the bishops there. And thence our journey took us to the Pontus, since Eustathius had troubled Dazimon considerably and had persuaded many there to separate from our Church. And we also went as far as the little hermitage of our brother Peter,⁴ which by its proximity to the region of Neocaesarea gave cause for much trouble to the people of that place, and to us afforded the occasion for much abuse. For they took to flight with no one

taken, and thus that the unnamed bishop of Letter CCXIII is Meletius. They say also that the bishop's not being named in Letter CCXIII and the general obscurity of this and other similar letters probably indicate Basil's reluctance to put certain matters in writing which might better be conveyed by word of mouth.

² The Christians. Cf. Tillemont, Basil, note 71.

⁴ Basil's brother Peter had succeeded Basil as head of the monastic settlement on the Iris.

διώκοντας, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐνομιζόμεθα ἐπιθυμία τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπαίνων καὶ ἄκλητοι εἰσωθίζεσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανήλθομεν, ἐκ τῶν ὄμβρων καὶ τῶν ἀθυμιῶν πολλὴν ἀρρωστίαν συναγαγόντες, εὐθὺς¹ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς κατέλαβε γράμματα, σημαίνοντα τοῖς περὶ Παυλίνον ἀπὸ τῆς Δύσεως ἐπιστολάς τινας, ὡσπερ τινὸς ἀρχῆς συνθήματα, κεκομίσθαι, καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν τοὺς στασιαστὰς τοῦ μέρους ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐπαγάλλεσθαι τοῖς γράμμασιν, εἶτα καὶ πίστιν προτείνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐτοίμος ἔχειν συνάπτεσθαι τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἐκκλησίᾳ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κἀκεῖνο ἡμῖν ἀπηγγέλη,² ὅτι ὑπηγάγοντο³ πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σπουδὴν τὸν πάντα ἄριστον ἄνδρα Τερέντιον, ᾧ ταχέως ἐπέστειλα, καθ' ὅσον ἦν μοι δυνατόν, ἐπέχων αὐτὸν τῆς ὀρμῆς καὶ διδάσκων τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀπάτην.

CCXVII

KANONIKH Γ',

Ἄμφιλοχίῳ περὶ κανόνων.

Ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ μακρᾶς ἐπανελθὼν (ἐγενόμεν γὰρ μέχρι τοῦ⁴ Πόντου ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἕνεκεν χρεῶν καὶ κατ' ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων), καὶ τὸ σῶμά μου συντετριμμένον ἐπαναγαγὼν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μετρίως κεκακωμένον, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γράμμα τῆς εὐλαβείας σου ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔλαβον, πάντων

¹ α¹ add E.² ἀπηγγέλη editi antiq.³ ὑπήγαγον editi antiq.⁴ τῆς E.

in pursuit, and we were considered to be forcing ourselves into their company out of a desire for their praise and uninvited.

But when we returned, having contracted much infirmity from the rains and the discouragement, at once a letter met us from the East which made known that some correspondence had been brought from the West to those of the party of Paulinus, an earnest, as it were, of some office, and that the members of his faction were elated and gloried in the letter and were then even proffering a creed, and on this condition were ready to join our Church. And besides this it was also told us that they tried to inveigle into their cause the most excellent man Terentius, to whom I quickly wrote, partly to check his impetuosity (in so far as I could) and partly to reveal their fraud.

LETTER CCXVII

TO AMPHILOCHIUS ON THE CANONS¹

ON returning from a long journey (for I had been as far as the Pontus on account of ecclesiastical business and to visit relatives), having brought back my broken body and being considerably afflicted in soul, when I took into my hands the letter of your Piety I straightway became forgetful of everything,

¹ Written in 375. Cf. introductory note of Letter CLXXXVIII. After a preamble dealing mainly with the Isaurians, Basil comes to the canons, in which he is concerned chiefly with establishing the length of time that one must spend in the various orders of penitents.

ἄθρῳος ἐπελαθόμην, καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς πασῶν
 ἔμοι ἡδίστες καὶ χειρὸς τῆς φιλιτάτης ὑποδεξά-
 μενος σύμβολα. ὅς¹ οὖν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων
 οὕτως ἐγενόμην ἡδίων, εἰκάξειν ὀφείλεις πόσου
 ἀξίαν ποιούμαι τὴν συντυχίαν σου, ἣν οἰκονο-
 μήσειεν ὁ ἅγιος γενέσθαι, ὅπου ἀνεπαχθές ἦ καὶ
 αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς προσκαλέσῃ. καὶ γὰρ οὐ χαλεπὸν
 μοι, εἰ καταλάβοις τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐφη-
 μιᾶδος, γενέσθαι ὁμοῦ, τὰ τε ὧδε ὄχληρά διαφεύ-
 γοντι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνυπόκριτόν σου ἀγάπην
 ἐπειγομένῳ. τάχα δέ μοι καὶ ἄλλως ἀναγκαίαν
 ποιεῖ τὴν μέχρι Ναζιανζοῦ ὁδὸν ἢ ἀθρόα τοῦ
 θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Γρηγορίου ἀναχώρησις,
 μετὰ ποίας αἰτίας γενομένη ἀγνωσμένη μέχρι
 τοῦ νῦν. ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, περὶ οὗ κἀγὼ ἤμην
 διαλεχθεὶς τῇ τελειότητι² σου, καὶ αὐτὸς νῦν
 ἤλπισας ἔτοιμον εἶναι, γίνωσκε ὅτι μακρὰ ἄρρω-
 στία περιπεσῶν, καὶ κἀμνων λοιπὸν περὶ αὐτὰς
 τὰς ὄψεις ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς
 ἐναγχος αὐτῷ ἐπισυμβάσης νόσου, παντελῶς
 ἀχρηστος πρὸς τὰς τυχοῦσας ἐνεργείας ἀπέ-
 μεινεν. ἄλλος δὲ οὐκ ἔστι παρ' ἡμῖν. ὥστε
 βέλτιον, εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπέτρεψαν τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ'
 οὖν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τινα προβληθῆναι. καὶ
 γὰρ ἠγείσθαι χρὴ ταῦτα μὲν τῆς ἀνάγκης εἶναι
 τὰ ῥήματα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνο βού-
 λεσθαι, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπέζητήσαν, οἰκείου εἶναι
 τὸν καθηγούμενον. εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ τις τῶν νεοφω-
 τίστων, κὰν δοκῇ τῷ Μακεδονίῳ, κὰν μὴ, ἐκεῖνος
 προβληθῆτω. τυπώσεις δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ δέον,

¹ ὅς nonnulli MSS.

² τιμότητι editi antiq̄i.

since I had received symbols of both the sweetest
 voice of all to me and also of the dearest hand.
 Therefore you ought to conjecture how greatly I,
 who received such pleasure from your letter, esteem
 a meeting with you, and may the Holy One grant
 that it take place, whenever it will not be burden-
 some and you yourself shall invite us. For if you
 should come to the house of Euphemias, it will not be
 difficult for me, escaping my annoyances here and
 hastening to your sincere Charity, to be there like-
 wise. Besides, the sudden departure of the most
 God-beloved bishop Gregory, the reason for which
 is as yet unknown, may perhaps make a journey as
 far as Nazianzus imperative for me. But be informed
 that the man about whom I was talking with your
 Perfection, and whom you yourself hoped would
 now be ready, having fallen into a long illness and
 now threatened with even the loss of his sight, the
 result of his old ailment and the sickness that recently
 befell him, is left entirely incapacitated for any service
 at all. Moreover, there is no other with us. So that it
 would be better, even if they have entrusted the
 affair to us, that someone from their own number
 should anyhow be proposed. For one must believe
 that these are the words of necessity, but that their
 heart cherishes the same desire that they have
 entertained from the beginning—that the one who is
 placed over them be of their own. And if there be
 any such among the neophytes, whether or not
 Macedonius approves, let him be ordained. But
 you will ordain him for his duties, the Lord who

τοῦ ἐν πᾶσι συνεργούντος σοι Κυρίου καὶ τὴν εἰς τοῦτο χάριον παρεχομένου.¹

ΝΑ'. Τὸ κατὰ τοὺς κληρικούς ἀδιορίστως οἱ κανόνες ἐξέθεντο, κελεύσαντες μίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς παραπεσοῦσιν ὀρίεσθαι τιμωρίαν, τὴν ἐκπτώσιν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, εἴτε ἐν βαθμῶ τυγχάνοιεν, εἴτε καὶ ἀχειροθέτῳ² ὑπηρεσία προσκαρτεροῖεν.

ΝΒ'. Ἡ τοῦ κυήματος κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀμελήσασα, εἰ μὲν οὖν δυναμένη περισώσασθαι κατεφρόνησεν, ἢ συγκαλύψει τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐντεῦθεν νομίζουσα, ἢ ὄλως θηριώδει καὶ ἀπανθρώπων λογισμῶ χρησαμένη, ὡς ἐπὶ φόνῳ κρινέσθω. εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη περιστεῖλαι, καὶ δι' ἐρημίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων διεφθάρῃ τὸ γεννηθέν,³ συγγνωστὴ ἢ μήτηρ.

ΝΓ'. Ἡ χήρα δούλη τάχα οὐ μέγα ἔπταισεν, ἐλομένη δευτερον γάμον ἐν σχήματι ἀρπαγῆς.

¹ Et editi antiq̄i add. οἱ δὲ ἐξομνύμενοι, μὴ ἀναγκαζέσθωσαν ἐπιρκεῖν. εἰ γὰρ δοκεῖ τις εἶναι κανὸν ὁ συγχώρων τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, ἀλλὰ πείρα ἐγνώκαμεν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσοδύνται οἱ ἐπιρκεῖσαιτες' σκοπεῖν δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ὅρκου, καὶ τὰ βήματα' καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ἀφ' ἧς ὁμωμάσασιν' καὶ τὰς καταλεπτῶν συμπροσθήκας, χρῆ παντελῶς εἶναι τοῖς τοιοῦτους. Cf. initium Canonis decimi.

² ἀχειροτονήτῳ editi antiq̄i.

³ κυήθην unus MS.

¹ Cf. Canon 3, especially notes 1 and 2; also Canon 32. This canon according to Balsamon's interpretation is a complement to Canon 32, and determines the sense of the word "cleric" in that Canon. Some had objected that Canon 32 applied only to clerics in those orders which were conferred by the imposition of hands, such as priests, deacons, and subdeacons (according to Balsamon and Zonaras, P.G. 138,

assists you in all things furnishing you also the grace for this.

LI. Regarding clerics, the canons have not expounded definitely about them, having commanded that one punishment be laid down for the fallen, namely, deposition from the ministry,¹ whether they happen to be in orders or whether they adhere to a ministry without ordination.

LII. Let the woman who neglected her new-born child on the road, if, though able to save it, she contemned it, either thinking thereby to conceal her sin or scheming in a manner altogether beastly and inhuman, be judged as for murder. But if she could not care for it, and it died both on account of the wilderness and the lack of necessities, the mother is to be pardoned.²

LIII. The widow³ servant perhaps has not erred greatly in choosing a second marriage under the

738, 739), but also cantors and lectors (according to Aristenus, P.G. 138, 739). Basil here states that immunity from excommunication applies also to clerics who are in minor orders, or those orders which are conferred without the imposition of hands, such as cantors, lectors, guardians of the sacred vessels, and the like (according to Balsamon); or guardians of the sacred vessels, acolytes, and those to whom are entrusted the safe guarding of the holy doors of the altar (according to Aristenus).

² In this case the child's death was involuntary on the part of the mother. Cf. Canon 33, of which the present canon is an interpretation. If the neglect from which the child died was voluntary, the mother was guilty of murder; if it was involuntary, she was deemed worthy of pardon.

³ Cf. Canons 24 and 41. Here it is evident that the widow in question was not enrolled among the widows of the Church, was not yet sixty years of age, and was not subject to the jurisdiction of parents or masters, and therefore she was free to remarry.

ὥστε οὐδὲν τούτου ἔνεκεν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι χρῆ. οὐ γὰρ τὰ σχήματα κρίνεται, ἀλλ' ἡ προαίρεσις. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τὸ τῆς διγαμίας μένει αὐτὴν ἐπιτίμιον.

ΝΔ'. Τὰς τῶν ἀκουσίων φόνων διαφορὰς πρὸ χρόνου οἶδα ἐπιστείλας τῇ θεοσεβείᾳ σου κατὰ τὸ ἐμοὶ δυνατὸν καὶ πλέον ἐκείνων οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν δύναμαι τῆς δὲ σῆς συνέσεώς ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς περιστάσεως ἐπιτείνειν τὰ ἐπιτίμια, ἢ καὶ ὑφεῖναι.

ΝΕ'. Οἱ τοῖς λησταῖς ἀντεπεξίοντες, ἔξω μὲν ὄντες τῆς κοινωνίας εἰργονται τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· κληρικοὶ δὲ ὄντες τοῦ βαθμοῦ καθαιροῦνται. πᾶς γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ λαβὼν μάχαιραν ἐν μάχαιρᾳ ἀποθανεῖται.

ΝΖ'. Ὁ ἐκουσίως φονεύσας, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο μεταμεληθείς, εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν ἀκοινωνήτος ἔσται τοῖς ἀγιάσμασι. τὰ δὲ εἴκοσιν ἔτη οὕτως οἰκονομηθήσεται ἐπ' αὐτῷ. ἐν τέσσαρσιν ἔτεσι προσκλαίειν ὀφείλει, ἔξω τῆς θύρας ἐστῶς τοῦ εὐκτηρίου οἴκου, καὶ τῶν εἰσιόντων πιστῶν δέόμενος εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, ἐξαγορεύων τὴν ἰδίαν παρανομίαν. μετὰ δὲ¹ τὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη εἰς τοὺς

¹ δὲ α. E.

¹ Cf. Canon 30, especially the third and fourth notes. Here, according to Balsamon, we have the case of a widow who wished to remarry, but feared to arouse the opposition of her children or the relatives of her first husband. Hence she pretended to have been abducted, while as a matter of fact she had gone voluntarily with her future husband, with the intention of marrying him. Basil's decision is that since she is free to marry him, and really intended matrimony when she went to live with him, she is not subject to punishment on that

pretext of abduction.¹ Wherefore she should not be accused on this score. For the pretexts are not judged, but the will. It is evident, however, that the punishment for bigamy awaits her.²

LIV. I know that I have already written to your Godliness, according to my ability, about the differences in involuntary killing³; and I can say no more than I have said; but it is for your Intelligence either to prolong or even remit the penalties according to the individual worth of the case.⁴

LV. Those who march out to meet robbers, if they be laics, are debarred from the communion of the Good; but if they be clerics, they are deposed from orders. "For all," He⁵ says, "that take the sword, shall perish with the sword."

LVI. He who has committed wilful murder, but has afterwards repented, shall not be a partaker of the sacraments for twenty years.⁶ The twenty years will be thus administered in his case: For four years he ought to "mourn," standing outside the doors of the house of prayer, and beseeching the faithful as they enter to make supplication in his behalf, and confessing his own lawlessness. And after four years

account. Nor is the deception which she practised such as to warrant public penance.

² Cf. Canon 4, especially the third note.

³ Cf. Canon 8.

⁴ The bishop could exercise his power of binding and loosing by shortening the time prescribed for the penance, when he perceived that the penitent was well disposed and showed evidence of true contrition. Cf. Canons 74 and 84.

⁵ Matt. 26. 52.

⁶ Basil is less severe in this regard than the Synod of Anycra, which permitted communion to be given to wilful murderers only at the end of their lives. Cf. Hefele, 1, 220-221.

ἀκρωμένους δεχθήσεται· καὶ ἐν πέντε ἔτεσι μετ' αὐτῶν ἐξελεύσεται. ἐν ἑπτὰ ἔτεσι μετὰ τῶν ἐν ὑποπτώσει προσευχόμενος ἐξελεύσεται· ἐν τέσσαρσι συστήσεται μόνον τοῖς πιστοῖς, προσφορᾶς δὲ οὐ μεταλήψεται. πληρωθέντων δὲ τούτων μεθέξει τῶν ἁγιασμάτων.

NZ'. Ὁ ἀκουσίως φονεύσας ἐν δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀκωνώητος ἔσται τῶν ἁγιασμάτων, οἰκονομηθήσεται δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὕτω· δύο μὲν ἔτη προσκλαύσει, τρία δὲ ἔτη ἐν ἀκρωμένους διατελέσει,¹ τέσσαρσιν ὑποπίπτων, καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ συσταθήσεται² μόνον· καὶ τῷ ἑξῆς εἰς τὰ ἅγια δεχθήσεται.

NH'. Ὁ μοιχεύσας ἐν ἑ' ἔτεσιν ἀκωνώητος ἔσται τῶν ἁγιασμάτων·³ ἐν τέσσαρσι μὲν προσκλαίων ἔτεσιν, ἐν πέντε δὲ ἀκρωμένος, ἐν τέσσαρσιν ὑποπίπτων, ἐν δυσὶ συνεστῶς ἄνευ κοινωνίας.

NΘ'. Ὁ πόρνος ἐν ἑπτὰ ἔτεσιν ἀκωνώητος ἔσται τῶν ἁγιασμάτων· δύο προσκλαίων, καὶ

¹ διατελέσει E,

² καθήσεται E.

³ οἰκονομηθήσεται τὰ ἑ' ἔτη ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὕτως add. editi antiqui.

¹ Basil is more severe here than the Synod of Ancyra, which imposed a five years' penance for unintentional murder. Cf. Hefele, 1, 221. The Benedictine editors think that Basil's punishment of ten years was not imposed for all cases of involuntary murder, but for those only which he says approached voluntary murder. Cf. Canon 8.

² The Council of Elvira (Canon 69) had sentenced the married man who had committed adultery once to five years' penance. Cf. Hefele, 1, 155. A married man received the punishment for adultery only when he had sinned with a married woman; if the woman was unmarried, he was punished as a fornicator. Cf. Canon 21.

he shall be received among the "hearers"; and for five years he shall go out with them. For seven years he shall go out praying with those in prostration. For four years he shall only stand with the faithful, but he shall not participate in the oblation. But, when those years have been accomplished, he shall share in the sacraments.

LVII. He who has killed someone unintentionally shall not partake of the sacraments for ten years.¹ The ten years shall in his case be administered thus: For two years he shall "mourn," and for three years he shall continue among the "hearers," for four years in prostration, and for one year he shall stand only, and thereafter shall be admitted to the sacred rites.

LVIII. He who has committed adultery² shall not partake of the sacraments for fifteen years,³ "mourning" for four years, "hearing" for five, in prostration for four, standing without communion for two.

LIX. The fornicator shall not partake of the sacraments for seven years⁴; "mourning" for two years

¹ The Council of Elvira (Canon 47) had decreed that when a married man who had frequently committed this sin was near death, he was to be given communion if he promised to amend his ways; if, however, he recovered and fell again into the same sin, he was not to be given communion even *in articulo mortis*. Cf. Hefele, 1, 157. The adulterer was given a seven years' penance by the twentieth canon of Ancyra. Cf. Hefele, 1, 219-220. Thus Basil's legislation is more severe than either of these earlier ordinances.

² The Greek commentators, Balsamon and Zonaras, consider that Basil has changed the earlier legislation of the Fathers, who, he said in Canon 22, imposed a four years' penance on the fornicator, and here intends to impose a severer penance for the sin. The Benedictine editors, however, do not agree with this explanation. They would distinguish two kinds of fornication; one which is committed by two unmarried people, and for which four years' penance is prescribed, the

δύο ἀκροώμενος, καὶ δύο ὑποπίπτων, καὶ ἐνὶ συνεστῶς μόνον τῷ ὀγδόῳ δεχθήσεται εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν.

Ξ'. Ἡ παρθενίαν ὁμολογήσασα καὶ ἐκπεσοῦσα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας¹ τὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μοιχείας ἀμαρτήματος ἐν τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ² τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὴν ζωῆς πληρώσει. τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βίου μοναζόντων ἐπαγγειλαμένων καὶ ἐκπιπτόντων.

ΞΑ'. Ὁ κλέψας, εἰ μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μεταμεληθεὶς κατηγορήσειεν ἑαυτοῦ, ἑναυτὸν κωλυθήσεται μόνον τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν ἁγιασμάτων· εἰ δὲ ἐλεγχθεῖη, ἐν δυσὶν ἔτεσι. μερισθήσεται δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος εἰς ὑπόπτωσιν καὶ σύστασιν· καὶ τότε ἀξιούσθω³ τῆς κοινωνίας.

ΞΒ'. Ὁ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην ἐν τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὸν χρόνον⁴ τοῦ ἐν τῇ μοιχείᾳ παρανομούντος οἰκονομηθήσεται.

ΞΓ'. Ὁ ἐν ἀλόγοις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀτέβειαν ἐξαγορεύων τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξομολογούμενος παραφυλάζεται.

¹ ὁμολογίας E.

² κοινωνία E.

³ ἀξιούσθαι E; ἀξιωθήσεται editi antiq̄i.

⁴ τὸν χρόνον τῷ χρόνῳ editi antiq̄i.

other which is committed by a married man with an unmarried woman, for which seven years' penance is prescribed. Basil speaks of the former in Canon 22, and of the latter in the present canon. They confirm this interpretation from Canons 21 and 77. In the former Basil states that the married man who has intercourse with an unmarried woman is adjudged a fornicator and not an adulterer by the canons. He says, however, that in this case the penance for fornication is prolonged. In Canon 77 Basil says that such a man is really an adulterer according to the sentence of the Lord, but that

and "hearing" for two; and for two years in prostration and for one "standing" only; in the eighth year he shall be admitted to communion.

LX. She who has professed virginity and has failed in her promise shall fulfil the time for the sin of adultery¹ in the rule of a life by herself.² The same also applies to those who have professed the monastic life and have fallen.

LXI. He who has committed theft if, after repenting, he of his own accord accuse himself, shall for a year be barred only from the partaking of the sacraments; but if he be exposed, for two years. The time will be divided in his case between "prostration" and "standing"; and then let him be deemed worthy of communion.

LXII. He who commits an indecency with men shall be disciplined during the time of one who transgresses in adultery.³

LXIII. He who confesses his impious conduct with beasts shall continue to do penance for the same period.⁴

according to the canons he is subjected to seven years' penance and not to the fifteen years prescribed for adultery. This seems a consistent and reasonable explanation.

¹ This is in accord with Canon 18.

² i.e. in continence. The Benedictine editors cite an example from the *Shepherd of Hermas* (2, 4) to show that the phrase τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὴν ζωῆς was used to denote the life of celibacy or virginity. He confirms this interpretation by the fact that in Canon 18 Basil decreed that a fallen virgin should not be received to penance until she give up her illicit relations and return to a life of continence.

³ i.e. fifteen years.

⁴ This is a mitigation of the legislation of Ancyra, which (Canon 16) had prescribed a twenty years' punishment for bestiality.

ΞΔ'. Ὁ ἐπίορκος ἐν δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀκοινωνήτος ἔσται· δυσὶν ἔτεσι προσκλαίων, τρισὶν ἀκροῶμενος, τέσσαρσιν ὑποπίπτων, ἐνιαυτὸν συνεστῶς μόνον· καὶ τότε τῆς κοινωνίας ἀξιούμενος.

ΞΕ'. Ὁ γοητείαν ἢ φαρμακείαν ἐξαγορεύων τὸν τοῦ φονέως χρόνον ἐξομολογήσεται, οὕτως οἰκονομούμενος, ὡς ἐν¹ ἐκείνῳ² τῷ ἁμαρτήματι ἑαυτὸν ἐλέγξας.

ΞΖ'. Ὁ τυμβωρύχος ἐν δέκα³ ἔτεσιν ἀκοινωνήτος ἔσται· ἐν δυσὶ⁴ προσκλαίων, ἐν γ' ἄκροῶμενος, ἐν δ' ὑποπίπτων, ἐνιαυτὸν συνεστῶς· καὶ τότε δεχθησόμενος.

ΞΖ'. Ἀδελφομιξία τὸν τοῦ φονέως χρόνον ἐξομολογηθήσεται.⁵

ΞΗ'. Ἡ τῆς ἀπειρημένης συγγενείας εἰς γάμον ἀνθρώπων⁷ σύστασις,⁸ εἰ φωραβείη ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι⁹ γεγενημένη, τὰ τῶν μοιχῶν ἐπιτίμια δέξεται.

¹ ἐν om. E.

² ἐκείνῳ Labbeus, Beveregius, et Combefisius.

³ ἐν δέκα|ἐνδεκα Hervetus, Labbeus, et Beveregius.

⁴ τρισὶν E. ⁵ τέσσαρσιν E.

⁶ ἐξομολογήσεται E. ⁷ om. editi antiq̄i.

⁸ στάσις E, plures MSS.

⁹ ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι| ὡς ἐν ἁμαρτήμασιν ἀνθρώπων editi antiq̄i.

¹ Canon 74 qualifies the legislation of the present canon by adding that if force had been brought to bear on the man to take the oath, the penance was only six years.

² i.e. for twenty years.

³ Cf. Canon 56. The Council of Elvira (Canon 6) had decreed that he who had caused the death of another by witchcraft or sorcery would not be received to communion even at the end of his life. Cf. Hefele, I, 140. The Council of Ancyra (Canon 24) had ordained a five years' penance for those who

LXIV. The perjurer will not be a partaker for ten years¹; "mourning" for two years, "hearing" for three, "prostrating" for four, "standing" only for one year; and then deemed worthy of communion.

LXV. He who confesses witchcraft or poisoning shall do penance for the same period as the author of homicide,² being treated in the same manner as he who has accused himself of that sin.³

LXVI. The grave-robbler shall not partake for ten years: "mourning" for two years, "hearing" for three, "prostrating" for four, "standing" for one; and then to be admitted.

LXVII. Intercourse between brother and sister shall be subject to penance for the same period as homicide.⁴

LXVIII. The union in human marriage of forbidden kindred, if he be discovered to have been in sin, shall receive the punishment of adulterers.⁵

foretold the future, followed pagan customs, or admitted people to their homes in order to discover magic remedies. Cf. Hefele, I, 221.

⁴ i.e. twenty years. Cf. Canon 56. Aristenus calls attention to the fact that Basil is here speaking of a full brother and sister. In Canon 75 he prescribes a twelve years' penance for one who has had sexual relations with his half-sister. Cf. P.G. 138, 763. The Council of Elvira had decreed that he who was guilty of incest by marriage with his daughter-in-law was not to be given communion even on his death-bed. Cf. Hefele, I, 165.

⁵ i.e. either seven or fifteen years according to the degree of consanguinity violated, in the opinion of Aristenus, who notes that there are two classes of adultery with a distinct punishment for each class. The first, that in which a married man has intercourse with an unmarried woman, is punished with a seven years' penance, and the other committed with a married woman which is punished with a fifteen years' penance. Cf. P.G. 138, 763-766. Hence the lighter adultery is identical

Θ'. Ἀναγνώστης, εἰ τῆ ἑαυτοῦ μνηστῆ πρὸ τοῦ¹ γάμου συναλλάξειεν, ἐναντὸν ἀργήσας, εἰς τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν δεχθήσεται, μένων ἀκρόκοπος. κλεψιγαμῆσας δὲ ἄνευ μνηστείας, παυθήσεται τῆς ὑπηρεσίας. τὸ² αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπηρέτης.

Ο'. Διάκονος ἐν χεῖλεσι μαιθεὶς καὶ μέχρι τούτου ἡμαρτηκέναι ὁμολογήσας, τῆς λειτουργίας ἐπισχέθησεται· τοῦ δὲ μετέχειν τῶν ἁγιασμάτων μετὰ τῶν διακόνων ἀξιωθήσεται. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ πρεσβύτερος. εἰ δέ τι τούτου πλείον φωραθείη τις ἡμαρτηκῶς, ἐν οἴφ ἂν ᾗ βαθμῶ, καθαιρεθήσεται.

ΟΑ'. Ὁ συνεγνωκῶς ἐκάστῳ τῶν προειρημένων ἁμαρτημάτων, καὶ μὴ ὁμολογήσας, ἀλλ' ἐλεγχθεὶς τοῦ τοσοῦτου χρόνου, εἰς ὃν ἐργάτης τῶν κακῶν ἐπιτετίμηται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται ἐν ἐπιτιμίῳ.

¹ om. E.

² δὲ add E.

with the graver fornication, which is also punished with a seven years' penance. Cf. first note of Canon 79. This view is supported by the fact that in Canon 78, Basil imposes on him who marries two sisters a seven years' penance, the same as he imposes on the faithful husband, to whom he refers as a fornicator in Canon 21. There is an implication in this canon that if the guilty party voluntarily confess his guilt, the penalty is lighter.

¹ i.e. the Scriptures, the proper office of the lector or reader.

² i.e. he must remain a lector all his life, and may not be ordained to the diaconate or priesthood.

³ i.e. a subdeacon according to Balsamon and Zonaras (P.G. 138, 765-770); a cleric in those minor orders which were conferred without the imposition of hands, according to Aristenus (P.G. 138, 770). The Benedictine editors prefer the former opinion and point out that ὑπηρέτης is certainly a subdeacon in Letter LIV, as I have translated it.

⁴ i.e. a sin which one has expressed the intention of committing but has never committed, according to the Benedictine

LXIX. A reader, if he should have intercourse with his betrothed before marriage, after being inactive for a year, shall be admitted to reading,¹ although remaining without promotion.² But he who had illicit intercourse without betrothal shall cease from the ministry. The same also in the case of a minister.³

LXX. A deacon whose lips have become defiled⁴ and has confessed that he has sinned to that extent, shall be removed from the ministry; but he shall be deemed worthy of partaking of the sacraments, together with the deacons. Likewise the presbyter also. But if one be discovered to have sinned further than this, in whatever order he may be, he shall be deposed.

LXXI. He who has knowledge of each of the foregoing sins, and has not confessed, but has been exposed, shall himself undergo punishment for as long a period as the perpetrator of the evil is punished.⁵

editors. The Greek commentators (P.G. 138, 769-774) interpret this as lascivious kisses, etc., which seems less probable.

⁵ The mere fact that one knew that a certain man had committed any of the sins punishable by a canonical penance does not seem to have carried with it the obligation of revelation as laid down in the canon. According to Balsamon, only he who had been an accomplice in the crime was bound by this canon to confess. Cf. P.G. 138, 774-775. Zonaras thinks that all the sins of the clergy had to be reported by him who had knowledge of them. Cf. P.G. 138, 775. Watkins (*A History of Penance*, I, 324-325), rejecting both these modified interpretations, understands the regulation as binding on all men who had a knowledge of the sin of any other man, and calls it a "grossly unfair" provision. The most convincing argument against Watkins' interpretation is the fact that, as he admits, there is no historical evidence that any such law was observed. Balsamon's interpretation seems the more reasonable here.

OB'. 'Ο μάντεσιν ἑαυτὸν¹ ἐπιδούς, ἢ τισι τοιοῦτοις, τὸν χρόνον τοῦ φονέως καὶ αὐτὸς οἰκονομηθήσεται.

OΓ'. 'Ο τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνησάμενος καὶ παραβὰς τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας μυστήριον, ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ προσκλαίειν ὀφείλει καὶ ἐξομολογείσθαι χρεωστέ, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ᾧ ἐκβαίνει τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἀγιάσματος ἀξιούμενος πίστει τῆς παρά Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας.

ΟΔ'. Ἐὰν μὲντοιγε ἕκαστος τῶν ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἁμαρτήμασι γενομένων σπουδαῖος γένηται ἐξομολογούμενος, ὁ πιστευθεὶς παρά τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας λύειν καὶ δεσμεῖν, εἰ φιλανθρωπότερος γένοιτο, τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ὁρῶν τοῦ ἡμαρτηκότος, εἰς τὸ ἐλαττώσαι τὸν χρόνον τῶν ἐπιτιμιῶν, οὐκ ἔσται καταγνώσεως ἀξίος· τῆς ἐν ταῖς Γραφαῖς ἱστορίας γνωριζούσης ἡμῖν τοὺς μετὰ μείζονος πόνου ἐξομολογουμένους ταχέως τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν καταλαμβάνειν.

ΟΕ'. 'Ο ἀδελφῆ ἰδίᾳ ἐκ πατρὸς ἢ ἐκ μητρὸς συμμιανθείς εἰς οἶκον προσευχῆς μὴ ἐπιτρεπέσθω παρεῖναι, ἕως ἂν ἀποστή τῆς παρανομου καὶ ἀθεμίτου πράξεως. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐλθεῖν εἰς συνάσθησιν τῆς φοβεραῦς ἁμαρτίας ἐκείνης, τριετίαν προσκλαιέτω, τῇ θύρᾳ τῶν εὐκτηρίων οἴκων παρεστηκώς, καὶ δεόμενος τοῦ λαοῦ εἰσιόντος ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχὴν, ὥστε ἕκαστον μετὰ συμπα-

¹ ἑαυτὸν E.

¹ Cf. Canon 65 and note.

² This sin of apostasy is the only one which Basil punishes with lifelong penance. Cf. Canon 81 and notes.

LXXII. He who has delivered himself over to seers or any other such persons,¹ shall himself be allotted the time for homicide.

LXXIII. He who has denied Christ and violated the mystery of salvation should mourn and is obligated to do penance for the whole period of his life²; at the time of his departure from life being deemed worthy of the sacraments³ by reason of his faith in the mercy of God.

LXXIV. If, however, each of those who have been guilty of the aforesaid sins be earnest in performing penance, he who has been entrusted by the mercy of God with loosing and binding, if he should become more merciful in diminishing the time of punishment on seeing the magnitude of the sinner's penance, shall not be worthy of condemnation⁴; since the story in the Scriptures⁵ makes known to us that those who do penance with greater labour quickly obtain the mercy of God.

LXXV. Let him who has become defiled with his own sister, either on his father's side or on his mother's side, not be permitted to be present at the house of prayer until he cease his illicit and lawless practice.⁶ But after coming to a consciousness of that horrible sin, let him mourn for three years stationed at the door of the houses of prayer, and beseeching the people as they come to prayer, that each one may

³ The thirteenth canon of Nice had forbidden that anyone who had requested it be deprived of Holy Viaticum on his death-bed. Cf. Hefele, 1, 419-420.

⁴ This canon sheds a softer light on the severe penitential decrees found in the rest of this letter.

⁵ Basil here refers to the stories of Manassa, Ezechia, and others, according to Zonaras. Cf. P.G. 138, 783.

⁶ Cf. Canon 67 and note.

θείας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐκτενεῖς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν¹ Κύριον τὰς δεήσεις. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλλην τριετίαν εἰς ἀκρόασιν μόνην παραδεχθήτω, καὶ ἀκοῶν τῶν Γραφῶν καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐκβαλλέσθω, καὶ μὴ καταξιούσθω προσευχῆς. ἔπειτα, εἴπερ μετὰ δακρῶν ἐξεζήτησεν αὐτὴν² καὶ προσέπεσε τῷ Κυρίῳ μετὰ συντριμμοῦ καρδίας καὶ ταπεινώσεως ἰσχυρᾶς, διδόσθω αὐτῷ ἡ ὑπόπιτταις ἐν ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἔτεσι. καὶ οὕτως, ἐπειδὴν τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς μετανοίας ἀξίους ἐπιδείξεται, τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτει εἰς τὴν τῶν πιστῶν εὐχὴν δεχθήτω χωρὶς προσφορᾶς· καὶ δύο ἔτη συστάς εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν τοῖς πιστοῖς, οὕτω λοιπὸν καταξιούσθω τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κοινωνίας.

ΟΖ'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τύπος καὶ περὶ τῶν τὰς νύμφας ἑαυτῶν λαμβανόντων.

ΟΖ'. Ὁ μέντοι καταλιμπάνων τὴν νομίμως αὐτῷ συναφθεῖσαν γυναῖκα καὶ ἑτέραν συναγόμενος,³ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόφασιν τῷ τῆς μοιχείας ὑπόκειται κρίματι. κεκανόνισται δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἑμαυτὸν προσκλαίειν, διετίαν ἐπακροᾶσθαι, τριετίαν ὑποπίπτειν, τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ συνιστασθαι τοῖς πιστοῖς· καὶ οὕτω τῆς προσφορᾶς καταξιούσθαι, ἐὰν μετὰ δακρῶν μετανοήσωσιν.

ΟΗ'. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς τύπος κρατεῖτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τὰς⁴ δύο ἀδελφὰς λαμβανόντων εἰς συνοικέσιον, εἰ καὶ κατὰ διαφόρους χρόνους.

ΟΘ'. Οἱ δὲ ταῖς μητρυαῖς ταῖς⁵ ἑαυτῶν

¹ om. E.

³ ἀγόμενος E.

⁵ om. E.

² αὐτὸν E.

⁴ om. E.

with sympathy offer the Lord prolonged prayers in his behalf. And after this let him be admitted for another three years to "hearing" only, and hearing the Scriptures and the doctrine let him be discharged and not be deemed to need prayers. Then, if he has asked for it with tears and has fallen down before the Lord with contrition of heart and great humility, let "prostration" be granted him for another three years. And thus, when he shall show fruits worthy of penance, let him in the tenth year be admitted to the prayer of the faithful without the oblation; and having stood for two years with the faithful at prayer, let him thus finally be deemed worthy of the communion of the Good.

LXXVI. The same regulation applies also to those who take their daughters-in-law.¹

LXXVII. But he who leaves the wife who was legitimately joined to him and takes unto himself another, according to the sentence of the Lord is subject to the judgment of adultery.² And it has been laid down by our Fathers that such shall mourn for one year, "hear" for two, be "prostrate" for three, but in the seventh stand with the faithful; and thus they shall be deemed worthy of the oblation if they repent with tears.

LXXVIII. Let the same regulation obtain also respecting those who take two sisters in marriage,³ even though at different times.

LXXIX. And those who are infatuated with their

¹ The Council of Elvira (Canon 36) had decreed that he who married his daughter-in-law was to be adjudged guilty of incest and was not to be received to communion even at the end of his life. Cf. Hefele, I. 165.

² Cf. Canon 9 and notes, also Canon 21 and notes.

³ Cf. Canon 23 and notes.

ἐπιμεινόμενοι τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπόκεινται κανόνι, ὅφκαί οἱ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφαῖς ἐπιμεινόμενοι.

Π. Τὴν δὲ πολυγαμίαν οἱ πατέρες ἀπεισιώπησαν, ὡς κτηνώδη καὶ παντελῶς ἄλλοτριαν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἡμῖν δὲ παρίσταται πλέον τι πορνείας εἶναι τὸ ἁμάρτημα. διὸ εὐλογον τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὑποβάλλεσθαι τοῖς κανόσι· δηλονότι ἐναντὸν προσκλαύσαντας, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ὑποπεσόντας, οὕτω δεκτοὺς εἶναι.

ΠΑ'. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων καταδρομῇ παρέβησαν τὴν εἰς Θεὸν πίστιν, ὄρκους ἔθνικους ἐπιτελέσαντες,¹ καὶ ἀθεμίτων τινῶν γενεσάμενοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις² τοῖς μαγικοῖς προσενεχθέντων αὐτοῖς, οὗτοι κατὰ τοὺς ἤδη παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐξενεχθέντας κανόνας³ οἰκονομείσθωσαν.⁴ οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκην χαλεπὴν ἐκ βασάνων ὑπομείναντες, καὶ μὴ φέροντες τοὺς πόνους, καὶ ἐλκυσθέντες⁵ πρὸς τὴν ἄρνησιν, ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἀδέκτους εἶναι, καὶ ἐν δυσὶν ἀκροῦσθαι· καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ὑποπεσόντας, οὕτω δεκτοὺς γενέσθαι εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν· οἱ δὲ ἀνευ

¹ τελείσαντες E.

² εἰδωλείοις Combessiaus.

³ νόμους καὶ κανόνας editi antiqui.

⁴ om. E.

⁵ αἰκισθέντες E.

¹ By polygamy is meant here, according to Balsamon and Zonaras, four or more successive marriages. Cf. P.G. 138, 789-794. The Benedictine editors, however, think that it includes also trigamy. Cf. Canon 4 and notes, also Canon 50 and notes.

² i.e. to standing without communion according to Balsamon and Zonaras (cf. P.G. 138, 789-794); but to Holy Communion according to Aristenus (cf. P.G. 138, 794). The former

stepmothers are subject to the same canon as those who are infatuated with their own sisters.

LXXX. But the Fathers have passed over polygamy¹ in silence as being bestial and altogether foreign to the race of men. Moreover, the sin seems to us to be somewhat greater than fornication. Therefore it is reasonable that such be subjected to the canons; namely, that after mourning for one year, and being prostrate for three, they thus be received.²

LXXXI. But since many during the incursion of the barbarians violated their faith in God, fulfilling Gentile oaths and tasting certain illicit things which were offered to them in the magic temples of idols, these shall be disciplined according to the canons already published by our Fathers.³ For those who have been subjected to hard violence through torments, and do not bear their pains, and have been forced into denying, are not to be received for three years, and are to be "hearers" for two years; and, after being prostrate for three, are then to be received into communion.⁴ But those who without great

opinion is more conformable to Canon 4, where a five years' penance was prescribed. If we place the polygamists for one year among the "standers," perfect harmony is established between this canon and Canon 4.

² i.e. the Fathers of Ancyra, according to the Benedictine editors. At that synod various penalties, not so severe, however, as Basil's, were laid down in Canons 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, for those who had sacrificed, taken part in pagan festivities, etc. Cf. Hefele, 1, 205-209.

³ Thus they were punished for eight years. The Council of Ancyra (Canon 4) punished those who had sacrificed under compulsion for six years, if they had done it cheerfully; for four years, if they had performed the task enjoined upon them sorrowfully (Canon 5). Cf. Hefele, 1, 205.

ἀνάγκης μεγάλης προδόντες τὴν εἰς Θεὸν πίστιν, καὶ ἀψάμενοι τῆς τραπέζης τῶν δαιμονίων, καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὄρκους Ἑλληνικούς, ἐκβάλλεσθαι μὲν ἐν γ' ἔτεσι, καὶ ἐν β' ἀκροᾶσθαι· ἐν ὑποπτώσει δὲ εὐξαμένους ἐν γ' ἔτεσι, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις γ' συστάντας τοῖς πιστοῖς εἰς τὴν δέησιν, οὕτω δεκτοὺς εἶναι τῆ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κοινωνία.

HB'. Καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπιορκησάντων, εἰ μὲν ἐκ βίας καὶ ἀνάγκης παρέβησαν τοὺς ὄρκους, κουφοτέροις ὑπόκεινται ἐπιτιμίοις,¹ ὥστε μετὰ 5' ἔτη εἶναι αὐτοὺς δεκτοὺς· εἰ δὲ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης προδόντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν πίστιν, ἐν δυσίᾳ ἔτεσι προσκλαύσαντες, καὶ ἐν δυσίᾳ ἀκροασάμενοι, καὶ ἐν πέντε ἐν ὑποπτώσει εὐξάμενοι, καὶ ἐν δυσίᾳ ἄλλοις ἄνευ προσφορᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς προσευχῆς παραδεχθέντες, οὕτω τελευταίου ἀξιόλογον, δηλαδὴ, τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐπιδειξάμενοι, ἀποκαταστήσονται² εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ΠΓ'. Οἱ καταμαντευόμενοι καὶ ταῖς συνηθείαις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀκολουθοῦντες,³ ἢ εἰσάγοντές τινας εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους ἐπὶ ἀνευρέσει φαρμακεῶν, καὶ καθάρσει, ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πιπτέτωσαν τῆς ἐξαετίας. ἐνιαυτὸν προσκλαύσαντες, καὶ ἐνιαυ-

necessity¹ have betrayed their faith in God, and have touched the table of the demons, and have sworn Hellenic oaths, should be expelled for three years, and "hear" for two; and, after praying in prostration for three years, and standing with the faithful for three more in supplication, thus they should be admitted into the communion of the Good.

LXXXII. And regarding those who have committed perjury, if they have violated their oaths through violence and necessity, they are subject to lighter punishments, so that after six years they should be received. But if they betrayed their faith without necessity, after "mourning" for two years, and "hearing" for two, and praying in "prostration" for five, and for two more having been admitted to the communion of prayer without oblation, they shall thus finally, having exhibited, be it understood, a truly worthy penance, be restored to the communion of the body of Christ.²

LXXXIII. Let those who consult seers and follow the customs of the Gentiles, or those who bring certain of them into their own homes for the discovery of poisonous drugs and for purification, fall under the canon of six years' duration. After "mourning"

¹ The Council of Ancyra (Canon 6) punished with a six years' penance those who, yielding under the mere threat of confiscation of their property or of exile, had offered sacrifices. Cf. Hefele, l. 206.

² Note that there seems to be a discrepancy between this canon, which imposes an eleven years' penance on perjury, and Canon 64, which imposes a ten years' penance on the same sin.

¹ τριῶν εἰς, E.

² ἀποκατασταθήσονται, E.

³ ἐξακολουθοῦντες, E.

τὸν ἀκροασάμενοι, καὶ ἐν γ' ἔτεσιν ὑποπίπτοντες, καὶ ἐναντὶν συστάτες τοῖς πιστοῖς, οὕτω δεχθήτωσαν.

ΠΔ'. Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα γράφομεν, ὥστε τοὺς καρποὺς δοκιμάζεσθαι τῆς μετνοίας. οὐ γὰρ πάντως τῷ χρόνῳ κρίνομεν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς μετνοίας προσέχομεν. εἰ δὲ δυσ-αποσπάστως ἔχωσι τῶν ἰδίων ἐθῶν, καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς τῆς σαρκὸς μᾶλλον δουλεύειν θέλωσιν ἢ τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ζωὴν μὴ καταδέχωνται, οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς κοινὸς λόγος. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐν λαῷ ὑπειθεῖ καὶ ἀντιλέγοντι δει-δάμεθα ἀκούειν, ὅτι Σώζων σώζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν. μὴ τοίνυν καταδεξώμεθα συναπό-λυσθαι τοῖς τοιούτοις· ἀλλὰ φοβηθέντες τὸ βαρὺ κρίμα, καὶ τὴν φοβεράν ἡμέραν τῆς ἀταπο-δόσεως τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸ τῶν¹ ὀφθαλμῶν λαβόντες, μὴ θελήσωμεν ἀμαρτίαις ἀλλοτρίαις συναπό-λυσθαι. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐπαίδευσεν ἡμᾶς τὰ φοβερά τοῦ Κυρίου, μὴδὲ αἱ τηλικαῦται πληγαὶ εἰς αἴσθησιν ἡμᾶς ἤγαγον,² ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν ἡμῶν ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς χεῖρας βαρβάρων, καὶ ἀπήχη αἰχμάλωτος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ λαὸς καὶ παρεδόθη τῇ διασπορᾷ, διότι ταῦτα ἐτόλμων οἱ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ

¹ om. E.

² ἤγον editi antiq̄i.

¹ Balsamon explains that this canon does not contradict the legislation laid down in Canons 65 and 72 on the same subject, where a penance of twenty years was imposed. Canon 65 spoke of those who had prepared poisonous drugs for men, with malicious intent; Canon 72 spoke of those who had hired

for a year, and "hearing" for a year, and being "prostrate" for three years, and standing with the faithful for a year, then let them be received.¹

LXXXIV. All these things do we write that the fruits of penance may be tested. For we do not judge such things entirely by time, but if we attend to the manner of the repentance. But if it is difficult to tear them away from their own habits, and they wish to serve the pleasures of the flesh rather than the Lord, and do not accept the life according to the Gospel, there is no common ground between them and us. For in a disobedient and contradicting people we have been taught to hear: "Saving, save thy life."² Therefore, let us not allow ourselves to perish with such; but fearing the serious judgment and having before our eyes the dread day of the retribution of the Lord, let us not be willing to perish through the sins of others. For if the terrible things of the Lord have not instructed us, and such scourges have not brought us to a realization that the Lord has deserted us because of our iniquities and has delivered us into the hands of barbarians, and that the people has been led captive to the enemy and given over to dispersion because

themselves out to a magician or a seer, and had co-operated directly with him in the practice of his art; while the present canon speaks only of those whose co-operation is more or less indirect and in an affair which is calculated not to injure any one but to procure remedies for ills by means of magic. Cf. P.G. 138, 799-804. The Council of Anoyra (Canon 24) grouped together those who foretold the future, followed pagan customs, and admitted into their houses magicians in order to discover magical remedies, or to perform exorcisms, and sentenced all to a five years' penance. Cf. Hefele, I. 221.

² Cf. Gen. 19. 17: καὶ εἶπεν Σώζων σώζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν. "And there they spoke to him saying: 'Save thy life.'" The Douay translation is clearly based on another version.

Χριστοῦ περιφέροντες· εἰ μὴ ἔγνωσαν.¹ μηδὲ συνήκαν, ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα ἦλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τίς ἡμῖν κοινὸς πρὸς τοῦτους λόγος; ἀλλὰ διαμαρτύρεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ὀφείλομεν συναπαγεσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν ταῖς πονηρίαις μὴ καταδεχόμεθα, προσευχόμενοι μάλιστα μὲν κερδήσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξελέσθαι τῆς παγίδος τοῦ πονηροῦ· ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο μὴ δυναθῶμεν, σπουδάσωμεν τὰς γούνας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς τῆς αἰωνίου κατακρίσεως περισώσασθαι.

CCXVIII

* Ἀμφιλοχίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰκονίου.

Τὴν μὲν χρεῖαν, ἧς ἔνεκεν παρεγένετο ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰλιανός, κατώρθωσεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδέμῃς παρ' ἡμῶν συνεργίας προσδεθείς· ἡμῖν δὲ διπλὴν ἔδωκε χάριν, κομίσας τε γράμματα τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας καὶ ἀφορμὴν τῶν πρὸς σὲ γραμμάτων ἡμῖν παρασχόμενος. καὶ προσαγορευόμενον οὖν δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀληθινὴν σου καὶ ἀμίμητον ἀγάπην· καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν προσεύχεσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν, νῦν, εἴπερ ποτέ, τῆς ἐκ τῶν προσευχῶν σου βοηθείας προσδεομένων. τὸ γὰρ σῶμά μου, ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον συντριβέν, ὑπὸ ἀρρωστίας συνέχεται οὐκ ἀνεκτῶς. ἐκείνο δὲ καὶ πάλα ἐβουλόμην γνώριμον ποιῆσαι τῇ σῇ συνέσει (οὐχ² ὡς ὑπ' ἄλλης προηγουμένης αἰτίας διακρουσθεῖς ἐξελαθόμεν)· νῦν δὲ ὑπομνήσκω, ἵνα κατ-

¹ συνέγνωσαν editi antiqui.

those who bore the name of Christ dared these things; if they did not know or understand that because of these things the anger of God has come upon us, what common ground is there between them and us? Nay, we ought to protest to them night and day and publicly and privately; but let us not permit ourselves to be snatched away together with their iniquities, praying if possible to profit them and to draw them away from the snare of the wicked one; but if we are unable to do this, let us strive zealously to save at least our own souls from eternal damnation.

LETTER CCXVIII

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM¹

THE business in the interest of which brother Aelianus² came, he settled by himself, having no need of help from us. And he did us a double favour by bringing a letter from your Godliness and offering us a chance of sending a letter to you. And accordingly through him we greet your true and inimitable Charity; and we beg you to pray for us, since now, if ever, we are in need of the help of your prayers. For my body, worn out by the journey to Pontus, is straitened unbearably by illness. And this request I had long wished to make known to your Intelligence (I did not forget it because I was prevented by some other more important cause); but now I do remind

¹ Written in the autumn of 375. Cf. Loofs, 21. For Amphilocheius, see the previous letters addressed to him.

² Otherwise unknown.

αξιόσης ἄνδρα σπουδαίον πέμψαι εἰς τὴν Λυκίαν, κατασκέψασθαι, τίνας εἰσὶν οἱ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως. δεῖ γὰρ τάχα μὴ παροφθῆναι αὐτούς, εἴπερ ἀληθὴ ἐστὶν ἃ τις τῶν ἐκεῖθεν παραγενομένων πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐλαβῶν διηγῆσατο· ὅτι πάντῃ πρὸς τὸ Ἀσιανὸν φρόνημα ἀπῆλλοτριωμένοι, ἡμᾶς καταδέχονται ἐπιγράφεσθαι κοινωνοῦς. εἰ δὲ μέλλει τις ἀπῆλαι, ἐπιζητησάτω ἐν Κορυδαλλοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ μοναζόντων ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἐν Λιμύρᾳ Διάτιμον, καὶ ἐν Μύροις¹ Τατιανὸν καὶ Πολέμωνα καὶ Μακάριον πρεσβυτέρους, ἐν Πατάροις² ἐπίσκοπον Εὐδῆμον, ἐν Τελμεσῶ Ἰλάριον ἐπίσκοπον, ἐν Φέλῳ³ Λολλιανὸν⁴ ἐπίσκοπον.

Τούτους καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἀνεγνώρισέ τις ἡμῖν, ὡς ὑγιαίνοντας περὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ πολλὴν ἔσχον⁵ χάριν τῷ Θεῷ, εἴ τις ἐλλοῦς ἐν τῷ κλίματι τῷ Ἀσιανῷ ἔξω εἰσὶ τῆς βλάβης τῶν αἰρετικῶν. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἢ δυνατόν, τέως ἀνευ γραμμάτων αὐτοὺς κατασκεψόμεθα⁶· πεισθέντες δὲ, λοιπὸν καὶ ἀποστέλλομεν ἐπιστολὴν, καὶ σπουδάζομεν τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν προσκαλέσασθαι εἰς τὴν συντυχίαν ἡμῶν. γένοιτο δὲ πάντα ἐν καιρῷ περὶ τὴν

¹ Νύροις Clarom.; Κύροις omnes alii MSS., sed Μύροις legendum est.

² Πάτροις E.

³ Φελῶ E.

⁴ Λυλιανὸν E, Λουκιανὸν editi antiq̄i.

⁵ ἔχον editi antiq̄i.

⁶ ἐπισκεψόμεθα Clarom.

¹ This has reference to the Roman province of Asia. Cf. Acts 20. 4: συνέπειτο δὲ αὐτῷ ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας Σόπατρος Βεροιαῖος· Θεσσαλονικῶν δὲ, Ἀριστάρχου καὶ Σεκούνδου, καὶ Τάϊου Φερβαίου καὶ Τιμόθεου· Ἀσιανοὶ δὲ, Τυχικός καὶ Τρόφιμος. "And there accompanied him Sopater the son of Pyrrhus, of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus, and Secundus,

you to deign to send a zealous man to Lycia to find out who are of the orthodox faith. For they perhaps should not be overlooked if the things are true which one of the pious men who came thence has told us, namely, that they being completely alienated from the Asian¹ heresy consent to our enrolling them in our communion. And if someone is about to go, let him seek out Alexander at Corydala,² a bishop from the monks; Diotimus at Limyra,³ and at Myra⁴ Tatianus and Polemo⁵ and Macarius, presbyters; at Patara⁶ Bishop Eudemus⁷; at Telmessus⁸ Bishop Hilarius; and at Phelus Bishop Lallianus.

These and several others someone pointed out to us as being sound in the faith, and I gave great thanks to God if there are at least some in the region of Asia free from the damage done by the heretics. If, then, it is possible, let us for a while investigate them without correspondence, and if satisfied let us at length send a letter and take care that someone of them be summoned to our meeting. And may all things come to good pass in due time regarding

and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy; and of Asia, Tychichus and Trophemus."

² Now Hadginella, on the road between Lystra and Patara.

³ Now Phineka.

⁴ Cf. Acts 21. 5: τὸ τε πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν διαπλεύσαντες, κατήλθομεν εἰς Μύρα τῆς Λυκίας. "And sailing over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, we came to Lystra, which is in Lycia."

⁵ Afterwards bishop of Myra.

⁶ Cf. Acts 21. 1: Ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ἀναχθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀποσπασθέντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εὐθυδραμήσαντες ἤλθομεν εἰς τὴν Κῶν τῇ δὲ ἔξῃς εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, κακεῖθεν εἰς Πάταρα. "And when it came to pass that, being parted from them, we set sail, we came with a straight course to Coos, and the day following to Rhodes, and from thence to Patara."

⁷ Bishop at Constantinople in 381.

⁸ Now Macri.

ποθεινοτάτην ὑμῖν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν Ἰκονίου. πάντα τὸν τίμιον κλῆρον καὶ τοὺς συνόντας τῆ θεοσεβείας σου ἀσπαζόμεθα διὰ σοῦ.

CCXIX

Τῷ Σαμοσατέων κλήρῳ.

Ὁ πάντα μέτρῳ καὶ σταθμῷ ὀρίζων ἡμῖν Κύριος, καὶ τοὺς πειρασμοὺς ἐπάγων μὴ ὑπερβαίνοντας ἡμῶν τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζων μὲν διὰ τῆς περιστάσεως τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς τῆς εὐσεβείας, οὐκ ἔων δὲ πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ἃ δύναται ὑπενεγκεῖν, καὶ ποτίζων¹ δάκρυσιν ἐν μέτρῳ τοὺς ὀφείλοντας διδαχθῆναι,² εἰ ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσι τὸ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐχάριστον διασώζουσι, μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ φιλόανθρωπον ἐφάνερωσε, μὴ συγχωρήσας ὑμῖν τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διωγμὸν τοιοῦτον ἐπενεχθῆναι, ὅλον δύνασθαι περιτρέψαι τινὰς ἢ διασαλεύσαι ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως. κούφους γὰρ καὶ εὐκαταγωνίστους ἀντιπάλους παραξεύξας ὑμᾶς, ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτῶν νίκῃ τὸ βραβεῖον ὑμῖν τῆς

¹ In add. E, editi antiqui.

² διαιεχθῆναι duo Regii, Vat., Paris., et Coisl. secundus; δειχθῆναι Clarom.

¹ Written in 375.

² Cf. Wis. 11. 21: καὶ χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐν πνεύματι ποσεῖν ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ τῆς δίκης διωχθέντες, καὶ λιμνηθέντες ὑπὸ πνεύματος δυνάμεώς σου· ἀλλὰ πάντα μέτρῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ καὶ σταθμῷ διέταξας. "Yea and without these, they might have been slain with one blast, persecuted by their own deeds, and scattered by the breath of thy power: but thou hast ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight."

your most beloved church of Iconium. We greet through you all the honoured clergy and those associated with your Godliness.

LETTER CCXIX

TO THE CLERGY OF SAMOSATA¹

THE Lord who limits all things for us by measure and weight,² and does not send temptations that exceed our strength, but proves the champions of religion through reverses, though not suffering them to be tempted beyond what they can endure³; and who gives tears in measure to drink⁴ to those who should be taught, to show whether they preserve in trials their gratitude toward God, He has manifested His kindness especially in His dispensation as regards you, by not permitting such a persecution to be brought against you by your enemies as could pervert some or shake them from their faith in Christ. For having pitted you against light and easily conquered adversaries, He prepared for you the crown of patience in the victory over

³ Cf. 1 Cor. 10. 13: Πειρασμὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἰλήφεν εἰ μὴ ἀνθρώπινος· πιστὸς δὲ ὁ Θεός, ὃς οὐκ ἔσσει ὑμᾶς πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ δύνασθε, ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἐκβασιν, τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς ὑπενεγκεῖν. "Let no temptation take hold of you, but such as is human. And God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able: but will make also with temptation issue, that you may be able to bear it."

⁴ Cf. Psal. 79. 6: Ὑψώμείς ἡμᾶς ἄρον δακρῶν, καὶ ποιεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐν δάκρυον ἐν μέτρῳ: "How long wilt thou feed us with the bread of tears: and give us for our drink tears in measure?"

ὑπομονῆς ἠντρέπισεν. ἀλλ' ὁ κοινὸς ἐχθρὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, ὁ ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ μεθοδεῖαις ἀντιμαχόμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ χρηστότητι. ἐπειδὴ εἶδεν ὑμᾶς ὡς τεῖχος κραταῖον τῆς ἔξωθεν προσβολῆς καταφρονούντας, ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀκούω, ἐπενόησε γενέσθαι τινὰς λύπας πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ μικροψυχίας· αἱ παρὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην μικραὶ¹ εἰσι καὶ εὐθεράπευτοι, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὑπὸ φιλονεικίας αὐξανόμεναι,² εἰς ἀνίατον παντελῶς ἐκπίπτειν πεφύκασι. διὸ ὥρμησα πρὸς τὴν διὰ τοῦ γράμματος τοῦδε³ παρακλήσιν. εἰ μὲν⁴ ἦν δυνατόν, αὐτὸς ἂν παρεγενόμην, καὶ⁵ δι' ἐμαυτοῦ ἰκέτευσά ὑμᾶς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ καιροὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπουσι, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην ἀνθ' ἱκετηρίας ὑμῖν προτεινομένω, ἵνα αἰδουθέντες ἡμῶν τὰς παρακλήσεις καταλύσῃτε πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς⁶ ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίαν, καὶ ταχέως μοι διαπέμψῃσθε τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἀγγελίαν, ὅτι ἀφήκατε ἀλλήλοις τὰς μέμψεις.

Ἐκεῖνο γὰρ εἶδέναι βούλομαι τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μέγας παρὰ Θεῶν, ὁ ταπεινοφρόνως ὑποκατακλιθεὶς⁷ τῷ πλησίον καὶ ἀνεπισχύντως ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν ἀναδεξάμενος⁸ τὰ ἐγκλήματα, κἂν μὴ ἀληθῆ ἦ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ μέγα ὄφελος τὴν εἰρήμην χάρισσασθαι τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. γενέσθω οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν ἄμιλλα ἀγαθῆ, τίς πρῶτος καταξιβωῆ ἡνιὸς Θεοῦ κληθῆναι, διὰ τῆς εἰρηνοποιίας ἐαυτῷ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦτο περιποιησάμενος. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἐπίσκοπος ὑμῖν

them. But the common enemy of our life, who by his craftiness fights against the goodness of God, when he saw you like a strong wall disdaining the attack from without, contrived, as I hear, that certain grievances toward one another and petty animosities should arise among you; these, while at first they are small and easy of remedy, yet as time goes on, being increased by contentiousness, are wont to fall into quite an incurable state.¹ Hence have I hastened to warn you by this letter. Had it been possible, I should have come myself, and myself implored you. But since the times do not permit this, we send you this letter, as it were, in supplication, that out of regard for our warnings you may settle all contention with one another, and speedily send me the good tidings that you have put aside mutual recriminations.

For I wish your Intelligence to know this, that he is great before God who has humbly given in to his neighbour and has without shame received upon himself reproaches, even though not true, for the sake of obtaining peace, that great boon, for the Church of God. Let there be, therefore, an honest emulation among you as to who shall first be thought worthy to be called a son of God, gaining this dignity for himself by being a peace-maker. And the God-beloved bishop has also written what is proper for you,

¹ Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, 4. 442, speaking of *Ἐρις*: ἦρ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσειται αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα | οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνα. "She at first rears her crest but little, yet thereafter planteth her head in heaven, while her feet tread on earth."

¹ μικραὶ E.

² αὐξάνουσαι E, Med.

³ τούτου E.

⁴ οὖν add. editi antiq.

⁵ παρεγενόμην καὶ] παραγενόμενος δι' ἐμαυτοῦ editi antiq.

⁶ εἰς E.

⁷ κατακλιθεὶς E, Med.; ὑποκλιθεὶς Clarom.

⁸ δεξάμενος nonnulli MSS.; δεξιόμενος alii MSS.

τὰ πρόποντα, καὶ ἐπιστελεῖ¹ πάλιν τὰ ἐπιβάλ-
λοντα αὐτῷ. πλὴν ἄλλα καὶ ἡμεῖς, διὰ τὸ ἔτι
συγκεχωρησθαι ἐγγύτεροι² ὑμῶν εἶναι, ἀμελεῖν
τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς οὐ δυνάμεθα. ὅθεν καὶ παραγενο-
μένου τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου ἀδελφοῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ
ὑποδιακόνου, καὶ εἰπόντος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν λύπῃ
εἶναι καὶ ταραχῇ, σφοδρῶς συντριβέντες καὶ
βαθεῖα ὀδύνη τὴν καρδίαν πληγέντες, ἡσυχάσαι
οὐκ ἠνεχόμεθα³ ἀλλὰ παρεκαλέσαμεν ὑμᾶς,
πάσαν δικαιολογίαν τὴν πρὸς ἄλλήλους ρύψαντας,
καταπράξασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἵνα μίτε ἡδονὴν
τοῖς ἐναντίοις παράσχησθε,⁴ μήτε τὸ καύχημα
τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προδώτε, ὃ νῦν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν
οἰκουμένην διαβεβόηται, ὅτι οἱ πάντες, ὡς ὑπὸ
μῆς ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας οἰκονομούμενοι, ἐν ἐνὶ
σώματι οὕτω διάγετε. πάντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦ
Θεοῦ, τοὺς τε ἐν ἀξιώμασι καὶ δυναστείαις πολι-
τικάις⁵ καὶ τοῦ παντός κλήρου τὸ πλήρωμα διὰ
τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐλαβείας κατασπαζόμεθα, καὶ παρα-
καλοῦμεν ὁμοίους ἑαυτοῖς διαμεῖναι. οὐδεμίαν
γὰρ προσθήκην ἐπιζητοῦμεν, διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν ὑπερ-
βολὴν προλαβόντας αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν
ἔργων ἐπιδείξεως ἀποκλείσαι.⁶

CXX

Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Βεροῖᾳ.

Μεγάλην ὁ Κύριος ἔδωκε παραμυθίαν τοῖς
ἀπολιμπανομένοις τῆς κατ' ὀφθαλμούς συντυχίας,
τὴν διὰ τοῦ γράμματος ὁμιλίαν, ἔξ ἧς ἔστι

¹ ἐπιστέλλει tres MSS. vetustissimi; ἐπιστέλλειν ὑμᾶς δεῖ
editi antiq̄i.

and he will again write what is incumbent upon himself. However, we also, since it has been vouchsafed us to be still nearer to you, cannot be careless of affairs among you. Hence, when our most devout brother Theodorus, the subdeacon, came and said that the church was in grief and distress, we in much anguish and striken deep at heart with pain could not hold our peace, but we urge you to abandon all variance with one another and bring about peace, in order that you may not give joy to your enemies, nor betray that glory of the Church which has now been heralded to the whole world, namely, that you all so live in one body as if governed by one soul and heart. The whole people of God do we greet, through your Piety, those who enjoy dignities and civil magistracies, as well as all ranks of the clergy, and we urge you to remain like your old selves. For we seek nothing in addition because by your manifestation of good works you have of yourselves anticipated and excluded all increase.

LETTER CCXX

TO THE PEOPLE OF BEROEA ¹

GREAT is the consolation the Lord has given to those who are deprived of converse face to face, namely, intercourse by letter, whereby it is possible

¹ Written in 375. Beroea in Syria. Letter CLXXXV is addressed to a certain Theodotus, orthodox Bishop of Beroea.

² ἐγγύτερον E.

³ ἠνεσχόμεθα E.

⁴ π ρίγητε E.

⁵ πολιτικούς editi antiq̄i.

⁶ ἔρρωσθε add. E, Harl., Clarom.

μανθάνειν οὐ τὸν σωματικὸν χαρακτήρα, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν διάθεσιν. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν δεξάμενοι τὰ γράμματα τῆς εὐλαβείας ὑμῶν, ὁμοῦ τε ἐγνωρίσαμεν ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς¹ ἀγάπην ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν ἀνελάβομεν, οὐ δεηθέντες χρόνου μακροῦ συνήθειαν ἐμποιοῦντος ἡμῖν. ἐξ αὐτῆς γὰρ τῆς ἐναποκειμένης τοῖς γράμμασι διανοίας εἰς τὸ φίλτρον τοῦ κάλλους τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν ἐξεκαύθημεν. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς² τοῖς ἐπισταλμένοις, τοιοῦτοις οὖσι, ἔτι καὶ ἡ τῶν μεσιτευόντων ἀδελφῶν ἐπιτηδειότης ἐναργέστερον ἡμῖν ἐδείκνυ τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς. ὁ γὰρ ποθεινότατος καὶ εὐλαβέστατος συμπρεσβύτερος ἡμῶν Ἀκάκιος, πλείονα τῶν ἐπισταλμένων διηγούμενος, καὶ ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγων τὴν καθημερινὴν ὑμῶν ἀθλασιν καὶ τὴν εὐτονον ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔνστασιν, τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν ἐνεποίησε τὸ θαῦμα, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤγειρε³ τὸν πόθον τῆς ἀπολαύσεως τῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καλῶν, ὥστε προσεύχεσθαι ἡμᾶς τῷ Κυρίῳ γενέσθαι ποτὲ καιρὸν καὶ διὰ τῆς οἰκειᾶς πείρας γνωρίσαι τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ γὰρ ἀπήγγειλεν ἡμῖν οὐ μόνον ὑμῶν τῶν τὴν λειτουργίαν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου πεπιστευμένων τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς τὴν συμφωνίαν, καὶ τῶν καθηγουμένων τῆς πόλεως καὶ προπολιτευομένων αὐτῆς τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς τῶν τρόπων, καὶ τὸ γνήσιον τῆς περὶ Θεοῦ διαθέσεως, ὥστε μακαρίσαι ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων συμπληρουμένην ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εὐχέσθαι νῦν πλέον δοθῆναι ὑμῖν

to perceive, not the physical appearance, but the disposition of the soul itself. Wherefore now also, when we received the letter of your pious selves, at that very moment we came to know you and conceived in our heart a love for you, without requiring any long time to establish an acquaintance between us. For from the very sentiment embodied in your letter we were enkindled with love by the charm of the beauty of your souls. Indeed, in addition to what you wrote, excellent as it was, the friendliness also of the brethren who acted as mediators showed us more clearly the state of affairs among you. For that most beloved and reverend fellow-presbyter of ours, Acacius,¹ who related more than what you wrote, and who brought before my eyes your daily struggle and vigorous opposition in behalf of religion, has created in us such admiration and has awakened such a desire to enjoy your noble company, that we beseech the Lord that some time the occasion may come when by our own experience we may know the state of things among you. For he also told us not only of the care exercised by you who are entrusted with the service of the altar, but also of the concord of the whole people, and the magnanimous conduct of those who rule the city and administer its government, as well as their sincere piety toward God; so that we deem a church happy that is composed of such members, and we pray now the more that the peace of the

¹ Basil writes to this Acacius and others in Letter CCLVI, condoling with them on the loss of their monastery, which had been burnt by the heretics. This is doubtless the same Acacius who together with Paulus wrote to Epiphanius urging him to produce a work on heresies. He also is probably to be identified with the Acacius who was bishop of Beroea in Syria from 379-436.

¹ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς] τὴν περὶ ὑμῶν Vaticanus.

² πρὸς E.

³ ἐνήγειρε editi antiq̄.

τὴν πνευματικὴν γαλήνην, ἵνα ἂ νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀθλήσεως ἐπεδείξασθε, τούτων ἐκ τῷ τῆς ἀνέσεως χρόνῳ κομίσησθε τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν. πέφυκε γάρ πως τὰ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τὴν πείραν ἡδονὴν φέρειν τοῖς ὑπομνησκομένοις. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς μὴ ἐκκακεῖν, μηδὲ¹ ἀπαγορευεῖν πρὸς τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν κακώσεων. ἐγγὺς γὰρ οἱ στέφανοι, καὶ ἐγγὺς ἡ ἀντίληψις τοῦ Κυρίου. μὴ ἐκχέητε τὰ προπεποιημένα ὑμῖν μὴ ἀχρειώσητε τὸν κόπον τὸν διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης βεβοημένον. ὀλιγοχρόνιοι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων αἱ καταστάσεις· Πᾶσα σὰρξ χόρτος, καὶ πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου. ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσε·² τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα Κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Τῆς διαμενούσης ἐντολῆς ἀντεχόμενοι, τῆς παρεχόμενης φαντασίας καταφρονήσωμεν. πολλὰς Ἐκκλησίας ἀνώρθωσε τὸ καθ' ὑμᾶς ὑπόδειγμα. πολὺν, κατὰ τὸ λαυθάνον, ἑαυτοῖς συνηγάγετε τὸν μισθόν, δι' ὧν τοὺς ἀπειροτέρους εἰς τὸν ὅμοιον ζῆλον προσεκαλέσασθε. πλούσιος ὁ μισθοποδοῦντος, δυνάμενος ὑμῖν ἄξια χαρίσασθαι τῶν ἀγώνων τὰ ἔπαθλα.

CCXXI

Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Βεροίᾳ.

*Ἐγνωμεν ὑμᾶς προλαβόντες, ποθεινότατοι, ἐκ τῆς ἐκβεβοημένης ὑμῶν εὐλαβείας καὶ τοῦ στεφάνου³ τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν ὁμολογίας. καὶ

¹ μὴ Ε.

² om. Med.

³ τοῦ στεφάνου] τοὺς στεφάνους editi antiq.

Spirit may be given you, in order that what you have now revealed in time of strife, of this you may obtain the enjoyment at the moment of relaxation. For somehow things unpleasant to experience are wont to give pleasure to those who recall them. But for the present, we urge you not to lose spirit, nor grow weary in the face of the continuation of evils. For near at hand are your crowns, and near the aid of the Lord. Do not throw away that for which you have previously laboured; do not render void your toil that has been proclaimed through the whole world. For short-lived are the affairs and conditions of men. "All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass; the grass is withered, and the flower is fallen, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever."¹

Cleaving to the commandment that is abiding, let us despise the appearance that is transient. Your example has set many churches aright. Unawares you have gained for yourselves a great reward, inasmuch as you have encouraged those less tried to like zeal. Rich is your Rewarder, being able to give you worthy recompense for your contests.

LETTER CCXXI

TO THE PEOPLE OF BEROEA²

We already knew you, my most longed-for friends, through your celebrated piety and the crown of your confession of Christ. And some one of you perhaps

¹ Isaias 40, 6-8.

² Written in 375.

ἴσως ἂν τις ὑμῶν φαίη· Καὶ τίς ὁ εἰς τὴν μακρὰν¹
ταῦτα διαπορθμεύσας; Κύριος αὐτός, ὃς² τοὺς
εὐσεβοῦντας εἰς αὐτὸν τρόπῳ λύχνου τιθεὶς ἐπὶ
τὴν λυχνίαν, φαίνειν ποιεῖ³ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκου-
μένης· ἢ οὐχὶ τοὺς ἀριστέας τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν
ἀνακηρύττει εἴωθε τὸ τῆς νίκης βραβεῖον, καὶ
τοὺς μηχανικοὺς ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐπίνοια; εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ
τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἄλυστος⁴ ἢ μνήμη
διαμένει, τοὺς κατὰ Χριστὸν εὐσεβοῦντας, περὶ
ῶν αὐτός φησιν ὁ Κύριος· Τοὺς δοξάζοντάς με
δοξάσω, πῶς οὐχὶ γνωρίζοις καὶ διαφανεῖς τοῖς
πᾶσι καταστήσει, ταῖς ἀκτίσι τοῦ ἡλίου συνεφαπ-
τῶν⁵ τῆς ἔξαστραπτούσης αὐτῶν λαμπηδόνας τὸ
φαιδρὸν;

Μείζονα δὲ αὐθις ἡμῖν τὸν περὶ ὑμᾶς πόθον
ἐνεθήκατε γραμμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀξιώσαντες, καὶ
γραμμάτων τοιούτων, ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοῖς προλαβοῦ-
σιν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας παλαίσμασι πλουσίαν καὶ
ἀκμαιότεραν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθοῦς πίστεως
καρτεροψυχίαν ἐπεδαφιλεύσασθε.⁶ ἐφ' οἷς συν-
ηδόμεθα ὑμῖν, καὶ συνευχόμεθα, ὅπως⁷ ὁ τῶν
ὄλων Θεός, οὗ ὁ ἄγων, καὶ οὗ τὸ σκάμμα, καὶ δι'
οὔ· οἱ στέφανοι, προθυμίαν ἐμποίηση, ῥῶσιν
ψυχῆς παράσχη, καὶ εἰς τελείαν εὐδοκίμησιν⁸
τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν ἀγάγη.

¹ τὴν μακρὰν] γῆν μακρὰν editi antiq̄i; τὴν μακρὰν ταύτην E,
unus ex Regiis.

² ὁ E.

³ om. E.

⁴ ἄλυστος editi antiq̄i.

⁵ συνεφάπτων editi antiq̄i.

⁶ ἐπεδαφιλεύσασθε alii MSS.; ἐπιδαφιλεύσασθε editi antiq̄i.

may say: "And who is he who has carried these things afar?" It is the Lord Himself, who places those who have reverence for Him like lamps upon lamp-stands, and makes them to shine upon the whole world! Truly, is not the prize of victory wont to proclaim the victorious among the contestants, and the skill of the work its artisans? But if for these and such as these the memory unceasingly perseveres, those who revere Christ, about whom the Lord¹ Himself says: "Whosoever shall glorify me, him will I glorify"—how shall He not cause these to be known and manifest to all, enfolding with the rays of the sun the splendour of their dazzling brilliance?

And you, moreover, have engendered in us a greater longing for you, having deemed us worthy of a letter, and such a letter, wherein, beyond that zeal of your former struggles in behalf of religion, you have poured forth lavishly a rich and more vigorous strength of soul on behalf of the true faith! And in this we rejoice with you, and pray that the God of all, Whose is the struggle, and Whose is the arena, and through Whom are the crowns, may create eagerness, may supply strength of spirit, and may bring your work to complete approval in His sight.

¹ Cf. 1 Kings 2. 30: καὶ τὸν φησὶν Κύριος Μηδαμῶς ἐμοί, ὅτι ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς δοξάζοντάς με δοξάσω, καὶ ὁ ἐξουθενῶν με ἀτιμαθήσεται. "But now saith the Lord: Far be this from me: but whosoever shall glorify me, him will I glorify: but they that despise me shall be despised."

⁷ καὶ πῶς E.

⁸ εὐδοκίμησιν E, Med., Vat., Reg. secundus.

Πρὸς Χαλκιδέας.

Τὸ γράμμα τῆς εὐλαβείας ὑμῶν τοιοῦτον γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἐν καιρῷ θλίψεως ἐπιφανέν, ὁποῖον βριεταί πολλακίς ἀγωνισταῖς ἵπποις, ἐν μεσημβρία σταθερᾷ λάβρῳ τῷ ἀσθματι κόνιν σπωμένοις ἐν μέσῳ τῷ σταδίῳ, ὕδωρ τοῖς στόμασι προσχυθέν. ἀνεπνεύσαμεν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς συνεχείας τῶν πειρασμῶν, καὶ ὁμοῦ τε τοῖς ῥήμασιν ὑμῶν ἐπερρώσθημεν, καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ἀγωνισμάτων εὐτονώτεροι γεγόναμεν πρὸς τὸ ἀενδότως ὑπενεγκεῖν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν¹ ἀγῶνα. ὁ γὰρ ἐμπρησμός, ὁ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἐπινειμάμενος ὑφέρπει ἤδη καὶ² τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ τὰ κύκλω πάντα περιφλέξας ἄπτεσθαι φιλονεικεῖ καὶ τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκκλησιῶν, ἃς τέως ἐκίνει πρὸς δάκρυον ὁ ἐκ γειτόνων καπνός. ἄπτεσθαι δ' οὖν λοιπὸν καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπέιγεται, ὃν ὁ Κύριος ἀποστρέψει τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ διακόψει τὴν φλόγα τοῦ πονηροῦ τούτου πυρός. τίς γὰρ οὕτω δειλὸς καὶ ἀνανδρός, ἢ πρὸς πόνους³ ἀθλητικούς ἀμελήτης, ὡς μὴ τοῖς ὑμετέροις⁴ ὑποφωνήμασιν ἐπιρρωσθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ εὐχεσθαι μεθ' ὑμῶν στεφανίτης ἀναρρηθῆναι; προλαβόντες γὰρ ἐναπεδύσασθε τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας σταδίῳ, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἀπεκρούσασθε πείρας αἰρετικῶν παλαισμάτων, πολὺν δὲ τὸν καύσιονα τῶν πειρασ-

¹ sic E, sed ὑμῖν editi.² τόνους editi antiq.³ πρὸς add. E.⁴ ἡμετέροις E.TO THE CHALCIDIANS¹

THE letter of your pious selves, come in a season of affliction, has been to us as water, poured upon for their mouths, oftentimes is to race-horses, when at high midday with greedy breath they suck in the dust of the middle course. For we breathed a sigh of relief after the succession of our trials, and we were at once strengthened by your words, and became by the memory of the struggles against you better tuned for the unflinching endurance of the conflict that lies before us. For the conflagration which has consumed most of the East is now stealing upon our land too, and after blazing all round our country-side strives to lay hold also of the churches in Cappadocia, which meanwhile were being moved to tears by the smoke from neighbouring places.² And thus it is now hastening to seize us also, but may the Lord divert it with the breath of His mouth, and may He cut short the blaze of this evil fire. For who is such a coward and so unmanly, or so inexperienced in an athlete's labours, that he is not strengthened for the struggle by your exhortations, and does not pray to be hailed as victor together with you? For you were the first to strip for the noble course of piety, and you have beaten off many attacks in your struggles with heretics, and have borne up under the great heat of

¹ Written in 375. Syrian Chalcis, now Kinesrin. The Benedictine edition (Vit. Bas. Chap. 33) thinks that this letter was carried by Acacius, along with Letter CCXXI.² This seems to refer to the general spread of heresy throughout the East, not to any particular persecution, as some have taken it.

μῶν ὑπηνέγκατε, οἳ τε κορυφαῖοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑμεῖς, οἷς ἡ θεραπεία τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου πεπίστευται, καὶ οἱ καθ' ἓνα τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ¹ οἱ δυνατώτεροι. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ μάλιστα θαυμαστὸν ὑμῶν καὶ πίσσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον, ὅτι πάντες εἰς ἔστε ἐν Κυρίῳ, οἱ μὲν καθηγούμενοι πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν, οἱ δὲ ἐφεπόμενοι μετὰ συμπνοίας. διὸ καὶ κρείττους ἐστὲ τῆς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐπιχειρήσεως, οὐδεμίαν παρέχοντες ἀπ' οὐδενὸς μέλους λαβὴν τοῖς ἀνταγωνιζομένοις.²

Τούτου χάριν εὐχόμεθα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας τῷ Βασιλεῖ τῶν Αἰώνων φυλάξαι μὲν τὸν λαὸν ἐν τῇ ὁλοκληρίᾳ τῆς πίστεως, φυλάξαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν κληρὸν, ὡς περ κεφαλὴν ἀκέραιον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕψους κειμένην, καὶ τὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς προμήθειαν τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις τοῦ σώματος μέλεσι παρεχομένην. ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεργούντων, ἔντεχνοι μὲν τῶν χειρῶν αἱ ἐργασίαι, ἀπρόσκοποι δὲ τῶν ποδῶν αἱ κινήσεις, οὐδὲν δὲ μέρος τοῦ σώματος τῆς προσηκούσης προνοίας ἀποστερεῖται. ὥστε παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, ὃ ποιεῖτε καὶ ποιήσετε, ἀντέχεσθαι³ ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὑμᾶς μὲν τοὺς τῶν ψυχῶν ἐπιμέλειαν πεπιστευμένους συνεχῆν τοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον, καὶ θάλπειν ὡς τέκνα ἀγαπητά, τὸν δὲ λαὸν τὴν πατράσιν ὀφειλομένην αἰδῶ καὶ τιμῆν ὑμῖν ἀποσώζειν, ἵνα ἐν τῇ εὐσχημοσύνῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σώζηται μὲν ὑμῶν ἡ ἰσχύς, καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως, δοξάζεται δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ, πλεονάζη δὲ καὶ πληθύνῃ τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης καλόν. ἀκούοντες δὲ ἡμέεις εὐφραινώμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ προκοπῇ ὑμῶν τῇ κατὰ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔτι διὰ σαρκὸς ἐπιδημεῖν⁴ τῷ

the trials, both you the leaders of the Church, to whom the ministry of the altar has been entrusted, and every individual of the laity, and the more powerful among them. For this is especially to be admired in you and is worthy of all approbation, that you all are one in the Lord, some guiding toward the good, others following in accord. Wherefore you are too strong for the attack of your antagonists, allowing those who oppose you no hold on any of your members.

On this account night and day we pray to the King of the Ages to guard the people in the integrity of the faith, and to guard the clergy for them, as a head resting unharmed at the top and furnishing to the subordinate limbs of the body its own power of forethought. For as long as the eyes perform their particular function, the workings of the hands become skilled, and the movements of the feet occur without stumbling, and no part of the body is bereft of its befitting care. Therefore we urge you, as you are doing and will do, to cling to one another, both you who have been entrusted with the care of souls to keep them everyone together and to cherish them as beloved children, and the laity to keep for you the respect and honour due to fathers; that in the goodly decorum of the Church, your strength and the foundation of the faith in Christ may be preserved, and that the name of God may be glorified and the noble gift of love increase and abound. But may we hear and rejoice in your progress in God; and if we are ordered

¹ καὶ legendum est (G. M.).

² ἀγωνιζομένοις E. Harl.; ἀνταγωνισμένοις editi antiq̄i.

³ ἀντέχεσθε edit. I.

⁴ ἐνδημεῖν Coisl. secundus, Regius secundus.

κόσμῳ τούτῳ κελευόμεθα,¹ καὶ ἰδοιμέν ποτε ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ εἰρήμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ κελευσθῶμεν λοιπὸν ἀπάραι τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης, ἴδωμεν² ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι τῶν ἀγίων, μετὰ τῶν δι' ὑπομονῆς καὶ πάσης ἐπιδείξεως ἀγαθῶν ἔργων εὐδοκιμούντων στεφανωθέντας.

CCXXIII

Πρὸς Εὐστάθιον τὸν Σεβαστηνόν.³

Καιρὸς, φησί, τοῦ σιγᾶν, καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ λαλεῖν, ὁ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ λόγος. οὐκοῦν καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτάρκης ὁ τῆς σιωπῆς ἐγένετο χρόνος, ἐκκαιρον λοιπὸν ἀνοίξαι τὸ στόμα εἰς φανέρωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν ἀγνοουμένων.⁴ ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἰωβ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον σιωπῇ τὰς συμφορὰς ἤνεγκεν, αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, τῷ ἐγκαρτερεῖν τοῖς δυσφορωτάτοις πάθεσιν, ὅτε δὲ ἰκανῶς ἐν τῇ σιωπῇ διήθλησε, καὶ διέμεινε ἐν τῷ βάθει τῆς καρδίας ἀποστέγων τὴν ἀλγηδύνα, τότε ἀνόητος τὸ στόμα ἀπεφθέγγετο⁵ ἐκεῖνα ἅ πάντες ἴσασι. καὶ ἡμῖν τοίνυν τρίτου τοῦτο ἔτος

¹ κελευόμεθα Hagl.

² ἴδοιμεν E, editi antiq̄i.

³ τῷ αὐτῷ Εὐσταθίῳ Σεβαστείας ἐπισκόπῳ vulgat.; Εὐσταθίῳ see MSS.

⁴ τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν ἀγνοουμένων] τῶν ἀγνοουμένων καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπόδειξιν Regius secundus, Coisl. secundus.

⁵ ἐφθέγγετο editi antiq̄i.

¹ Cf. Matt. 20. 12: οὗτοι οἱ ἔσχατοι μίαν ὥραν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἴσους ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν, τοῖς βαστάσαι τὸ βάρος τῆς ἡμέρας

still to sojourn in this world by the flesh, may we some day see you in the peace of God; but if we are ordered presently to depart this life, let us see you in the splendour of the saints, crowned together with those who by patience and every display of good works have won approval.¹

LETTER CCXXIII

AGAINST EUSTATHIUS OF SEBASTE²

"A TIME to keep silence, and a time to speak," reads the passage of Ecclesiastes.³ So now also, since the time for silence has been sufficient, it is quite in season to open my mouth to reveal the truth of what is unknown. For even the great Job, though he bore his misfortunes for a long time in silence, by this very act exhibiting his fortitude—that he remained firm under most unbearable sufferings,⁴ yet when he had struggled sufficiently in silence, and had persistently concealed his grief in the depth of his heart, then he opened his mouth and pronounced those words that everyone knows. So in our case also this year

καὶ τὸν καθάσωνα. "Saying: These last have worked but one hour, and thou hast made them equal to us, that have borne the burden of the day and the heats."

² Written in 375. On Eustathius of Sebaste and his relations with Basil, cf. the introductory notes to Letters LXXIX and CXIX. In the present letter, Basil is answering Eustathius, who has published a letter that Basil wrote to the heresiarch Apollinaris twenty-five years before, when both were laymen. Furthermore, Eustathius had garbled that letter with a view to proving Basil himself a heretic.

³ Ecclesiastes 3. 7.

⁴ Cf. Job 1. 1 ff.

τῆς σιωπῆς ζηλωτὸν ἐγένετο τοῦ προφήτου τὸ καύχημα λέγοντος· Ἐγενόμην ὥστε ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀκούων, καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἐλεγμούς, διὸ ἐναπεκλείσαμεν τῷ βάθει τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν τὴν ἐκ τῆς συκοφαντίας ἡμῶν ἐγγυομένην¹ ὀδύνην. τῷ ὄντι γὰρ συκοφαντία ἄνδρα ταπεινοῖ, καὶ συκοφαντία περιφέρει πτωχόν. εἰ οὖν τοσοῦτον τὸ ἐκ² τῆς συκοφαντίας κακόν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν τέλειον ἤδη (τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ τῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ λόγος αἰνίσσεται) κατάγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους καὶ τὸν πτωχόν,³ τουτέστι τὸν ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντα τῶν μεγάλων δογμάτων (καθὼς καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ δοκεῖ λέγοντι Ἰσως πτωχοὶ εἰσὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀκούσονται.⁴ πορεύσομαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδρούς· πτωχοὺς τοὺς περὶ τὴν συνέσειν ἐνδεεῖς⁵ λέγων· καὶ ἐνταῦθα, δηλονότι, τοὺς οὕτω κατηρτισμένους τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ τέλειον ἐφθαρκότας τῆς ἡλικίας μέτρον, τοὺτους περιφέρεσθαι καὶ σαλεύεσθαι ἢ παροιμία φησὶν)· ἀλλ' ὁμως ὡμην χρῆναι σιωπῆ φέρειν τὰ λυπηρά, ἐκδεχόμενός τινα δι' αὐτῶν

¹ ἐγγυομένην E. ² ἀπὸ E, Harl.

³ τὸν πτωχόν] περιφέρειν editi antiqui.

⁴ ἀκούουσι editi antiqui.

⁵ ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντας editi antiqui.

¹ Beginning with the year 372, Basil had difficulties and humiliations at the hands of Theodotus, Bishop of Nicopolis, on account of Eustathius' vacillations of doctrinal belief.

² Psal. 37. 15.

³ ταπεινοῖ is used here as in Isaiah, 58. 3; also James 1. 10.

⁴ Cf. Ecclesiastes 7. 8: ὅτι συκοφαντία περιφέρει σοφόν καὶ ἀπόλλουσι τὴν καρδίαν ἐυγενείας αὐτοῦ. "Oppression troubleth the wise, and shall destroy the strength of his heart." Thus the Douay version.

has been a third¹ year of silence in emulation of the prophet who made the boast: "I became as a man that heareth not: and that hath no reproofs in his mouth."² Wherefore we have locked within the depth of our heart the pain that arises within us from calumny. For truly calumny humbleth³ a man, and calumny troubleth a poor man.⁴ If, therefore, the evil resulting from calumny is so great that it forthwith degrades from his height both the perfect man (for this is what Scripture intimates by the name "man") and the poor man, that is, he who lacks the great teachings (as it seems also to the prophet⁵ who says: "Perhaps these are poor, therefore they shall not hear . . ., I will go to the great men," meaning by "poor" those lacking in understanding; and here clearly he means those who have not yet perfected the inner man, and have not reached the full measure of their age;⁶ these the proverb speaks of as being made distraught and tossed about); nevertheless I thought that I ought to bear my pains in silence, awaiting

⁵ Cf. Jerem. 5. 4 and 5: καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπα Ἰσως πτωχοὶ εἶναι, διότι οὐκ ἐδυνάσθησαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὄδὸν Κυρίου καὶ κρίσιν Θεοῦ. πορεύσομαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδρούς καὶ λαλήσω αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἀπὸ ἐπέγνωσαν ὄδὸν Κυρίου καὶ κρίσιν Θεοῦ . . . καὶ ἰδοὺ ὀμοθυμαδὸν συνέτριψαν ζυγόν, διέρρηξαν δεσμούς. "But I said: Perhaps these are poor and foolish, that know not the way of the Lord, the judgment of their God. I will go therefore to the great men, and will speak to them: for they have known the way of the Lord, the judgment of their God: and behold these have altogether broken the yoke more, and have burst the bonds."

⁶ For similar expressions cf. Ephesians 4. 13: εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. "unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ." Cf. also Hom. *Iliad*, 11. 225: ἐπεὶ β' ἤβης ἐρικυδέος ἴκετο μέτρον, and *Odys.* 11. 317: εἰ ἤβης μέτρον ἴκοντο.

τῶν ἔργων ἐπανόρθωσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ κακία τινί, ἀλλ' ἀγνοία τῆς ἀληθείας ἡγούμην ἐκείνα καθ' ἡμῶν εἰρησθαι.¹

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁρῶ τῷ² χρόνῳ συμπροιοῦσαν τὴν ἔχθραν, καὶ μὴ μεταμελομένους³ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς λαληθείσι, μηδ' ὅπως τὰ παρελθόντα ἐξιάσονται⁴ ποιοῦμένους τινὰ φροντίδα, ἀλλ'⁵ ἐπεξεργαζομένους,⁶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς σκοπὸν συντεταγμένους,⁷ ὃν ἐνεστήσαντο, κακῶσαι ἡμῶν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ χρᾶναι τὴν ὑπόληψιν παρὰ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μηχανώμενοι, οὐκέτι μοι τὸ τῆς σιωπῆς ἀσφαλὲς καταφαίνεται. ἀλλ' εἰσηλθέ με⁸ τὸ τοῦ Ἡσαίου λέγοντος· Ἐσιώπησα, μὴ καὶ δεῖ σιωπήσομαι καὶ ἀνέξομαι; Ἐκαρτέρησα ὡς⁹ ἡ τίκτουσα. γένοιτο δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ¹⁰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ σιωπῇ μισθὸν δέξασθαι, καὶ λαβεῖν τινα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλέγχοις¹¹ δύναμιν, ὥστε¹² ἐλέγξαντα ἡμᾶς ξηρᾶναι τὸν πικρὸν τοῦτον τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν ῥυείσης ψευδο-λογίας¹³ χεῖμαρρον, ὥστε ἂν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς· ὅτι Χεῖμαρρον διήλθεν ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν· καὶ τὸ, Εἰ μὴ Κύριος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν, ἐν τῷ ἐπαναστήναι ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἄρα ζώντας ἂν κατέπιον ἡμᾶς, ἄρα τὸ ὕδωρ ἂν κατεπόντισεν ἡμᾶς.

Ἐγὼ πολὺν χρόνον προσαναλώσας τῇ ματαιότητι, καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν τὴν ἔμαυτοῦ νεότητα

¹ om. E.² om. E.³ μεταβαλλομένους editi antiq̄i.⁴ ἐξιάσονται editi antiq̄i.⁵ om. E.⁶ ἀπεξεργαζομένους E.⁷ συντεταγμένους Harl., editi antiq̄i.⁸ μοι editi antiq̄i.⁹ ei add. Coisl. uterque et Reg. secundus.¹⁰ om. E.¹¹ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλέγχοις ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγμοῖς editi antiq̄i.¹² ὡς τὸ E.¹³ ψευδοηγορίας editi antiq̄i.

some rectification through their very actions. For I believed that not at all out of any malice, but from ignorance of the truth had these words been spoken against us.

But now that I see that their enmity advances with the time, and that they do not repent of what was said in the beginning, and that they do not give any consideration as to how they might make amends for the past, but that they strive anew and are now rallied for the original purpose that they entered upon scheming to ruin our life and to defile our reputation among the brethren, no longer is the security of silence evident to me. But there came to me the passage of Isaias who says: ¹ "I have kept silence; shall I always be silent and suffer? I was patient as a woman in labour." But may it so be that we both receive the reward for silence, and obtain some strength for the refutation, so that by refuting we may dry up this bitter torrent of falsehood that has flowed against us, so that we too may say: "Our soul has passed through a torrent,"² and, "If it had not been that the Lord was with us, when men rose up against us, verily they had swallowed us up alive, . . . verily the waters had swallowed us up."³

Having lavished much time on the vanity, and having consumed almost all my youth in the futility,

¹ Cf. Isaias 42. 14: ἐσιώπησα, μὴ καὶ δεῖ σιωπήσομαι καὶ ἀνέξομαι; ὡς ἡ τίκτουσα ἐκαρτέρησα, ἐκοιτήσω καὶ ξηρανῶ ἄμα. The Douay version differs greatly: "I have always held my peace, I have kept silence, I have been patient, I will speak now as a woman in labour: I will destroy, and swallow up at once."

² Psal. 123. 5.³ Psal. 123. 2-4.

ἐναφανίσας¹ τῇ ματαιοπονίᾳ, ἣν εἶχον προσδι-
 τρίβων τῇ ἀναλήψει τῶν μαθημάτων τῆς παρὰ
 τοῦ² Θεοῦ μωραυθείσης σοφίας, ἐπειδὴ ποτε,
 ὡσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου βαθέως διαναστὰς ἀπέβλεψα
 μὲν πρὸς τὸ θαυμαστὸν φῶς τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ
 εὐαγγελίου, κατείδον δὲ τὸ ἄχρηστον τῆς σοφίας
 τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργου-
 μένων, πολλὰ τὴν ἐλεεινὴν μου ζωὴν ἀποκλαύσας,
 ἠὲ χόμην δοθῆναί μοι χειραγωγίαν³ πρὸς τὴν εἰσα-
 γωγὴν τῶν δογμάτων τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ πρό-
 γε πάντων ἐπιμελὲς ἦν μοι διόρθωσίν τινα τοῦ
 ἤθους ποιήσασθαι, πολὺν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς
 τοὺς φαύλους ὀμιλίας διαστραφέντος. καὶ τοίνυν
 ἀναγνούς τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ θεασάμενος ἐκεί-
 μενίστην ἀφορμὴν εἰς τελείωσιν τὴν διάπρασιν
 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδεεῖς τῶν
 ἀδελφῶν κοινωνίαν, καὶ ὅλως τὸ ἀφροντίστος
 ἔχειν τοῦ βίου τούτου, καὶ ὑπὸ μηδεμίᾳ συμπα-
 θείας πρὸς τὰ ὧδε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι,
 ἠὲ χόμην εὐρεῖν τινα τῶν ἀδελφῶν ταύτην ἐλόμενον
 τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ βίου, ὥστε αὐτῷ συνδιαπεραιωθῆναι
 τὸν βραχὺν⁴ τοῦτον τοῦ βίου κλύδωνα.

Καὶ δὴ πολλοὺς μὲν εὗρον κατὰ τὴν Ἀλε-
 ξάνδρειαν, πολλοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν λοιπὴν Αἴγυπτον,
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐτέρους, καὶ τῆς κοίλης
 Συρίας καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας· ὧν ἐθαύμαζον

¹ ἀφανίσας E, Med.

² om. E.

³ χειραγωγῶν editi antiqi.

⁴ Βαθὺν editi antiqi.

¹ Basil refers here to his years of study, especially in the schools of rhetoric. Cf. Vol. I, Introduction. Cf. also 1 Cor. 1. 20: οὐχὶ ἐμώρανεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου; "Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?"

which were mine while I occupied myself with the acquirement of the precepts of that wisdom made foolish by God,¹ when one day arising as from a deep sleep I looked out upon the marvellous light of the truth of the gospel, and beheld the uselessness of the wisdom "of the princes of this world that come to nought,"² bemoaning much my piteous life, I prayed that there be given me a guidance to the introduction to the teachings of religion. And before all things my care was to make some amendment in my character, which had for a long time been perverted by association with the wicked.³ And accordingly, having read the Gospel, and having perceived therein that the greatest incentive to perfection is the selling of one's goods⁴ and the sharing of them with the needy of the brethren, and the being entirely without thought of this life, and that the soul should have no sympathetic concern with the things of this world, I prayed that I might find some one of the brethren who had taken this way of life, so as to traverse with him this life's brief flood.

And indeed I found many men in Alexandria, and many throughout the rest of Egypt, and others in Palestine, and in Coele-Syria and Mesopotamia, at

² Cf. 1 Cor. 2. 6: σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις· σοφίαν δὲ οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, καταργουμένην. "How be it we speak wisdom of this among the perfect: yet not the wisdom of this world, neither of the prince of this world that come to nought."

³ Cf. 1 Cor. 15. 33: φθειροῦναι ἤθη χρηστῶ ὀμιλίας κακῆς. "Evil communications corrupt good manners."

⁴ Cf. Matt. 19. 21: εἰ θέλεις τελεῖος εἶναι, ὑπάγε, πώλησον σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δός πτωχοῖς. "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give to the poor." Cf. also Mark 10. 21; Luke 12. 33 and 18. 22.

μὲν τὸ περὶ διαίταν ἐγκρατῆς, ἐθαύμαζον δὲ τὸ καρτερικὸν ἐν πόνοις, ἐξεπλάγην τὴν ἐν προσευχαῖς εὐτονίαν, ὅπως¹ ὑπνοῦ κατεκράτου,² ὑπ' οὐδεμιᾶς φυσικῆς ἀνάγκης κατακαμπτόμενοι, ὑψηλὸν αἶε καὶ ἀδούλωτον τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ φρόνημα διασώζοντες, ἐν λιμῷ καὶ δίψει,³ ἐν ψύχει καὶ γυμνότητι, μὴ ἐπιστρεφόμενοι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα, μηδὲ καταδεχόμενοι αὐτῷ προσαναλώσαι τινα φροντίδα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἄλλοτρίᾳ τῇ σαρκὶ διάγοντες, ἔργῳ ἐδείκνυσαν,⁴ τί τὸ παροικεῖν τοῖς ὠδῆ, καὶ τί τὸ πολίτευμα ἔχειν ἐν οὐρανῷ. ἐκεῖνα θαυμάσας, καὶ μακαρίσας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ζωὴν, ὅτι ἔργῳ δεικνύουσι τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες, ἠψυχόμην καὶ αὐτός, καθόσον ἐμοὶ ἐφικτόν, ζηλωτῆς εἶναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων.

Τούτου γοῦν ἕνεκεν θεασάμενός τινας ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος ζηλοῦν τὰ ἐκείνων ἐπιχειροῦντας, ἐνόμισά τινα βοήθειαν εὐρηκέναι πρὸς τὴν ἑμμαντοῦ σωτηρίαν, καὶ ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιούμην τῶν ἀφανῶν τὰ ὁρώμενα. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἄδηλα⁵ ἐκάστου ἡμῶν τὰ

¹ δὲ add. E; τε add. nonnulli MSS.

² κατεκατέρου E.

³ δίψῃ editi antiq̄i.

⁴ ἐδείξαν editi antiq̄i.

⁵ τὰ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ editi antiq̄i.

¹ Cf. 2 Cor. 11. 27: ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις πολλάκις ἐν λιμῷ, καὶ δίψει, ἐν νηστείαις πολλάκις ἐν ψύχει καὶ γυμνότητι. "In labour and painfulness, in much watchings, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."

² Cf. Thuc. 1. 70: ἄλλοτριστάτοις τοῖς σώμασι χρῆσθαι, "to deal with one's body as if it belonged to another."

³ Cf. Psal. 118. 19: παροικός εἰμι ἐν τῇ γῆ: μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὰς ἐντολάς σου. "I am a sojourner on the earth: hide not thy commandment from me." Cf. also Heb. 11. 13: ὅτι

whose continence in living I marvelled, and I marvelled at their steadfastness in sufferings, I was amazed at their vigour in prayers, at how they gained the mastery over sleep, being bowed down by no necessity of nature, ever preserving exalted and unshackled the purpose of their soul, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness,¹ not concerning themselves with the body, nor deigning to waste a thought upon it, but as if passing their lives in alien flesh,² they showed in deed what it is to sojourn here below,³ and what to have citizenship⁴ in heaven. Having marvelled at all this and deemed the lives of these men blessed, because by deed they show that they bear about in their body the mortification of Jesus,⁵ I prayed that I myself also, in so far as was attainable by me, might be an emulator of these men.

On this account, then, having perceived some in my fatherland trying to imitate the example of those men, I believed that I had found an aid to my own salvation, and I considered the things that were seen as indications of things that were invisible.⁶ Since, therefore, the secret thoughts of each of us are

ἐξοὶ καὶ παρεπιδημοὶ εἶναι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, "that they are pilgrims and strangers on the earth."

⁴ Cf. Phil. 3. 20: ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει. "For our conversation is in heaven." Cf. also Letter CCVII, par. 2.

⁵ Cf. 2 Cor. 4. 10: πόντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ. "Always bearing about in our body the mortification of Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our bodies."

⁶ Cf. Aristotle, Nic. Ethics 2. 2. 6: δεῖ γὰρ ὑπερ τῶν ἀφανῶν τοῖς φανεροῖς μαρτυρίαις χρῆσθαι. "For it is necessary to use invisible things as evidences for the visible."

ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ, ἡγούμεν ἑαυτάρκη μηνύματα εἶναι τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης τὸ ταπεινὸν τοῦ ἐνδύματος, καὶ ἤρκει μοι πρὸς πληροφορίαν τὸ παχὺ ἱμάτιον, καὶ ἡ ζώνη, καὶ τῆς ἀδεψήτου¹ βύρσης τὰ ὑποδήματα. καὶ πολλῶν ἀπαγόντων με τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνηθείας, οὐκ ἠνεχόμην. ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἀπολαυστικοῦ βίου τὸν καρτερικὸν προτιμῶντας· καὶ διὰ τὸ παρηλλαγμένον τῆς πολιτείας ζηλοτύπως εἶχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ὄθεν οὐδὲ τὰς περὶ τῶν δογμάτων διαβολὰς προσιέμην, καίτοι πολλῶν διαβεβαιουμένων μὴ ὀρθὰς ἔχειν περὶ Θεοῦ τὰς ὑπολήψεις, ἀλλὰ τῷ προστάτῃ τῆς νῦν αἰρέσεως μαθητευθέντας, τὰ ἐκείνου λάθρα κατασπεύρειν διδάγματα² ὧν ἐπειδὴ οὐδέποτε αὐτήκοος ἐγενόμην, συκοφάντας ἡγούμεν τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκλήθημεν εἰς τὴν προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοὺς μὲν παραδοθέντας ἡμῖν φύλακας καὶ σκοπευτὰς τοῦ βίου ἐν προσποιήσει δὴ³ βοηθείας καὶ κοινωνίας ἀγαπητικῆς σιωπῶ, ἵνα μὴ δόξω ἢ⁴ ἀπιστὰ λέγων ἐμάντων διαβάλλειν, ἢ πιστευόμενος μισανθρωπίας ἀφορμὴν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν⁵ ἐμποιεῖν. ὃ καὶ ἐμοὶ μικροῦ συνέβη, εἰ μὴ με ταχὺ προκατελάβοιτο οἱ οἰκτιρμοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. μικροῦ γὰρ εἰς τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἐξέπεσον ὑποψίαν, οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος εἶναι παρ' οὐδεὶ πιστόν, ἐκ τῶν δολερῶν τραυμάτων⁶ τὴν ψυχὴν πεπληγμένος.⁷ ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐδόκει τέως εἶναι τι ἡμῖν σχῆμα τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνηθείας. καὶ προσβολαὶ μὲν⁸

unknown, I thought that lowliness of dress was sufficient evidence of lowliness of mind; and sufficient for my full assurance was the thick cloak and the girdle and the sandals of untanned hide. And although many were trying to lead me away from companionship with them, I did not suffer it, seeing that they preferred the life of endurance to that of pleasure; and because of the strangeness of their state of life, I was jealous for their honour. Wherefore I did not admit even the accusations about their teachings, although many had insisted that they had no orthodox conceptions about God, but being made disciples by the champion of the present heresy,¹ they were covertly disseminating his teachings; and since I had never been an ear-witness of them, I considered those who made these reports slanderers. But when, afterwards, we were called to the leadership of the Church,—as to those who were given to us as sentinels and spies of our life, under pretext forsooth of assistance and affectionate communion, I am silent, that I may not seem to bring slander upon myself by saying the unbelievable, or, if believed, to engender in those who believed an occasion of hatred for mankind. And this had almost happened to me, if the mercy of God had not speedily forestalled me. For I almost fell into suspicion of everybody, thinking that there was nothing trustworthy in anyone, because my very soul had been stricken by their treacherous wounds. But yet, for a time, we seemed to have some semblance of intimacy with them. And

¹ i.e. Arius.¹ ἀνεψήτου Harl., Med., Vat., Coisl. secundus, Reg. secundus.² δόγματα editi antiq̄i.³ δ,θεν editi antiq̄i.⁴ om. E.⁵ πιστεύουσαι E, Harl.⁶ πραγμάτων editi antiq̄i.⁷ τετραμένος E.⁸ δὲ editi antiq̄i.

ἐγένοντο¹ ἡμῖν περὶ δογμάτων καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ
 δὶς· καὶ ἐδόξαμεν μὴ διακρίνεσθαι συμφωνή-
 σαυτες. ὡς δὲ ἠύρισκον μὲν ἡμᾶς τὰς αὐτὰς
 ἀφιέντας φωνὰς περὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν πίστεως, ἅς
 παρὰ πάντα² τὸν χρόνον ἤκουσαν παρ' ἡμῶν.
 εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰλλα ἡμῶν στεναγμῶν ἄξια, ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἐν γὰρ τοῦτο τολμῶ καυχᾶσθαι³ ἐν Κυρίῳ,
 ὅτι οὐδέποτε πεπλανημένας ἔσχον τὰς περὶ Θεοῦ
 ὑπολήψεις, ἢ ἐτέρως φρονῶν μετέμαθον ὕστερον.
 ἀλλ' ἦν ἐκ παιδὸς ἔλαβον ἔννοιαν περὶ Θεοῦ
 παρὰ τῆς μακαρίας μητρὸς μου καὶ τῆς μάμμης⁴
 Μακρίνης, ταύτην αὐξηθεῖσαν ἔσχον ἐν⁵ ἐμαυτῷ·
 οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα⁶ ἐξ ἄλλων μετέλαβον ἐν τῇ τοῦ
 λόγου συμπληρώσει, ἀλλὰ τὰς παραδοθείσας
 μοι παρ' αὐτῶν ἀρχὰς ἐτελείωσα. ὥσπερ γὰρ
 τὸ σπέρμα αὐξανόμενον,⁷ μείζον μὲν⁸ ἀπὸ μικροῦ
 γίνεται ταῦτόν δέ ἐστιν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, οὐ κατὰ γένος
 μεταβαλλόμενον, ἀλλὰ κατ' αὐξῆσιν τελειούμενον,
 οὕτω λογίζομαι καὶ ἐμοὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον διὰ τῆς
 προκοπῆς ἠύξῃσθαι, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 ὄντος τὸν νῦν ὑπάρχοντα⁹ γεγενῆσθαι. ὥστε
 ἐρευνάτωσαν μὲν τὸ ἑαυτῶν συνειδὸς, ἐνθυμείσθω-
 σαν δὲ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δικαστήριον, εἴ ποτε ἄλλο

¹ ἐγένοντο E.

² παρὰ πάντα] παρ' ἅπαντα editi antiqui.

³ καυχῆσασθαι E, Harl., Coisl. secundus.

⁴ μου add. editi antiqui.

⁵ ἔσχον ἐν] ἔσχον παρ' Harl., Med.; ἔσχον παρ' E.

⁶ ἄλλας editi antiqui. ⁷ αὐξόμενον E. ⁸ om. E.

⁹ τὸν νῦν ὑπάρχοντα] τὸ νῦν ὑπάρχον E.

¹ To satisfy the suspicions of Theodotus, bishop of Nicopolis, against himself and Eustathius, Basil arranged a meeting (372) with Eustathius at Sebaste, where the two agreed substantially

we had discussions about doctrinal matters once or twice,¹ and we were thought not to be at variance, having agreed in words. But when they found that while we made the same declaration concerning our belief in God as they had heard at all times from us—for granted that the rest of our actions are worthy of lamentation, yet this one matter I dare make boast of before the Lord, that I never held erroneous opinions² about God, or, being otherwise minded,³ unlearned them later. Nay, the conception of God which I received in childhood from my blessed mother⁴ and my grandmother Macrina, this, developed, have I held within me; for I did not change from one opinion to another with the maturity of reason, but I perfected the principles handed down to me by them. For just as the seed, in developing, becomes larger instead of small, but is the same in itself, not changing in kind but being perfected in development, so I consider that also in me the same doctrine has been developed through progress, and what now is mine has not taken the place of what existed in the beginning. Therefore, let them examine their own consciences, let them reflect on the judgment-seat of Christ, if ever they have heard anything else

on matters of faith, but Eustathius refused to sign an agreement and later denied having made it. On a second meeting (373), although he signed, he broke his promise and began openly to assail Basil.

² St. Basil was charged by Eustathius in public assemblies with unorthodox views on the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

³ Cf. Phil. 3. 15: "Ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι, τοῦτο φρονῶμεν· καὶ εἴ τι ἐτέρως φρονεῖτε, καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν ἀποκαλύψει." "Let us therefore, as many as are perfect, be thus minded; and if in anything you be otherwise minded, this also God will reveal to you."

⁴ i. e. Emmelia. Cf. Vol. I, Introduction.

τι ἤκουσαν παρ' ¹ ἡμῶν, παρ' ὃ νῦν λέγομεν, οἱ νῦν ἡμᾶς διαθρυλλήσαντες ἐπὶ κακοδοξία, καὶ ταῖς στηλιτευτικαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, ἃς συνέγραφαν καθ' ἡμῶν, πᾶσαν περικυτπήσαντες ἀκοήν. ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην ἤλθομεν τῆς ἀπολογίας ταύτης.

Ἐγκαλοῦμεθα γὰρ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν βλασφημίαν, οὔτε ἀπὸ συγγραφῆς, ἣν αὐτοὶ προκατεβαλόμεθα περὶ πίστεως, ἐλεγχθῆναι δυνάμενοι, οὔτε ἀπὸ ῥημάτων, ² ὅσα ἀγράβως ἀπὸ στόματος αἰεὶ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ διελέχθημεν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μάρτυς εὐρέθη ὁ λέγων παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκηκοέναι τι τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐν παραβύστῳ φθεγξαμένων. πόθεν οὖν κρινόμεθα, εἰ μήτε συγγράφομεν ἀσεβῶς, μήτε δημηγοροῦμεν ἐπιβλαβῶς, μήτε ἐν ταῖς κατ' οἶκον ³ ὁμιλίαις τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας διαστρέφομεν; ⁴ ὃ τοῦ καινοῦ δράματος! ὁ δεῖνα, φησί, ἐπὶ τῆς Συρίας ἔγραψέ τινα ὡς οὐκ εὐσεβῶς· σὺ δὲ ἐπέστειλας αὐτῷ πρὸ εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν καὶ πλείονων. κοινῶνός ἄρα σὺ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου κατηγορήματα καὶ σὰ γινέσθω. ἀλλ', ὦ φίλε τῆς ἀληθείας ἄνθρωπε, ὁ τὸ ψεῦδος γέννημα εἶναι τοῦ διαβόλου δεδιδαγμένος, πῶς ἐπεισθῆς ἐμῇ εἰναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐκείνῃ; οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλας, οὐδ' ἠρώτησας, οὐδὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ, τοῦ δυναμένου σοὶ τάληθές ⁵ εἰπεῖν, ἐδιδάχθης. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμὸν τὸ ⁶ γράμμα, πόθεν δῆλον ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν σοὶ ἐμπεσὸν σύνταγμα σύγχρονον τοῖς ἐμοῖς γράμμασι; τίς σοι ⁷ ὁ

from us contrary to what we now say—those who have now made common talk of us on the charge of heterodoxy and have deafened all men's ears with the letters of invective which they have composed against us. Wherefore we also have come to the necessity of this present defence.

For we are charged with blasphemy against God, although we cannot be convicted from a work that we ourselves have hitherto published about faith, nor from such unwritten spoken words as we have ever openly uttered to the churches of God. Nay, not a witness has been found who says that he has heard anything impious from us when we have spoken in private. Why, therefore, are we brought to judgment, if we neither compose anything impious, nor preach anything harmful, nor in conversations at home pervert those who meet with us? Oh, strange fabrication! So and so, ¹ it says, in the region of Syria, has written certain things irreverently; and you wrote to him twenty years and more ago. You, then, are an accomplice of the man, and let the charges against him be against you also. But, my dear man of truth, who have been taught that deceit is begotten of the devil, how have you been convinced that that letter is mine? For you did not write, neither did you ask, nor were you informed by me, the one able to tell you the truth. But even if the letter is really mine, yet how is it evident that this work which has now fallen into your hands is of the same time as my letter? Who is the person who has

¹ i.e. Apollinarius. Cf. Letters CXXX and CCXXIV.

¹ om. E.

² ἢν . . . ῥημάτων] ἢτις προεβαλόμεθα ἢ E, editi antiqui.

³ κατ' οἴκοις E, κατ' οἴκοις Med.

⁴ ἐνδιαστρέφομεν E.

⁵ τάληθῃ E, Med.

⁶ om. E.

⁷ τίς σοι] τί ποιεῖ E.

εἰπών, ὅτι εἰκοσὶν ἔστιν ἐτῶν ἡ συγγραφὴ αὐτῆ; πόθεν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι ἐκείνου ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ σύνταγμα,¹ πρὸς ὃν καὶ ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιστολὴ διεπέμφθη; εἰ δὲ κάκεινος ὁ συγγραφεὺς, κἀγὼ ἐκείνῳ ἐπέστειλα, καὶ χρόνος εἰς τῶν τ' ἐμῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τοῦ συγγράμματος, ὅτι παρεδεξάμην² αὐτὸ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἔχω³ ἐν ἑμαυτῷ ἐκείνο τὸ φρόνημα, τίς ἡ ἀπόδειξις; -

Ἐρώτησον σεαυτὸν· ποσάκις ἡμᾶς ἐπεσκεψέψω ἐπὶ τῆς μονῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰριδί ποταμῷ, ὅτε δὲ συμπάρῃν μοι ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἀδελφὸς Γρηγόριος, τὸν αὐτὸν μοι τοῦ βίου σκοπὸν διανοῶν; εἰ⁴ ἤκουσάς τι τοιοῦτον; ἢ ἔλαβες ἔμφασιν μικρὰν ἢ μέγζονα; πόσας δὲ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀντιπεράν⁵ κώμης, παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ μου, ἔνθα ὡς φίλοι⁶ μετ' ἀλλήλων διάγοντες, καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ λόγων κινουμένους ἡμῖν; εἰ εὐρέθημέν τι συγγενὲς ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ; ὅτε δὲ τὸν μακίριον Σιλουανὸν κατὰ ταῦτόν ἐπεσκεπτόμεθα, οὐχ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡμῖν τοὺς περὶ τούτων εἶχε λόγους; ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Εὐσινώης, ὅτε μετὰ πλειόνων ἐπισκόπων μέλλοντες ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ Λάμφακον, προσεκαλέσασθέ με, οὐ περὶ πίστεως ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι; οὐχὶ δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον οἱ σοὶ⁷ ταχυγράφοι παρησαν ἐμοὶ ὑπαγορεύοντι τὰ πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν; οὐ τῶν σῶν μαθητῶν οἱ γνησιώτατοι πάντα μοι τὸν χρόνον

¹ σύγγραμμα E.² καὶ add. E.³ ἔχω E.⁴ ἢ editi antiq.⁵ ἀντίπερα E, Harl., Reg. primus.⁶ ἔνθα ὡς φίλοι] ἐν Θεῷ φίλοι Harl.⁷ οἱ σοὶ] σοὶ E.

told you that this treatise is twenty years old? And how is it evident that the work belongs to that man to whom the letter from me was also sent? But even if that man is the writer, and I sent a letter to him, and the time of my letter and his writing is one, what is the proof that I accepted it as a belief and hold that opinion within myself?

Ask yourself: How often did you visit us in the monastery on the river Iris, when, moreover, our most divinely-favoured brother Gregory was present with me, achieving the same purpose in life as myself? Did you ever hear any such thing? Did you receive any suggestion of it, small or great? And how many days did we spend in the village opposite, at my mother's, living there as a friend with a friend, with conversation astir among us both night and day? Were we found to hold any kindred thought in our minds? And when we set out at the same time to visit the blessed Silvanus,¹ did not our journey include discussions on these matters? And at Eusinoe,² when you, about to set out for Lampsacus³ with several bishops, summoned me, was not our conversation about faith? And all the time were not your short-hand writers present as I dictated objections to the heresy? Were not the most faithful of your disciples in my presence the whole time?

¹ i.e. in 364, the year after Basil had been ordained presbyter and had written his work against Eunomius. Lampsacus is situated in Mysia, at the entrance to the Hellespont, opposite Callipolis, in a region known as Bebrycia. In 364 this see was occupied by Marcellan, a semi-Arian or Macedonian; in that year there was held at Lampsacus a Council of bishops, the majority of whom belonged to that party. This Council, at which Basil was not present, repudiated the creeds of Ariminum and Constantinople (359 and 360), and reasserted the second Dedication Creed of Antioch of 341.

¹ i.e. Silvanus of Tarsus. Cf. Letter XXXIV.² Perhaps Eusene on the north coast of Pontus.

παρήσαν; ¹ οὐ τὰς ἀδελφότητας ἐπισκεπτόμενος, ² καὶ συνδιανυκτερεύων αὐταῖς ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς, λέγων καὶ ἀκούων αἰεὶ τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ ἀφιλονείκως, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖς παρείχον τῆς ἑνοίας ἐμαντοῦ τὰς ἀποδείξεις; πῶς οὖν ἢ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ πείρα ἐλάττων ἐφάνη τῆς οὕτω σαθρᾶς καὶ ἀδρανοῦς ὑπονοίας; τίνα δὲ ἔδει πρὸ σοῦ μάρτυρα εἶναι τῆς ἐμῆς διαθέσεως; τὰ ἐπὶ Χαλκηδόνος ³ λαληθέντα ἡμῖν περὶ πίστεως, τὰ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ πολ- λάκις, τὰ ⁴ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, εἰ μὴ πάντα σύμφωνα παρ' ἡμῶν; εἰ μὴ πάντα ἀλλήλοις συμβαίνοντα; ἔκτος τοῦ, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκ προκοπῆς τινα αὐξησιν ἐπιθεωρεῖσθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις, ὅπερ οὐχὶ μεταβολὴ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ χειρόνος πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, ἀλλὰ συμπλήρωσις τοῦ λείποντος κατὰ τὴν προσθήκην τῆς γνώσεως. πῶς δὲ κάκεινο οὐκ ἐνθυμῆ, ὅτι πατὴρ οὐ λήψεται ἀμαρτίαν παιδός, οὐδὲ υἱὸς λήψεται ἀμαρτίαν πατρός, ἕκαστος δὲ ⁵ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀμαρτίᾳ ἀποθανείται; ἐμοὶ δὲ οὔτε πατὴρ ὁ παρὰ σοὶ διαβαλλόμενος, οὔθ' υἱός. οὔτε γὰρ διδάσκαλός μου γέγονεν οὔτε μαθητής. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰς τῶν γεννησάντων ἀμαρτίας ἐγκλήματα τοῖς τέκνοις γίνεσθαι, πολὺ δικαιότερον τὰ Ἀρείου

¹ συνήσαν editi antiq̄i.

² ἐπιπορευόμενος Harl.

³ καλρχηδόνος Coisl. secundus, Reg. secundus.

⁴ om. E. ⁵ tri add. Harl.

¹ Cf. Ezek. 18. 20: ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἢ ἀμαρτάνουσα ἀποθανείτω· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς οὐ λήμψεται τὴν ἀδικίαν τοῦ πατρός, οὐδὲ ὁ πατὴρ λήμψεται τὴν ἀδικίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ· δικαιοσύνη δικαίω ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔσται, καὶ ἀνομία ἀνόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔσται. "The soul that sinneth, the same shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the

While visiting the brotherhoods, and spending whole nights with them in prayer, always speaking and hearing opinions about God without contention, did I not furnish precise proofs of my own mind? How, then, did the experience of me for so long a time appear of less account than so rotten and feeble a suspicion? And who rather than you ought to have been a witness to my disposition of mind? Ask yourself about the things said by us about faith at Chalcedon, those often expressed at Heraclea, those previously spoken in the suburb of Caesarea, were they not all in harmony on our part. Were they not all consistent with one another?—with this exception, as I have already said—that through progress a certain amplification is witnessed in what we say, which is not a change from worse to better, but is a completing of that which was lacking, according to the increment of our knowledge. But how can you fail to bear this also in mind, that "the father shall not bear the iniquity of the son, nor the son shall bear the iniquity of the father," ¹ but each in his own iniquity shall die? But for me, he who is being slandered by you is neither father nor son. For he was neither my teacher nor disciple. But if the iniquities of the parents must become charges against their children, ² it is much more just that the

father, and the father shall not bear the iniquity of the son: the justice of the just shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him."

² Cf. Exod. 20. 5: οὐ προσκινήσεις αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ μὴ λατρεύσης αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι Κύριος ὁ θεός σου, θεός ζηλωτής, ἀποδιδοὺς ἀμαρτίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα ἕως τρίτης καὶ τετάρτης γενεᾶς τοῖς μωσοῖς μου. "Thou shalt not adore them, nor serve them: I am the Lord thy God, mighty, jealous, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me."

κατὰ τῶν¹ μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι· καὶ εἴ τις Ἀέτιον ἐγέννησε τὸν αἰρετικόν, ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναβαίνειν² τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ ἐγκλήματα. εἰ δ' οὐ δίκαιον ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγκαλεῖσθαι τινα, πολλῶ δὴ πον δικαιότερον ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἡμῖν προσήκουσι μὴ ὑπέχειν³ εὐθύνας, εἴ γε καὶ ἡμαρτον ὄλωσ, εἴ τι καὶ γέγραπται αὐτοῖς ἄξιον κατακρίσεως. συγγνώμη γάρ μοι ἀπιστοῦντι τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις, ἐπειδὴ ἡ κατ' ἐμοῦ πείρα τὸ πρὸς⁴ συκοφαντίαν εὐκολον τῶν κατηγορούντων συνίστησι.

Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἀπατηθέντες,⁵ καὶ νομίσαντες ἐμὲ κοινωνόν εἶναι τῆς γνώμης τῶν συγγραψάντων ἐκείνα τὰ Σαβελλίου ῥήματα, ἅπερ αὐτοὶ περιφέρουσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν κατ' ἐμοῦ διαβολὴν ἦλθον, οὐδ' οὕτω μὲν ἦσαν συγγνώμης ἄξιοι, πρὸ ἐναργῶν ἀποδείξω εὐθύς ταῖς βλασφημίαις βάλλοντες καὶ τιτρώσκοντες τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας,⁶ ἵνα μὴ εἴπω, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν αὐτοῖς φιλίαν συνδεδεμένους, καὶ ὅτι ἀποδείξεις τοῦ μὴ Πνεύματι ἄγεσθαι ἀγίῳ τὸ ψευδεῖς ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὰς ὑπολήψεις. πολλὰ γὰρ⁷ δεῖ μεριμνήσαι καὶ πολλὰς ἀγρύπνους⁸ νυκτας διενεγκεῖν, καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν δακρῶν ἐκζητῆσαι παρὰ Θεοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὸν μέλλοντα φιλίας ἀδελφοῦ διατέμνεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ οἱ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἄρχοντες, ὅταν τινὰ τῶν κακούργων θανάτῳ καταδικάζειν

deeds of Arius should be against his disciples; and in the case of him who begot Aetius,¹ the heretic, that the charges of the son should revert upon the head of the father. But if it is not just that anyone be accused on account of these, surely it is much more just that we should not undergo correction on account of those who have nothing to do with us, even if they sinned utterly, even if something has been written by them worthy of condemnation. For pardon must be granted me if I disbelieve what is said against them, since my personal experience shows the inclination of accusers toward calumny.

For even if they were deceived, and really thought that I was party to the opinion of the men who wrote those words of Sabellius which they themselves are carrying about, when they first began to slander me, not even so were they worthy of pardon, since before they had clear proofs they immediately attacked us with blasphemies and wounded us who had done them no harm—not to add, who were bound to them in the closest friendship, and that a proof of their not being guided by the Holy Spirit is that they hold notions among themselves that are false. For about many things must he be solicitous and many sleepless nights must he spend, and with many tears must he seek the truth from God, who intends to sever himself from friendship with a brother. For if the magistrates of this world, when they are about to pass judg-

¹ Aetius was the first to carry out the teachings of Arius to their legitimate issue, and in opposition both to the Homoousians and Homoiousians maintained that the Son was unlike (ἀνόμοιος) the Father; from this doctrine his followers took the name Anomoeans.

⁷ om. E, editi antiq̄i.

⁸ ἀγρύπνους E.

¹ κατὰ τῶν] τὰ τῶν editi antiq̄i; κατὰ τῶν Harl.

² ἀναβαίνει E.

³ λογῶν ἔχειν E, editi antiq̄i.

⁴ τὸ πρὸς] τοῦ πατρὸς E.

⁵ ἀπαιτηθέντας E.

⁶ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας] μηδὲ συνδιατρίψαντας E; μηδὲ αὐτοῖς συνδιατρίψαντας editi antiq̄i; μηδὲν συνδιατρίψαντας sex MSS.

μέλλωσιν, ἀφέλκονται¹ τὰ παραπετάσματα, καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προκειμένων σκέψιν, καὶ πολλὴν ἐνσχολάζουσι χρόνον, νῦν μὲν τοῦ νόμου τὸ αὐστηρὸν ὁρῶντες, νῦν δὲ τὴν κοινωμίαν τῆς φύσεως δυσωπούμενοι, καὶ πολλὰ στενάξαντες καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἀπολοφυρόμενοι,² πάνδημοι³ πᾶσι γίνονται πρὸς ἀνάγκην⁴ ὑπηρετοῦντες τῷ νόμῳ, οὐ κατ' οἰκείαν ἡδονὴν ἐπάγοντες τὴν κατάκρισιν, πόσῳ χρῆ πλείονος σπουδῆς ἀξίον ἡγέσθαι καὶ μερίμνης καὶ τῆς μετὰ πλείονων βουλῆς τὸν μέλλοντα φιλίας ἀδελφῶν ἀπορρήγνυσθαι, τῆς ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ βεβαιωθείσης; ἀλλὰ μία ἐπιστολὴ καὶ αὐτὴ ἀμφίβολος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν εἶποιεν⁵ ἐκ τῶν τῆς ὑπογραφῆς συμβόλων αὐτὴν ἐπερωκέναι, οἷ γε⁶ οὐχὶ τὴν πρῶτως γραφεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μεταγραφείσαν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλαβον.⁷ ἔξ ἑνὸς τοίνυν γράμματος, καὶ τούτου παλαιού. εἴκοσι γὰρ ἔτη ἐστὶν εἰς τὸν νῦν χρόνον ἀφ' οὗ γέγραπται τι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκείνον. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτῳ χρόνῳ οὐδένα τοιοῦτον ἔχω μάρτυρα τῆς ἐμαντοῦ προαιρέσεως καὶ τοῦ βίου, ὡς τοὺς νῦν ἐφεστῶτάς μοι κατηγοροῦς.

Ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ χωρισμοῦ αἰτία, ἔτερα δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς διαστάσεως ἢ ὑπόθεσις, ἣν ἐγὼ λέγειν αἰσχύνομαι, κἂν⁸ ἐσίγησα δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον, εἰ μὴ τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα ἀναγκαίαν⁹ μοι

¹ ἀφέλκονται E, editi antiqui.

² ἀπολοφυρόμενοι E.

³ δῆλοι editi antiqui.

⁴ πρὸς ἀνάγκην] om. E, Med., Reg. secundus.

⁵ εἶποιεν E.

⁶ οἷ γε] εἰ γε E.

⁷ ἔλαβεν E.

⁸ καὶ E, editi antiqui.

ment of death upon any malefactor, draw aside the veils, and call the most experienced to the examination of the matters at hand, and spend much time, now viewing the stringency of the law and now, showing consideration for their common human nature, after many sighs and bewailing the necessity, become in the eyes of all servers of the law through necessity, not bringing on the condemnation in accordance with their own pleasure,¹ of how much care should he consider the matter worthy, and of study and of counsel with a greater number, who is about to break off from a friendship from brethren which has been strengthened by long time? But, one letter and that dubious! For they could not say that they recognised it from the marks of the signature, since they received into their hands, not what was written originally, but a copy of it. Therefore, my case rests on one letter, and that an old one! For it is twenty years to the present time since anything was written to that man.² And for this intervening time I have no such witness to my purpose and life as those who now appear as my accusers!

And yet the letter is not responsible for the parting, but there is another pretext of the separation, which I am ashamed to mention; and I would have been silent for all time if their recent deeds did

¹ The Benedictine editors call attention to the praise Gregory of Nazianzus bestows on Candidianus for trying cases in the open. Cf. Greg. Naz. Letter CXCV. Am. Marcellinus (15. 1) also says of Julian: Numerium Narconenses paulo ante rectorem, accusatum ut furem, inusitato censorio vigore pro tribunali palam admissis volentibus audiebat.

² i.e. Apollinarius.

⁹ ἀναγκαίον E, Med.

καθίστη διὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν λυσιτελὲς τῆς ὄλης αὐτῶν προαιρέσεως τὴν φανέρωσιν. ἐνόμισαν¹ οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐμπόδιον αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῆς δυναστείας ἀνάληψιν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωσίαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὑπογραφῆν τι πείσσεως προελήφθησαν, ἣν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς προετείναμεν—οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτῶν τῷ φρονήματι (ὁμολογῶ γάρ), ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπονοίας, ἃς οἱ² πολλοὶ τῶν ὁμοψύχων ἡμῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶχον, θεραπεύσαι βουλόμενοι—ἵνα μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐκείνης δόξῃ αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον ἀπαντᾶν, πρὸς τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν³ κρατούντων παραδεχθῆναι, ἀπειπαντο τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωσίαν· καὶ⁴ ὑπόθεσις τῆς ἀπορρήξεως τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο ἐπενοήθη. σημεῖον δὲ τῶν λεγομένων ἐναργέστατον,⁵ ὅτι ἀποκηρύξαντες⁶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ συνθέντες⁷ τὰς μέμφεις ἃς ἠβούλοντο καθ' ἡμῶν, πρὶν ἡμῖν ἀποστεῖλαι, τὰ γράμματα περιέπεμπον πανταχοῦ. ἐπτα γὰρ πρότερον ἡμέραις τοῦ εἰς τὰς ἐμὰς ἀφικέσθαι χείρας, παρ' ἄλλοις⁸ ἐφάνη ἡ ἐπιστολή· οἱ ἐξ ἑτέρων διαδεξάμενοι, ἑτέροις ἔμελλον παραπέμπειν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπενοήσαν ἕνα ἐνὶ παραδιδοῖναι, ἵνα ταχεῖα αὐτοῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν γένηται ἡ διάδοσις. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐλέγετο μὲν ἔτι τότε παρὰ τῶν σαφέστατα ἡμῖν τὰ ἐκείνων ἐξαγγελλούντων, ἐκρίναμεν

¹ νομίζουσι γὰρ editi antiqui; νομιζέτωσαν E, Med., Reg. vrinum.

² om. E.

³ om. E.

⁴ ἢ add. E.

⁵ ἐναργέστερον E.

⁶ ἀποστήσαντες E, editi antiqui.

⁷ συνθέσθαι E.

⁸ παρ' ἄλλοις om. E.

not make the disclosure of their entire purpose incumbent upon me for the good of the many. Our excellent friends have decided that communion with us was a hindrance to their recovery of dominion! And when they were forestalled by an outline of faith which we offered them—not because we ourselves mistrusted their mind (for I confess it), but merely because we wished to allay the suspicions against them which most of our brethren of like mind held—in order that nothing from that confession might seem to meet them as an obstacle to their being accepted by those now in power,³ they have renounced communion with us; and as an excuse for the break this letter was devised. And a very clear proof of what we are saying is that they, after denouncing us and composing such complaints against us as they wished, before communicating with us sent the letter around everywhere. Indeed, seven days before it came to my hands the letter appeared in the possession of others; and these, having received it from others, were on the point of sending it to still others. For thus they contrived that one should pass it on to another, in order that the distribution might take place quickly for them throughout all the land. And although these facts were being related even at that time by those who were bringing us the clearest reports of their notions, yet we were

here is to Euzoios, who was now in high favour with Valens. In Letter CCXXVI, par. 3, Basil says that reconciliation with Euzoios was the real object of Eustathius' hostility. Euzoios, bishop of Caesarea in the latter half of the fourth century, had obtained his appointment by semi-Arian influences. He held his see against his rivals during the reign of Valens, but was deposed on the accession of Theodosius, A.D. 379, and Gelasius was restored.

¹ The Benedictine editors feel certain that the reference

δὲ σιωπᾶν, ἕως ἂν ὁ ἀποκαλύπτῃ τὰ βαθέα σα-
φειστάτους καὶ ἀναντιρρήτους ἐλέγχους δημοσιεύσῃ
τὰ κατ' αὐτούς.

CCXXIV

Γενεθλίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ.

Ἐδεξάμην τὰ γράμματα τῆς σῆς εὐλαβείας¹
καὶ ἐπήνεσα τὴν προσηγορίαν ἣν εὐστόχως ὠνό-
μασας τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν συγγεγραμμένον,
προσαγορεύσας βιβλίον ἀποστασίου. ὅπερ οἱ
συγγράψαντες (ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης ἡμῶν ἀποστήσαι)²
τίνα ἠτύρησαν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ
τοῦ ἀπαραλογίστου βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐννοεῖν
οὐκ ἔχω. προθέτες γὰρ ἡμετέραν κατηγορίαν,
καὶ σφοδρῶς ἡμῶν καταδραμόντες, καὶ διγησά-
μενοι ἂ ἐβούλοντο, οὐχ οἷα³ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει,
σχηματισάμενοι ἑαυτῶν πολλὴν ταπεινώσιν, καὶ
ἡμῖν περιθέντες ὑπερηφανίας ὄγκον, ὡς μὴ δεξα-
μένοις⁴ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποσταλέντας, πάντα
ψευδῆ, ἢ τὰ γε πλεῖστα αὐτῶν,⁵ ἵνα μὴ ἐπι-
κινδύνως φθέγξωμαι, ὡς ἀνθρώπους πείθοντες,
καὶ οὐχὶ Θεόν, καὶ ζητοῦντες ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσαι,
καὶ οὐχὶ Θεῷ, παρ' ᾧ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀληθείας προτι-
μότερον, οὕτω συνέγραψαν. εἶτα ἐκείνοι τοῖς κατ'
ἡμῶν γράμμασιν ὑπέταξαν ῥήματα αἰρετικά, τὸν
συγγραφέα τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀποκρυψάμενοι,⁶ ἵν' οἱ

determined to keep silence until He who discloses
the hidden things should make public their actions
with the clearest and most undeniable evidence.

LETTER CCXXIV

TO THE PRESBYTER GENETHLIUS¹

I HAVE received the letter of your Piety and
commend the name by the document which has
been composed by them, when you called it "a
bill of divorce".² As for those who composed it
(declaring that they have divorced themselves from
our love) what defence they have made ready for it
at the tribunal of Christ, which is not to be deceived,
I cannot imagine. For having published an accusa-
tion against us, and violently inveighed against us
and related, not what the truth contains, but what
they wished, having feigned much humility in them-
selves, and placed a cloak of arrogance about us for
not having received those who had been despatched
by them, they then went and composed nothing but
lies or—that I may not speak rashly—mostly lies
to persuade men and not God, and endeavouring to
satisfy men and not God, with whom nothing is
more to be preferred than truth. Furthermore,
these men have introduced in the document against
us heretical expressions, having concealed the author
of the impiety in order that the many and simpler

¹ τῆς εὐλαβείας σου editi antiq̄i.

² According to the Benedictine editors the words in
parenthesis are a gloss.

³ ἢ editi antiq̄i.

⁴ δεξαμένων Harl. et Med.

⁵ om. Regius uterque et Coisl. secundus.

⁶ ἐκρυψάμενοι E, Harl.

¹ Written in 375. Nothing is known of Genethlius that is
not contained in this letter.

² Cf. Matt. 19, 7: λέγουσι αὐτῷ, "Τί οὖν Μωσῆς ἐνετείλατο
δοῦναι βιβλίον ἀποστασίου, καὶ ἀπολύσαι αὐτήν"; "They say to
him: Why then did Moses command to give a bill of
divorce, and to put away?" Cf. also Deut. 24. 3.

πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπλούστεροι ἐκ τῆς προτεταγμένης¹ ἡμῶν κατηγορίας ἡμέτερα εἶναι νομίσωσι τὰ συνημμένα, διὰ τὸ παρὰ τῶν τεχνικῶς ἡμᾶς διαβαλλόντων σιωπηθῆναι μὲν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν πονηρῶν δογμάτων, καταλειφθῆναι² δὲ τῇ ὑπονοίᾳ τῶν ἀκεραιότερων τὸ ἡμᾶς εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα ἢ ἐνθυμηθέντας ἢ γράψαντας. ταῦτα οὖν γινώσκοντας ὑμᾶς παρακαλοῦμεν αὐτοὺς τε μὴ ταράσσεσθαι, καὶ τῶν σαλευομένων τοὺς θορύβους κατασιγάξαι· εἰ³ καὶ ὅτι οἶδαμεν δυσπαράδεκτον ἡμῶν⁴ οὖσαν τὴν ἀπολογία, διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ προσώπων ἀξιοπίστων προκατασχεθῆναι ἡμῶν τὰς πονηρὰς βλασφημίας.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμέτερα τὰ ὡς ἡμέτερα περιφερόμενα, νομίζω, εἰ καὶ πάνν ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν θυμὸς ἐπισκοτεῖ τοῖς λογισμοῖς αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ συνορᾶν τὸ συμφέρον, ὅμως, εἰ ἐρωτηθῶσι παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, μὴ ἂν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐλθεῖν σκληρότητος, ὥστε τολμῆσαι φθέγγασθαι τῷ ἰδίῳ στόματι τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐμὰ ἔστι τὰ συντάγματα. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐμὰ, διὰ τί κρίνομαι ὑπὲρ⁵ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; ἀλλ' ἐροῦσιν, ὅτι κοινωνοὶ Ἀπολλιναρίου⁶ ἐγώ, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων δογμάτων τὴν διαστροφὴν ἔχων ἐν ἐμῶν. ἀπαιτηθήτωσαν τὰς ἀποδείξεις. εἰ μὲν γάρ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου διερευνᾶν ἴσασι, τοῦτο ὁμο-

folk may think, as a result of the accusation previously brought against us, that what was inserted is ours, because of the fact that while the name of the father of the baneful doctrines was passed over in silence by those who artfully slander us, yet it was left for the more guileless to suspect that we are the person who either conceived or wrote these things. Therefore we urge you, since you know this, not to be perturbed yourselves and to calm the fears of those who are being tossed about; although we know that our defence is hard to accept, because the wicked calumnies against us have already been received by trustworthy persons.

Now regarding the fact that the writings which are being circulated as ours are not ours, I think that, no matter how much their hostility to us darkens their reasoning powers in the matter of seeing what is to their advantage, nevertheless, if they are questioned by you personally, they would not go to such a point of stubbornness as to dare to pronounce the lie with their own mouth, and say that the writings are mine. And if they are not mine, for what reason am I being judged for the works of others? But they will say that I am in communion with Apollinarius,¹ holding at heart the perversion of even such doctrines. Let them be asked for the proofs. For if they know how to search out a man's heart,² let them confess to

first an adherent to the Nicene Creed. Later he developed the christological heresy called Apollinarianism. He seceded in 375 and died about 392.

² Cf. Rom. 8. 27: ὁ δὲ ἐρευνᾶν τὰς καρδίας οἶδε τί τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅτι κατὰ Θεὸν ἐνγυγχανεῖ ὑπὲρ ἁγίων. "And he that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what the Spirit desireth; because he asketh for the saints according to God." Cf. also Wis. 1. 6; Jer. 17. 9 and 10; Apoc. 2. 23.

¹ προγεγραμμένης editi antiq.

² καταληφθῆναι E.

³ ἢ E.

⁴ ὑμῶν E.

⁵ ὑπὸ E, Med.

⁶ Ἀπολλιναρίου MSS.

¹ Apollinarius the Younger, bishop of Laodicea, who flourished in the latter half of the fourth century and was at

λογησάτωσαν, και γνωρίσατε αὐτῶν τὴν περι πάντα ἀλήθειαν· εἰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων και πᾶσι προδήλων ἐλέγχουσί μου τὴν κοινωνίαν, δεξιάτωσαν ἢ κανονικά¹ γράμματα παρ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν διαπεμπόμενα, ἢ παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἢ τῶν κληρικῶν τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιμιξίας, ἢ εἰ² τινὰ αὐτῶν εἰς κοινωνίαν³ εὐχῆς⁴ ἐδεξάμεθά ποτε. εἰ δὲ ἐπιστολὴν προφέρουσι τὴν λοιπὸν πρὸ κέ ἐτῶν γραφείσαν αὐτῷ, παρὰ λαϊκοῦ πρὸς λαϊκόν, και οὐδὲ ταύτην ὡς γέγραπται παρ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ μεταποιηθεῖσαν, ὑπὸ τίνων δὲ ὁ Θεὸς οἶδε· γνωρίσατε αὐτόθεν τὴν ἀδικίαν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ ὦν ἐγκαλεῖται, εἴ τι κατὰ ἀδιαφορίαν ἐν τῷ λαϊκῷ βίῳ ἀπαρατηρήτως ἔγραψε, και τοῦτο μηδὲ⁵ περὶ πίστεως, ἀλλὰ ψιλὸν γράμμα φιλικὴν ἔχον προσηγορίαν. τάχα δὲ κάκεινοι φαίνονται και Ἕλλησι και Ἰουδαίοις γράψαντες και μὴ ἔχοντες ἔγκλημα, μέχρι γὰρ σήμερον οὐδεὶς ἐκρίθη ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πράγματι, ἐφ' ᾧ ἡμεῖς καταδικαζόμεθα παρὰ τῶν διυλιζόντων τοὺς κῶνωπας. ὅτι μὲν οὖν⁶ οὔτε ἐγράψαμεν ἐκεῖνα, οὔτε συντεθείμεθα αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ και ἀναθεματίζουεν τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐκεῖνο τὸ πονηρὸν φρόνημα, τὸ τῆς συγχύσεως τῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἀσεβesség αἵρεσις τοῦ Σαβελλίου ἀνευώθη, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν⁷ γνωρίμιον τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ τὰς καρδίας γνωσκοντι, γνωρίμιον δὲ και πάσῃ τῇ ἀδελφότητι τῇ εἰς πείραν ἐλθούσῃ τῆς ἡμετέρας ταπεινώσεως. και αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ νῦν σφοδροὶ κατήγοροι ἡμῶν,

this, and do you recognize their veracity in all things. But if from facts that are clear and evident to all they try to convict me of the communion, let them show either a canonical letter sent by me to him or by him to me, or the association of his clergy with us, or if we have ever received any one of them into communion of prayer. But if they proffer a letter which was written to him now twenty-five years ago, by a layman to a layman, and not even this as it was written by me, but altered (though by whom God knows), do you forthwith recognize the unfairness, since no one while in the episcopate is accused, if through indifference he wrote anything inadvertently while in the lay state, and that too not even on faith, but a simple letter with a friendly greeting. But perhaps even they are known to have written both to Greeks and to Jews, without incurring a charge. For until to-day no one has been judged for such a thing as that for which we are being condemned by those who strain out gnats.¹ Now that we neither wrote those things nor have agreed with them, but even anathematize those who hold that perverse notion of the confusion of the Persons, in which the most impious heresy of Sabellius has been renewed, this is indeed known to God, who knows all hearts, and is known also to all the brethren who have had experience of our humble self. And let those very persons, our present violent

¹ Cf. Matt. 23. 24: ὀδηγοὶ τυφλοὶ, οἱ διυλιζοντες τὸν κῶνωπα, τὴν δὲ κᾶμηλον καταπίνοντες. "Blind guides, who strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel."

¹ κοινωνικὰς editi antiq̄i.

² om. E.

³ κοινωνίας tres MSS.

⁴ ἢ εὐχὴν editi antiq̄i.

⁵ μηδὲν E.

⁶ ὅτι μὲν οὖν] συντεθείμεθα editi antiq̄i.

⁷ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν om. E.

ἐρευνησάτωσαν τὸ ἴδιον συνειδός, καὶ γνώσονται, ὅτι ἐκ παιδός μακρὰν ἐγεγόμεθα τῶν τοιούτων δογμάτων.

Τί δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα, εἴ τις ἐπιζητεῖ, γνώσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ γραμματίου,¹ ἐν ᾧ ἡ ὑπογραφή αὐτῶν² ἐστὶν ἰδιόχειρος. ἦν ἐκεῖνοι βουλόμενοι ἀθετήσαι, τὴν ἑαυτῶν μεταβολὴν κρύπτουσι ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ συκοφαντίᾳ. οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὅτι μετεμελλήθησαν τῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιδοθέντι αὐτοῖς βιβλίῳ ὑπογράφοντες· ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ἐπιφέρουσι ἐγκλήματα ἀσεβείας, νομίζοντες ἀγνοεῖσθαι, ὅτι πρόσχημα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀναχώρησις· τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τῆς πίστεως ἀνακεχωρήκασιν, ἦν πολλάκις ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἐγγράφως ὁμολογήσαντες, τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιδοθεῖσαν ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὑπέγραψαν, ἃ³ πᾶσιν ἔξεστι ἀναγινώσκειν, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων διδάσκεισθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. γνωρίμη δὲ αὐτῶν ἔσται ἡ προαίρεσις, εἴαν τις μετὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν, ἦν ἡμῖν ἐπέδωκαν,⁴ ἀναγνῶ τὴν πίστιν, ἦν Γελασίῳ ἐπέδωκαν, καὶ γινῶ πόσον τὸ διάφορον ἐκείνης τῆς ὁμολογίας πρὸς ταύτην. οἱ τοίνυν οὕτως εὐκόλως πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία μετατρέπομενοι μὴ τὰ ἀλλότρια κάρφῃ διερευνάτωσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δοκὸν τὴν ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ⁵ ὀφθαλμῷ ἐκβαλλέτωσαν.

Ἐντελέστερον δὲ δι' ἄλλης ἐπιστολῆς περὶ

¹ γραμματίου E, Regius secundus.

² αὐτοῦ MSS.

³ ἄς editi antiqui.

⁴ ἐπέδωκαν E, Harl.

⁵ ἴδιῳ E.

¹ Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine from 367-395.

² Cf. Matt. 7. 3-5: Τί δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δοκὸν οὐ κατανοεῖς; ἢ πῶς εἶρεῖς τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· καὶ ἰδοῦ, ἡ δοκὸς

accusers, examine their own consciences, and they will learn that from childhood we have been far from such doctrines.

But what our opinion is, if anyone inquires, he will learn from the little letter itself in which the subscription is in their own hand; desiring to annul their subscription, they conceal their own change of mind in their slander of us. For they do not own that they have repented of their subscribing to the document handed them by us; nay, they bring charges of impiety against us, thinking it to be unknown that their separation from us is a pretext; but in truth they have withdrawn from the faith which, having confessed it many a time in writing in the presence of many, they finally accepted likewise when given them by us, and they subscribed their names thereto. These things it is possible for all to read, and from the letter itself all may learn the truth. And their purpose will be known if, after the subscription which they gave us, one reads the creed which they gave Gelasius,¹ and notices how great the difference is between that confession and this. Now those who shift so easily to opposite views should not examine the motes of other men, but should cast out the beam in their own eye.²

But we both defend ourselves and give our teach-

ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου; ὑποκριτά, ἐκβαλε πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. "And why seest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye; and seest not the beam that is in thy own eye? Or how sayest thou to thy brother: Let me cast the mote out of thy eye; and behold a beam is in thy own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thy own eye, and then shalt thou see to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye." Cf. also Luke 6. 41-43.

πάντων καὶ ἀπολογούμεθα καὶ διδάσκομεν, ἥτις πληροφήσει τοὺς τὸ¹ πλέον ἐπιζητούντας. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ταῦτα ἡμῶν δεξάμενοι τὰ γράμματα, πᾶσαν ἄφετε² λύπην, καὶ κυρώσατε τὴν³ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην, δι' ἣν σφοδρῶς ἀντέχομαι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνώσεως. καὶ μεγίστη ἡμῖν ἐστὶ λύπη, καὶ ἀπαραμύθητος ὀδύνη τῇ καρδίᾳ ἡμῶν, εἰάν τοσοῦτον κατισχύσωσιν ὑμῶν αἱ καθ' ἡμῶν διαβολαί, ὥστε ψῦξαι τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ἔρωσθε.

CCXXV

Δημοσθένει, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ.⁴

Πολλὴν χάριν ἔχομεν αἰεὶ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ βασιλευσι τοῖς ἐπιμελομένοις ἡμῶν, ὅταν ποτὲ ἴδωμεν τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνδρὶ πιστευθεῖσαν πρώτων μὲν Χριστιανῶ, ἔπειτα ὀρθῶ τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ἀκριβεῖ τῶν νόμων φύλακι, καθ' οὓς πολιτευόμεθα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. διαφερόντως δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς σῆς

¹ om. E. ² ἀφίρετε E, ἀφέλετε editi antiqui.

³ om. E.

⁴ Δημοσθένει ὡς ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, οἳ τιναν παρὰ κανόνας γεγενῆσθαι συκοφαντησάντων τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου χειροτομῆσαν Harl., Reg. secundus, Coisl. secundus; Δημοσθένει ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ περὶ τοῦ θεολόγου editi antiqui.

¹ i.e. Letter CCXXIII.

² Cf. 2 Cor. 2. 8: διὸ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς κυρῶσαι εἰς αὐτὸν δάπην. "Wherefore, I beseech you, that you would confirm our charity towards him."

³ Written in December of 375. Cf. Loofs, 9, note 2. Probably the superintendent of the kitchen of the Emperor Valens, who four years before preceded Valens on his way to

ing more fully and concerning all matters in another letter,¹ which will satisfy those who seek more information. But do you for the present, after receiving this letter from us, put aside all grief and confirm your charity toward us,² because of which I cling strongly to union with you. And greatest is our grief, and inconsolable our heart's pain, if the slanders against us so prevail over you as to chill your charity and alienate us from one another. Farewell.

LETTER CCXXV

TO DEMOSTHENES,³ AS IF BY COMMON CONSENT

We are always very grateful to God and to rulers who have care over us, whenever we see the government of our country entrusted to a man who is first a Christian, then upright in character, and a strict guardian of the laws according to which we regulate human affairs. But especially on the occasion of

Caesarea and endeavoured by his threats to force Basil to submit to the Emperor's wishes. The present Demosthenes, Vicar of Pontus, was a great enemy of the orthodox, and, though quite ignorant of the faith, supported the cause of the semi-Arians. He summoned a council of semi-Arians at Ancyra, when he tried to secure the arrest and imprisonment of Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa, on the charge of misappropriation of Church funds. In the spring of 276 Demosthenes summoned another synod of the religious enemies of Basil and Gregory at Nyssa, at which Gregory was deposed and an Arian put in his place. When Theodotus, orthodox bishop of Nicopolis, died, Demosthenes tried to force upon that church a bishop consecrated by Eustathius of Sebaste, but failed. Cf. Letter CCXXXI, CCXXXVII. This letter is written as if by the common consent of a group of bishops.

ἐπιδημίας ταύτην τὴν χάριν ὡμολογήσαμεν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ θεοφιλεῖ βασιλεῖ. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ὅτι τινὲς τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς εἰρήνης ἔμελλον τὰ σεμνύ σου δικαστήρια καθ' ἡμῶν διοχλεῖν, ἐξεδεχόμεθα κληθῆσεσθαι παρὰ τῆς μεγαλοῦσας σου, ὥστε διδαχθῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· εἴπερ ἄρα κατεδέχετό¹ σου ἡ μεγάλη φρόνησις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων οἰκειοῦσθαι τὰς ἐξετάσεις. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμᾶς μὲν παρεῖδε τὸ δικαστήριον, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργὸν Γρηγόριον κινήσασά σου ἡ ἐξουσία ἐπὶ ταῖς Φιλοχάρους² λαιδορῆσιν ἀναπαγγῆναι προσέταξεν, ὁ δὲ ὑπήκουσε μὲν τῷ προστάγματι,³ (πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν;) ὑπό⁴ δὲ πλευριτικοῦ πάθους κατασχεθείς, καὶ ἅμα ἐκ τῆς προσγενομένης αὐτῷ ψύξεως, τῆς τῶν νεφρῶν ἀρρωστίας συνήθως ἐπαναστάσης, ἠναγκάσθη, ἀπαραιτήτως ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατεχόμενος, ἐπιμελείας ἕνεκεν τοῦ σώματος καὶ παραμυθίας τῶν ἀφορήτων ὀδυνῶν, πρὸς τι χωρίον ἡσυχίαν ἔχον μετατεθῆναι· τούτου χάριν πάντες ἤλθομεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἰκετεύσαι τὸ μέγιστός σου, μηδὲν ἀγανακτῆσαι τῇ ἀναβολῇ τῆς ἀπαντήσεως, καὶ γὰρ οὔτε τι τῶν δημοσίων χεῖρον ἔσχεν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπερθέσεως, οὔτε τι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τούτου ἕνεκεν παρεβλάβη.

Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν περὶ χρημάτων ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ὡς διαφορηθέντων, αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν οἱ ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἔτοιμοι δοῦναι λόγον τῷ βουλομένῳ, καὶ δεῖξαι τὴν συκοφαντίαν τῶν κατα-

your visit did we acknowledge this gratitude to God and to our God-beloved Emperor. And having perceived that some of the enemies of peace were about to rouse your august judiciary against us, we were expecting to be summoned by your Magnanimity that the truth might be learned from us—if indeed your great wisdom consented to appropriate the examination of ecclesiastical affairs. And when the judiciary overlooked us, but your authority, spurred on by reason of the reproaches of Philochares, ordered our brother and colleague Gregory¹ to be dragged before a magistrate, he obeyed the summons (for how was he not to?), but seized by a pain in the side, and also because of a chill that came upon him, since his kidney complaint had attacked him as usual, he was forced, inasmuch as he was inexorably detained by the soldiers, to be transferred to a spot possessing quiet, for the sake of caring for his body and alleviating his unendurable pains; for this reason we all have come, with a view to beseeching your Greatness not to be angry at the delay of his response. For neither was the public weal any the worse for our postponement nor were the interests of the Church on this account in any way damaged.

But if the discussion is about money, that it was wasted, the treasurers of the Church funds are here ready to give an accounting to him who wishes, and to prove the calumny of those who have braved

¹ i.e. Gregory Nazianzense.

* Φιλοχάρης editi antiqui; Φιλοχάρει Med. et Clarom. Φιλοχάρους nonnulli MSS.

² τῷ προστάγματι om. E.

⁴ ἀπὸ editi antiqui.

¹ ἀπεδέχετο editi antiqui.

τολμησάντων τῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἀκοῆς σου· ῥάδιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων τοῦ μακαρίου¹ ἐπισκόπου φανερὰν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῖς ἐπιζητοῦσι ποιῆσαι· εἰ δέ τι ἕτερόν ἐστι κανονικὸν ἐξετάσεως δεόμενον, καὶ τούτου καταδέχεται ὑποδέξασθαι τὴν ἀκρόασιν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἢ μεγαλόνοιά σου, πάντων ἡμῶν χρεία, ὅτι εἴπερ τι ἐλλέλειπται² τῶν κανονικῶν, οἱ χειροτονήσαντες αἴτιοι, οὐχ ὁ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην ὑποδέξασθαι τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐκβιασθεῖς.

Ὡστε ἰκετεύομέν σε φυλάξει ἡμῖν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ μὴ ἔλκειν εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν, μηδὲ εἰς ἀνάγκην ἄγειν συντυχίας ἐπισκόπων, πρὸς οὓς οὕτω τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ζητημάτων ἀπελυσάμεθα. ὁμοῦ δὲ³ καὶ φείσασθαι τοῦ γήρωσ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας δεόμεθα. γνώσῃ γὰρ αὐτῇ τῇ πείρα, τοῦ⁴ Θεοῦ βουλομένου, ὡς οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μείζον παρεῖται τι τῶν κανονικῶν ἐν τῇ καταστάσει τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. εὐχόμεθα οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἡμῶν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην καταπραχθῆναι ἥς μῆπω γενομένης, βαρὺ ἡμῖν ἐστι καὶ τὸ τῆς συντυχίας, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπλουστέρων βλάπτεσθαι ἐν τῇ διαστάσει ἡμῶν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

¹ μακαριωτάτου Ε, Med.

² ἐκλέλειπται editti antiq̄i.

your careful hearing of the case. For it is easy for them from the very accounts of the blessed bishop¹ to make the truth evident to those who seek it. But if there is something else of a canonical nature that requires investigation, and your Magnanimity permits himself to undertake the hearing and judging of it, there is need of us all, because if anything was deficient in the canonical procedure, those who did the consecrating are responsible, not he who by every necessity was forced to undertake the service.

So that we beseech you to keep the hearing in our fatherland for us, and not to drag us beyond its borders, nor to bring us to a necessity of meeting bishops with whom we have not yet settled our problems relating to Church affairs.² And at the same time we beg you to spare both our old age and our illness. For you will learn in the trial itself, God willing, that nothing pertaining to the canons, either small or great, was passed over in the elevation of the bishop. Accordingly, we pray that under your government both agreement and peace with our brethren may be accomplished; but since this has not yet come to pass, even the matter of meeting is hard for us, because many of the simpler folk are being harmed in our disagreement with one another.

¹ i.e. Gregory of Nyssa.

² According to Letter CCXXXVII, Demosthenes was at this time probably in Galatia, where he had summoned a heretical synod. Cf. *Cod. Theod.* IX, tit. 1. 10: *Ultra provinciae terminos accusandi licentia non progrediatur. Oportet enim illic criminum iudicia agitari ubi facinus dicatur admissum. Peregrina autem iudicia praesentibus legibus coercemus.* Quoted by the Benedictine editors.

CCXXVI

Τοῖς ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν ἀσκηταῖς.¹

Δυνατὸς μὲν ὁ ἅγιος Θεὸς καὶ τὴν διὰ τῆς συντυχίας εὐφροσύνην ἡμῖν χαρίσασθαι τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσι καὶ βλέπειν ὑμᾶς αἰεὶ καὶ ἀκούειν τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν· διότι ἐν οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν ψυχῶν ἢ ἐν τῇ προκοπῇ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ καὶ τῇ διὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τελειώσει. ἕως δὲ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ἀναγκαῖον τιθέμεθα διὰ τῶν γνησιωτάτων καὶ φοβουμένων τὸν Κύριον ἀδελφῶν² ἐπισκέπτεσθαι ὑμᾶς, καὶ γράμμασι³ προσομιλεῖν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ὑμῶν. αὐτοῦ οὖν τούτου ἕνεκεν ἀπεστείλαμεν τὸν εὐλαβεστάτον καὶ γνησιωτάτον ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ συνεργὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Μελέτιον⁴ τὸν συμπρεσβύτερον, ὃς διηγήσεται ὑμῖν τὸν ἡμέτερον ψόβον ὃν ἔχομεν ἐφ' ὑμῖν, καὶ τὴν μέριμναν τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν,⁵ ὅτι νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας δεόμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν εὐδοκίμησews, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔχωμεν παρρησίαν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ⁶ διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν⁷ σωτηρίας, καὶ ὑμεῖς⁸ ἐκλάμψητε ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι τῶν

¹ τοῖς ἐν ὁροδιάνῃ καὶ χαλάνῃ add. E; ἐν ὁροδιάνῃ καὶ χαλανήνῃ Harl.; ἐν ὁροδιάνῃ καὶ χαλάνῃ Vat., Reg. secundus. Coisl. secundus, ἐν ἠρωδιάνῃ χαλάνῃ Med.

² ἡμῶν add. editi. ³ γράμμασι editi antiqi.

⁴ Μελέτιον Coisl. secundus, Reg. secundus.

⁵ om. editi antiqi, ὑμῶν Harl., Reg. primus.

⁶ ἵνα add. E. ⁷ ἡμῶν alii editi. ⁸ πάντες add. E.

¹ Written in December of 375. Cf. Loofs, 19. In the present letter, Basil explains to his monks his position with reference to the charges made against him by Eustathius.

LETTER CCXXVI

TO THE ASCETICS UNDER HIM¹

THE holy God can indeed vouchsafe even the pleasure of a meeting to us, who long both to see you always and to hear tidings of you, because in nothing else have we rest² for our soul than in your progress and your perfection through the commandments of Christ; but as long as this is not in our power, we count it necessary to visit you in the person of our most loyal and God-fearing brethren, and to converse with your Charities by letter. For this very reason, then, have we sent our most pious and loyal brother and co-worker in the Gospel, Meletius, our fellow-presbyter,³ who will relate to you our longing that we have for you, and the solicitude of our soul, in that day and night we beg⁴ the Lord for your good repute, that we may have confidence on the day of our Lord Jesus Christ through your salvation, and that you may shine forth

² Cf. Matt. 11. 29: ἄρατε τὸν ζυγὸν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι πρῶτος εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ· καὶ εὐρήσατε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν. "Take up my yoke upon you and learn of me because I am meek and humble of heart, and you shall find rest to your souls."

³ Here as frequently St. Basil is speaking in a manner of condescension, alluding to the fact that he himself, while bishop, was also priest.

⁴ Cf. Col. 1. 9: Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσαμεν, οὐ παύομεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι, καὶ αἰτούμενοι ἵνα πληρωθῆτε τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ἐν πίστῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ συνέσει πνευματικῇ. "Therefore we also from that day that we heard it, cease not to pray for you, and to beg that you may be filled with the knowledge of his will, in all wisdom, and spiritual understanding."

ἀγίῳ δοκιμαζομένου ὑμῶν¹ τοῦ ἔργου ὑπὸ τῆς δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

"Ἄρα δὲ ἡμῖν πολλὴν μέριμναν ἐμποιεῖ τοῦ κατασχόντος καιροῦ τούτου ἢ χαλεπότης, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσαι μὲν ἐκκλησίαι ἐσαλεύθησαν, πᾶσαι δὲ ψυχαὶ σινιάζονται. ἤνοιξαν γάρ τινες ἀφειδῶς στόματα² κατὰ τῶν ὁμοδούλων. λαλεῖται τὸ ψεῦδος ἀφόβως· ἢ ἀλήθεια συγκεκάλυπται. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατηγοροῦμενοι καταδικάζονται ἄκριτως.³ οἱ δὲ κατηγοροῦντες πιστεύονται ἀνεξετάτως, ὅθεν κἀγὼ ἀκούσας ὅτι πολλοὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ περιφέρονται ἐπιστολαί, στίζουσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ στηλιτεύουσαι καὶ κατηγοροῦσαι ἐπὶ πράγμασιν,⁴ ὧν τὴν ἀπολογία ἐτοιμὴν ἔχομεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου τῆς ἀληθείας, ὥρμησα μὲν σιωπῆσαι, ὃ καὶ ἐποίησα· τρίτον γάρ ἤδη τοῦτο ἔτος ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ τυπτόμενος⁵ ὑπὸ τῶν διαβολῶν φέρω τὰς τῆς κατηγορίας μάστιγας, ἀρκούμενος, ὅτι ἔχω Κύριον, τὸν τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστην, μάρτυρα τῆς σικοφαντίας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὄρω, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἤδη τὴν σιωπὴν ἡμῶν εἰς βεβαίωσιν τῶν διαβολῶν παρεδέξαντο, καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροθυμίαν ἐνόμισαν ἡμᾶς σιωπᾶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν διάραι στόμα πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τούτου ἕνεκεν ἐπειράθην ἐπιστεῖλαι ὑμῖν, παρακαλῶν τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγάπην ὑμῶν ὥστε τὰς ἐξ ἐνὸς μέρους γινομένης διαβολᾶς μὴ πάντῃ παραδέχεσθαι ὡς ἀληθεῖς· διότι, καθὼς

¹ ἡμῶν editi antiq̄i.

² στόμα E.

³ ἀκριβῶς E.

⁴ γράμμασιν E, editi antiq̄i.

⁵ τυπόμενος editi antiq̄i.

¹ Cf. Rom. 2. 5: κατὰ δὲ τὴν σκληρότητά σου καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίῳ θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὄργην ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὄργης καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως

in the splendour of the saints, your work being approved by the just judgment of God.¹

And at the same time the difficulty of this crisis which has prevailed causes us much solicitude, during which all churches have been tossed about, and all souls are being sifted.² For certain men have unsparingly opened their mouths against their fellow-servants. Falsehood is spoken fearlessly; truth is covered over. And those who are accused are condemned without trial; those who accuse are trusted without inquiry. Wherefore I too, having heard that many letters are being circulated against me, branding and denouncing and accusing us for matters against which we have our defence ready for the judiciary of the truth, have been eager to keep silence, even as I have done. For this is the third year in which I, being beaten by slanders, have borne the scourges of accusation, satisfied that I have the Lord, the knower of hidden things, as witness of the calumny. But now that I see that many have already received our silence as confirmation of the slanders, and have not thought that we were silent through long-suffering, but through not being able to open our mouth against the truth, on this account I have tried to write to you, urging your Charity in Christ not in anyway to accept the slanders that arise from one party as true;

δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ Θεοῦ. "But according to thy hardness and irrepentent heart, thou treasurest up to thyself wrath, against the day of wrath and revelation of the just judgment of God."

² Cf. Luke 22. 31: *Εἶπε δὲ ὁ Κύριος Σίμων, Σίμων, ἰδοὺ, ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐζητήσατο ὑμᾶς τοῦ σινιάσαι ὡς τὸν σίτον.* "And the Lord said: Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat."

γέγραπται, οὐδένα κρίνει ὁ νόμος, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον ἀκούσῃ καὶ γινῶ τί ποιεῖ.

Καίτοι εὐγνώμονι κριτῇ ἀρκεῖ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας φανέρωσιν. ὥστε καὶ ἡμεῖς σιωπήσωμεν,¹ ἕξεστιν ὑμῖν διαβλέψαι πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα. οἱ γὰρ ἡμῖν κακοδοξίαν ἐγκαλοῦντες² ἐφάνησαν νῦν³ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς τῇ μερίδι τῶν αἰρετικῶν προστιθέμενοι, οἱ ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίων συνταγμαῖτων⁴ ἡμᾶς κατακρίνοντες ταῖς ἰδίαις ὁμολογίαις, ἃς ἐγγράφως⁵ ἡμῖν κατέθεντο, ἐναντιούμενοι φαίνονται. νοήσατε τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν ταῦτα τολμώντων, ὅτι ἕθος αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ δυνατόν μετατίθεσθαι μέρος, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τῶν φίλων καταπατεῖν θεραπεύειν δὲ τοὺς κρατοῦντας. οἱ γὰρ τὰς πολυθρυλλήτους⁶ ἐκείνας ἐπιστολὰς κατὰ Εὐδοξίου καὶ πάσης αὐτῶν τῆς μερίδος συγγράφοντες, καὶ περιπέμποντες⁷ πάσαις ταῖς ἀδελφότησι, καὶ διαμαρτυρούμενοι φεύγειν τὴν κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν ὡς ἄλεθρον τῶν ψυχῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ καταδεξάμενοι τὰς ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει αὐτῶν ἐξενεχθείσας ψήφους, ἐπειδὴ παρ' αἰρετικῶν ἦσαν γενομένοι, ὡς ἐπειθον ἡμᾶς τότε, οὗτοι νῦν πάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι, μετ' αὐτῶν γεγόνασι. καὶ οὐδεμία αὐτοῖς ἀρησις καταλείπεται· φανερώς γὰρ ἀπεκάλυψαν ἑαυτῶν τὴν προαιρεσίην, ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ τὰς κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν

for, as it has been written, the law judges no one, unless it first hear and know what he doth.¹

And yet to a wise judge the facts themselves suffice for the manifestation of the truth; so that even if we are silent, it is possible for you to see clearly what is happening. For those who accuse us of heterodoxy are now revealed as openly in alliance with the party of the heretics—those who condemn us for other men's writings, by their own confessions which they deposited with us in writing, are shown to be contradicting themselves. Consider the practice of those who dare this, that it is their habit always to change over to the party in power, and to trample upon those of their friends who are weak but to court those who are strong. For the men who write those notorious letters against Eudoxius² and all his party and send them around to all the brotherhoods, and protest that they avoid communion with them as death to their souls, and did not accept the votes cast for their deposition on this account—because they had come from heretics, as they persuaded us then, these men having now forgotten everything, have sided with them.³ And no denial is left for them; for clearly they disclosed their own purpose, since at Ancyra

¹ Cf. John 7. 51 : *Μὴ ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν κρίνει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰ μὴ ἀκούσῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον, καὶ γινῶ τί ποιεῖ* : "Doth our law judge any man, unless it first hear him, and know what he doth?"

² Called by Baronius "the worst of all Arians." He was intruded into the sees of Germanica, Antioch, and finally Constantinople, and many comments from ancient sources have come to us about his "blasphemous oratory." He was the eighth bishop of Constantinople (360-370).

³ About ten years before the present letter the semi-Arians had summoned Eudoxius to Lampsacus, and in his absence from his see deposed him.

¹ σιωπῶμεν editi antiq̄i.

² ἀπεγκαλοῦντες editi antiq̄i.

³ οὐδ' editi antiq̄i.

⁴ συγγραμμάτων E, Harl.

⁵ ἐγγράφους editi antiq̄i.

⁶ πολυθρυλλήτους E, Harl.

⁷ παραπέμποντες editi antiq̄i.

κοινωνίας κατασπαζόμενοι,¹ ἕπειδὴ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οὐπω² ἐδέχθησαν. ἐρωτήσατε οὖν αὐτούς, εἰ ὀρθόδοξος νῦν Βασιλείδης ὁ κοινωτικὸς Ἐκδικίου, διὰ τί ἀπὸ τῆς Δαρδανίας ἐπανιόντες, τὰ θυσιαστήρια ἐκείνου ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Γαγγηρῶν κατέστρεφον, καὶ ἑαυτῶν τραπέζας ἐτίθεισαν; διὰ τί καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐπέρχονται ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἀμασειᾶς καὶ Ζήλων, καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐγκαθιστῶσι πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὀρθοδόξους κοινωνοῦσι, τίνας ἔνεκεν ὡς αἰρετικούς ἐπέρχονται; εἰ δὲ ὡς αἰρετικούς ὑπειλήφασι, πῶς τὴν κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐκτρέπονται; ταῦτα οὐχὶ καὶ παιδικῇ διανοίᾳ δηλὰ ἐστίν, ἀδελφοὶ τιμωτάτοι, ὅτι αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον συμφέρον βλέποντες ἢ διαβάλλειν τινάς, ἢ συνιστᾶν ἐπιχειροῦσι;

Καὶ ἡμῶν τοίνυν ἀπέστησαν, οὔτε ἀγανακτήσαντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντεγράψαμεν (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστίν ἐφ'³ οὐ μάλιστα λέγουσι παρωξύνθαι),⁴ οὔτε ὅτι τοὺς χωρεπισκόπους, οὓς λέγουσιν ἀπεσταλκέναι,

¹ ἀσποζόμενοι editi antiq̄i.

² ἐκείνων οὐπω] ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐπω; editi antiq̄i. * ὑφ' E.

⁴ παρωξύνθαι Reg. uterque, Coisl. secundus.

¹ Our knowledge of Basilides, Bishop of Gangra, is obtained from this letter and Letter CCLII.

² A presbyter intruded into the bishopric of Parnassus in Cappadocia Tertia by Demosthenes, vicar of Pontus, in the synod called by him at Ancyra. He replaced Hypsaius whom Demosthenes had caused to be deposed (A.D. 375). Cf. Letter CCXXXVII.

³ Modern Kiangeri, a city in Turkey, Asia Minor.

⁴ Tillemont explains this context by saying that Eustathius in 375, when his attacks against Basil were most vehement, was persecuting the Arians in Amaseia and Zela in order to gain

they embraced communion with them in private, when they had not yet been received publicly by them. Ask them, therefore, for what reason, if Basilides¹ of the communion of Ecdicius² is orthodox, they cast down his altars when returning from Dardania in the region of Gangra,³ and set up their own tables. For what reason even to the present day⁴ they attack the churches of Amaseia⁵ and Zela,⁶ and from their own number establish therein presbyters and deacons? For if they communicate with them as being orthodox, for what reason do they persecute them as heretics? And if they considered them as heretics, why do they not avoid communion with them? Is not this evident even to a child's intelligence, most honoured brethren,—that it is always with a view to their own advantage that they attempt either to slander any persons or to ally themselves with any.

And so they have withdrawn from us, not because they were nettled that we did not write in reply (for this is the chief reason why they say they were offended), nor that we did not receive the suffragans

for himself the party of the orthodox and estrange them from Basil, and that this is what is meant by the reference to his troubling Dazimon in Letter CCXXVI. The Benedictine editors think that he has interpreted it too strictly: that Eustathius disturbed Dazimon by his persecution of Basil, not by troubling the Arians (cf. Letter CCLIII); that it would have been a great mistake on his part to ordain Catholic presbyters and deacons when he was in favour of the Arians; that the expression (μέχρι νῦν) is often used to refer to something in the past but more recent than some other past action. Here it is used to show that Eustathius had persecuted the churches in Amaseia and Zela later than those of Gangra.

⁵ Modern Amasieh, a city in Turkey, Asia Minor, on the Iris.

⁶ Modern Kazarkiar, a village in Turkey, Asia Minor, on the Iris.

οὐκ ἔδεξάμεθα. καίτοι δώσουσι λόγον τῷ Κυρίῳ οἱ τοῦτο κατασκευάζοντες. εἰς γάρ τις¹ Εὐστάθιος ἀποσταλείς, καὶ γράμματα διαδοὺς² τῇ τάξει τοῦ Οὐικαρίου,³ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ποιήσας ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μέλλων ἀπαίρειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια, ἑσπέρας ἤδη βαθείας, καθεύδοντί μοι λέγεται πλησιάσαι τῷ οἰκῆματι ἡμῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι καθεύδω, ἀπελθὼν, οὐκέτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἡμῖν προσήγγισεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀφοσιωσάμενος τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἐπανῆλθε. καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἔγκλημα, ὃ ἡδικήσαμεν ἡμεῖς, καὶ οἱ μακρόθυμοι οὐκ ἀντεστάθμησαν⁴ τὴν πρὸ τούτου δουλείαν ἡμῶν, ἣν ἐδουλεύσαμεν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀγάπῃ, τῷ πταισμάτι τούτῳ· ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἐβάρυναν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ, ὥστε πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις, τό γε εἰς αὐτοὺς ἦγον, ἐκκηρύκτους ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι.

Οὐ μὴν αὕτη γέ ἐστι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τῆς⁵ διαστάσεως ἢ αἰτία· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐνόμισαν εὐδοκμήσειν τότε παρὰ τῷ Εὐζῳίῳ, εἰ ἡμῶν ἑαυτοὺς⁶ ἀλλοτριώσειαν,⁷ ἐκείνας ἑαυτοῖς ἐπενήθησαν τὰς προφάσεις, ἵνα εὕρωσί τινα σύστασιν παρ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολέμου. οὗτοι νῦν⁸ καὶ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ διαβάλλουσι πίστιν, καὶ ὁμοουσιάζοντας ἡμᾶς ἀποκαλοῦσι, διὰ τὸ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πίστει

¹ ἐστι editi antiq̄i.

² Εἰδοὺς editi antiq̄i.

³ Ἰκαρίου editi antiq̄i.

⁴ ἀντεστάθμησαν E, Reg. primus.

⁵ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τῆς; τῆς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν E, ἢ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν editi antiq̄i.

⁶ ἑαυτοῖς E.

⁷ ἀλλοτριώσειαν editi antiq̄i.

⁸ τοῖνυν E, editi antiq̄i.

whom they say they sent. However, those who contrive this will give an account¹ to the Lord. For one man, Eustathius,² who had been sent, and had delivered a letter to the court of the vicar, having spent three days in the city, and being on the point of departing for his own home, already late in the evening is said to have approached our house while I was asleep. And having heard that I was asleep, he went away and did not again come near us on the next day, but having thus in a formal way discharged his duty toward us he departed. And this is the charge according to which we have transgressed, and the long-suffering people have not weighed our former service, that we rendered them in charity, over against this slip, but so have they weighted their anger against us for this error as to cause us to be excommunicated from all the churches in the world—at least to the extent of their power.

Yet this is not in truth the cause of the separation; but since they thought that they would then be highly esteemed with Euzoïus,³ if they should alienate themselves from us, they contrived these pretexts for themselves, that they might find some recommendation among them⁴ for their war against us. These now slander even the creed of Nicaea, and call us consubstantialist because in that creed

¹ Cf. Rom. 14. 12: ἀρα οὖν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δώσει τῷ Θεῷ. "Therefore every one of us shall render account to God for himself."

² A chorepiscopus, and not to be confused with Eustathius of Sebaste.

³ An intimate friend of Arius from an early age, who was appointed Arian bishop of Antioch after the deposition of Meletius, A. D. 361.

⁴ i. e. Euzoïus and his party.

τὸν μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ ὁμοούσιον ὁμολογεῖσθαι, οὐχ ὡς ἀπὸ μίας οὐσίας μερισθείσης εἰς δύο ἀδελφά, μὴ γένοιτο· οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐνόησεν ἡ ἁγία ἐκείνη καὶ θεοφιλῆς σύνοδος, ἀλλ' ὡς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ὁ Πατήρ, τοῦτο ὀφείλοντος νοεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. οὕτω¹ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκείνοι αὐτοὶ ἠρμήνευσαν εἰπόντες, φῶς ἐκ φωτός. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστις, ἡ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως κομισθεῖσα, ἣν ἐπέδωκαν τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν Τυάνοις, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ παρεδέχθησαν. ἀλλ' ἔχουσί τι σοφὸν δόγμα εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐαυτῶν μεταβολάς· ὅτι τοῖς ῥήμασι τῆς πίστεως ὡς ἰατροὶ κέχρηται κατὰ καιρὸν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως πρὸς τὰ ὑποκείμενα πάθη μεθαρμοζόμενοι. τούτου δὲ τοῦ σοφίσματος τὸ σαβρὸν οὐκ ἐμὲ ἐλέγχειν προσῆκεν, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς νοεῖν. δώσει γὰρ ὑμῖν ὁ² Κύριος σύνεσιν πρὸς τὸ γνωρίζειν, τίς μὲν ὁ εὐθὴς³ λόγος, τίς δὲ ὁ σκολιὸς καὶ διεστραμμένος, εἰ γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλας δεῖ πίστευς συγγράφειν, καὶ μετὰ τῶν καιρῶν⁴ ἄλλοιούσθαι, ψευδῆς ἢ ἀπόφασις τοῦ εἰπόντος⁵ Εἰς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα. εἰ δὲ ἐκείνα ἀληθῆ, μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατάτω τοῖς κενοῖς⁶ τοῦτοις λόγοις. διαβάλλουσι

¹ τοῦτο Vat., uterque Reg. et Coisl. secundum.

² om. E. ³ εὐθὴς editi antiq̄i.

⁴ τῶν καιρῶν] τὸν καιρὸν E. ⁵ ἔτι add. E.

⁶ κενοῖς Med.

¹ The Eastern semi-Arian deputies received a letter from Pope Liberius upholding the doctrine of the Council of Nicea, and at a council of Sicilian bishops held in December 366 received another letter confirming that of Pope Liberius. These two letters they brought to the bishops at the Council of Tyana, Cappadocia, 367. Cf. Hefele, I. 976 and 979.

the only-begotten Son is professed consubstantial with God and Father, not on the ground that He is of one substance divided into two cognate parts, God forbid! for this was not what that holy and God-beloved synod had in mind, but their view was that whatever the Father is in substance this should be understood of the Son also. For thus those very men have explained it when they said: "Light of Light." And it is the Nicene Creed, the one that was brought by them from the West,¹ that they gave over to the Synod at Tyana, by which they were also received. But they have a kind of clever doctrine regarding such changes on their part—that they employ the words of the creed, like physicians, according to occasion, adapting it to their existing condition now in one way and now in another. But the rottenness of this sophistry it is not for me to prove but for you to consider. For the Lord will give you understanding² to discover what is the straight doctrine and what is the crooked and perverted. For if we must compose different creeds at different times and change them with the occasion, false is the declaration of him³ who said: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." But if those words are true, "let no man deceive you with these vain words."⁴ For

² Cf. 2 Tim. 2. 7: *νοεῖ δὲ λέγω· δώσει γάρ σοι ὁ Κύριος σύνεσιν ἐν πάσι.* "Understand what I say: for the Lord will give thee in all things understanding."

³ Cf. Ephes. 4. 5: *εἰς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, εἰς Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων.* "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all."

⁴ Cf. Ephes. 5. 6: *μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀπατάτω κενοῖς λόγοις· διὰ τὰντα γὰρ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας.* "Let no man deceive you with vain words. For because of these things cometh the anger of God upon the children of unbelief."

γάρ¹ ἡμᾶς ὡς καινοτομοῦντας περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. ἐρωτήσατε οὖν τίς ἡ καινοτομία. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὁμολογοῦμεν ὃ καὶ παρελάβομεν, μετὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ τετάχθαι τὸν Παράκλητον, οὐ μετὰ τῆς κτίσεως ἀριθμῆσθαι. εἰς γὰρ Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα πεπιστεύκαμεν² καὶ βαπτίζομεθα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. διὰ τοῦτο οὐδέποτε τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν συναφείας τὸν Παράκλητον ἀποσπῶμεν. ὁ γὰρ νοῦς ἡμῶν φωτιζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος πρὸς Υἱὸν ἀναβλέπει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν εἰκόνι θεωρεῖ τὸν Πατέρα. οὔτε οὖν ὀνόματα παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπινοοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον καὶ Παράκλητον ὀνομάζομεν, οὔτε τῆν ὀφειλομένην αὐτῷ δόξαν ἀθετεῖν καταδεχόμεθα. ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ ἡμέτερα μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ κατηγορῶν κατηγορεῖται³ ὁ δὲ ὠκνῶν ἡμᾶς διωκῆτω⁴ ὁ πιστεύων ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν διαβολαῖς ἐτοιμαζέσθω πρὸς τὴν διαδικασίαν. ὁ Κύριος ἐγγύς, μηδὲν μεριμνῶμεν.

Εἰ τις ἐν Συρίᾳ συγγράφει, τοῦτο οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν λόγων σου δικαιωθήσῃ, φησί, καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων σου καταδικασθήσῃ.⁵ οἱ ἐμοὶ λόγοι ἐμὲ κρινέτωσαν⁶ ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀλλοτριῶν ἡμᾶς σφαλμάτων μηδεὶς καταδικάζετω, μηδὲ τὰς πρὸ εἰκοσῶν ἐτῶν γραφείσας παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστολάς αἰς ἀπόδειξιν προβαλλέσθω τοῦ νῦν κοινωνικοῦς ἡμᾶς εἶναι τοῖς ἐκεῖνα συγγράψασιν. ἡμεῖς γάρ,

¹ om. Reg. uterque, Coisl. secundus.

² κατακριθήσῃ editi antiq̄i.

³ Cf. Phil. 4. 5 and 6: τὸ ἐπεικέες ὑμῶν γνωσθήτω πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις, ὁ Κύριος ἐγγύς, μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ τῆ

they falsely accuse us of introducing innovations regarding the Holy Spirit. Ask them, then, what the innovation is. For we confess what indeed we have received,—that with Father and Son is placed the Paraclete, and is not numbered among the creatures. For we have belief in Father and Son and Holy Spirit; and we baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and Holy Spirit. For this reason never do we separate the Paraclete from His union with the Father and the Son. For our mind being enlightened by the Spirit looks up at the Son, and in Him as in an image beholds the Father. Therefore neither do we ourselves invent names, but we call the Holy Spirit also Paraclete, nor do we suffer ourselves to refuse the glory which is due Him. These teachings are ours in all truth. Let him who accuses on these grounds accuse, him who persecutes us persecute, him who believes in the slanders against us make ready for the judgment. The Lord is nigh; let us be nothing solicitous.¹

If anyone in Syria² composes, this is nothing to us. "For by thy words thou shalt be justified," he³ says, "and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." Let my own words judge me; but for the errors of another let no one condemn us, nor let him produce the letters written by us twenty years ago as proof of our now being in communion with the persons who wrote those things. For we, before these writings,

προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δέήσει μετὰ εὐχαριστίας τὰ αἰτήματα ὑμῶν γνωρίζεσθω πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. "Let your modesty be known to all men. The Lord is nigh. Be nothing solicitous; but in everything, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your petition be made known to God."

² i. e. Apollinarius. Cf. also Letters CXXX and CCXXIII.

³ Matt. 12. 37.

πρὸ τῶν συγγραμμάτων, λαϊκοὶ ὄντες πρὸς λαϊκοὺς ἐπεστέλλομεν,¹ πρὸ τοῦ τινὰ καὶ ὑπόνοιαν τοιαύτην κατ' αὐτῶν κινεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐπεστέλλομεν οὐδὲν περὶ πίστεως, οὐδ' οἷα νῦν ἐπὶ τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν διαβολῇ περιφέρουσιν οὗτοι, ἀλλὰ ψιλὰς προσηγορίας, ἀγαπητικὴν προσφώνησιν ἀποπληρούσας. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς τὰ Σαβελλίου νοσοῦντας καὶ τοὺς τὰ Ἀρείου δόγματα ἐδικουόντας, ὡς ἀσεβεῖς, ἀποφεύγομεν καὶ ἀναθεματίζομεν. εἴ τις τὸν αὐτὸν Πατέρα λέγει καὶ Τῖον καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐν πρᾶγμα πολυῶνμον ὑποτίθεται, καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν ὑπὸ τριῶν προσηγοριῶν ἐκφωνουμένην, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ μερίδι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τάσσομεν. ὁμοίως καὶ εἴ τις ἀνόμοιον λέγει κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τὸν Τῖον τῷ Πατρὶ, ἢ εἰς κτίσμα κατάγει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀναθεματίζομεν, καὶ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς τιθέμεθα πλάνης. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν στόματα τῶν κατηγορούντων ἡμᾶς ἐπισχεθῆναι διὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων γραμμάτων ἀμήχανον· μάλλον μὲν οὖν εἰκὸς καὶ ἐρεθίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπολογίαις ἡμῶν καὶ μείζονα καὶ χαλεπώτερα καθ' ἡμῶν κατασκευάζειν. τὰς μέντοι ἡμέτερας ἀκοὰς φυλάχθηναι οὐ χαλεπὸν. ὥστε, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, τοῦτο ποιήσατε. ἀκεραῖαν ἡμῖν καὶ ἀπρόληπτον ταῖς διαβολαῖς τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν φυλάξατε· καὶ πρὸς τὰ προβαλλόμενα ἐγκλήματα ἀπαιτεῖτε ἡμᾶς τὰς εὐθύνas. καὶ εἰ μὲν εὐρητε παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν² ἀλήθειαν, μὴ δώτε χώραν τῷ ψεύδει· ἐὰν δὲ ἀτουοῦντων ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαὶν αἰσθησθε, τότε πιστεύσατε τοῖς κατηγοροῖσι ἡμῶν ὡς ἀληθεύουσιν. ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τὸ

as layman wrote to layman, before even a suspicion of such a kind was stirred up against them; and we wrote nothing about a creed, nor such things as these men now circulate in slander of us, but simple greetings, sufficient for a kindly salutation. For we avoid and anathematize alike as impious both those who are tainted with the ideas of Sabellius and those who defend the teachings of Arius. If anyone says that the Father and Son and Holy Spirit are the same, and assumes one thing under many names, and one person expressed by three terms, such a one we class in the party of the Jews. Likewise also if anyone speaks of the Son as unlike in substance to the Father, or brings the Holy Spirit down to the level of a creature, we anathematize him and consider him to be near the errors of the Greeks.¹ But that the mouths of those who accuse us shall be checked through our letters is impossible; nay rather, is it likely that they are both irritated at our defence and are making greater and more serious preparations against us. However, that your ears shall be guarded is not difficult. Therefore do that which lies in your power. Keep your heart undefiled for us and unprejudiced by their slanders; and against the charges that are produced demand an accounting of us. And if you find that the truth is with us, give no room to the falsehood; but if you perceive us wavering in our defence, then trust our accusers as being truthful. They lie awake to do us harm;

¹ i. e. Pagans or Gentiles.² ἐπεστέλλομεν E, Med.^{*} om. E.

ἡμᾶς κακοποιῆσαι· τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐπίζητοῦμεν. ἐμπορικὸν βίον μεταχειριζόμενοι, παρεμπόρευμα ποιοῦνται τὴν ἡμετέραν διαβολὴν· ὑμᾶς δὲ οἴκοι μένειν καὶ εὐσχημονεῖν, ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ¹ Χριστοῦ πληροῦντας, παρακαλοῦμεν, τὰς μέντοι συντυχίας αὐτῶν, τὰς δολερῶς ἐπὶ καταστροφῇ τῶν ἀκούοντων γνωμένας, ἐκκλίνειν ἵνα καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην ἀκεραίαν φυλάξῃτε,² καὶ τὴν τῶν πατέρων πίστιν ἄθραυστον διασώσῃτε, καὶ παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ εὐδόκιμοι φανῆτε ὡς φίλοι τῆς ἀληθείας.

CCXXVII

Τοῖς ἐν Κολωνείᾳ κληρικοῖς παραμυθητικῇ.³

Καὶ τί οὕτω καλὸν καὶ εὐδόκιμον παρὰ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς ἀγάπη τελεία, ἣν πλήρωμα παντὸς εἶναι νόμον παρὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ δεδιδάγμεθα διδασκάλου; ὥστε ἀποδέχομαι ὑμῶν τὸ διάπυρον τῆς περὶ τὸν ποιμένα ὑμῶν διαθέσεως. οὕτε γὰρ παιδί φιλοπάτορι πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ στέρησις ἀνεκτῆ, οὕτε ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ ποιμένος καὶ διδασκάλου ἀναχώρησις φορητῆ. ὥστε καλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς προαιρέσεως ἀπόδειξις⁴ ἐν τῇ

¹ Κυρίου editi antiqui.

² διαφυλάξῃτε editi antiqui.

³ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Νικοπόλει κληρικοὺς παραμυθητικῇ E, Med.

⁴ ἡμῖν add. editi.

¹ Cf. 1 Thess. 4. II: παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, περισσεύειν ἄλλοι, καὶ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν, καὶ πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια, καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι ταῖς χέρουσ ὑμῶν, καθὼς ὑμῖν, παρηγγελάμεν.
"And that you use your endeavour to be quiet, and that you

this we do not demand of you. Managing their lives like merchants, they make their slanders against us the means of petty gain; but you we urge to remain at home and to live with decorum, in quiet fulfilling the work of Christ,¹ but to avoid meetings with them, which are deceitful means of perverting hearers, that you may keep undefiled your charity toward us, and may preserve the faith of the Fathers unharmed, and may be found honoured in the sight of the Lord as friends of the truth.

LETTER CCXXVII

TO THE CLERGY OF COLONIA, IN CONSOLATION²

AND what is so noble and so glorious in the sight of God and men as perfect charity, which we have been taught by the wise teacher to be the fulfilling of every law? Accordingly I approve the ardour of your concern about your pastor. For neither is deprivation of a good father tolerable to a child who loves his father, nor is withdrawal of a pastor and teacher endurable to a church of Christ. Accordingly in your excessive concern about your bishop do your own business, and work with your own hands, as we commanded you.³

² Written in 375. On the death of Theodotus, metropolitan of Nicopolis, the consecration of Fronto was effected by the Eustathians. The orthodox, however, would not submit to Fronto, and so, to heal matters, Poemenius of Satala sent the bishop of Colonia, Euphronius, to fill the vacancy. The Colonians, clergy and laity, were much disturbed at being deprived of their bishop, and this and the following letters were written by Basil to allay the trouble.

ὑπερβαλλούση περὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν διαθήσει¹ παρέχεσθε ἀλλὰ τὸ χρηστὸν ὑμῶν τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὸν πνευματικὸν πατέρα ἐνδιάθετον, μέτρῳ καὶ λογισμῷ γινόμενον, ἀπόδεκτόν ἐστιν, ἐκβαῖνον δὲ τοὺς ὄρους οὐκ ἔτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον γίνεταί.

Οἰκονομία καλὴ περὶ τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἀδελφὸν ὑμῶν² τὸν συλλειτουργὸν Εὐφρόνιον παρὰ τῶν οἰκονομεῖν τὰς ἐκκλησίας πεπιστευμένων γεγένηται, ἀναγκαία τῷ καιρῷ, λυσιτελῆς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρὸς ἣν μετετέθη καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀφ' ὧν ἐλήφθη. ταύτην μὴ ἀνθρωπίνην νομίσητε, μηδὲ ἐκ λογισμῶν κεκινήσθαι τὰ γήινα φρουρούντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τῇ συνηθείᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοὺς τὴν μέριμναν ἀνηρτημένους³ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι πέπεισθε, καὶ ἐμβάλλεσθε⁴ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν ὄρμην ταύτην, καὶ σπουδάσατε αὐτὴν τελειῶσαι. δέξασθε οὖν ἡσυχῆ⁵ καὶ μετ' εὐχαριστίας τὸ γενόμενον,⁶ ἐκείνο πεπεισμένοι, ὅτι οἱ μὴ δεχόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν⁷ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις διατυπούμενα τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθίστανται. μὴ δικαιολογεῖσθε πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ὑμῶν τὴν ἐν Νικοπόλει ἐκκλησίαν. μὴ τραχύνεσθε πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν ἀναδεδεγμένους⁸ τὴν μέριμναν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ τὰ τῆς⁹ Νικοπόλεως συνεστάναι¹⁰ πράγματα καὶ τὸ καθ' ὑμᾶς μέρος συνδιασωθήσεται.¹¹ εἰάν δὲ ἐκείνης ἀψήγηται τις σύλος κἂν μυρίουσ ἔχητε τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ὑμᾶς, συμπαραναλωθήσεται τῷ κεφαλαίῳ καὶ τὸ

you are giving an example of a noble and good purpose. But this excellent disposition of yours toward your spiritual father, while it exists within measure and reason, is to be approved, but when it passes beyond the bounds it is no longer worthy of the same approbation.

An excellent arrangement regarding your most God-beloved brother and colleague Euphronius has been effected by those entrusted with arranging the affairs of the churches, one necessary for the occasion, advantageous alike for the church to which he has been transferred and for you yourselves from whom he has been taken. Do not consider this a human arrangement, nor that it has been prompted by the reasoning of men who think of earthly things, but be convinced that it is through union with the Spirit that those who are committed with the care of the churches of God have done this, and impress this source of their action upon your minds, and strive to perfect it. Therefore, receive what has happened quietly and with gratitude, being convinced of this—that those who do not receive from the churches of God what is commanded by the churches “resisteth the ordinance of God.” Do not come to an issue with your mother, the church of Nicopolis. Do not become exasperated with those who have undertaken the care of your souls. For in the continuing unity of the affairs of Nicopolis your part will also be preserved; but if some distress seize it, even if you have countless who protect you, the part also will be destroyed with the

¹ ἐμβάλλεσθε editi antiq̄i.

⁶ ἡσυχῶς editi antiq̄i.

² γινόμενον E, tres alii MSS.

⁷ ἐκλεκτῶν E.

³ ἀναδεδεγμένους E.

⁹ om. E.

¹⁰ ἐστάναι E, Med.

¹¹ συνδιασώζεται E.

¹ ἀγαπῆ E.

² ἡμῶν E.

³ ἀνηρτημένους Reg. secundus, Coisl. secundus.

μέρος.¹ ὡς οὖν οἱ τοῖς ποταμοῖς παροικοῦντες, ἐπειδὴν ἴδωσί τινας πόρρωθεν ὀχυρώματα καταβαλλομένους² τοῖς ρεύμασιν, ἴσασι ὅτι αὐτοῖς προδιοικοῦνται τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν ρευμάτων ἀποκρούμενοι, οὕτω καὶ οἱ νῦν τὸ βῆρος τῆς φροντίδος τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν³ ἀναδεξάμενοι ἐν τῇ τῶν ἄλλων φυλακῇ τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς ἄδειαν διοικοῦνται· καὶ ἐν σκέπη γενήσεσθε πάσης ταραχῆς, ἐτέρων ὑποδεχομένου τοῦ πολέμου τὰς προσβολάς. πρὸς δὲ κάκεινο ἐνθυμείσθαι ὑμᾶς⁴ προσῆκεν, ὅτι οὐχ ὑμᾶς ἀπέβαλεν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρους προσέλαβεν. οὐ δῆπου γὰρ βῆσκαροι τινὲς ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς, ὥστε τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χαρισμάτων μεταδιδόναι ἀναγκάζειν ἡμῖν⁵ ἐναποκλείειν τὴν χάριν καὶ τῷ καθ' ὑμᾶς μόνῳ χωρίῳ στενοχωρεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ πηγὴν περιφράσσω καὶ ὕδατος ἔξοδον λυμαινόμενος, οὔτε ὁ διδασκαλίαν διαρκῆ κωλύων⁶ ἐπὶ πλείον χωρεῖν ἔξω τοῦ πάθους τῆς βασκανίας ἐστίν. ἐχέτω τοίνυν καὶ τὴν Νικοπόλεως μέριμναν, καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον προσθήκη ἔστω τῶν ἐκεῖ φροντισμάτων. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πλείων προσῆλθεν⁷ ὁ κόπος, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαττοῦται ἡ ἐπιμέλεια.

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ με πάνν ἐλύπησε, καὶ ἔξω ἐφάνη τοῦ μέτρου, τὸ εἰρησθαι, ὅτι ἀποτυχόντες τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων τὰ⁸ δικαστήρια καταληψόμεθα, καὶ ἐπιστήσομεν⁹ ἀνθρώπους τοῖς πράγμασιν, οἷς ἡ καγαστροφὴ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εὐχῆς ἐστὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον. μὴ ποτε οὖν ἄφρονι θυμῷ φερό-

head. Therefore, just as those who live along the river-side, whenever they see anyone from afar throwing up dams against the stream, know that they are contriving their safety in advance by repelling the onward rush of the stream, so too those who have now undertaken the burden of looking out for the churches, in their protection of the rest contrive your own security; and you will be in shelter from all trouble, while others are sustaining the assaults of war. And, besides you should bear this in mind—that he has not cast you off but has taken others to himself. For surely we are not so malicious as to confine him who can share his graces with others also, to confine his grace to you and to limit it to your country alone. For neither he who blocks a stream and defiles a water's source nor he who prevents competent teaching from spreading abroad is without the passion of malice. Let him, then, have the care of Nicopolis also, and let your own concerns be added to his anxieties there. For to the man has indeed come a greater labour, but his care for you is in no wise diminished.

But one thing has grieved me exceedingly, and has appeared to be beyond measure—to say that failing of what we seek we shall have recourse to the courts and shall trust men with our affairs the chief aim of whose prayer is the catastrophe of the churches. Never, then, let any men, carried away by an

³ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν editi antiqui.

⁴ ἡμᾶς E.

⁵ ἡμῖν E, editi antiqui.

⁶ μὴ add. E.

⁷ πλείων προσῆλθεν] πλείων προσῆλθεν E, Med.

⁸ om. E.

⁹ ἐπισείσομεν E, Vat., Paris, Coisl. secundus, et Reg. secundus.

¹ ὑμέτερον Vat., Reg. secundus, Coisl. secundus, Paris.

² προκαταβαλλομένους E, Med.

μενοί¹ τινες παραπέσωσιν ὑμᾶς φθέγγασθαι τι εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, καὶ γένηται μὲν τις ἐντεῦθεν² καταστροφή, περιτραπῆ δὲ τῶν γινομένων τὸ βᾶρος ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῶν τὴν αἰτίαν παρασχομένων. ἀλλὰ δέξασθε καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν συμβουλήν ἐν πατρικοῖς ὑμῖν σπλάγγχοις προσαγομένην, καὶ τὴν τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων οἰκονομίαν, κατὰ βούλησιν Θεοῦ γενομένην.³ καὶ ἀναμείνατε καὶ ἡμᾶς, οἱ παραγενομένοι, ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῖν συνεργήσῃ, ὅσα οὐκ ἐνεχώρει⁴ διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς παρακαλέσαι τὴν εὐλάβειαν ὑμῶν, δι' ἑαυτῶν παραινέσομεν, καὶ τὴν ἐνδεχομένην παραμυθίαν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἐπαγαγεῖν ὑμῖν πειρασόμεθα.

CCXXVIII

Πολιτενομένοις Κολωνείας.

Ἐδεξάμην τὰ γράμματα τῆς κοσμιότητος ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐχαρίστησα τῷ παναγίῳ Θεῷ, ὅτι ἀσχολοῖ ὄντες περὶ τὴν μέριμναν τῶν δημοσίων, οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ τίθεσθε τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· ἀλλ' ἕκαστος, ὡς ὑπὲρ⁵ ἰδίου πράγματος καὶ συνέχοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ζωὴν, οὕτως ἐμερίμνησε· καὶ ἐπεστείλατε ἡμῖν ἀνιώμενοι ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν Εὐφρονίου, ὃν οὐκ ἀφείλετο ὑμῶν ἡ Νικόπολις, ἀλλὰ δικαιολογουμένη μὲν εἶποι ἂν ὅτι τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀπέλαβε· θεραπευομένη

¹ περιφερόμενοι E.² ἐνταῦθα tres MSS. recentiores.³ γινομένην E, Reg. secundus.⁴ ἔγχωρει E.⁵ ὡς ὑπὲρ] ὡς περ editi antiq̄i.

insane fury, persuade you to make any public pronouncement, lest there be some catastrophe therefrom, and the weight of what happens be turned upon the heads of those who furnished the cause. But receive both our advice, offered to you with a father's heart, and the arrangement of the most God-beloved bishops, which has been according to God's wish. And also await us, who, when in your presence, if the Lord assists us, will advise in person such steps as it was not fitting to urge upon your pious selves by letter, and shall try by very deed to bring you all possible consolation.

LETTER CCXXVIII

TO THE MAGISTRATES OF COLONIA¹

I received your Decorum's letter and offered thanks to the all-holy God that although you were busy about public cares you did not hold as secondary the affairs of the churches; but each one of you was as much concerned as for a matter of his own and for a thing involving his life; and you wrote to us in your distress at the departure of your most God-beloved bishop Euphronius:² whom Nicopolis has not taken from you, but were she making a defence she would say that she had taken back her own; and

¹ Of the same date as the preceding. Cf. first note of Letter CCXXVII.² Nothing is known of Euphronius except what may be learned from this series of letters.

δὲ φθέγγεται ὑμῖν φωνὴν μητρὸς φιλοστόργου
 πρέπουσαν, ὅτι κοιτῶν ἔξει πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸν πα-
 τέρα, ὃς ἐν μέρει ἑκατέροις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεταδώσει
 χάριτος, οὔτε ἐκείνους¹ ἑάσει τι παθεῖν ἐκ τῆς
 τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπίδρομης; καὶ ὑμᾶς τῆς συνήθους
 κηδεμονίας οὐκ ἀποστερήσει. τοῦ τε οὖν καιροῦ
 τὴν χαλεπότητα λογισάμενοι, καὶ τὸ τῆς οἰκονο-
 μίας ἀναγκαῖον σῶφρονι γνώμῃ καταμαθόντες,
 τύγγνωτε μὲν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ἐπὶ ταύτην ἐλθοῦσι
 τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ
 Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παραινέσατε δὲ
 ἑαυτοῖς, ὃ πρέπει ἀνδράσι τέλειον μὲν τὸν οἰκείον
 νοῦν κεκτημένοι, εἰδοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν
 ἀγαπῶντων ὑποθήκας προσίσθαι. ὑμᾶς μὲν γὰρ
 εἰκὸς πολλὰ τῶν κινουμένων ἀγνοεῖν, διὰ τὸ ἐν
 ἐσχρατῇ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τετάχθαι ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ
 μέσοις ἐμβεβηκότες τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ παν-
 ταχόθεν ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τὰς ἀκοὰς² βαλλό-
 μενοι τῶν καταστροφόμενων ἐκκλησιῶν, ἐν πολλῶ
 ἀγωνίᾳ ἐσμεν, μήποτε ὁ κοινὸς ἐχθρὸς τῇ μακρᾷ
 εἰρήνῃ τοῦ βίου ὑμῶν³ βασκῆνας, ἐπισπείραι
 δυνηθῆ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ζιζάνια καὶ τοῖς καθ' ὑμᾶς
 τόποις, καὶ γένηται καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀρμενίων μέρος
 κατάβρωμα τῶν ὑπεναντίων. ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν
 ἡσυχάσατε, ὥσπερ σκεύους ἀγαθοῦ χρῆσιν κοινὴν
 ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς γείτονας ὑμῶν καταδεξιμένοι
 μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον, ἂν⁴ δῶ ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐπι-
 δημίαν ἡμῶν, καὶ τελεωτέραν παραμυθίαν τῶν
 γενομένων⁵ ἐκδέξεσθε,⁶ εἰάν τούτο ὑμῖν ἀναγκαῖον
 καταφανῆ.

¹ ἐκείνοις Med.² τὰς ἀκοὰς] τὰς ἀκοαῖς tres MSS. recentiores.³ ἡμῶν quatuor MSS.⁴ εἰάν E.

in her care for you she will utter words befitting an affectionate mother—that she will share the father with you, who will impart of his grace to each in turn, nor will he allow the one to suffer at all from the inrush of the enemy, and he will not deprive you of his usual care. And so, having considered the difficulty of the occasion, and having observed with prudent judgment the necessity of the arrangement, pardon the bishops who have come to this way of establishing the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ; and suggest a course of action for yourselves befitting men who possess a mature intelligence of their own and know also how to accept suggestions from those who love them. For it is likely that you are ignorant of much of what is stirring because of your being situated on the outskirts of Armenia; but we, who are plunged in the midst of things and whose ears are struck each day from all sides with reports of churches being overthrown, are in great distress lest some day the common enemy, out of envy for the long peace of your life, be able to sow his cockle¹ even in the regions near you, and the district of Armenia also become food for our enemies. But now be at peace, having permitted your neighbours to have, as it were, joint use of a good vessel. And a little later, if the Lord grant our sojourn, you will receive even a more complete consolation for what has happened—if this appear to you necessary.

¹ Cf. Matt. 13. 25: ἐν δὲ τῷ καθεύδειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἦλθεν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἐσπειρε ζιζάνια ἀπὸ μέσον τοῦ αἴτου καὶ ἀπῆλθεν. "But while men were asleep, his enemy came and oversowed cockle among the wheat and went his way."

⁵ τῶν γενομένων] om. E.⁶ δέξεσθε E, ἐκδέξασθε quatuor alii, δέξασθε Med.

Τοῖς κληρικοῖς Νικοπόλεως.

Καὶ παρ' ἐνὸς εὐλαβοῦς καὶ δευτέρου γενόμενον ἔργον πληροφορεῖ ἡμᾶς τῇ συμβουλίᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος γίνεσθαι.¹ ὅταν γὰρ μηδὲν ἢ ἀνθρώπινον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν κείμενον, μηδὲ σκοπῶ οἰκείας ἀπολαύσεως πρὸς τὰς ἐνεργείας ὀρμῶσιν οἱ ὄσιοι,² ἀλλ' ὅ τι εὐάρεστον³ τῷ Θεῷ προθέμενοι, δῆλον ὅτι Κύριός ἐστιν ὁ τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν κατευθύνων. ὅπου δὲ ἄνδρες πνευματικοὶ τῶν βουλευμάτων κατάρχουσιν, ἔπεται δὲ τούτοις λαὸς Κυρίου ἐν συμφωνίᾳ τῆς γνώμης, τίς ἀμφιβαλεῖ μὴ οὐχὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκχέαντος,⁴ τὴν βουλήν γεγενησθαι; ὅθεν καὶ αὐτοὶ καλῶς εἰκάσατε τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργγὸν Ποιμένιον κατὰ Θεὸν κενυῆσθαι, ὃς καὶ ἐπέστη ὑμῖν ἐν καιρῷ, καὶ ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τρόπον τούτου τῆς παραμυθίας, οὐ ἐγὼ οὐχὶ τὴν εὐρεσίᾳ μόνον τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης γενναῖον θαυμάζω, ὅτι μὴ εἰς ὑπερθέσεις ἀγαγὼν τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐξέλωσε μὲν τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν ἐπιζητούντων, ἔδωκε δὲ καιρὸν φυλακῆς τοῖς ἀντιποιοιμένοις,

¹ γίνεσθαι E. ² ἅγιοι editi antiq̄i.³ ὅτι εὐάρεστον] ἢ τοῦ εὐαρεστεύειν Paris., Bigot., et Vat.; ἢ τὸ εὐαρεστεύειν duo ali.⁴ ἐκχέοντος editi antiq̄i.

¹ Of the same date as the preceding. Basil urges the clergy of Nicopolis not to retain angry feelings toward the Colonians, who naturally enough are loth to lose their bishop

TO THE CLERGY OF NICOPOLIS¹

A work done by one or two pious persons is done, we are convinced, with the counsel of the Spirit. For whenever no human consideration is present to our eyes, and holy men enter upon a course of action, not with a view to their own pleasure, but holding before themselves whatever is well-pleasing to God, it is clear that it is the Lord who is directing their hearts.² And when spiritual men initiate the plans, and people of the Lord follow these in harmony of mind, who will doubt that their plans came into being by communion with our Lord Jesus Christ, who shed His blood for the churches? Therefore even you yourselves have well inferred that our most God-beloved brother and co-labourer Poemenius³ was divinely moved, who both arrived among you in season and came upon this manner of consolation. And I not only commend his discovery of what is expedient, but I also admire his nobility of mind, in that he did not resort to postponements of the matter and thus slacken the zeal of those who are importuning, and give an opportunity for defence to those who are opposing, and stir up

Euphronius, and to praise the insight and prudence of Poemenius. Cf. Letter CCXXVII and note.

² Cf. 2 Thes. 3. 5: ὁ δὲ Κύριος κατευθύνει ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰς ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. "And the Lord direct your hearts, in the charity of God and the patience of Christ."

³ The Bishop of Satala, who was responsible for the appointment of Euphronius to the vacancy caused by Theodotus' death. He was an intimate friend of St. Basil, who appointed him to the see of Satala.

ἐπήγειρε δὲ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς τῶν ἐφεδρενόντων, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τῷ καλῷ βουλευμάτι τὸ τέλος ἐπήγαγεν. ὃν πανέστιον φυλάξειεν¹ ὁ² Κύριος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χάριτι,³ ὥστε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁμοίαν ἑαυτῇ διαμεῖναι ἐν τῇ ὁμοτίμῳ τοῦ προλαβόντος διαδοχῆ, καὶ μὴ δοῦναι χώραν τῷ πονηρῷ, ὃς νῦν, εἶπερ⁴ ποτέ, τῇ καταστάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δυσχεραίνει.

Τοὺς δὲ ἐν Κολωνείᾳ ἀδελφοὺς πολλὰ μὲν⁵ καὶ ἡμεῖς παρεκαλέσαμεν διὰ γραμμάτων, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι αὐτῶν ὀφείλετε τὴν διάθεσιν μᾶλλον ἢ παροξύνειν αὐτούς, ὡς διὰ σμικρότητα παροφθέντας, μηδὲ τῇ καταφρονήσει προάγειν αὐτοὺς εἰς φιλονεικίαν. διότι πεφύκασί πως οἱ φιλονεικούντες ἀβουλότεροι γίνεσθαι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς⁶ διατίθεσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λυπήσαι τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους. οὐδεὶς δὲ οὕτω μικρὸς ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι νῦν κακῶν μεγάλων ἀφορμὴν παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀφορμῇ. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ στοχαζόμενοι λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ πείρα κακῶν οἰκείων δεδιδαγμένοι, ἃ παραγάγοι ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς ὑμετέραις προσευχαῖς.⁷ συνεύξασθε δὲ⁸ καὶ ἡμῖν⁹ τὴν εὐοδίαν,¹⁰ ἵνα παραγενόμενοι ἐφησθῶμεν¹¹ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι ποιμένοι, καὶ συμπαρακληθῶμεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναχωρήσει τοῦ κοινοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν.

plots from those who lie in wait, but he immediately brought his excellent plan to fulfilment. And him with all his household may the Lord protect with His grace, so that the church may continue unchanged in its succession of men¹ of like honour with their predecessors, and not give room to the wicked one, who now, if ever, is chagrined at the condition of the churches.

And the brethren at Colonia we also have exhorted much by letter, and you ought to accept their disposition rather than irritate them as if they were disregarded for their insignificance, nor by contempt provoke them to contentiousness. For somehow the contentious naturally become somewhat ill-advised, and arrange many of their own affairs badly in an effort to distress their opponents. But no one is so insignificant as not to be able now to offer an occasion for great evils to those who wish an occasion. And this we say, not at random, but taught by experience of our own evils, which may the Lord avert by your prayers. And pray also for a good journey for us, that when we arrive we may rejoice with you over your present shepherd,² and be consoled with you for the departure of our common father.³

¹ The reference is to the succession of bishops in that see.

² i.e. Euphronius.

³ i.e. Theodotus.

¹ διαφυλάξειεν E.

² om. E.

³ χρηστότητι Coisl. secundus, Reg. secundus, Bigot.

⁴ ἤπερ E.

⁵ om. E.

⁶ κακῶν E.

⁷ εὐχαῖς E, Med.

⁸ μοι add. Med.

⁹ ὑμῖν Med.

¹⁰ εὐοδίαν E; εὐοδίαν καὶ τὴν εὐοδίαν Clarom.

¹¹ ὁμισησῶμεν E, Med., Vat., Reg. secundus, et Bigot.

Πολιτευομένοις Νικοπόλεως.¹

Αἱ περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας οἰκονομίαι γίνονται μὲν παρὰ τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὴν προστασίαν αὐτῶν, βεβαιοῦνται δὲ παρὰ τῶν λαῶν. ὥστε² ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐπὶ³ τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις, πεπληρωται τὸ δὲ λειπόμενον ἤδη πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπει, εἰάν καταξιώσητε ἐκθύμως⁴ περιέχεσθαι τοῦ δεδομένου ὑμῖν ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν πείρας ἰσχυρῶς ἀποκρούεσθαι. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω δυσωπεῖ οὔτε ἄρχοντας οὔτε τοὺς λοιπούς, ὅσοι βασκαίνουσιν ὑμῶν τῇ εἰρηρικῇ καταστάσει, ὡς⁵ σύμφωνον περὶ τὴν τοῦ δεδομένου ἀγάπην, καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν τῆς ἐνστάσεως.⁶ ἀπόγνωσιν γὰρ ἐμποιεῖ αὐτοῖς πάσης ἐπιχειρήσεως πονηρᾶς, εἰάν ἴδωσι μῆτε κλῆρον μῆτε λαὸν τὰς αὐτῶν ἐπινοίας παραδεχόμενον. ἦν οὖν γνώμην ἔχετε περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, ταύτην κοινῶν ποιήσασθε τῆς πόλεως· καὶ τοῖς δήμοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς οἰκοῦσι τὴν χώραν διαλέχθητε ἐπιρρώσουτες⁷ αὐτῶν τὰς καλὰς προαιρέσεις, ὥστε διαβοηθῆναι παρὰ πᾶσι τὸ γνήσιον ὑμῶν τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀγάπης. εἰάν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ καταξιωθῶμέν⁸ ποτε παραγενέσθαι καὶ ἐπισκέψασθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν τροφὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἦν ὡς μητροπολίω τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας τιμῶμεν, διὰ τὸ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὑπὸ τιμωτάτων⁹

¹ διὰ τὸν χειροτονηθέντα ἐπίσκοπον editi antiq̄; et plures MSS.

² καὶ γὰρ add. editi antiq̄.

³ ἐν E, Med.

⁴ ἐνθύμως editi antiq̄.

⁵ τὸ add. E.

⁶ ἀναστάσεως· ἐμποιεῖ γὰρ editi antiq̄.

⁷ ἐπιρρώσαντες editi antiq̄.

TO THE MAGISTRATES OF NICOPOLIS¹

THE management of the churches is in the hands of those who have been entrusted with their guidance, but they are strengthened by the laity. Thus what was in the power of the most God-beloved bishops has been completed, but what remains now looks to you,—if you deign heartily to cleave to the bishop² who has been given you and to repel vigorously the assaults from without. For nothing so discourteous either rulers or the rest who may begrudge your peaceful state as harmony in affection for him who has been given to you, and the strength of your resistance. For it engenders in them despair of every wicked attack, if they see that neither clergy nor laity receive their schemes. Therefore what mind you have regarding the good man,³ make this public in the city; and to the people and to all who live in the country speak words that will strengthen their noble intentions, so that the genuineness of your love for God may be proclaimed among all. And may we ourselves also be deemed worthy some day to be present and to visit your church, the nurse of piety, which we honour as the metropolis of orthodoxy, because of having been governed from

¹ Of the same date as the preceding. Written to the magistrates of Nicopolis begging that they accept Euphronius as their bishop, and that they gain for him the good-will of the people of the surrounding country.

² i.e. Euphronius.

³ i.e. Euphronius.

⁴ εἰάν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ καταξιωθῶμεν] εἶθε δὲ καταξιωθῆμεν editi antiq̄.

⁵ τιμῶν E, Med.

ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐκλεκτῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκονομεῖσθαι αὐτὴν ἀντεχομένῳ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου, ὧν ἄξιον εἶναι τὸν νῦν ἀναφανέντα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐδοκιμάσατε, καὶ ἡμεῖς συνθεμέβα.

Μόνου φυλαχθεῖητε¹ παρὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ, παραλύοντος² μὲν τὰ πονηρὰ βουλευμάτα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἰσχὺν δὲ καὶ ἐντολίαν πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν καλῶς δεδογμένων ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν³ ἐμποιοῦντος.⁴

CCXXXI

Ἀμφιλοχίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰκονίου.

Ὀλίγας εὐρίσκω τοῦ γράφειν πρὸς τὴν θεοσεβειάν σου τὰς ἀφορμάς, καὶ λυπεῖ με τοῦτο οὐ σμικρῶς.⁵ ὅμοιον γάρ, ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ ἐξὸν πολλάκις ὄραν σε καὶ ἀπολαύειν σου, ἀλιγάκις ἐποιοῦν τοῦτο. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξεστὶ μοι γράφειν δι' ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐντεύθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφικνουμένων ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν, οἷον εἰ ἐφημερίδα τοῦ ἐμῶν βίου τὰ γράμματα εἶναι, τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν συμπύπτοντα διαγγέλλειν⁶ σου τῇ ἀγάπῃ. ἐμοί τε γὰρ κουφισμὸν φέρει τὸ ἀνακοινοῦσθαί σοι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, σέ τε οὐδα οὐδὲν οὕτω μεριμνῶντα, ὡς

¹ φυλαχθεῖη E, Med.

² παραλύοντες Regius uterque, Coisl. secundus, Vat., Paris., et Bigot. alter.

³ ἡμῶν E, alii nonnulli.

⁴ ἐμποιοῦντες Regius uterque, Coisl. secundus, Vat., Paris., et Bigot. alter.

⁵ μικρῶς E.

⁶ διαγγέλων MS. Ecclesiae Paris. ; Clarom., Bigot. alter.

of old by the most honoured men and the elect of God, who held fast to the "faithful word which is according to doctrine,"¹ of whom him who has now proved himself worthy you have approved and we have agreed.

Only may you be guarded by the grace of God who enfeebles the wicked plans of the enemy, and who engenders in your souls strength and vigour for preserving what has been well decided.

LETTER CCXXXI

To AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM²

Few are the opportunities I find for writing to your Godliness, and this pains me not a little. For it is just as if it were possible for me to see you often and to enjoy you and I seldom did so. But it is not possible for me to write, because of a lack of men setting out hence in your direction; for there was nothing to prevent my letters from being as it were a daily record of my life, from recounting to your Charity the happenings of each day. For to me it brings relief to communicate our affairs to you, and you, I know, are so anxious about nothing as our

¹ Cf. 1 Tit. 1. 9: ἀντεχομένῳ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου, ἵνα δυνατὸς ᾖ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ἐπιανοῦσῃ καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθέοντας ἐλέγχειν. "Embracing that faithful word which is according to doctrine, that he may be able to exhort in sound doctrine, and to convince the gainsayers." Cf. also 1 Tim. 1. 15; 1 Tim. 3. 1; 2 Tim. 2. 11; Tit. 3. 8.

² Written during the last days of 374 or the beginning of 375. According to Loofs (9 and 12, note 4) this letter should be placed in December of 375. On Amphilochius, cf. previous letters.

τὰ ἡμέτερα. ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἐλπίδιος πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότην ἐπειγόμενος, τοῦ ἀποδύσασθαι τὰς διαβολὰς τὰς ψευδῶς αὐτῷ παρά τινων ἐχθρῶν κατασκευασθείσας, ἤτησεν ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. δι' οὗ καὶ προσφθεγγόμεθί σου τὴν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ συνιστῶμέν σοι τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τε τὸ δίκαιον ἄξιον ὄντα τῆς παρὰ σοῦ προστασίας καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς· οἱ εἰ καὶ ¹ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἔχομεν αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποίησατο γραμμῶν ἡμετέρων γενέσθαι διάκονος, τοῦτόν τε ἔχε ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις, καὶ ἡμῶν μέμνησο, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὖχου.

Γίνωσκε δέ, ὅτι ὁ μὲν θεοφιλέστατος ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν ὑπερόριός ἐστι, τὰς ὀχλήσεις μὴ φέρων τῶν ἀναισχύντων. Δόαρα δὲ χειμάζεται, τοῦ κήτους τοῦ πολυσάρκου τὰ ἐκεῖ συνταράσσοντος. ἡμῖν δὲ οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τυρεύουσιν, ὡς ὁ τῶν εἰδῶτων λόγος· ἡ δὲ χεὶρ τοῦ Κυρίου τέως ἐστὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν. μόνον εὖχου μὴ ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι ἡμᾶς εἰς τέλος. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς διάγει ἄνετος· καὶ Δόαρα τὸν παλαῖον ἀπέλαβε μουλίωνα· πλέον δὲ ἔχει οὐδέν· καὶ τὰς βουλάς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν διασκεδάσει ² Κύριος. πάντων μέντοι καὶ τῶν παρόντων καὶ τῶν προσδοκωμένων λυπηρῶν λύσεις ἡμῖν τὸ σὲ θεάσασθαι. ὥστε ἐὰν γένηται σοί ποτε δυνατόν, ἕως ἔτι ἐσμέν ὑπὲρ γῆς, καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν.

¹ οἱ εἰ καὶ] εἰ καὶ editi antiq̄i.

affairs. But now Elpidius,¹ hastening to his master to disclose the slanders falsely prepared against him by certain enemies, has asked us for the letter. And through him we salute your Piety, and recommend the man to you as being worthy of protection from you, both because of justice and because of ourselves; and if we can bear no other witness for him, yet because he considered it of great importance to be a carrier of our letter, hold him among your own, and remember us, and pray for the Church.

And know that our most God-beloved brother ² is in exile, not enduring the annoyances of the shameful. And Doara ³ is in distress, for the fat sea-mouster ⁴ is throwing her affairs into confusion. And against us our enemies at court are contriving plots, according to the report of those who know; but meanwhile the hand of the Lord is with us.⁵ Only pray that we be not left finally in the lurch. For even my brother continues calm; and Doara has received the old muleteer;⁶ and she has nothing more; and the Lord will scatter the plans of our enemies. However, from all griefs both present and expected our relief is in beholding you. So, if it ever becomes possible for you, as long as we are still above ground, deign to see us.

¹ A servant of Amphiloehius. Whether he is to be identified with any other of the same name mentioned in the letters is doubtful.

² i.e. Gregory of Nyssa. Cf. Letter CCXXV with note.

³ One of the bishoprics in Cappadocia Secunda under Tyana.

⁴ i.e. Demosthenes, Vicar of Pontus.

⁵ Cf. Luke 1. 66: καὶ γὰρ χεὶρ Κυρίου ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ. "For the hand of the Lord was with him." Cf. also Acts 11. 21.

⁶ Probably Demosthenes again.

Τὸ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος¹ βιβλίον γέγραπται μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐξείργασται, ὡς αὐτὸς οἶδας ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ ἐν χάρτῃ γεγραμμένον ἐκώλυσάν με οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοί, εἰπόντες παρὰ τῆς εὐγενείας σου ἐντολὰς ἔχειν ἐν σωματίῳ γράφαι. Ἰν' οὖν μὴ τι δόξωμεν ὑπεναντίον ποιεῖν τῷ προστάγματι σου, ἐπέσχομεν νῦν, ἀποστελοῦμεν δὲ μικρὸν ὕστερον, μόνον εἰάν τινος ἐπιτηδείου τοῦ διακομιζόντος ἐπιτύχωμεν. ἐρρωμένους καὶ εὐθυμους εὐχόμενος² τῷ Κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν χαρισθείης μοι καὶ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου φιλανθρωπία.

CCXXXII

¹ Ἀμφιλοχίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰκονίου.

Πᾶσα ἡμέρα γράμματα ἔχουσα τῆς θεοσεβείας σου ἑορτὴ ἡμῖν ἐστί, καὶ ἑορτῶν ἡ μεγίστη. ὅταν δὲ καὶ σύμβολα ἐπιφέρηται ἑορτῆς, τί ἄλλο χρῆ ἀνομάζειν ἢ οὐχὶ ἑορτὴν ἑορτῶν, ὥσπερ ὁ παλαιὸς νόμος Σάββατα³ Σαββάτων προσαγορεύειν εἰώθει; εὐχαριστοῦμεν οὖν τῷ Κυρίῳ, μαθόντες ὅτι καὶ ἔρρωσαι τῷ σώματι, καὶ εἰρηνευούσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς σωτηρίου οἰκονομίας τὴν ἀνάμνησιν ἐτέλεσας.

¹ ἁγίου add. editi antiqui.

² ὑπερευχόμενος Regius, Bigot. alter et Coisl. secundus.

³ om. plures MSS.

¹ The *De Spiritu Sancto* which St. Basil wrote at the suggestion of Amphilocheus in order to make clear the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. Basil dedicated the work to Amphilocheus.

The book on the Spirit¹ has been written by us and has been quite finished, as you yourself know. But the brethren with me prevented my sending it to you written on paper, saying that they had orders from your Nobility to write it on parchment. In order, therefore, that we may not seem to be doing anything contrary to your command, we have delayed now, but we shall send it a little later, if only we find someone suitable to convey it. In health and in good spirits, praying to the Lord in our behalf, may you be granted to me and the Church of God, through the benevolence of the Holy One.

LETTER CCXXXII

TO AMPHILOCHIUS,² BISHOP OF ICONIUM

EVERY day that brings a letter from your Godliness is a feast day for us, and the greatest of feast days. And when, furthermore, symbols³ of a feast day are added thereto, what else ought we to call it than a feast day of feast days, just as the old law was wont to speak of Sabbath of Sabbaths? Therefore we render thanks to the Lord, having learned that you are well of body, and that for your church which is at peace you have performed the commemoration of the saving incarnation.

² Written in 376. According to Maran (*Vit. Basil. XXXV*) this letter is to be placed late in 375, if the Nativity was celebrated on December 25, or early in 376 if it was celebrated after the Epiphany according to Oriental usage up to the end of the fourth century, as seems likely here. Loofs (8, note 3) places it specifically in January of 376.

³ i.e. Christmas presents.

Ἡμᾶς δὲ θόρυβοί τινες διατάραξαν· οὐ μὴν ἔξω κατηφείας διηγώμεν, τῷ τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν πεφυγαδευμένον εἶναι. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν ἐκείνου προσεύχου, ἵνα δόξῃ αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς ποτε ἐπιθεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν τῶν αἰρετικῶν δηγμάτων¹ τὰ τραύματα ἰαθεῖσαν· ἡμᾶς δὲ λίαν καταξίωσον ἐπισκέψασθαι, ἕως ἔτι ἐσμὲν ἐπὶ γῆς. ποίησον ἔργον σαυτῷ μὲν ἀκόλουθον, ἡμῖν δὲ εὐχῆς ἄξιον τῆς μεγίστης. θαυμάσαι δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν εὐλογιῶν, ὅτι δι' αἰνυμάτων ηὔξω ἡμῖν γῆρας ἰσχυρόν. ἔδειξας γάρ, ὅτι διὰ μὲν τῶν λαμπρῶν πρὸς τοὺς νυκτερινοὺς διεγείρεις καμάτους, διὰ δὲ τῶν τραγημάτων τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι τετονῶσθαι κατεγγυᾶ, οὐ γὰρ ἔμωγε καθ' ἡλικίαν τὸ τρώγειν, πάλαι τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκ τε τοῦ χρόνου καὶ² τῆς ἄρρωστίας ἐκτετριμμένων. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐπερωτηθέντα γεγόνασι τινες ἐν τῷ ὑπομνηστικῷ ἀποκρίσεις, οἷας ἐμοὶ δυνατὸν ἦν, καὶ ὡς ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου.³

CCXXXIII

¹ Ἀμφιλοχίῳ ἐρωτήσαντι.⁴

Οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκούσας τούτου, καὶ γνωρίζω τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν κατασκευὴν. τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν πρὸς ταῦτα; ὅτι καλὸν μὲν ὁ νοῦς· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἔχομεν τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος· καὶ καλὸν τοῦ νοῦ ἡ ἐνέργεια· καὶ ὅτι ἀεικίνητος ὢν οὗτος, πολλάκις μὲν φαντασιούται περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων ὡς

¹ δειμάτων E, Med.; τραυμάτων editi antiqui.

² ἢ add. E.

³ ἐνεδίδου E, ἀνεδίδου Med.

But certain disturbances have greatly troubled us; moreover, we have lived not without sorrow because our most God-beloved brother has been driven into exile. But pray for him, that God may grant him some day to behold his church cured of the wounds caused by the sting of heretics. And by all means deign to visit us while we are still upon earth. Make your action consistent with yourself, and worthy of our greatest prayer. But one might marvel also at the meaning of your blessings, in that you prayed cryptically for a vigorous old age for us. For you have indicated that by the lamps you rouse me to nightly toil, and that by the sweetmeats you testify to my being of good health in all respects. For it is not for me at least at my age to be munching, since my teeth have long ago been worn away by time and ill-health. And so, as to the questions asked, certain answers have been made in the memorandum—such as were possible for me and as the occasion permitted.

LETTER CCXXXIII

TO AMPHILOCHIUS,¹ WHO HAS ASKED QUESTIONS

I ALSO know this by hearsay, and I understand man's constitution. What then shall we say regarding this? Indeed, that the mind is something noble; and in it we have what is according to the image of the Creator; and the activity of the mind is something noble; and, being ever moving, many times it forms images of things non-existing as if

¹ Written in January of 376. Cf. Loofs, 8, note 3.

⁴ τίς ἡ τοῦ νοῦ ἐνέργεια add. quinque MSS.

ὄντων, πολλάκις δὲ εὐθυβόλως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν φέρεται. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τούτῳ διτταὶ δυνάμεις παραπεφύκασι,¹ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν τῶν εἰς Θεὸν πεπιστευκότων ὑπόληψιν, ἡ μὲν πονηρά, ἡ² τῶν δαιμόνων, πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποστασίαν ἡμᾶς συνεφελκομένη, ἡ δὲ θειοτέρα καὶ ἀγαθὴ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ³ Θεοῦ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμᾶς ἀνάγουσα· ὅταν μὲν ἐφ'⁴ ἑαυτοῦ μένη ὁ νοῦς, μικρὰ καθορᾶ καὶ τὰ⁵ ἑαυτῷ σύμμετρα, ὅταν δὲ τοῖς ἀπατώσιν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδῶ, ἀφανίσας τὸ οἰκείον κριτήριον φαντασίαις σύνεστιν ἄλλοκότοις. τότε καὶ τὸ ξύλον οὐχὶ ξύλον εἶναι νομίζει, ἀλλὰ Θεόν, καὶ χρυσὸν οὐχὶ χρήματα εἶναι κρίνει, ἀλλὰ σεβάσματα. εἴαν δὲ πρὸς τὴν θειοτέραν ἀπονεύση μερίδα, καὶ τὰς τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποδέξηται χάριτας, τότε γίνεται τῶν θειοτέρων καταληπτικός, ὅσον αὐτοῦ τῇ φύσει σύμμετρον.

Τρεῖς οὖν εἰσιν οἰονεὶ βίων καταστάσεις, καὶ ἰσάριθμοι τοῦτοις αἱ τοῦ νοῦ ἡμῶν ἐνέργειαι. ἡ γὰρ πονηρὰ ἡμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, καὶ πονηρὰ ἡμῶν δηλονότι τὰ τοῦ νοῦ κινήματα· οἷον μοιχεῖαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρεῖαι, συκοφαντίαι, ἔριδες, θυμοί, ἐριθείαι, φυσιώσεις, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς σαρκὸς ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ἀπειρηθ-
μήσατο· ἡ καλὰ·⁶ ἡ μέση τίς ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ

¹ πεφύκασι editi antiqui.² om. E.³ om. E.⁴ ἀφ' E.⁵ ἐν add. E.⁶ ἡ καλὰ non in MSS. et edit. sed legenda.

existing, and many times it is borne straight to the truth. But since in this two faculties are present by nature, according to our opinion who believe in God, the one wicked, that of the demons, drawing us along to their own apostasy, the other more divine and good, leading us up to the likeness of God; whenever the mind remains within itself, it contemplates small things and things commensurate with itself, but whenever it yields to those who deceive it, having obscured its own judgment, it becomes involved in strange fancies. Then it even thinks that wood is not wood but God; and it considers that gold is not money but an object of worship. But if it inclines to its more divine part, and accepts the graces of the spirit, then it becomes apprehensive of the more divine, as far as is commensurate with its nature.

Now there are three states of life,¹ as we may say, and of like number with these are the activities of our mind. For either our practices are wicked and wicked evidently the movements of our mind; for example, adulteries, thefts, idolatries, calumnies, contentions, wraths, quarrels, vainglory, and such as the apostle Paul enumerated among "the works of the flesh; [or our practices are virtuous;]"² or the activity of the soul is somewhat intermediate

φθόνοι, φόνοι, μέλαι, κάμοι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τοῦτοις ἀ προλέγω ὑμῖν, καθὼς καὶ προείπον, ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσι. "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are fornication, uncleanness, immodesty, luxury, / Idolatry, witchcrafts, enmities, contentions, emulations, wraths, quarrels, dissensions, sects, / Envy, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like. Of the which I foretold you, as I have foretold to you, that they who do such things shall not obtain the kingdom of God." The Vulgate, of which of course the Douay version is a translation, does not correspond exactly with the Greek Version.

¹ i. e. virtuous, wicked, and indifferent.² Cf. Gal. 5. 19-21: φανερά δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς, ἅτινά ἐστι μοιχεῖα, πορνεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, εἰδωλολατρεία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζήλοι, θυμοί, ἐριθείαι, διχοστασίαι, αἰρέσεις,

ἐνέργεια, οὐτε κατεγνωσμένοι τι ἔχουσα, οὐτε ἐπαινετόν· ὡς ἢ τῶν βαναύσων τούτων τεχνῶν ἀνάληψις, ἃς δὴ καὶ μέσας προσαγορευομένων, οὐδὲν τῷ ἑαυτῶν λόγῳ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ κακίαν ἀποκλινοῦσας. ποία γὰρ κακία κυβερνητικῆς ἢ ἰατρικῆς; οὐ μέντοιγε οὐδὲ ἀρεταὶ αὐταὶ καθ' ἑαυτάς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν κεχρημένων¹ προαιρέσεως πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἑτέρου τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἀποκλίνουσι μοῖραν. ὁ μέντοι τῇ θεότητι τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀνακραθεὶς νοῦς, οὗτος ἤδη τῶν μεγάλων ἐστὶ θεωρημάτων ἐποπτικός, καὶ καθορᾷ τὰ θεῖα κάλλη, τοσοῦτον μέντοι, ὅσον ἢ χάρις ἐνδίδωσι² καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ αὐτοῦ ὑποδέχεται.

Ἦστε ἀφέντες ἐκείνας τὰς διαλεκτικὰς ἐρωτήσεις, μὴ κακεντρεχῶς, ἀλλ' εὐλαβῶς ἐξεταζέτωσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. δέδοται ἡμῖν τὸ τοῦ νοῦ κριτήριον εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας σύνεσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν. ὥστε προηγούμενον ἐστὶν τῷ νῷ τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐπιγινώσκειν, ἐπιγινώσκειν δὲ οὕτως ὡς δυνατόν γνωρίζεσθαι τὸν ἀπειρομεγέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ μικροτάτου. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰς κατανοήσιν τῶν ὀρατῶν εἰσι τεταγμένοι, ἤδη πάντα τὰ ὀρατὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ἄγεται. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἡμισφαίριον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐν μιᾷ³ ῥοπῇ καθορᾶται, ἀλλὰ φαντασία μὲν ὄψεως ἡμᾶς περιίσταται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πολλά, ἵνα μὴ πάντα εἶπω, ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀγνωσόμενα· ἀστέρων φύσις,⁴ μεγέθη τούτων, διαστήματα, κινήσεις, συνδρομαί, ἀποστάσεις, αἰλοιπαὶ σχέσεις, αὐτὴ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ στερεώματος,

or indifferent, having nothing about it either to be condemned or to be praised; as the acquirement of those mechanical arts which as you know we call indifferent, of their own account inclining in no way either to virtue or to wickedness. For what kind of wickedness is there in the art of the pilot or the physician? They are not, however, virtues in themselves, but from the choice of those who make use of them they incline to the direction of one or the other of the opposite states. But the mind that is tempered with the divinity of the Spirit is at last initiated into the great speculations, and observes the divine beauties, but only to the extent that grace allows and its constitution admits.

Therefore let them, dismissing those dialectical questions, inquire into the truth, not mischievously, but reverently. The judgment of the mind has been given us for the apprehension of the truth. And our God is truth itself. Therefore it is the first concern of the mind to recognize our God, but to recognize Him in such a way as the infinitely great can be known by the very small. For not even when eyes have been directed to apprehension of visible things are all visible things brought at once into sight. For not even the hemisphere of the heavens is observed in one glance, but an appearance of vision surrounds us, and in truth there are many things in it, not to say all, which are not known: the nature of the stars, their magnitude, intervals, movements, concurrences, distances, the other conditions, the very substance of the firmament, the depth from

¹ κεκτημένων editi antiqui.² δίδωσι Med.³ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ add. Reg. secundus.⁴ φύσις E, duo Regii.

τὸ βάθος τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς κοίλης περιφερείας ἐπὶ τὴν κυρτὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμεν ἀόρατον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν διὰ τὰ ἀγνοούμενα, ἀλλ' ὄρατον διὰ τὴν μετρίαν αὐτοῦ κατανόησιν. οὕτω δὴ καὶ περὶ Θεοῦ. εἰ μὲν βεβλημένος ἐστὶν ὑπὸ δαιμόνων ὁ νοῦς, εἰδωλολατρήσει, ἢ πρὸς ἄλλο τι εἶδος ἀσεβείας παρατραπήσεται· εἰ δὲ τῆ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδέδωκε βοήθεια, τὴν ἀλήθειαν γνωρίσει, καὶ Θεὸν ἐπιγνώσεται.¹ ἐπιγνώσεται δέ, ὡς ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶπεν, ἐκ μέρους, ἐν δὲ τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα ζωῇ τελεώτερον· ὅταν γὰρ ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, τὸ ἐκ μέρους καταργηθήσεται.² ὥστε καὶ καλὸν τοῦ νοῦ τὸ κριτήριον καὶ πρὸς εὐχρηστον τέλος, τὴν³ Θεοῦ κατανόησιν, δεδομένου, ἐνεργοῦν μέντοι τοσοῦτον ὅσον αὐτῷ χωρητόν.

CCXXXIV

Τῷ αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄλλο ἐρώτημα.

Ὁ οἶδας, σέβεις, ἢ δ' ἀγνοεῖς; ἐὰν ὑποκρινώμεθα, Ὁ οἶδαμεν, τοῦτο προσκυνοῦμεν, ταχεῖα παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ ἀπάντησις, Τίς⁴ ἢ οὐσία τοῦ προσκυνομένου; ἐὰν δὲ ἀγνοεῖν ὁμολογήσωμεν τὴν οὐσίαν, πάλιν ἡμῖν περιτρέψαντες λέγουσιν, ὅτι Οὐκοῦν δ' οὐκ οἶδατε προσκυνεῖτε. ἡμεῖς δὲ λέγομεν, ὅτι⁵ τὸ εἶδέναι πολὺσημον. καὶ γὰρ τὴν μεγαλειότητα τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶδέναι⁶ λέγομεν,

¹ ἐπιγνώσεται editi antiqui. ² καταργησεται Med.

³ τοῦ Ε. ⁴ ἢ Med. Reg. secundus.

⁵ om. tres MSS. ⁶ δηλονότι add. editi antiqui.

the concave circumference to the convex surface. But yet we would not say that the heavens are invisible on account of what is unknown, but that they are visible on account of the partial apprehension of them. So certainly also regarding God. If the mind has been injured by demons, it will worship idols, or will be turned aside to some other form of impiety. But if it gives itself up to the assistance of the Spirit, it will know the truth and recognize God. However, it will recognize Him, as the Apostle said, in part, but in the life after this more perfectly. For, "when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away."¹ Therefore the judgment of the mind is both noble and given to a useful end, the apprehension of God, operating, however, only so far as is conceded to it.

LETTER CCXXXIV

TO THE SAME,² IN REPLY TO ANOTHER QUESTION

Do you worship what you know or what you do not know? If we answer: "What we know, that do we adore," straightway is the retort from them: "What is the substance of that which is adored?" And if we confess that we are ignorant of the substance, again turning around to us they say: "Then you adore that which you do not know." But we say that "knowing" has many meanings. For instance, we say that we know the greatness of God, and His power,

¹ 1 Cor. 13. 10.

² Written January of 376. Cf. Loofs, 8, note 3. Another letter written during the contest with the Arians over the substance of God and the divine Persons individually.

καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν σοφίαν, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα, καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἢ ἐπιμελεῖται ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον αὐτοῦ τῆς κρίσεως· οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν οὐσίαν. ὥστε ἐπηρεαστικὴ ἢ ἐρώτησις. οὐ γὰρ ὁ τὴν οὐσίαν μὴ φάσκων εἰδέναι ὠμολόγησε τὸν Θεὸν μὴ ἐπίστασθαι, ἐκ πολλῶν ὧν ἀπρηριθμησάμεθα συναγομένης ἡμῖν τῆς περὶ Θεοῦ ἐννοίας. ἀλλ' ἀπλοῦς, φησὶν, ὁ Θεός, καὶ πᾶν ὅπερ ἂν αὐτοῦ ἀπρηριθμῆσῃ γνωστόν, τῆς οὐσίας ἐστὶ. τοῦτο δὲ σόφισμά ἐστι μυρίας τὰς ἀτοπίας ἔχον. τοσοῦτων τῶν ἀπρηριθμημένων ὄντων, πότερον ταῦτα πάντα μιᾶς οὐσίας ὀνόματα; καὶ ἰσοδυναμεῖ ἀλλήλοις τὸ φοβερὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φιλόανθρωπον,¹ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ δημιουργικόν, τὸ προγνωστικόν καὶ τὸ ἀνταποδοτικόν, τὸ μεγαλείον καὶ τὸ προνοητικόν; ἢ καὶ ὅπερ ἂν τούτων εἴπωμεν, τὴν οὐσίαν δηλοῦμεν; εἴπερ γὰρ τοῦτο λέγουσι, μὴ ἐρωτάτωσαν, εἰ τὴν οὐσίαν οἶδαμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ πυνθανέσθωσαν ἡμῶν, εἰ φοβερὸν οἶδαμεν τὸν Θεόν, ἢ εἰ δίκαιον, ἢ εἰ φιλόανθρωπον. ταῦτα ὀμολογοῦμεν εἰδέναι. εἰ δὲ ἄλλο τι λέγουσι τὴν οὐσίαν, μὴ παραλογιζέσθωσαν ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς ἀπλότητος. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὠμολόγησαν ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο εἶναι τὴν τε οὐσίαν καὶ τῶν ἀπρηριθμημένων ἕκαστον. ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἐνεργεῖαι ποικίλαι, ἢ δὲ οὐσία ἀπλή. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκ μὲν² τῶν ἐνεργειῶν γνωρίζουμεν λέγομεν τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, τῇ δὲ οὐσίᾳ αὐτῇ προσεγγίζουμεν οὐχ ὑπισχνούμεθα. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεργεῖαι αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταβαίνουσιν, ἢ δὲ οὐσία αὐτοῦ μένει ἀπρόσιτος.

Ἄλλ' εἰ τὴν οὐσίαν, φησὶν, ἀγνοεῖς, αὐτὸν ἀγνοεῖς. σὺ δὲ ἀντίστρεψον, ὅτι εἰ τὴν οὐσίαν

and His wisdom, and His goodness, and His providence whereby He cares for us, and the justice of His judgment, not His very substance. Therefore the question is captious. For he who says that he does not know the substance has not confessed that he does not know God, since the concept of God is gathered by us from the many attributes which we have enumerated. "But," he says, "God is simple, and every attribute that one enumerates of Him as knowable is of His substance." But this is a sophism that involves countless absurdities. The things which have been enumerated being so many, are all these names of one substance? And are His awfulness and His benevolence equivalent to each other, His justice and His creative power, His foreknowledge and His requiting, His magnificence and His providence? Or, indeed, whatever of these things we say, do we explain His substance? For if they say this, let them not ask if we know the substance of God, but let them learn of us if we know the awfulness of God, or His justice, or benevolence. These things we confess to know. But if they say substance is something else, let them not mislead us by citing its simplicity. For they themselves have confessed that substance is one thing and each of what was enumerated was another. "Nay, the activities are varied and the substance is simple." But we say that from His activities we know our God, but His substance itself we do not profess to approach. For His activities descend to us, but His substance remains inaccessible.

"But," it is said, "if you are ignorant of His substance, you are ignorant of Him." But do you retort: "If you say that you know His substance,

¹ καὶ add. E.² om. E.

λέγεις εἶδέναι, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπίστασαι. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ λυσοῦδηκτος βλέπων τὸν κύνα ἐν τῇ φιαλῇ, πλείον ὄρα τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλεεινός, ὅτι οἴεται βλέπειν ἂ μὴ ὄρα. μὴ οὖν θαυμάσης τοῦτον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς παρανοίας αὐτὸν ἐλεεινὸν κρίνον. γίνωσκε τοίνυν ὅτι παιζόντων ἐστὶν ἡ φωνή· εἰ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγνοεῖς, ἢ μὴ γινώσκεις, σέβεις. ἐγὼ δέ, ὅτι μὲν ἔστιν οὐδα, τί δὲ ἡ οὐσία ὑπὲρ διάνοιαν τίθεμαι. πῶς οὖν σώζομαι; διὰ τῆς πίστεως. πίστις δὲ αὐτάρκης εἶδέναι ὅτι ἐστὶ Θεός, οὐχί τί ἐστι, καὶ τοῖς ἐκζητούσιν αὐτὸν μισθαποδοτῆς γίνεται. εἶδησις ἄρα τῆς θείας οὐσίας, ἢ αἰσθησις αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας· καὶ σεπτόν, οὐ τὸ καταληφθῆναι τίς ἢ οὐσία, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐστὶν ἡ οὐσία.

Καὶ ἀντερωτάσθωσαν οὕτω. Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε· ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὗτος ἐξηγήσατο. τί ἐξηγήσατο τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ μονογενὴς; τὴν οὐσίαν, ἢ τὴν δύναμιν; εἰ τὴν δύναμιν, ὅσον ἐξηγήσατο ἡμῖν, τοσοῦτον γνωρίζομεν. εἰ τὴν οὐσίαν, εἰπέ, ποῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγεννησίαν οὐσίαν; Ἀβραάμ ποτε προσεκύνησεν; οὐχ ὅτε ἐπίστευσε; ποτε δὲ ἐπίστευσεν; οὐχ ὅτε ἐκλήθη; ποῦ οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἢ καταλήψις αὐτῷ ἐμαρτυρήθη παρὰ τῆς Γραφῆς; οἱ μαθηταὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ποτε προσ-

¹ Cf. Heb. 11. 6: χωρὶς δὲ πίστεως ἀδύνατον εὐαρεστῆσαι· πιστεύουσα γὰρ δεῖ τὸν προσερχόμενον τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι ἐστὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσιν αὐτὸν μισθαποδοτῆς γίνεται. "But without faith it is impossible to please God. For he that cometh to God,

you do not understand Him." For neither does a man bitten by a mad dog, beholding the dog in his plate, see more than those who are well; nay, for this reason he is pitiable—since he thinks that he beholds what he does not see. Then do not wonder at him for his declaration, but adjudge him pitiable for his derangement. Therefore, know that the saying is of mockers: "If you are ignorant of the substance of God, you worship what you do not know." But I do know that He exists, but what His substance is I consider beyond understanding. How then am I saved? Through faith. And it is faith enough to know that God is, not what He is, and that He is a rewarder of those who seek Him.¹ Knowledge of His divine substance, then, is the perception of His incomprehensibility; and that is to be worshipped which is comprehended, not as to what its substance is, but as to that its substance exists.

And let them in turn be questioned as follows: "No man hath seen God at any time: the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him."² What has the only begotten of the Father declared? His substance or His power? If His power, as much as He has declared to us, so much we know. If His substance, tell where He has told of the unbegotten character of His substance? When did Abraham worship? Was it not when he believed? But when did he believe? Was it not when he was called? Where, then, herein is testimony given by Scripture to his comprehending? And the disciples, when did they worship

must believe that he is, and is a rewarder to them that seek him."

² John I. 18.

ἐκύνησαν; οὐχ ὅτε τὴν κτίσιν αὐτῷ εἶδον ὑποταγμένην; ἀπὸ γὰρ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀνέμων ὑπακουσάντων αὐτῷ ἐγνώρισαν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα. οὐκοῦν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἢ γνώσεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γνώσεως ἢ προσκύνησις. πιστεύεις ὅτι δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι; πιστεύω, Κύριε· καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ, οὕτως ἢ μὲν προσκύνησις τῇ πίστει ἀκολουθεῖ, ἢ δὲ πίστις ἀπὸ δυνάμεως βεβαιούται. εἰ δὲ λέγεις τὸν πιστεύοντα καὶ γινώσκειν, ἀφ' ὧν πιστεύει, ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ γινώσκει ἢ καὶ ἀνάπαλιν, ἀφ' ὧν γινώσκει, ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ πιστεύει. γινώσκωμεν δὲ ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως τὸν Θεόν. ὥστε πιστεύομεν μὲν¹ τῷ γνωσθέντι, προσκυνούμεν δὲ τῷ πιστευθέντι.

CCXXXV

Τῷ αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄλλο ἐρώτημα.

Τί πρότερον, ἡ γνώσις, ἢ ἡ πίστις; ἡμεῖς δὲ λέγομεν, ὅτι καθόλου μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν μαθημάτων²

¹ καὶ editi antiq̄i.

² μαθῆτων E.

¹ Cf. Matt. 9. 28: 'Ἐλθόντι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, προσήλθον αὐτῷ οἱ τυφλοί, καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, "Πιστεύετε ὅτι δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι;" Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, "Ναί, Κύριε." "And when he was come to the house, the blind man came to him. And Jesus saith to them, Do you believe that I can do this unto you? They say to him, Yea, Lord." Cf. also John 9. 35 and 38: Σὺ πιστεύεις εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ; "Dost thou believe in the son of God?" and ὁ δὲ ἔφη, "Πιστεύω Κύριε; καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ." "And he said: I believe, Lord. And falling down, he adored him."

² Written in January of 376. Cf. Loofs, 8, note 3. This letter deals with Gnosticism, the doctrine of salvation by

Him? Was it not when they saw that creation was subject to Him? For from sea and winds that obeyed Him they knew His Godhead. Therefore from the activities is the knowledge, and from the knowledge is the worship. "Do you believe that I can do this? I believe, Lord;"¹ and he worshipped Him. Thus worship follows faith, and faith is strengthened by power. But if you say that he who believes also understands, from what he believes, from this also he understands; or even the reverse, from what he understands, from this also he believes. But we understand God from His power. Therefore we believe in Him whom we understand, and we worship Him in whom we believe.

LETTER CCXXXV

TO THE SAME,² IN REPLY TO ANOTHER QUESTION

WHICH is first, knowledge or faith? But we say that generally, in the sciences, faith goes before

knowledge. Whereas Judaism and Christianity, and almost all pagan systems, hold that the soul attains its proper end by obedience of mind and will to the Supreme Power, i. e. by faith and works, it is markedly peculiar to Gnosticism that it places the salvation of the soul merely in the possession of a quasi-intuitive knowledge of the mysteries of the universe and of magic formulae indicative of that knowledge. Gnostics were "people who knew," and their knowledge at once constituted them a superior class of beings, whose present and future status was essentially different from that of those who, for whatever reason, did not know. This is not a complete description of this sect, but describes its chief feature. It flourished from some time before the Christian era down to the fifth century A. D.

πίστις γνώσεως προηγείται, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου, κἂν λέγη τις προκατάρχειν τὴν γνώσιν τῆς πίστεως, οὐ διαφερόμεθα, γνώσιν μὲντοι τὴν τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ καταλήψει σύμμετρον. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν μαθημάτων πιστεῦσαι δεῖ πρῶτον, ὅτι ἄλφα λέγεται, καὶ μαθόντα¹ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας καὶ τὴν ἐκφώνησιν, ὕστερον λαβεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀκριβῆ κατανοήσιν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ στοιχείου. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Θεοῦ πίστει ἡγείται μὲν ἡ ἔννοια ἢ περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἐστὶ Θεός, ταύτην δὲ ἐκ τῶν δημιουργημάτων συνάγομεν. σοφὸν γάρ, καὶ δυνατόν, καὶ ἀγαθόν, καὶ πάντα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀόρατα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κτίσεως νοοῦτες ἐπιγνώσκομεν. οὕτω δὴ καὶ Δεσπότην ἑαυτῶν αὐτὸν καταδεχόμεθα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παντὸς μὲν τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργὸς ὁ Θεός, μέρος δὲ κόσμου ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἡμῶν ἄρα δημιουργὸς ὁ Θεός. ταύτη δὲ² τῇ γνώσει ἢ πίστις ἀκολουθεῖ, καὶ τῇ³ τοιαύτῃ πίστει ἢ προσκύνῃσι.

Νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολὺσημὸν ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως ὄνομα, οἱ καταπαίζοντες τῶν ἀκεραιωτέρων, καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι⁴ τοῖς παραδόξοις, ὡς οἱ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐν ταῖς πάντων ὄψεσι τὰς ψήφους κλέπτουτες, τῇ ἐρωτήσῃ τοῦ καθόλου τὸ πᾶν συναρπάζουσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως ὄνομα ἐπὶ πολὺ διαβαίνει, καὶ γνωστόν τί⁵ ἐστὶ, τὸ μὲν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέγεθος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ δύναμιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ὑπάρξεως, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς γεννήσεως, τὸ δὲ κατ' οὐσίαν, οὗτοι ἐν ἐρωτήματι τὸ ὅλον παρα-

knowledge, but in our own teaching, even if someone says that knowledge must exist before faith, we do not disagree—knowledge, however, commensurate with human comprehension. For in the sciences one must first take it on faith that the letter spoken is alpha, and later, having learned the characters and their pronunciations, grasp also the exact notion of the force of such letter. But in faith in God, the notion of the existence of God precedes, and this notion we gather from His works. For it is by perceiving His wisdom and power and goodness and all His invisible qualities as shown in the creation of the universe,¹ that we come to a recognition of Him. Thus we also accept Him as our Lord. For since God is maker of the whole universe, and we are a part of the universe, God is therefore our maker also. And faith follows this knowledge, and worship follows such faith.

But now, since the word "knowledge" is of various significations, those who mock at the more guileless, and who likewise make a display with their paradoxes (just as the theatre folk flch away their pebbles in the full view of everybody), by using the universal term in their questioning make away with the whole issue. For since the word "knowledge" has a wide sweep, and a thing is knowable with respect to number, and size, and power, and manner of subsistence, and time of generation, and substance, these men, taking the universal meaning of knowledge in

¹ Cf. Rom. 1. 20: τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθοράται, ἢ τε αἰδῖος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεότης, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολόγητους. "For the invisible things of him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; his eternal power also, and divinity: so that they are inexcusable."

¹ καὶ μαθόντα] om. editi antiqi.

² om. E. ³ om. E.

⁴ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι sex MSS.

⁵ om. E.

λαμβάνοντες, ἐὰν μὲν λάβωσιν ἡμᾶς ὁμολογούν-
 τας ὅτι γινώσκομεν, ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἡμῖν τῆς οὐσίας
 τὴν εἶδησιν ἐὰν δὲ ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς εὐλαβουμένους
 πρὸς τὴν ἀπόφασιν, περιτρέπουσιν ἡμῖν τῆς ἀσε-
 βείας τὸ ὄνειδος. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς εἰδέναι μὲν ὁμολογοῦ-
 μεν τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ,¹ εἰδέναι δὲ τι πάλιν ὃ
 ἐκφεύγει ἡμῶν τὴν κατάληψιν ἀδύνατον.² ὡς οὖν
 ἐὰν με ἐρωτήσης, εἰ οἶδα, τί ἐστιν ἄμμος, κἂν
 ἀποκρίνωμαι,³ ὅτι ἐπίσταμαι, συκοφαντήσεις
 προδηλως, ἐὰν εὐθὺς καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῆς
 ἀπαιτήσης, διότι ἡ μὲν πρώτη σου ἐρώτησις
 πρὸς τὸ εἶδος ἔφερε τῆς ἄμμου, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα,
 συκοφαντία, περὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῆς περιετράπη.
 ὁμοίον ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ σόφισμα τῷ λέγοντι.
 Οἶδας Τιμόθεον; Οὐκοῦν ἐὰν Τιμόθεον οἶδας,
 οἶδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴν ὡμο-
 λόγησας εἰδέναι Τιμόθεον, ἀπόδος τοίνυν ἡμῖν τὸν
 λόγον τῆς Τιμόθεου φύσεως. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ οἶδα
 Τιμόθεον, καὶ οὐκ οἶδα, οὐ μὴν κατὰ ταῦτον καὶ
 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ. οὐ γὰρ καθ' ὃ οἶδα, κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 οὐκ οἶδα, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οἶδα, κατ' ἄλλο δὲ
 ἀγνοῶ. οἶδα μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν χαρακ-
 τῆρα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἰδιώματα, ἀγνοῶ δὲ αὐτοῦ
 τὴν οὐσίαν. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἑμαυτὸν οὕτω τούτῳ τῷ
 λόγῳ καὶ οἶδα καὶ ἀγνοῶ. οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ἑμαυτὸν
 ὅστις εἰμί, οὐκ οἶδα δὲ καθὼ τὴν οὐσίαν μου
 ἀγνοῶ.

¹ Ἐπεὶ ἐξηγησάσθωσαν ἡμῖν, πῶς εἶπεν ὁ
 Παῦλος, ὅτι Νῦν μὲν ἐκ μέρους γινώσκομεν. ἄρα

¹ μη add. Reg. secundus; ουκ add. MS. Ecclesiae Paris.

² non in MSS. et edit. sed legendum.

³ ἀποκρίνομαι editi antiq̄i.

their questioning, if they find us confessing that we know, demand of us knowledge of the substance or existence; and if they see that we are cautious about making our answer, they turn upon us the reproach¹ of impiety. But our position is that we confess that we know what is knowable about God, and yet to "know" anything, on the other hand that escapes our comprehension is impossible. So, for instance, if you ask me if I know what sand is, and I answer that I do, you will obviously be using a sophistical trick if you straightway go on and demand its number, because your first question referred to the external appearance of sand, but the second, a sophistical trick, was turned back to refer to the number of it. This sophism is like that of one who says: "Do you know Timothy? Then if you know Timothy, you know also his nature; but you have confessed that you know Timothy; give us therefore the description of Timothy's nature." But I both know Timothy and do not know him, yet not in the same way and in the same respect. For my not knowing him is not on the same plane as my knowing him, but in one way I know and in another I am ignorant of him. For I know him by his external appearance and his other characteristics, but I am ignorant of his substance. For thus and in this sense I both know and am ignorant even of myself. For I know myself, who I am, but I do not know myself, insofar as I am ignorant of my substance.

For let them explain to us in what sense Paul² said: "Now we know in part." Does he mean that

¹ Because, that is, we deny, or are unwilling to admit, that we know the existence of both.

² I Cor. 13. 9.

ἐκ μέρους τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ γινώσκωμεν, οἷονεὶ μέρη τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ γινώσκωμεν; ἀλλ' ἀτοπον, ἀμερῆς γὰρ ὁ Θεός. ἀλλ' ὅλην αὐτὴν γινώσκωμεν; πῶς οὖν, "Ὅταν ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, τὸ ἐκ μέρους καταργηθήσεται; οἱ δὲ εἰδωλολάτραι τί ἐγκαλοῦνται; οὐχ ὅτι γινόντες τὸν Θεόν, οὐχ ὡς Θεὸν ἐδόξασαν; ἢ¹ Γαλάται δὲ οἱ ἀνόητοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου διὰ τί ὀνειδιζονται, λέγοντος· Νυνὶ δὲ γινόντες τὸν² Θεόν, μάλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ³ Θεοῦ, πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα; γνωστὸς δὲ πῶς ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ὁ Θεός; ἀρα ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἡ οὐσία, ἣτις ποτὲ⁴ ἦν, ἐπεγνώσθη; ἔγνω, φησί, βούς τὸν κτησάμενον αὐτόν⁵ δηλονότι ὁ βούς καθ' ὑμᾶς ἔγνω τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ κυρίου· καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ. ἔγνω οὖν καὶ ὁ ὄνος τῆς φάτνης τὴν οὐσίαν. Ἰσραὴλ δὲ με, φησὶν, οὐκ ἔγνω. τοῦτο ἐγκαλεῖται καθ' ὑμᾶς Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι τὴν οὐσίαν, ἣτις ποτὲ ἔστι, τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἐπέγνω. ἔκχεον, φησί, τὴν ὀργὴν σου ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ γινώσκοντά σε· τουτέστι, τὰ τὴν οὐσίαν σου μὴ κατεληφότα. ἀλλὰ πολλαχῶς ἡ γνώσις, ὡς ἔφαμεν. ἢ τε γὰρ τοῦ κτίσαντος ἡμᾶς σύνεσις, καὶ ἡ τῶν θαυμασίων αὐτοῦ κατανοήσις, καὶ ἡ τήρησις τῶν ἐντολῶν, καὶ ἡ οἰκείωσις ἢ πρὸς αὐτόν· οἱ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα παρωσάμενοι, ἐπὶ ἐν σημαινόμενον τὴν γνώσιν ἔλκουσι, τὴν θεωρίαν αὐτῆς⁶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς

we know His substance in part, just as we know parts of His substance? But that is absurd, for God is indivisible into parts. Yet do we know it as a whole? Then what is the meaning of: "But when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away"?¹ And the idolaters—why are they accused? Is it not because, knowing God, they did not glorify Him as God? Else, why are the "senseless Galatians"² reproached by Paul,³ who says: "But now, after that you have known God, or rather are known by God: how turn you again to the weak and niggardly elements?" And how was God known in Judaea? Was it because in Judaea the precise nature of His substance was recognized? It is said: "The ox knoweth his owner."⁴ Evidently the ox, according to you, knoweth his master's substance. "And the ass his master's crib."⁵ Then the ass also knoweth the crib's substance. "But Israel," it is said, "hath not known me." Israel, according to you, is blamed for this—that he hath not recognized the precise nature of the substance of God. It is said: "Pour out thy wrath upon the nations that have not known thee,"⁶ that is, those who have not comprehended Thy substance! But "knowledge" is manifold, as we have said. For it is the apprehension of Him who has created us, and the understanding of His wonders, and the keeping of His commandments, and intimacy with Him. But they, pushing all these things aside, reduce "knowledge" to one significance, the contemplation of the very substance of

¹ om. editi antiq̄i.² om. E.³ τοῦ add. E.⁴ τότε E, editi antiq̄i.⁵ om. tres. MSS.; αὐτὴν Harl., Med.⁶ αὐτὴν editi antiq̄i.¹ 1 Cor. 13. 10.² Gal. 3. 1.³ Gal. 4. 9.⁴ Is. 1. 3.⁵ Is. 1. 3.⁶ Psal. 78. 6.

Τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀμφιλοχίῳ.

Ἐξητημένον¹ ἤδη παρὰ πολλοῖς τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν ῥητὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀγνοεῖν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ τέλους καὶ τὴν ὥραν, καὶ μάλιστα συνεχῶς προβαλλόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἀνομοίων ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῆς δόξης τοῦ Μονογενοῦς εἰς ἀπάδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀνομοίου, καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ὑφέσεως, ὡς οὐ δυναμένου οὔτε τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν φύσιν, οὔτε ἐν ομοιότητι μιᾷ νοεῖσθαι τοῦ μὴ πάντα εἰδότης πρὸς τὸν ἐμπεριλαβόντα τὴν εἰδησιὴν τῶν ὅλων τῇ προγνωστικῇ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐπιβλητικῇ τῶν μελλόντων δυνάμει, τοῦτο νῦν² παρὰ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως ἡμῖν ὡς καιρὸν προεβλήθη. ἃ τοίνυν ἐκ παιδὸς παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ καλὰ φιλίαν ἀβασανίστως παρεδεξόμεθα, ταῦτα εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν, τῶν μὲν Χριστομάχων τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν οὐ διαλύοντα (τίς γὰρ ἂν καὶ φανείη λόγος τῆς ὀρμῆς αὐτῶν ἰσχυρότερος;) τοῖς δὲ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Κύριον, καὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου ἀποδείξεως³ ἰσχυροτέραν τὴν ἐκ πίστεως πρόληψιν κεκτημένοις, ἀρκοῦσαν ἴσως παρεχόμενα τὴν πληροφορίαν.

¹ τὸ ἐξητημένον editi antiqui.² Ἔη add. Med. et unus ex Regiis.³ ἀποκρίσεως E, Med., Vat., Paris, Regii duo.

¹ Written in January of 376. Cf. Loofs, 8, note 3. The present letter treats of a variety of subjects not immediately raised by the *De Spiritu Sancto*: How Christ can be said to be

TO THE SAME AMPHILOCHIUS¹

THE statement of the Gospel which has already been examined by many, regarding our Lord Jesus Christ being ignorant of the day and the hour of the end,² a statement that is continually and chiefly cited by the Anomoeans for the destruction of the glory of the Only-begotten, as a proof of His unlikeness in substance, and of His subordination in dignity, on the ground that He who does not know all things can neither have the same nature nor be considered of one likeness with Him who embraces the knowledge of everything by His prognostic and cogitative power regarding things which are to be—this has now been proposed to us by your Intelligence as new. Therefore what we have heard from the fathers since boyhood, and through our love for things noble have accepted without question, these things we can repeat, although they do not destroy the shamelessness of those who fight Christ (for what argument could really appear stronger than their attack?); yet, to those who love the Lord and have acquired preconception from faith stronger than proof from reason they do perhaps furnish sufficient information.

ignorant of the day and the hour; of Jeremias' prediction about Jeichonias; of an objection of the Enchoritites; of fate; of emersion in baptism; of the accent of *φάγος*; of essence and hypostasis; of the ordaining of things neutral and indifferent.

² Cf. Mark 13. 32: *Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ὥρας, οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐν οὐρανῷ, οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.* "But of that day or hour no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father."

Ὅτι τὸ οὐδεὶς καθολικὸν μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖ
 ῥήμα, ὡς μηδὲ ἐν πρόσωπον διὰ τῆς φωνῆς
 ταύτης ὑπεξηρήσθαι¹ ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οὕτω παρὰ
 τῇ Γραφῇ ἀναφερόμενον, ὡς τετηρήκαμεν ἐπὶ τοῦ,²
 Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖ
 ἑαυτὸν ἔξω τιθεὶς τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φύσεως ὁ
 Υἱός, ταῦτα λέγει. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον
 ἀγαθὸν ὁ Πατήρ, τὸ οὐδεὶς συνυπακουόμενον τοῦ
 πρῶτος,³ εἰρησθαι πιστευόμεν. καὶ τὸ Οὐδεὶς
 οἶδε τὸν Υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖ
 ἀγνοίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος κατηγορεῖ, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον⁴
 τῷ Πατρὶ ὑπάρχειν τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 φύσεως μαρτυρεῖ. οὕτω καὶ τὸ Οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὴν
 πρώτην εἰδησιν τῶν τε ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων
 ἐπὶ τὸν Πατέρα ἀνάγοντος, καὶ διὰ πάντων τὴν
 πρώτην αἰτίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποδεικνύοντος⁵
 εἰρησθαι νομιζόμεν. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἢ ταῖς λοιπαῖς
 μαρτυρίαις τῆς Γραφῆς ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ ῥητὸν, ἢ
 ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν ἐννοίαις συμβαίνειν δύναται,
 τῶν πεπιστευκότων εἰκόνα δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ
 ἀοράτου τὸν Μονογενῆ, εἰκόνα δέ, οὐ χαρακτηρὸς
 σωματικῆς,⁶ ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς θεότητος, καὶ τῶν
 ἐπιουουμένων τῇ οὐσίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγαλειῶν,
 εἰκόνα δυνάμεως, εἰκόνα σοφίας, καθὸ εἴρηται
 Χριστὸς Θεοῦ δύναμις καὶ Θεοῦ σοφία; μέρος
 δὲ δηλονότι τῆς σοφίας ἢ γνῶσις ἦν οὐκ ἔξει-

¹ ὑπεξαιρείσθαι E, et unus ex Regiis.

² τῷ E.

³ πρῶτον τὸ δεύτερον E.

⁴ πρῶτον duo Regii, Vat., Clarom., Bigot. et Paris.

⁵ ὑποδεικνύοντος E.

⁶ σωματικῆς E.

¹ Mark 10. 18.

² Matt. 11. 27.

The term "no one" seems to be a universal expression, so that not even one person is excluded by this word. But this is not so when it is employed in Scripture, as we have observed in the passage: "None is good but one, that is God."¹ For not even here does the Son, in these words, place Himself outside the nature of good. But since the Father is the first good, we believe that "no one" was used with the word "first" understood; and so with, "No one knoweth the Son but the Father."² For not even here does He charge the Spirit with ignorance, but He testifies that the knowledge of His own nature exists with the Father first. Thus too "No one knoweth"³ was said, we think, when He was referring to the Father the first knowledge of things that are and are to be, and was indicating to men by every means the First Cause. For how else does the expression accord with the rest of the evidence of Scripture, or how else can it agree with the general notions of us who believe that the Only-begotten is an image of the unseen God, and an image, not of bodily appearance, but of the very Godhead and of the glories attributed to the substance of God—an image of power, an image of wisdom, as Christ is called "the power of God and the wisdom of God"?⁴ But knowledge is clearly a part of wisdom, and he does not image

¹ Matt. 24. 36.

⁴ Cf. 1 Cor. 1. 23 and 24: ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον, Ἕλλησι δὲ μωρίαν· αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς κλητοῖς, Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἕλλησι, Χριστὸν Θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ Θεοῦ σοφίαν. "But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews indeed a stumbling block, and unto the Gentiles foolishness: / But unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God."

κονίζει πᾶσαν, εἴπερ τινῶν ἀπολείπεται. πῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ, δι' οὗ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησε, τούτῳ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῶν αἰώνων, τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν ὥραν, οὐκ ἔδειξεν; ἢ πῶς ὁ τῶν ὄλων ποιητὴς τοῦ ἐλαχίστου μέρους τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτισθέντων τῆς γνώσεως ἀπολείπεται; ὁ δὲ λέγων, πλησίον τοῦ τέλους, τάδε καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ¹ οὐρανῷ σημεῖα καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ² γῆν χωρίοις φανήσονται, πῶς αὐτὸ τὸ τέλος ἀγνοεῖ; ἐν οἷς γὰρ λέγει, Οὐπω τὸ τέλος, οὐχ ὡς ἀμφιβάλλων, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰδὼς διορίζεται. ἔπειτα μέντοι εὐγνωμόνως σκοποῦντι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου μέρους ὁ Κύριος διαλέγεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οἶον,³ Δός μοι πιεῖν, φωνὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ Κυρίου⁴ τὴν⁵ σωματικὴν χρείαν ἐκπληροῦσα. καίτοι ὁ αἰτῶν οὐχὶ σὰρξ ἦν ἄψυχος, ἀλλὰ θεότης σαρκὶ ἐμφύχῳ κεχωρημένη. οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκονομικῶς πάντα καταδεξάμενον, καὶ προκόπτοντα παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις σοφία καὶ χάριτι, λαμβάνων τις, οὐκ ἔξω τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐνεχθήσεται διανοίας.

Τῆς σῆς δ' ἂν εἴη φιλοπονίας⁶ ἐκθέσθαι τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς ῥήσεις καὶ συγκρίναι ἀλλήλαις τὴν τε Ματθαίου καὶ τὴν Μάρκου. οὗτοι γὰρ μόνοι

¹ τε E.

² τὴν add. E.

³ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οἶον; Τὸ γὰρ editi antiqui.

⁴ τοῦ Κυρίου] om. Vat., Coisl. secundus, duo Regii.

⁵ om. E.

⁶ φιλοσοφίας E (in marg. γρ. φιλοπονίας man. 2.).

¹ Cf. Matt. 24, entire chapter.

² Matt. 24. 6.

³ Cf. John 4. 7: "Ἐρχεται γυνὴ ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείας ἀντλήσασθαι ὕδωρ. λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, "Δός μοι πιεῖν." "There cometh a woman of Samaria, to draw water. Jesus saith to her: Give me to drink."

forth wisdom in its entirety, if He is wanting in any parts of it. And how can the Father, on His part, have failed to show to Him through whom He made the ages that "day and hour," the least part of the ages? Or how can the maker of all things be wanting in the knowledge of the least part of what was created by Him? And He who says, when the end is nigh, that such and such signs shall appear¹ in the heavens and in the places on earth, how can He be ignorant of the end itself? For where He says: "The end is not yet,"² He speaks definitely, not as if in doubt, but as if He knew. Then, moreover, to one who examines intelligently, the Lord often discourses with men from His human side also; for example. "Give me to drink"³ is an expression of the Lord satisfying his bodily need. And yet He who asked was not flesh without soul,⁴ but Godhead which had made use of flesh endowed with soul. So now also, if anyone takes the fact of ignorance as applying to Him who had received all things according to the dispensation⁵ and was advancing in wisdom and grace with God and men,⁶ will not be carried beyond a conception consistent with piety.

It would be a fitting task for your diligence to set forth the words of the Gospel and to compare those of Matthew and those of Mark with each other. For

⁴ Cf. Letter CCLXI, 2. The system of Apollinarius denied to the son a ψυχὴ λογική, "reasonable soul."

⁵ i.e. the incarnation. The suggested explanation is the "ignorance" of Christ can be true only of the human side of him.

⁶ Cf. Luke 2. 52: καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτε σοφία καὶ ἡλικία, καὶ χάριτι παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις. "And Jesus advanced in wisdom and age, and grace with God and men."

συνεχθέντες περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ἀλλήλοις φαίνονται. ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ματθαίου λέξις οὕτως ἔχει. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ὥρας¹ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν οὐρανῶν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατὴρ μόνος· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Μαρκοῦ. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ² ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐν οὐρανῷ, οὐδὲ ὁ Υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατὴρ. τί τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἐν τούτοις ἐπισημῆσθαι ἄξιον; ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος οὐδὲν εἶπε περὶ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀγνωσίας, δοκεῖ δὲ τῷ Μάρκῳ συμφέρεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἔννοιαν, ἐκ τοῦ φάναι, Εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατὴρ μόνος. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἠγούμεθα τὸ μόνος πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀντιδιαστολήν³ εἰρησθαι· τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν μὴ συμπαραλαμβάνεσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δούλοις κατὰ τὴν ἄνοιαν.

Ἀψευδὴς γὰρ ὁ εἰπών, ὅτι Πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατὴρ ἐμὰ ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ ᾧ ἔχει καὶ ἡ γνώσις ἐστὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ὥρας. παρασιωπήσας τοίνυν, ὡς ὁμολογούμενον, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πρόσωπον ἐν τῇ λέξει τοῦ Ματθαίου ὁ Κύριος τοὺς ἀγγέλους εἶπεν ἀγνοεῖν, εἰδέναι δὲ τὸν Πατέρα μόνον, τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς γνώσιν κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον καὶ⁴ ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι λέγων, διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις εἰρηκέναι. Καθὼς γινώσκει με ὁ Πατὴρ, κἀγὼ γινώσκω τὸν Πατέρα. εἰ δὲ γινώσκει ὁ Πατὴρ τὸν Υἱὸν ὅλον δι' ὅλου, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐναποκειμένην⁵ αὐτῷ σοφίαν πᾶσαν ἐπίστασθαι, κατὰ τὸ ἴσον μέτρον καὶ ἐπιγνωσθήσεται παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, δηλονότι, μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἐνυπαρχούσης αὐτῷ σοφίας καὶ τῆς προγνωσεως τῶν μελλόντων.

these alone appear to have agreed with each other on this passage. Now the reading in Matthew is as follows: "But of that day and hour no one knoweth, not the Angels of heaven, but the Father alone."¹ And Mark's is: "But of that day or hour no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father."² What, then, is worthy of note in these words? That Matthew said nothing about the ignorance of the Son, but seems to agree with Mark in meaning when he says: "But the Father alone." And we hold that "alone" was said in contradistinction to the angels, and that the Son is not included with His own servants in the matter of ignorance.³

For truthful is He who said: "All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine."⁴ But one of the things that the Father has is the knowledge of "that day and hour." Therefore, passing over His own person in the reading from Matthew, taken for granted, as the Lord said that the angels were in ignorance, but that the Father alone knew, saying by His silence that the knowledge of the Father was also His own, because of His also having said elsewhere: "As the Father knoweth me, and I know the Father."⁵ But if the Father knows the Son entirely, so as to understand even all wisdom that dwells in Him, in like measure obviously will He also be known by the Son, together with all the wisdom and foreknowledge of the future inherent

¹ Matt. 24. 36. ² Cf. Mark 13. 32. See above.

³ i.e. of the hour and the day.

⁴ John 16. 15.

⁵ John 10. 15.

³ διαστολήν Harl., unns ex Regiis.

⁴ τὸ add. E.

⁵ ἐν add. editi antiq̄i.

¹ καὶ τῆς ὥρας om. plures MSS.

² τῶν οὐρανῶν . . . ἄγγελοι οἱ om. E.

ταύτης μὲν οὖν ἀξιούμεν τῆς παραμυθίας τὸ
 παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ κείμενον· Εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ
 μόνος, τὸ δὲ Μάρκου, ἐπειδὴ φανερώς δοκεῖ καὶ
 τὸν Υἱὸν ἀπομερίζει τῆς γνώσεως, οὕτω νοοῦμεν
 ὅτι οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὔτε¹ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ'
 οὐδὲ² ὁ Υἱὸς ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ· τουτέστιν, ἡ
 αἰτία τοῦ εἰδέναι τὸν Υἱὸν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς.
 καὶ ἄβιαστός ἐστι τῷ εὐγνωμονῶς ἀκούοντι ἡ
 ἐξήγησις αὐτῆ, ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρόσκειται τὸ μόνος,
 ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ, ἐστιν οὖν ὁ νοῦς ὁ
 παρὰ τῷ Μάρκῳ τοιοῦτος, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας
 ἐκείνης³ ἡ ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὔτε οἱ ἄγγελοι
 τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Υἱὸς ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ ὁ
 Πατήρ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτῷ ὑπήρχε δεδομένη
 ἡ γνώσις. τοῦτο δὲ εὐφημότατόν ἐστι καὶ θεο-
 πρεπές περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγειν, ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἐστὶν
 ὁμοούσιος, ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ γινώσκειν ἔχει καὶ
 τὸ ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ⁴ τῇ πρεπουσίῃ αὐτοῦ
 τῇ θεότητι θεωρεῖσθαι.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἰεχονίου, ὃν ἐκκήρυκτον ἀπὸ τῆς
 Ἰουδαίας γῆς γεγενῆσθαι φησιν ὁ προφήτης
 Ἰερεμίας εἰπὼν Ἠτιμῶθι Ἰεχονίας ὡς σκευὸς,
 οὐ οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ χρεία· καὶ ὅτι ἀπερρίφη
 αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναστῆ
 ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ
 θρόνου Δαβίδ, ἀρχῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰουδα· ἀπλοῦς καὶ

¹ οὐδὲ E.² ἂν add. editi antiqui.³ om. plures MSS.⁴ γνώσει Coisl. secundus.

¹ Cf. Jerem. 22. 28-30: Ἠτιμῶθι Ἰεχονίας ὡς σκευὸς οὐ οὐκ
 ἐστὶν χρεία αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐξερίφη καὶ ἐβεβλήθη εἰς γῆν ἣν οὐκ ἴδει.
 γῆ, γῆ, ἀκούε λόγον Κυρίου· γράψον τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὗτον ἐκκήρυκτον
 ἄνθρωπον, ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἀνστήσει ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ καθήμενος ἐπὶ

in Him. Therefore we consider what is found in
 Matthew, "But the Father alone," to require
 this qualification. As to the words of Mark, since
 he seems clearly to separate the Son also from
 the knowledge, we believe thus; that no one knoweth,
 neither the angels of God, nay, not even the Son
 would have known had not the Father known; that
 is, the cause of the Son's knowing proceeds from the
 Father. And this interpretation is unstrained to one
 who listens in a reasonable spirit, since "alone" is not
 added as it is in Matthew. The sense, then, in Mark
 is this: regarding that day or hour no one knoweth,
 neither the angels of God, nay not even the
 Son would have known had not the Father known;
 for from the Father was knowledge given Him from
 the beginning. And this is most reverential and
 befitting divinity to say of the Son, that from Him
 with whom He is consubstantial He derives both His
 power of knowing and His being observed in all
 wisdom and glory befitting His Godhead.

And regarding Jechonias, whom the prophet
 Jeremias declares was banished from the land of
 Judaea saying: "Jechonias was dishonoured like a
 vessel for which there is no use; because he himself
 and his seed was cast out, no one shall rise from his
 seed to sit on the throne of David, to rule in Juda,"¹

θρόνον Δαβίδ, ἀρχῶν ἐτι ἐν τῷ Ἰουδα. The Douay rendering,
 which is evidently based on a different version, reads: "Is this
 man Jechonias an earthen and a broken vessel? is he a vessel
 wherein is no pleasure? Why are they cast out, he and his
 seed, into a land which they know not? / O earth, earth, earth,
 hear the word of the Lord. / Thus saith the Lord: Write this man
 barren, a man that shall not prosper in his days; for there
 shall not be a man of his seed that shall sit upon the throne
 of David and have power any more in Juda."

σαφής ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, καθαιρεθείσης γὰρ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ¹ Ναβουχοδονόσορ, λέλυτο μὲν τὰ βασίλεια, οὐκέτι δὲ πατρικαὶ διαδοχαὶ τῶν ἡγεμονιῶν² ἦσαν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον· ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας διήγγον οἱ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Δαβίδ, ἐπανελθόντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Σαλαθιὴλ καὶ Ζοροβάβελ, δημοτικώτερον καθηγούντο τοῦ λαοῦ, τῆς ἀρχῆς λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην μεταπεσοῦσης, διὰ τὸ ἀναμιγῆναι τὴν ἱερατικὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν φυλὴν. ὅθεν ὁ κύριος καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξέλιπε μὲν ἡ βασιλικὴ φυλὴ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας, οὐ μὴν ἔτι ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου Δαβίδ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ Ἰεχοίου, θρόνος γὰρ δηλονότι λέγεται τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα. πάντων δὲ τῆς ἰστορίας μύμησαι, ὅτι ὑπόφορος μὲν ἦν τῷ Δαβίδ πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία, καὶ ἡ Ἰδουμαία χώρα καὶ ἡ Μωαβίτις, καὶ τῆς Συρίας ὅσα τε πρόσχωρα καὶ τὰ πορρωτέρω μέχρι τῆς Μῆσης τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ καθ' ἕτερον³ μέρος ἕως ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου. εἰ οὖν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτου ἀξιώματος τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, πῶς οὐκ ἀληθὴς ὁ τοῦ προφήτου λόγος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔτι καθιεύται ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου

¹ τοῦ add. E.² ἡγεμονικῶν editi antiq̄.³ ἐκάτερον E, editi antiq̄.

¹ The story is told in 2 Paralip. 36, and also in 4 Kings 23. 34 through chap. 25.

² Cf. 1 Esd. 5. 47: καὶ καταστῆς Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσεδέκ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ Ζοροβαβὲλ ὁ τοῦ Σαλαθιὴλ καὶ οἱ τούτου ἀδελφοὶ ἠγοίασαν τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. "And Josue the son of Josedec rose up and his brethren the priests and Zorobabel the son of Salathiel and his brethren, and they

the story is simple and clear. For when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar,¹ the kingdom had been destroyed, and no longer were there hereditary successions to the sovereignty as before, but at that time the descendants of David, being out of power, were living in captivity. But when Salathiel and Zorobabel² and their parties returned, they ruled the people more democratically, the power now having been transferred to the priesthood because the priestly and royal tribes had intermarried. Wherefore, the lord³ is both king and high priest "in the things that appertain to God."⁴ And although the royal tribe did not fail until the coming of Christ, yet the seed of Jechonias did not sit again upon the throne of David. For by "throne" clearly is meant the royal dignity. But surely you remember the story—that all Judaea was subject to David, and the land of Idumaea, and of Moab, and of Syria all the neighbouring places and those beyond up to Mesopotamia, and on the other side as far as a river of Egypt. If, then, no one of his descendants appeared in such a dignity, how is not the story of the prophet true—that no one of the seed of Jechonias

built the altar of the God of Israel." The facts referred to in this section of the letter are told in the books of Esdras and the books of Haggai.

² i.e. the ruler or leader.

⁴ Cf. Heb. 5. 1 and 2: Πᾶς γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λαμβανόμενος ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἵνα προσφέρῃ δῶρα τε καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν, μετριοπαθεῖν δυνάμενος τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς περικείται ἀσθένειαν. "For every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in the things that appertain to God, that he may offer up gifts and sacrifices for sins: / who can have compassion on them that are ignorant and that err: because he himself also is compassed with infirmity."

Δαβίδ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἰεχοίου; οὐδεὶς γὰρ φαίνεται τῆς ἀξίας ταύτης ἐπειλημμένος ἐξ αὐτοῦ. οὐ μόντοι ἐξέλιπεν ἢ τοῦ Ἰουδα φυλῆ, ἕως οὐ ἦλθεν ᾧ ἀπέκειτο, ὃς οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκαθέσθη ἐπὶ τοῦ σωματικοῦ θρόνου, μεταπεσοῦσης λοιπὸν τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου Ἀντιπάτρου Ἡρώδην, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου παῖδας, οἳ εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχὰς κατενείμαντο τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, ἡγεμονεύοντος μὲν Πιλάτου, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος ἔχοντος Τιβερίου.¹ ἀλλὰ θρόνον λέγει Δαβίδ, ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ Κύριος ἐκάθισε, τὴν ἀκαθαίρετον βασιλείαν. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ προσδοκία ἐθνῶν, οὐχὶ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου μέρους τῆς οἰκουμένης. Ἔσται γάρ, φησὶν, ἡ ρίζα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχων ἐθνῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔσθην ἐλπιούσι. τέθεικα γὰρ σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν. καὶ θήσομαι, φησὶν, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ὡς τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἱερεὺς² διέμεινεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς Ἰουδαίας παρέλαβε, καὶ βασιλεὺς πίψης τῆς γῆς ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἰακώβ ἐβεβαιώθη³ καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται³ τῷ

¹ Καίσαρος add. editi antiq̄i.

² βασιλεὺς Combefisius.

³ ἐν add. B; εὐλογηθήσονται: ἐν editi antiq̄i.

¹ Cf. Gen. 49. 10: οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς

would again sit upon the throne of David? For no one descended from him appears to have attained this dignity. But the tribe of Juda did not fail until He came for whom it was preserved, and even He did not sit upon the material throne, the kingdom of Judaea having now been transferred to the son of the Ascalonite, Herod, son of Antipater: and his children, who divided Judaea into four provinces, when Pilate was governor, and Tiberius held sway over the entire Roman Empire. But by the "throne" of David, upon which the Lord sat, he means His indestructible kingdom. For He is "the expectation of nations,"¹ not of the least part of the world, "For," he says,² "there shall be a root of Jesse, and he who standeth to rule the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles hope." "For I have given thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles."³ "And I will establish," he says, "his seed for ever and ever, and his throne as the days of heaven." Thus, then, did God remain ever both a priest—although He did not receive the sceptre of Judaea—and king of all the land, and the praise of Jacob was confirmed: "And in his seed shall all the

προσδοκία ἐθνῶν. "The sceptre shall not be taken away from Juda, nor a ruler from his thigh, till he come that is to be sent, and he shall be the expectation of the nations."

² Cf. Is. 11. 10: καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ρίζα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχων ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔσθην ἐλπιούσων. "In that day the root of Jesse, who standeth for an ensign of the people, him the Gentiles shall beseech, and his sepulchre shall be glorious."

³ Is. 42. 6. Cf. also 2 Kings 7. 13: αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσει μοι οἶκον τῷ ὀνόματι μου, καὶ ἀνορθώσω τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἕως εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. "He shall build a house to my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever."

σπέρματι αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη μακαριοῦσι τὸν Χριστόν.

Τοῖς δὲ κομφοῖς Ἐγκρατίταις πρὸς τὸν σεμνὸν αὐτῶν πρόβλημα· διὰ τί καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐχὶ πάντα ἐσθίωμεν, ἐκεῖνο λεγέσθω, ὅτι καὶ τὰ περιττώματα ἡμῶν βδελυσσόμεθα. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀξίαν, λάχανα χόρτου ἡμῖν ἐστί τὰ κρέα· κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν συμφερόντων διάκρισιν, ὡς καὶ ἐν λαχάνοις τὸ βλαβερὸν τοῦ καταλλήλου χωρίζομεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς κρέασιν τοῦ χρησίμου τὸ βλαβερὸν διακρίνομεν. ἐπεὶ τοὶ λάχανόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ κώνειον, ὥσπερ κρέας ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ γύπειον· ἀλλ' ὁμως οὔτε ὑσκύναιον φάγοι ἂν τις νοῦν ἔχων, οὔτε κυνὸς ἄψαιτο μὴ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης κατεπειγούσης· ὡς ὁ γε φαγὼν οὐκ ἠνόμησεν.

Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας καθ' εἰμαρμένην διοικεῖσθαι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, μὴ παρ' ἡμῶν ζῆτει λόγους, ἀλλὰ ταῖς οἰκείαις τῆς ῥητορικῆς ἀκίσις αὐτοὺς κατατίτρωσκε· μακρότερον γάρ ἐστι τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς παρουσίας μου ἀσθενείας.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι ἀνανεύσεως¹ οὐκ οἶδα τί ἐπήλθε σοι ἐρωτῆσαι, εἶπερ ἐδέξω τὴν κατάδυσιν τὸν τύπον τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκπληροῦν. βαπτισθῆναι γὰρ τρισάκις ἀδύνατον μὴ ἀναδύνατα τσαυτάκις.²

Τὸν δὲ φάγον παροξυνοῦμεν ἡμεῖς.

Οὐσία δὲ καὶ ὑπόστασις ταύτην ἔχει τὴν διαφοράν, ἣν ἔχει τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον.

nations of the earth be blessed,"¹ and all the Gentiles will bless Christ.

And to the artful Encratites, in reply to their solemn question as to why we too do not eat all things, let this be said—that we loathe our excretions also. For while, according to the standard of cheapness, garden vegetables are meat to us, yet according to the distinction of what is beneficial, just as among vegetables we separate the harmful from its opposite, so too among meats we distinguish the harmful from the useful. For in truth even hemlock is a vegetable, just as even the vulture's flesh is meat, but yet anyone in his senses would neither eat henbane nor touch dog-flesh unless great necessity pressed upon him; since, at least, he who has eaten has not transgressed the law.

And in reply to those who say that human affairs are managed according to fate, do not seek arguments from us, but wound them with the barbs of their own rhetoric; for the question is too extensive for my present weakness.

And as regards emerging in baptism, I know not why it came upon you to ask, if you have accepted that immersion fulfils the figure of the three days. For it is impossible to be baptized three times without emerging as often.

And as for φάγος, "glutton," we place the accent on the penult.³

But substance and person have the distinction that the general has with reference to the particular; for

¹ Cf. Gen. 22, 18: καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματι σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἀπὸ ἅν ὑπήκουσας τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς. "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voice."

² The Doric form is φαγός.

¹ ἀναεύσεως MS. Paris.

² τρισάκις . . . τσαυτάκις] τριστάκις . . . τσαάκις E; τσαάκις editi antiq̄.

οιον, ὡς ἔχει τὸ ζῶον πρὸς τὸν δείνα ἄνθρωπον. διὰ τοῦτο οὐσίαν μὲν μίαν ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος ὁμολογοῦμεν, ὥστε τὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον μὴ διαφόρως ἀποδιδόναι, ὑπόστασιν δὲ ἰδιάζουσιν, ἢ ἀσύγχυτος ἡμῖν¹ καὶ τετρανωμένη ἡ περὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἔννοια ἐνυπάρχη. μὴ γὰρ νοοῦντων ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀφωρισμένους περὶ ἕκαστον χαρακτήρας, οἶον πατρότητα καὶ υἰότητα καὶ ἁγιασμόν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς ἔννοιας τοῦ εἶναι ὁμολογούντων Θεόν, ἀμήχανον ὑγιῶς τὸν λόγον τῆς πίστεως ἀποδίδοσθαι. χρὴ οὖν τῷ κοινῷ τὸ ἰδιάζον προστιθέντας, οὕτω τὴν πίστιν ὁμολογεῖν κοινὸν ἢ θεότης, ἴδιον ἢ πατρότης· συνάπτοντας δὲ λέγειν· Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὁμολογίᾳ τὸ παραπλήσιον ποιεῖν, τῷ κοινῷ συνάπτειν τὸ ἴδιον, καὶ λέγειν· Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν Υἱόν. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῆς ἐκφωνήσεως τὴν προφορὰν σχηματίζοντας λέγειν· Πιστεύω καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῖον² Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ὥστε δι' ὅλου καὶ τὴν ἐνότητα σώζεσθαι ἐν τῇ τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος ὁμολογίᾳ, καὶ τῶν προσώπων ἰδιάζον ὁμολογεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀφορισμῷ τῶν περὶ ἕκαστον νοουμένων ἰδιωμάτων. οἱ δὲ ταῦτον λέγοντες οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν ἀναγκάζονται πρόσωπα μόνον ὁμολογεῖν διάφορα, καὶ ἐν τῷ περιύστασθαι λέγειν τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, εὐρίσκονται μὴ φεύγοντες τὸ τοῦ Σαβελλίου κακόν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς πολλαχοῦ συγχέων τὴν ἔννοιαν, ἐπιχειρεῖ διαιρεῖν τὰ πρόσωπα, τὴν

example, just as "a living creature" has with reference to "a particular man." For this reason we confess one substance for the Godhead, so as not to hand down variously the definition of Its existence, but we confess a person that is particular, in order that our conception of Father and Son and Holy Spirit may be for us unconfused and plain. For unless we think of characteristics that are sharply defined in the case of each, as for example paternity and sonship and holiness, but from the general notion of being confess God, it is impossible to hand down a sound definition of the faith. Therefore, we must add the particular to the general and thus confess the faith; the Godhead is something general, the paternity something particular, and combining these we should say: "I believe in God the Father." And again in the confession of the Son we should do likewise—combine the particular with the general, and say: "I believe in God the Son." Similarly too in the case of the Holy Spirit, we should frame on the same principle our utterance of the reference to Him and say: "I believe also in the divine Holy Spirit," so that throughout the whole, both unity is preserved in the confession of the one Godhead, and that which is peculiar to the Persons is confessed in the distinction made in the characteristics attributed to each. And those who say that substance and persons are the same are forced to confess different Persons only, and in hesitating to speak of three Persons they find that they fail to avoid the evil of Sabellius, who even himself, although often confusing his notions, tried to dis-

¹ ἢ add. editi antiq̄i.

² Θεὸν Harl.

αὐτὴν ὑπόστασιν λέγων πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστοτε παρεμπίπτουσαν¹ χρείαν μετασχηματίζεσθαι.

Καὶ περὶ ὧν ἠρώτησας, πὼς τὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ ἀδιάφορα² περὶ ἡμᾶς οἰκονομεῖται, εἴτε συντυχία τινὶ αὐτομάτῳ, εἴτε τῇ δικαίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίᾳ, ἐκεῖνό φαμεν, ὅτι ὑγεία καὶ νόσος, πλοῦτος καὶ πενία, δόξα καὶ ἀτιμία, καθὸ μὲν οὐ ποιεῖ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀγαθοὺς, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἀγαθῶν καθὸ δὲ εὐροίαν τινα παρέχεται ἡμῶν³ τῷ βίῳ, αἰρετώτερά ἐστι τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ προηγούμενα, καὶ ἔχει τινα ἀξίαν λεγόμενα. ταῦτα μέντοι τοῖς μὲν οἰκονομίας ἕνεκεν δίδονται παρὰ Θεοῦ, ὡς τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τῷ Ἰώβ,⁴ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις· τοῖς δὲ φαυλοτέροις πρόκλησις⁵ ἐστὶ τοῦ βελτιωθῆναι κατὰ τὸν τρόπον, ὡς ὁ γε μετὰ τσαούτην παρὰ Θεοῦ δεξιῶσιν ἐπιμένων τῇ ἀδικίᾳ ἀναντιρρήτως ἑαυτὸν ὑπόδικον τῇ κατακρίσει καθίστησιν. ὁ μὲντοι δίκαιος οὔτε παρόντος ἐπιστρέφεται τοῦ πλούτου, οὔτε μὴ παρόντα ἐπιζητεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ἀπολαυστικός ἐστὶ τῶν δεδομένων,⁶ ἀλλ' οἰκονομικός, οὐδεὶς δὲ τῶν νοῦν ἔχοντων ἐπιτρέχει τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ τῆς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων διανομῆς, ἐὰν μὴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀποβλέπη δόξαν, οἱ θαυμάζουσι καὶ ζηλοῦσι τοὺς ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τινὶ καθεστῶτας, τὴν δὲ νόσον ὡς ἄθλησιν οἱ δίκαιοι δέχονται, μεγάλους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπομονῇ τοὺς στεφάνους ἀναμένοντες. ἄλλον δὲ τινα ἐφιστᾶν τῇ διοικήσει τούτων οὐκ ἀπεμφαῖνον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσεβές.

¹ παραπίπτουσαν E, Med., unus ex Regiis.

² διάφορα E, alii.

³ om. septem MSS.

tinguish the Persons by saying that the same Person changed its appearance according to the need arising on each occasion.

And regarding what you asked, as to how neutral and indifferent things about us are administered, whether by a sort of chance or by the just providence of God, we say this—that health and sickness, riches and poverty, glory and dishonour, according as they do not make those who possess them good, do not belong to those things by nature good; but according as they give to our lives an easy flow, so to speak, those mentioned first are preferable to their opposites, and in a way worth mentioning. However, these have been given to some by God as a stewardship, for example to Abraham, and Job, and such; but to inferior men they are a challenge to betterment of character, since he who, after such a pledge of love from God, abides in unrighteousness, undeniably makes himself liable to the judgment. But the just man neither cares for wealth when it is present, nor seeks it when it is not present; for he is not inclined to the enjoyment of what is given but to its management. And no one who is in possession of his mind runs after the business of distributing other people's property, unless he looks to glory among the many, who admire and envy those who are established in some power. As to sickness, the just receive it as a contest, awaiting the great crowns that are granted for patience. Moreover, to make anyone else responsible for the administration of these things is not only incongruous but also irreverent.

⁴ καὶ τῷ Ἰώβ om. E.

⁵ παράκλησις E.

⁶ δεδομένων E.

CCXXXVII

Εὐσεβίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων.

Ἐγὼ καὶ διὰ τοῦ¹ βικαρίου τῆς Θράκης ἐπέστειλα τῇ θεοσεβείᾳ σου, καὶ διὰ τινος πραιποσίτου τῶν κατὰ Φιλιππούπολιν θησαυρῶν ἐκ² τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκῃ διαβαίνοντος ἔγραψα ἐτέρας ἐπιστολάς,³ καὶ παρεκάλεσα αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖσθαι, ὅταν ἀπαίρη. ἀλλ' οὔτε ὁ βικάριος ὑπεδέξατο ἡμῶν τὰ γράμματα. περιουδονούτων γὰρ ἡμῶν τὴν παροικίαν, ἐπιστὰς τῇ πόλει ἑσπέρας, ὄρθρου βαθέος πάλιν ἀπήλασεν· ὥστε τοὺς οἰκονόμους λαβεῖν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδημίαν,⁴ καὶ οὕτω μείναι παρ' ἡμῶν τὰ γράμματα. ὁ δὲ πραιπόσιτος τάχα, ἀβουλήντων τινῶν αὐτὸν περιστάσεως κατασχούσης, ἐξώρμησε, μήτε τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀνελόμενος, μήτε ἡμᾶς θεασάμενος. ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς ἦν ἐπιτυχεῖν. ὅθεν ἐμείναμεν λυπούμενοι, ὅτι μήτε ἐπιστέλλειν ἡμῖν ἔξεστι, μήτε δέχεσθαι παρὰ τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας γράμματα. καίτοιγε ἐβουλόμην, εἰ μοι ἦν δυνατόν, τὰ ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας συμπύπτοντα ἡμῖν διαγγέλλειν σοι. οὕτω γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ παράδοξά ἐστι τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε⁵ ἱστορίας ἐφημερίδος χρῆζειν, ἣν καὶ συνέταξα, εὐ ἴσθι, εἰ μὴ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν προσπιπτόντων τοὺς λογισμοὺς εἶχον τῶν προκειμένων ἐκκρουομένους.

Ἐπεδήμησεν ἡμῖν βικάριος, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον τῶν ἡμετέρων κακῶν. ἄνθρωπος εἰ μὲν

¹ Μακαρίων add. duo MSS. Vat.² ἐπὶ E.³ ἐτέρας ἐπιστολάς om. E.

LETTER CCXXXVII

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA¹

I WROTE to your Godliness intending to despatch the note through the Vicar of Thrace, and I composed other letters to send you through a prefect of the treasury at Philippopolis who was crossing from our country over to Thrace; and I had urged him to take them when he departed. But the Vicar did not receive our letter. For while we were travelling around the diocese, he visited the city in the evening and departed again in the early morning, so that the visit of the man escaped the notice of the administrators of the church, and the letter accordingly remained with us. And the prefect, when some disagreeable circumstance pressed him, suddenly set out without either taking the letters or seeing us. And it was not possible to find anyone else. Wherefore we remained sad, because it was impossible for us either to write to you or to receive a letter from your Godliness. Yet I wished, if it were possible for me, to relate to you what befell us each day. For so numerous and strange are our happenings that there is need of a daily chronicle, which I should have gone on and composed, rest assured, had not my thoughts been forcibly diverted from the project by the succession of disturbing incidents.

The Vicar² paid us a visit—the first and greatest of our evils. Whether the man is at heart inclined

¹ Written in the spring of 376. Cf. Loofs, II. For Eusebius of Samosata, cf. previous letters written to him.² i.e. Demosthenes. Cf. Letter CCXXV.⁴ ἀποδημίαν editi antiqui.⁵ καὶ add. E.

καὶ αἰρετικὸς τὸ φρόνημα, οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι (οἶμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν παντὸς ἀπειρον εἶναι λόγου, καὶ μηδὲ ἔχειν τινὰ σπουδὴν μηδὲ μελέτην περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐν ἄλλοις γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁρῶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐνασχολούμενον), πλὴν ἀλλὰ φιλαίρετικός· καὶ οὐ πλέον ἐκείνους φίλων ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπεχθῶς ἔχων. συνεκρότησε μὲν γὰρ σύνοδον ἀθετοῦντων ἐν μέσῳ τῷ χειμῶνι ἐπὶ τῆς Γαλατίας· καὶ ἐξέβαλε μὲν τὸν Ὑψιν,¹ ἀντικατέστησε δὲ τὸν Ἐκδίκιον. ἀγώγιμον δὲ προσέταξε γενέσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἔμον, ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τούτου ἀσήμου, αἰτιαθέντα. εἶτα μικρὸν ἀσχοληθείς περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, πάλιν ἡμῖν ἐπήλθε θυμοῦ καὶ φόβου² πνέων, καὶ πάντας μὲν μιᾷ φωνῇ τοὺς ἱερατικοὺς τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ἐκκλησίας παρέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ· ἐν δὲ Σεβαστείᾳ ἐκαθέσθη πολλὰς ἡμέρας βουλευκρινῶν,³ καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμῖν κοινωνοῦντας βουλευτὰς ὀνομάζων, καὶ καταδικάζων τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ⁴ τῶν δημοσίων, τοὺς δὲ τῷ Εὐσταθίῳ προσκειμένους ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς περιέπων.

Πάλιν σύνοδον περὶ Νύσσαν⁵ Γαλατῶν καὶ Ποντικῶν συγκροτηθῆναι προσέταξεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπήκουσαν, καὶ συνδραμόντες ἐπεμψάν τινα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἐλοίμην ἐγὼ εἰπεῖν ὁποῖος,

¹ Ὑψιον editi antiqui.

² φόβου E.

³ φ λακρινῶν nonnulli MSS.

⁴ ὑπηρεσίᾳ editi antiqui.

⁵ τῶν add. E.

¹ i.e. at Ancyra.

² i.e. at Parnassus, a few miles higher up the Halys than Tchikin Aghyl.

to heresy I am not sure (for I think that he is inexperienced in all reasoning, and has neither interest nor practice in such things; for in other matters I see that he is busy night and day with soul and body), but yet he is friendly to heretics, and no more friendly to them than he is full of hate toward us. For in mid-winter he brought together a synod of impious men in Galatia;¹ and he banished Hypsinus and put Eedicius² in his place. And he ordered my brother to be removed, on the accusation of one man and him insignificant. Then, after busying himself a little in the region of the army he again returned to us, breathing rage and slaughter,³ and with one pronouncement he gave over all the clergy of the church in Caesarea to the Senate. And at Sebaste he settled for many days, setting up fine distinctions, giving the name of senators to those in communion with us, and condemning them to the service of the state, and favouring those who were allied to Eustathius with the greatest honours.

Again he gave orders for a synod of Galatians and Pontics to be brought together at Nyssa.⁴ They gave heed, and after coming together they sent someone⁵ to the churches, though I should prefer not

¹ Cf. Acts 9. 1: ὁ δὲ Σαῦλος ἐτι ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόβου εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου, προσελθὼν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ῥήσατο παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολάς, etc. "And Saul, as yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went to the high priest, and asked of him letters, etc."

⁴ The first synod held at Ancyra was of no avail. On Gregory of Nyssa's deposition and banishment, cf. his *De Vita Macr.* 2. 192; and Letters XVIII, XXII; also Greg. Naz. Letter CXLII.

⁵ According to the Benedictine editors this refers to the unknown intruder into the see of Nyssa, of whom Basil speaks quite contemptuously in Letter CCXXXIX.

εικάζειν δὲ ἕξεστι τῇ σῇ φρονήσει ποταπὸν εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν τοιαύταις προαιρέσεσιν ἀνθρώπων ὑπηρετούμενον. καὶ νῦν ὅτε τὰτα ἐπέστελλον τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σύνταγμα ἐπὶ τὴν Σεβάστειαν ὄρμησε, τῷ τε Εὐσταθίῳ συναφθῆναι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὰ τῶν Νικοπολιτῶν καταστρέψασθαι. ὁ γὰρ μακάριος Θεόδοτος κεκοίμηται. καὶ τέως μὲν τὰς πρώτας τοῦ βικαρίου προσβολὰς γενναίως καὶ καρτερῶς ἀπεκρούσαντο.¹ πείθειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπειράτο δέξασθαι τὸν Εὐστάθιον, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὡς δὲ εἶδεν αὐτοὺς ἐκόντας οὐκ ἐνδιδόντας, νῦν πειράται βιαιοτέρα χειρὶ ἐγκαταστήσαι τὸν διδόμενον. ὑποθρυλλεῖται δέ τις καὶ συνόδου προσδοκία, καθ' ἣν προαιροῦνται καλέσαντες ἡμᾶς ἢ λαβεῖν κοινωνοὺς, ἢ χρῆσασθαι τῇ συνηθείᾳ. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοιαῦτα. ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτὸς ὅπως διακείμαι κατὰ τὸ σῶμα σιωπᾶν ἠγοῦμαι βέλτιον εἶναι ἢ γράφειν, διότι τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ λέγων λυπήσω, ψεύσασθαι δὲ οὐκ ἀνέχομαι.

CCXXXVIII

Νικοπολίταις πρεσβυτέροις.

Ἐδεξάμην τὰ γράμματα τῆς εὐλαβείας ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσχον καινότερον τῶν ἐγνωσμένων ἤδη παρ' αὐτῶν διδαχθῆναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐφθασεν ἡ φήμη εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν περιοικίδα, τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν

¹ ἀπεκρούσατο editi antiqui.

¹ Cf. Letter CXXI.

² i.e. Fronto.

to say what this man's character is, but your Wisdom can judge of what sort he is likely to be who serves men of such policies. And now as I write these words this same group has set out for Sebaste to join with Eustathius and with him to overturn the affairs of the Nicopolitans. For the blessed Theodotus¹ has fallen asleep. And thus far they have nobly and firmly warded off the first attacks of the Vicar. For he tried to persuade them to accept Eustathius, and through him to take their bishop. And since he saw that they did not yield willingly, he now tries with a stronger hand to establish him² who is being given them. And some expectation of a synod is being noised about, at which they propose, after summoning us, either to receive us into communion or merely to enjoy our acquaintance. Such, then, are the affairs of the churches. And as to how I myself am disposed in body, I think it is better to be silent than to write, since I shall cause you grief by telling the truth, and I cannot bear to speak a lie.

LETTER CCXXXVIII

TO THE PRESBYTERS OF NICOPOLIS³

I RECEIVED the letter of your Reverences, and could learn nothing from it of more recent date than what I already knew. For the report has already come to all the country around, proclaiming the shame of that

³ Written in the spring of 376 (cf. Loofs, 13 ff.) regarding the appointment of Fronto to succeed Theodotus. On the consecration of Fronto, Semiarian bishop, cf. Letter CCXXVII; on Theodotus, cf. Letter CXXI.

καταπεσόντος τὴν αἰσχύνην περιαγγέλλουσα,¹ ὃς ἐπιθυμία δόξης κενῆς τὴν αἰσχίστην αὐτῷ συνήγαγεν ἀτιμίαν, καὶ εὐρέθη τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει μισθῶν διὰ τὴν φιλαυτίαν ἐκπεσῶν· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ δύστηνον δοξάριον, οὐ ἐπιθυμήσας ἐπράθη τῇ ἄσεβείᾳ, οὐκ ἔχων διὰ τὸ δίκαιον μίσος τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν Κύριον. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνος μὲν παντὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου ἐναργέστατον ἐξήνεγκε δεῖγμα ἐκ τῆς νῦν προαιρέσεως, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔζη ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἡμῖν ἐπαγγελιῶν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀλλὰ εἴ τι ἑαυτῷ ἐπραγματεύετο τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ ῥήματα πίστεως καὶ πλάσμα² εὐλαβείας, πάντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἀπάτην ἐπετηδεύετο.

Τμᾶς δὲ τί καταπονεῖ τὸ συμβάν; τί χεῖρους ἑαυτῶν γεγόνατε παρὰ τούτου; ἔλειψεν εἰς ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος ὑμῶν, εἰ δὲ³ καὶ συναπηγήθῃ που ἄλλος εἰς ἡ δεύτερος, ἔλειποι⁴ τοῦ πτώματος οὗτοι, ὑμῶν δὲ τὸ σῶμα ὀλόκληρον ἐστὶ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀχρειωθὲν ὑπερρῆν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκολοβώθη τὸ μένον. εἰ δὲ ἀνὰ ὑμᾶς, ὅτι τῶν τοίχων ἐξεβλήθητε, ἀλλ' ἐν σκέπη τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀυλισθήσεσθε, καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔφορος συναπήλθεν ὑμῖν. ὥστε κενοὶς ἐγκατακλίνονται⁵ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐκ τῆς διασπορᾶς τοῦ λαοῦ βαρὺ ἑαυτοῖς τὸ κρίμα κατασκευάζοντες. εἰ δὲ τις καὶ κόπος ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πράγματι, πέπεισμαι τῷ Κυρίῳ μὴ εἰς κενόν

one among you who has fallen, who through a desire for empty glory has brought upon himself the most shameful dishonour, and through his self-love has been found not only banished from all the rewards of faith, also, on account of the just hatred of those who fear the Lord, deprived of even that wretched little glory itself for the sake of which he sold himself to impiety. But that man by his present decision has brought forward a very clear proof of his whole life—that he never lived in hope of the promises stored up for us by the Lord, but that, if he busied himself with any human activity, in his own interest, he employed both words of faith and affectation of piety all for the deception of those who met him.

But why does the event trouble you? How have you become worse than before by reason of this? One man has departed from your number, and even if perchance one or two others have gone with him, these are to be pitied for their fall, but your body is whole by the grace of God. For indeed the one part that had become useless has fallen away, and that which remains has not been mutilated. But if it troubles you that you have been banished outside the walls, yet you will abide under the protection of the God of heaven,¹ and the angel who guards the Church has gone with you. Hence they go to rest each day in empty dwellings, preparing for themselves, in consequence of their dispersion of the people, a heavy condemnation. And even if there is some suffering in the situation, I trust in the Lord that this

¹ διαγγέλλουσα E, Med.

² πλάσματα E. ³ εἰ δὲ] om. E.

⁴ ἔλειποι editi antiq.

⁵ ἐγκατακλίνονται E, Reg. secundus, Paris.

¹ Cf. Psal. 90. 1: ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοθραῖς τοῦ ἡμίτου ἐν σκέπη τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀυλισθήσεται. "He that dwelleth in the aid of the most High, shall abide under the protection of the God of Jacob." The two versions differ somewhat here.

ὑμῖν ἀποβήσεσθαι τοῦτο. ὥστε ὅσῳ¹ ἂν² ἐν³ πλείοσι πειρατηρίοις γένησθε, τοσούτῳ πολυτελέστερον παρά τοῦ δικαίου κριτοῦ μισθὸν ἀναμένετε. μήτε οὖν δυσφορεῖτε τοῖς παροῦσι, μήτε ἀποκάμνετε τῇ ἐλπίδι. ἔτι γὰρ μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, ἤξει πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ ἀντίλαμβανόμενος ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐ χρονεῖ.⁴

CCXXXIX

Εὐσεβίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων.

Ἐδωκεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν διὰ τοῦ ποθεινοτάτου καὶ εὐλαβεστάτου ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου προσφθέγγεσθαι σου τὴν ὁσιότητα, καὶ σὲ μὲν παρακαλέσαι τὰ συνήθη ποιεῖν, προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ εὐρεῖν τινα τῆς μακρᾶς⁵ ἀπολείψεως παραμυθίαν ἐκ τῆς διὰ τοῦ γράμματος ὁμιλίας. προσευχόμενος δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον παρακαλούμεν αἰτεῖν⁶ παρά τοῦ Κυρίου, ῥυθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ τοσοῦτον κατεκράτησαν τῶν λαῶν, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἕτερον νῦν ἢ τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀλώσεως ἡμᾶς ἐνεκονίζουσα πρᾶγματα. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσθενέστερον ὑπορρέουσιν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, τοσοῦτον⁷ ἐπακμάζουσιν αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φιλαρχίαι. καὶ εἰς δυστήνους ἀνθρώπους οἰκότριβας περίεστη⁸ νῦν τὸ

¹ ὅσον editi antiq̄i.

² om. plures MSS.

³ ἐπι E.

⁴ χρονίσει E, Med.

⁵ μακρὰν E, Harl.

⁶ αἰτεῖ editi antiq̄i.

⁷ τοσούτῳ E, Med., alii duo.

⁸ περίεστι E, Med., alii duo.

will not turn out empty for you. Therefore, the more numerous trials you experience, the more perfect reward you must expect from the just Judge. Do not, then, be impatient with the present situation, nor grow weary of hope. For yet a little and a very little while and He who assists you will come to you, and will not delay.¹

LETTER CCXXXIX

To EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA²

THE Lord has granted us now also through our most beloved and reverend brother Antiochus, fellow-presbyter, to salute your Holiness, and to urge you to act in your accustomed manner and pray for us, and to find for yourself some consolation for our long neglect in our converse by letter. And as you pray we beg you to ask for this as the first and greatest gift from the Lord—that we be delivered from the monstrous and wicked men who have gained such control over the laity that we can at this moment compare no event of history than attending the capture of Judaea.³ For the more the churches slip into weakness, the more does man's lust of power wax strong. And upon wretched men, slaves, the name

¹ Cf. Heb. 10. 37: ἔτι γὰρ μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, ὃ ἐρχόμενος ἤξει, καὶ οὐ χρονεῖ. "For yet a little and a very little while, and he that is to come, will come, and will not delay." Cf. also Heb. 2. 3.

² Written in the spring of 376. Cf. Loofs, 8-17. For Eusebius of Samosata, see previous letters addressed to him.

³ Undoubtedly, as the Benedictine editors suggest, a reference to the events of A.D. 70, when Jerusalem was captured by Titus.

τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὄνομα, οὐδενὸς αἰρουμένου ἀντεισ-
 ἀγειν ἑαυτὸν τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ τῶν ἀπεγνωσ-
 μένων, ὅποιοί εἰσι· οἱ νῦν ἐπιπεμφθέντες παρ'
 Ἀνυσίου τοῦ θρέμματος Εὐιππίου, καὶ Ἐκδικίου
 τοῦ Παρνασσηνοῦ· ὃν κακὸν ἑαυτῷ τῆς μελλού-
 σης ζωῆς ἐφόδιον ἐναφῆκε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ὁ κατα-
 στήσας. οὗτοι νῦν ἐξήλασαν μὲν τῆς Νύσσης¹
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμόν, καὶ ἀντεισήγαγον ἄνδρα,
 μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνδράποδον ὀλίγων ὀβολῶν ἄξιον, τὴν
 δὲ τῆς πίστεως διαφθορὰν ἐφάμιλλον τοῖς κατα-
 στήσασιν. Δοάροις δὲ τῇ κώμῃ φθορὸν ἄνθρωπον,
 ὀρφανῶν² οἰκέτην, ἀποδράντα μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
 δεσπότης, διὰ δὲ κολακείας ἀθεοῦ γυναικίου ἢ
 πρότερον μὲν Γεωργίῳ ἐκέκρητο πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον
 θέλημα, νῦν δὲ τούτου ἔσχε διάδοχον ἐκείνου,
 ἐπεμψαν, τὸ ἐλεεινὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καθυβρί-
 ζοντες ὄνομα. τὰ δὲ Νικοπολιτῶν τίς ἂν πρὸς ἀξίαν
 ὀδύραιτο, τοῦ ἀθλίου Φρόντωνος πρότερον μὲν
 δῆθεν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας συνηγορίαν σχηματι-
 ζομένου,³ τελευταῖον δὲ αἰσχροῦς προδότου καὶ
 τὴν πίστιν καὶ ἑαυτὸν, καὶ μισθὸν τῆς προδοσίας
 λαβόντος ὄνομα ἀτιμίας; ἐδέξατο μὲν γὰρ παρ'
 αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξίωμα, ὡς οἰεταί, γέγονε δὲ τῆ
 τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι κοινὸν βδέλυγμα πάσης τῆς Ἀρμε-
 νίας. πλὴν ὅτι οὔτε αὐτοῖς⁴ ἀτόλμητόν τι, οὔτε
 ἀποροῦσι τῶν ἀξίων αὐτοῖς συνεργῶν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ
 τῆς Συρίας ἀμεινον ἡμῶν καὶ οἶδε καὶ διηγῆσεται
 ὁ ἀδελφὸς⁵ Ἀντίοχος.

Τοῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς δύσεως αὐτὸς προενέτυχες,

¹ Νύσσης E, editi antiqui.

² ὀρφανὸν duo MSS.

³ κατασχηματιζομένου Reg. secundus, Coisl. secundus.

of the office of bishop has now fallen, since no one of the servants of God cares to put himself up in opposition, except desperate men such as are they who have now been summoned by Anysius, the disciple of Euippius, and Ecdicius of Parnassus; whoever has appointed this man has injected into the churches a poor viaticum for himself to the future life. These now have driven my brother from Nyssa, and introduced instead a man, or rather a slave, worth only a few obols, but a good rival of those who have undertaken the destruction of the faith. And to the town of Doara they have sent a wretched person, an orphans' domestic, who ran away from his masters, but through flattery practised by a godless woman, who formerly had used George according to her own will and now has taken hold of this successor of his, this man, I say, they have sent, insulting the poor name of the episcopal office. And who could fittingly lament the situation at Nicopolis, where the wretched Fronto at first pretended to take up the advocacy of the truth, but finally disgracefully betrayed both the faith and himself, and received as a reward for the betrayal a name of infamy? For he received from them the dignity, as he thinks it to be, of the episcopal office, but by the grace of God he has become a common abomination to all Armenia. But the fact is that there is neither anything which they will not dare, and that they do not lack accomplices worthy of themselves. But the rest of the news of Syria brother Antiochus both knows and will narrate better than we.

But you of yourself have already become acquainted

⁴ ἑαυτοῖς E, editi antiqui.

⁵ ἡμῶν editi antiqui.

διηγησαμένον πάντα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Δωροθέου·
 ᾧ ποταπὰς χρῆ δούναί πάλιν ἐπιστολάς ἀπίοντι ;
 ἴσως γὰρ κοινωνήσει τῆς ὁδοῦ τῷ καλῷ Σαγκτισ-
 σίμῳ,¹ πολλὴν ἔχοντι σπουδὴν, καὶ περιούντι τὴν
 ἀνατολήν, καὶ παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἐπισήμων ὑπο-
 γραφῆς καὶ ἐπιστολάς κομιζομένῳ. τίνα οὖν δεῖ
 ἐπιστεῖλαι δι' αὐτῶν, ἢ τοῖς ἐπιστέλλουσι πῶς
 συνθέσθαι, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπορῶ· ἐὰν δὲ εὐρης ἐν
 τάχει τοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικνουμένους, καταξίωσον
 ἡμῖν γνωρίσαι. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Διομήδους
 ἐπέρχεται λέγειν· μὴ ὄφελος λίσσεσθαι· διότι,
 φησὶν, ἀγῆνωρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ. τῷ ὄντι γὰρ
 θεραπευόμενα τὰ υπερήφανα ἦθη ἐαυτῶν ὑπεροπ-
 τικώτερα γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν μὲν
 ἰλασθῆ ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος, ποίας ἐτέρας προσθήκης
 δεόμεθα· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμείνῃ ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ποία
 βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρῆος ; οἷ τὸ ἀληθές
 οὔτε ἴσασιν, οὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται, ψευδέσι δὲ
 ὑπονοίαις προειλημμένοι, ἐκεῖνα ποιούσι νῦν, ἢ
 πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκέλλῳ, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικήσαντες,
 τὴν δὲ αἴρεσιν δι' ἐαυτῶν βεβαιώσαντας.² ἐγὼ
 μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ σχήματος ἐβου-
 λόμην αὐτῶν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ κορυφαίῳ· περὶ μὲν
 τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον παλαιώ-
 ξασθαι, ὅτι οὔτε ἴσασι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
 οὔτε τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἂν μανθάνοιεν³ καταδέχον-

with the news from the West, brother Dorotheus having narrated all. What sort of letters ought I to give him when he departs again? For perhaps he will share his journey with the excellent Sanctissimus,¹ who has great zeal, and travels about the East, and gathers from each of the notable signatures and letters. What message, then, I ought to send through them, or how I am to come to an agreement with those who write, I myself am at a loss; and if you soon find persons who are coming our way, deign to inform us. For it comes upon me to speak the words of Diomedes:² "Would thou hadst never besought," because he says, "haughty is the man." For in very truth proud characters, when courted, naturally become more disdainful than usual. And yet if the Lord has been reconciled to us, what further assistance do we need? But if God's anger abides, what assistance can we have from the supercilious attitude of the West? Those who neither know the truth nor suffer themselves to learn, but have been prejudiced by false suspicions, are now doing what they did before in the case of Marcellus,³ when they struggled against those who were proclaiming the truth to them and by their own efforts strengthened the heresy. For I myself wanted to write to their leader, apart from the common document, not regarding ecclesiastical affairs—except in so far as to hint that they neither knew the truth of our affairs nor accepted the way whereby they could learn it—

¹ He seems to have made two visits to the East as the envoy of Damasus. Cf. Letters CXX, CXXXII, CCXXI, CCXXV, CCLIII, CCLIV, letters of introduction given to Sanctissimus by Basil.

² Homer, *Iliad*, 9. 698-9.

³ Cf. Letter LXIX.

¹ Σαγκτησίμῳ E, editi antiqui.

² Βεβαιώσαντες E.

³ μάθειεν E, editi antiqui.

ται καθόλου δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν
πειρασμῶν ταπεινωθεῖσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, μηδὲ
ἀξίωμα κρίνειν ὑπερηφάνιαν, ἀμάρτημα καὶ μόνον
ἀρκούν ἔχθραν ποιῆσαι εἰς Θεόν.

CCXL

Νικοπολίταις πρεσβυτέροις.

Καὶ ἐπιστείλαντες ἡμῖν καλῶς¹ ἐποιήσατε καὶ
διὰ τοιοῦτου ἀνδρὸς ἐπιστείλαντες, ὃς καὶ ἄνευ
γραμμάτων ἐξήρκεσεν ἂν ἡμῖν τὴν τε ἐπὶ ταῖς
φροντίσι παραμυθίαν ἰκανὴν παρασχεῖν καὶ
διδασκαλίαν ἀκριβῆ τῶν πραγμάτων ποιήσα-
σθαι. πολλὰ γὰρ ἦν ἃ ἐπέζητοῦμεν² παρὰ τοῦ
σαφέστατα ἐπισταμένου μαθεῖν, διὰ τὸ τὰς
φήμας πεπλανημένως πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαβαίνειν, ἃ
πάντα εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἐμπείρως διηγῆσατο ἡμῖν
ὁ ποθεινότατος καὶ τιμιώτατος ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν
Θεοδόσιος ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος. ἃ τοίνυν ἑαυτοῖς
συμβουλευόμεν,³ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν
εὐλάβειαν γράφομεν ὅτι πολλοῖς συνέβη ταῦτα,
ἃ καὶ ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν⁴
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ μυρία
τῶν τοιούτων τὰ ὑποδείγματα· τὰ μὲν ἐγγράφως
αἱ ἱστορίαι καταλελοίπασι, τὰ δὲ τῇ ἀγράφῳ
μνήμῃ παρὰ τῶν εἰδόντων διεδεξάμεθα ὅτι καὶ
κατὰ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, καὶ κατὰ πόλεις πειρασμοὶ
περίεσχον ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου τοῦς εἰς
αὐτὸν ἠλπικότας. ἀλλ' ὅμως παρήλθε πάντα,
καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν σκυθρωπῶν ἀθάνατον ἔσχε τὸ

but in general I would have spoken about the fact
that they should not attack those who have been
brought low by trials nor judge self-respect to be
arrogance: that sin which alone suffices to cause
enmity against God.

LETTER CCXL

TO THE PRESBYTERS OF NICOPOLIS¹

You did well both in corresponding with us and in
corresponding through such a man, who even with-
out a letter would have been able to furnish us
sufficient consolation for our anxieties and to give
an accurate account of the situation. For numerous
were the matters that on account of the fact that our
reports come irregularly to us, we sought to learn
from this most accurately informed man, and our most
beloved and honoured brother Theodosius, fellow-
presbyter, calmly and skilfully related it all to us. So
we write to your pious selves also the counsel at which
we have arrived for ourselves: that many have experi-
enced what has happened also to you, and not only
in the present crisis, but in times past also examples
of such affairs are countless; some have been left
behind in historical writing, others we have received
through the unwritten memory from those who knew
them; for both individually and by cities trials have
beset in the name of the Lord those who had placed
their hope in Him. But yet all has gone by, and
none of our gloomy experience possessed an immortal

¹ Written in 376.

¹ καλὸν editi antiqui.

² ἐπιζητοῦμεν E, Med.

³ Βουλευόμεν Med.

⁴ βίον E.

λυπηρόν. ὡς γὰρ¹ αἱ χάλασαι, καὶ οἱ χεῖμαρροι, καὶ ὅσα τῶν κακῶν αὐτοσχέδια, τὰ μὲν μαλακὰ² βραδίως ἔβλαψε καὶ διελυμήνατο, τοῖς δὲ ἀντιτύποις περιτυχόντα ἔπαθέ τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἔδρασεν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ λάβροι κατὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πειρασμοὶ κινήθεντες ἀσθενέστεροι τοῦ στερεώματος τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως διεδείχθησαν. ὡς οὖν παρήλθε τῆς χαλάσης τὸ νέφος, καὶ παρερρήνη τὴν χαράδραν ὁ χεῖμαρρος (τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰς αἰθρίαν διελύθη, ὁ δὲ ἐνηφανίσθη τῷ βυθῷ, ξηρὰν καὶ ἀνικμον τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἐρρήνη καταλιπών), οὕτω καὶ τὰ νῦν ἡμᾶς χειμάζοντα μικρὸν ὕστερον οὐκ ἔσται· μόνον εἰάν καταδεξώμεθα μὴ τὸ παρὸν ὄραν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μικρὸν πορρωτέρω ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐνατενίζειν.

Εἴτε οὖν βαρὺς ὁ πειρασμός, ἀδελφοί, ὑπομεινωμεν τὰ ἐπίπονα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ μὴ πληγείς ἐν ἀγῶσι, μηδὲ κονισάμενος, στεφανοῦται. εἴτε κοῦφα ταῦτα τοῦ διαβόλου τὰ παίγνια, καὶ οἱ ἐπιπεμφθέντες ἡμῖν, ὀχληροὶ μὲν, διότι τούτου³ εἰσὶν ὑπέρηται, εὐκαταφρόνητοι δέ, ὅτι τῇ πονηρίᾳ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεὸς ἀδυναμίαν συνῆψε, φυλαξώμεθα τὴν κατάγνωσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ μικροῖς παθήμασι μεγάλα ὀδυρόμενοι. ἐν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὀδύνης ἀξίον, ἢ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἀπώλεια, τοῦ τῆς προσκαίρου ἔνεκεν δόξης (εἴπερ οὖν δόξαν χρῆ λέγειν τὸ δημοσίᾳ ἀσχημονεῖν) τῆς αἰωνίας τῶν δικαίων τιμῆς ἑαυτὸν ἀποστερήσαντος. τέκνα ὁμολογητῶν, καὶ τέκνα μαρτύρων ἔστέ, τῶν μέχρις αἵματος ἀντικαταστάντων πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.

¹ om. E.² μάλα καὶ E.³ ταιούτου Med.; ταιούτου tres alii MSS.

sorrow. For just as hailstorms and torrents and such other accidental evils easily damage and destroy soft objects, but encountering hard objects suffer some harm rather than cause it, so too the furious attempts that have been stirred up against the Church have been proved clearly to be weaker than faith in Christ. As therefore the cloud of the hailstorm has passed, and the torrent has flowed past the ravine (for the one has been dissolved into a clear sky, the other has disappeared in the deep, leaving behind the path, over which it flowed, dry and without moisture), so too the things that now distress us will a little while later not be—if only we resign ourselves, not to look at the present, but to fix our gaze upon the hopes which are a little further away.

If, then, the trial is grievous, brethren, let us endure the hardships. For no one who has not been struck in the contest and has not been covered with dust will be crowned; but if these games of the devil are light, and those who have been sent against us troublesome indeed, because they are his servants, yet contemptible, because with their wickedness God has joined impotence, let us guard against the criticism that we lament greatly over little sufferings. For one thing is worthy of grief—the loss of that person who for the sake of temporal glory (if indeed one may call disgracing oneself in public glory) has deprived himself of the everlasting honour of the just. You are children of confessors, and children of martyrs, who strove unto blood against sin.¹ Let

¹ Cf. Heb. 12. 4: οὕτω μέχρις αἵματος ἀντικατέστητε πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ ἐκλήθητε τῆς παρακλήσεως, ἧτις ὑμῖν ὡς υἱοῖς διαλέγεται. "For you have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin: And you have forgotten the consolation, which speaketh to you."

τοῖς οἰκείοις ἕκαστος χρησάσθω ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἕνστασι. οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν¹ πληγαῖς κατεξάνθη, οὐδενὸς οἶκος ἔδη-
 μεύθη, οὐ τὴν ὑπερορίαν ᾤκήσαμεν, οὐ δεσμο-
 τήριον ἐγνωρίσαμεν. τί πεπόνθαμεν δεινόν; εἰ
 μὴ τάχα τοῦτο λυπηρόν, ὅτι μηδὲν πεπόνθαμεν,
 μηδὲ ἐνομίσθημεν ἄξιοι τῶν ὑπὲρ² Χριστοῦ
 παθημάτων. εἰ δὲ ὅτι ὁ δείνα τὸν οἶκον κατέχει
 τῆς προσευχῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ προσ-
 κυνεῖτε τὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς Δεσπότην, τοῦτο ὑμᾶς
 ἀνιά, ἐνθυμήθητε,³ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἑνδεκα μαθηταὶ ἐν
 τῷ ὑπερώῳ ἦσαν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι, οἱ δὲ σταυρώ-
 σαντες τὸν Κύριον ἐν τῷ περιβοήτῳ ναῷ τῆν
 Ἰουδαϊκῆν λατρείαν ἐπλήρουν. Ἰούδας γάρ τὸν
 δι' ἀγχόνης θάνατον τοῦ μετ' αἰσχύνης ζῆν προ-
 τιμήσας, ἔδειξε τάχα τῶν νῦν ἀπερυθριασάντων⁴
 πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπων κατάνγνωσιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 ἀναιδῶς πρὸς τὰ αἰσχρὰ διακειμένων, ἑαυτὸν
 αἰρετώτερον.

Μόνον μὴ ἐξαπατηθῆτε ταῖς ψευδολογίαις
 αὐτῶν⁵ ἐπαγγελιομένων ὀρθότητα πίστει.
 Χριστέμποροι γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι, καὶ οὐ Χριστιανοί,
 τὸ ἀεὶ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον τοῦτον λυσιτελοῦν
 τοῦ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ζῆν προτιμώντες. ὅτε ἐνόμισαν
 κτᾶσθαι τὴν κενὴν ταύτην ἀρχήν, προσέθεντο
 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὅτε εἶδον τοὺς λαοὺς
 ἀγριαίνοντας, σχηματίζονται πάλιν τὴν ὀρθό-
 τητα. οὐκ οἶδα ἐπίσκοπον, μηδὲ ἀριθμῆσαιμι ἐν

each one of you employ his own kindred as examples for constancy in behalf of the true faith. No one of us has been combed with lashes, the home of no one has been confiscated, we have not experienced banishment, we have no knowledge of prison. What terrible thing have we suffered? Unless perhaps this is grievous—that we have suffered nothing, and have not been thought worthy of the sufferings in behalf of Christ.¹ But if the fact that the person in question occupies the house of prayer, and you worship the Master of heaven and earth in the open air—if this distresses you, bear in mind that the eleven disciples were shut up in the upper chamber, while those who crucified the Lord were fulfilling the Jewish service in the celebrated temple. For Judas, who preferred death by the halter to life with shame, perhaps proved himself more desirable than those who now have not blushed before universal condemnation from mankind, and thus are shamelessly disposed toward their disgrace.

Only do not be deceived by their falsehoods when they proclaim orthodoxy of faith. For such men are traffickers in Christ, and not Christians, ever preferring that which profits them in this life to living according to truth. When they thought to obtain this empty dignity they attached themselves to the enemies of Christ; now that they have seen that the laity are provoked they are again pretending orthodoxy. I do not recognize as bishop, nor would I

¹ ὡμῶν E, editi antiq̄i.² om. E.³ ἀελοιοι add. editi antiq̄i.⁴ ἀπερυθριασάντων editi antiq̄i.⁵ ἀνθρώπων editi antiq̄i.¹ Cf. Acts 5. 41: οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ συνεδρίου, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ κατηξιώθησαν ἀτιμασθῆναι. "And they indeed went from the presence of the council rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus."

ἱερεῦσι Χριστοῦ τὸν παρὰ τῶν βεβήλων χειρῶν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς πίστεως εἰς προστασίαν προβεβλημένον. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐμὴ κρίσις. ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰ τινα ἔχετε μεθ' ἡμῶν μερίδα, ταῦτά ἡμῖν φρονήσετε δηλονότι. εἰ δὲ ἐφ'¹ ἑαυτῶν βουλευέσθε, τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης ἕκαστος κύριός ἐστιν, ἡμεῖς ἀθῶοι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τούτου. ταῦτα δὲ ἔγραψα, οὐχ ὑμῖν ἀπιστῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τινῶν ἀμφίβολον στηρίζων ἐκ τοῦ γνωρίσαι τὴν ἐμαντοῦ γνώμην, ὡς μὴ προληφθῆναι τινα² εἰς κοινωνίαν, μηδὲ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν³ ἐπιβολὴν δεξαμένους, μετὰ ταῦτα εἰρήνης γενομένης, βιάζεσθαι ἑαυτοὺς ἐναριθμεῖν τῷ ἱερατικῷ πληρώματι. πάντα τὸν κληρὸν, τὸν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς παροικίας, μετὰ παντός τοῦ λαοῦ φοβουμένου τὸν Κύριον, ἀσπαζόμεθα δι' ὑμῶν.⁴

CCXLI

Εὐσεβίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσαίων.

Οὐχ ὥστε πλείους ποιῆσαι τὰς ἀθυμίας, τῶν δυσχερῶν πολλαίκις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν τιμότητα σου γράμμασιν οὐ φειδόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὥστε ἑαυτοῖς⁵ εἰ τινα παραμυθίαν δοῦναι διὰ τῶν στεναγμῶν, οὐ πεφύκασί πως τὸ ἐν τῷ βάθει ἀλγεινὸν διαφορεῖν, ὅταν γίνωνται· καὶ τὴν σὴν μεγαλόνοιαν πρὸς ἑκτενεστέραν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εὐχὴν παρορμησαί. ἐπεὶ καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἠύχετο

¹ ἀφ' Ε, editi antiq̄i.

² τινας Ε, Paris., Reg. secundus.

³ αὐτοῦ editi antiq̄i.

number among the clergy,¹ him who was promoted to a dignity by those profane hands to the destruction of the faith. This is my decision. And you, if you have any part with us, will evidently have the same opinion as we. But if you take counsel by yourselves, each is responsible for his own opinion, and we are guiltless of this blood. These things, however, I have written, not because I distrust you, but to strengthen the hesitation of some by making known my own opinion, so that no one may be taken prematurely into communion, nor yet having accepted the imposition of their hands, later when peace has been established try to force their own enrolment in the sacerdotal assembly. All the clergy, both those in the city and those in the diocese, together with all the laity who fear the Lord, we greet through you.

LETTER CCXLI

To EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA²

Nor that we may make your distress greater do we often pour out our troubles unsparingly in our letters to your Honour, but that we may grant ourselves some consolation through the lamentations which somehow, when indulged are wont to break up one's deep-seated grief; and so that we may stir your Magnanimity to more intense prayer in behalf of the churches. For Moses also prayed constantly

¹ Cf. Letter LIV.

² Written in 376.

⁴ διὰ σου Ε, Med., Reg. secundus.

⁵ αὐτοῖς Ε, Harl.

μὲν αἰεὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ δηλονότι ὅτε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀμαλέκ ἀγὼν αὐτῷ συνειστήκει, οὐ καθήκει τὰς χεῖρας ἐξ ἕω μέχρις ἑσπέρας ἄλλ' ἢ ἕκτασις τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ ἁγίου τῷ τέλει τῆς μάχης συναπηρτίζετο.

CCXLII

Τοῖς δυτικοῖς.¹

Θεοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου τὴν ἐκ πάσης θλίψεως διέξοδον τοῖς ἐλπίζουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑποσχομένον, εἰ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ πελάγει κακῶν ἀπελήφθημεν,² καὶ τρικυμίαις παρὰ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας ἐγειρομέναις³ ἡμῖν βασανιζόμεθα, ὅμως ἀντέχομεν ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντι ἡμᾶς Χριστῷ, καὶ οὐ παρελύσαμεν τὸν τόνον τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν σπουδῆς, οὐδὲ ὡσπερ ἐν χειμῶνι τοῦ κλύδωνος ὑπερέχοντος⁴ ἀπογνόντες τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν διάλυσιν ἀναμένομεν ἄλλ' ἔτι ἐχόμεθα τῆς ἐνδεχομένης ἡμῖν σπουδῆς, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ὁ καταποθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κήτους, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀπογνῶναι ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ βοῆσαι πρὸς Κύριον, τῆς σωτηρίας κατηξιώθη. αὐτῷ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔσχατον ἤκουτες τῶν κακῶν, τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἀφιέμεθα,⁵ ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῦ περισκοπούμεθα τὴν βοήθειαν. ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς

¹ Δυτικοῖς ἐπισκόποις ὡστε συνδράσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀνατολῆς καμνοῦσαις τῷ Ἀρειανικῷ διαγωγῆ editi antiq̄i.

² ἀπελεφθήμεν Coisl. secundus, Reg. secundus.

³ ἐγειρομέναις E

⁴ ὑπερσχόντος E

⁵ ἀφιστάμεθα Harl.; ἐπισκοπούμεθα editi antiq̄i.

in behalf of the people: yet when his struggle with Amalec¹ had begun, he did not let his hands down from dawn until evening, but the uplifting of the hands of the holy one ceased with the end of the battle.

LETTER CCXLII

TO THE WESTERNERS²

SINCE Holy God has promised the way out of every affliction to those who hope in Him, even if we have been cut off in the midst of a sea of evils, and are put to the test by huge waves that are stirred up against us by the blasts of wickedness, nevertheless we endure in Christ who strengthens us; and we have not slackened the intensity of our zeal for the churches, nor as in a storm when the waves overtop us do we, in despair of being saved, await destruction; nay, we still cling to all the zeal that we can muster, realizing that even he³ who was swallowed by the whale, because he did not despair but called upon the Lord was deemed worthy of being saved. Thus now we ourselves also, having come to the limit of evils, do not slacken our hope in God, but on every side we observe His aid. Wherefore we

¹ Cf. Ex. 17, especially verses 11, 12, 13.

² Written in 376. This and the following letter concern the earlier two missions undertaken by Dorotheus to the West. This mission was successful in winning sympathy. The Benedictine editors place the present letter not earlier than Easter of 376, and object to the earlier date determined by Tillemont. In the later mission, Dorotheus carried Letter CCLXIII.

³ Cf. Jonas 2.

ἀπεβλέψαμεν νῦν, τιμιώτατοι ἡμῖν ἀδελφοί, οὓς
πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν καιρῷ τῶν θλίψεων¹ ἐπιφανή-
σασθαι ἡμῖν προσεδόκησαμεν. ἀποπεσόντες δὲ
τῆς ἐλπίδος, εἶπομεν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτι
Ἐπέμεινα συλλυπούμενον, καὶ οὐχ ὑπῆρξε,² καὶ
παρακαλοῦντας, καὶ οὐχ εὔρον. τοιαῦτα γὰρ
ἡμῶν τὰ παθήματα, ὡς καὶ τῶν περάτων ἐφικέσθαι
τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης³ καὶ εἴπερ πάσχοντος
μέλους ἐνὸς συμπάσχει⁴ πάντα τὰ μέλη, ἔπρεπε
δήπου καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ πεπονηκόσι
συνδιατεθῆναι τὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν ὑμῶν. οὐ γὰρ
ἢ τῶν τόπων ἐγγύτης ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ πνεῦμα
συνάφεια ἐμποιεῖν πέφυκε τὴν οἰκείωσιν, ἣν ἡμῖν
εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν πεπιστεύκαμεν.

Τί δήποτε οὖν οὐ γράμμα⁴ παρακλήσεως, οὐκ
ἀδελφῶν ἐπίσκεψις, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὀφειλομένων
ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ θεομοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης γεγένηται;
τρισκαίδεκατον γὰρ ἔτος ἐστίν, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ αἰρε-
τικός ἡμῖν πόλεμος ἐπαυέστη ἐν ᾧ πλείους
γεγόνασιν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αἱ θλίψεις τῶν μνημο-
νεομένων ἀφ' οὗ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ
καταγγέλλεται. ὧν τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον διηγέσθαι⁵
ὑμῖν παραιτούμεθα, μή ποτε τὸ τῶν λόγων ἡμῶν
ἀσθενὲς τὴν ἐναργεῖαν τῶν κακῶν ὑπεκλύσῃ⁶ καὶ
ἅμα οὐδὲ⁶ ἠγούμεθα ὑμᾶς διδασκαλίας προσ-
δεῖσθαι, τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν πραγμάτων πάλαι τῇ

¹ τῆς θλίψεως E.² ἐπῆρξε Harl., et nonnulli.³ πάσχει E.⁴ γράμματα Harl.⁵ ἕκαστον διηγέσθαι ἕκαστη διηγέσθαι E, Med.⁶ οὐδὲν E, editi antiqui.¹ Psal. 68. 21.² Cf. 1 Cor. 12. 26: καὶ εἴτε πάσχει ἐν μέλος, συμπάσχει πάντα
τὰ μέλη· εἴτε δοξάζεται ἐν μέλος, συγχαίρει πάντα τὰ μέλη.

have now looked also to you, our most honoured
brethren, whom we often in time of afflictions have
expected would appear at our side; but having failed
of that hope we also have said to ourselves: "And
I looked for one that would grieve together with
me, but there was none; and for one that would
comfort me, and I found none."¹ For such were
our sufferings that they reached even the confines of
your world, and if it is true that when one member
suffers all the members suffer with it,² surely it
were fitting that your compassion be extended to
us also who have suffered for a long time. For not
proximity of place but spiritual union is wont to
engender the kindred feeling which we have believed
to exist between us and your Charities.

Why then, I say, has there been no letter of
consolation, no visit from brethren, nothing else of
what is due to us through the bond of charity? For
it is the thirteenth year³ since the war of heresy
arose against us; in this time more afflictions have
happened to the churches than are on record since
the gospel of Christ was proclaimed.⁴ The details of
these afflictions we beg you to excuse our describing
to you, lest the weakness of our words impair the
vividness of the evils; and at the same time we do
not think that you have need of information, for
you were informed of the truth of the affairs long ago

¹ "And if one member suffer anything, all the members suffer
with it; or if one member glory, all the members rejoice
with it."² The thirteenth year of Valens' reign began March 376, and
this is one of the reasons for placing this letter as the Bene-
dictine editors do. Cf. *Vita Basil.* XXXV.³ As Jackson points out, "a rhetorical expression not to be
taken literally."

φήμη δεδιδασγμένους. κεφάλαιον δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ λαοὶ τοὺς τῶν προσευχῶν καταλιπόντες οἴκους, ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις¹ συνάγονται, θέαμα ἐλεεινόν· γυναῖκες, καὶ παιδία, καὶ γέροντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλλως² ἀσθενεῖς, ἐν ὄμβροις λαβροτάτοις, καὶ³ νιφετοῖς καὶ ἀνέμοις καὶ παγετῷ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν θέρει ὑπὸ τὴν φλόγα τοῦ ἡλίου ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ ταλαιπωροῦντες. καὶ ταῦτα πάσχουσι διὰ τὸ τῆς πονηρᾶς ζύμης Ἀρείου γενέσθαι μὴ καταδέχεσθαι.

Πῶς ἂν ὑμῖν ταῦτα λόγος ἐναργῶς παραστήσειεν, εἰ⁴ μὴ αὐτὴ ἡ πείρα καὶ ἡ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν θεὰ κινήσειεν ὑμᾶς⁵ πρὸς συμπάθειαν; ὥστε παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς νῦν γοῦν χεῖρα ὀρέξαι ταῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἐκκλησίαις εἰς γόνυ κλιθείσαις ἤδη, καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι τινας τοὺς τῶν μοθῶν ὑπομιμνήσκοντας τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐπὶ⁶ τῇ ὑπομονῇ τῶν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων. οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὁ συνήθης λόγος ἐνεργεῖν πέφυκεν, ὅσον ἡ ξένη φωνὴ ἐμποιεῖν τὴν παράκλησιν, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ ἀνδρῶν γινομένη πανταχοῦ⁷ ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι γνωριζομένων, ὁποίους ὑμᾶς ἡ φήμη πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις περιεργέλλει,⁸ ἀτρώτους κατὰ τὴν πίστιν διαμείναντας, ἀσυλον τὴν ἀποστολικὴν παρακαταθήκην διαφυλάξαντας. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα τοιαῦτα ἀλλ' ἔχομέν⁹ τινας ἐπιθυμία δόξης, καὶ τῇ μάλιστα καταστρεφούσῃ Χριστιανῶν ψυχὰς

through report. But a summary of the evil is as follows: The laity have abandoned the houses of prayer and are congregating in desert places, a pitiable sight—women, and children, and old men, and the otherwise infirm, in most furious rains, and in snowstorms, and in winds and frost of winter, and likewise also in summer suffering under the heat of the sun in the open air! And this they suffer for not consenting to become a part of the wicked leaven¹ of Arius.

How could words present these matters to you clearly, unless actual experience and the viewing of them with your own eyes should stir you to sympathy? Therefore we urge you now at least to stretch out a hand to the churches in the East which have already fallen to their knees, and to despatch certain persons to remind us of the rewards that lie in store for patience in sufferings for Christ. For familiar speech is not wont to avail so much as the strange voice is to engender consolation, and especially when it comes from men known everywhere by the grace of God for the noblest qualities, the kind of men that fame proclaims you to all mankind as having remained unwounded in the faith, and as having preserved unharmed the sacred trust of the apostles. Yet our own situation is not such, but we have some who, through a longing for glory and the puffed-up pride that especially tramples upon souls of

¹ Cf. Matt. 16. 6: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, "Ὁρᾶτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων." "Who said to them: Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees."

⁸ παραγγέλλει editi antiq̄i.

⁹ ἔσχομέν E.

¹ ἐρημίαις E, Med.

² ἄλλοι E, Med.

³ ἐν add. editi antiq̄i.

⁴ ἂν E, Med.

⁵ ἡμᾶς E.

⁶ ἐν E.

⁷ om. Harl., Vat., Reg. secundus, Coisl. secundus, alter Bigot.

φυσιώσει, καταβαρρήσαντάς τινων καινοτομίας
 ῥημάτων, ὅθεν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι σαθρωθεῖσαι, ὡσπερ
 ἀγγεῖα ἀραιωθέντα, τὴν αἰρετικὴν διαφθορὰν
 εἰσρνεῖσαν ἐδέξαντο. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς, ὡ¹ ἀγαπητοὶ
 ἡμῖν καὶ περιπόθητοι, γενεσθε τῶν μὲν τραυ-
 ματιῶν² ἰατροί, τῶν δὲ ὑγιαίνοντων παιδοτρίβαι,
 τὸ μὲν νεοσηκὸς ὑγιάζοντες³ τὸ δὲ ὑγιαίνον
 ἀλείφοντες εἰς⁴ εὐσέβειαν.

CCXLIII

Πρὸς Ἰταλοὺς καὶ Γάλλους ἐπισκόπους, περὶ
 τῆς καταστάσεως καὶ συγχύσεως τῶν
 ἐκκλησιῶν.⁵

Τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ποθεινοτά-
 τοις ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ὁμοψύχοις συλλειτουργοῖς, τοῖς
 κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐπισκόποις,
 Βασίλειος ἐπίσκοπος Καισαρείας τῆς Καππα-
 δοκίας.

Ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς σῶμα ἑαυτοῦ
 καταδεξάμενος ὀνομάσαι τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ Θεοῦ
 Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἓνα ἡμῶν ἀλλήλων
 ἀποδείξας μέλη, ἔδωκε καὶ ἡμῖν πᾶσι πρὸς πάντας
 ἔχειν οἰκείως, κατὰ τὴν τῶν μελῶν συμφωνίαν,
 διόπερ εἰ καὶ πλείστον ἀλλήλων διωρίσμεθα ταῖς
 οἰκῆσεσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ γε λόγῳ τῆς συναφείας ἐγγύς
 ἀλλήλων ἐσμέν. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐ δύναται ἡ κεφαλὴ
 τοῖς ποσὶν εἰπεῖν, χρεῖαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχει, πάντως

¹ ὡς editi antiqui.

³ ὑγιαίνοντες E.

² τραυμάτων editi antiqui.

⁴ πρὸς E.

Christians, have boldly uttered certain novel ex-
 pressions, whereby the churches, becoming unsound,
 like vessels that have become porous, have received
 the heretical corruption that has flowed upon them.
 But do you, sirs, beloved and longed for by us,
 become physicians for the wounded, and trainers for
 those who are sound, healing whatever is sick and
 anointing what is sound, for the true faith.

LETTER CCXLIII

TO THE BISHOPS OF ITALY AND GAUL, REGARDING THE
 CONDITION AND CONFUSION OF THE CHURCHES¹

To our truly most God-beloved and dear brothers
 and fellow-workers of like mind with ourselves, the
 bishops of Gaul and Italy, from Basil, Bishop of
 Caesarea in Cappadocia.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, having deigned to call the
 whole Church of God His body and having declared
 us individually members of each other, has granted
 also to us all to be on intimate terms with all accord-
 ing to the harmony of the members. Wherefore,
 even if we are separated very far from each other by
 habitation, yet by reason at least of our union we
 are near each other. Now, since the head cannot say
 to the feet: "I have not need of you,"² surely

¹ Of the early summer of 376. Cf. Loofs, 41. Cf.
 introductory note to previous letter.

² Cor. 12. 21.

⁵ In editis tituli loco apposita fuerant τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς . . .
 Καππαδοκίας, quae cum ipso contextu epistolae coniuncta sunt
 in Harl. et Med., et desunt in E.

οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς ἀνέξεσθε ἀποποιήσασθαι ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον συμπαθήσετε ἡμῶν ταῖς θλίψεσιν αἷς παρεδόθημεν διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν, ὅσον καὶ ἡμεῖς συγχαίρομεν ὑμῖν τοῖς δοξαζομένοις ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἣ ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν¹ ὁ Κύριος. ἤδη μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐπεβοησάμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην εἰς ἀντίληψιν ἡμῶν καὶ συμπάθειαν· ἀλλὰ πάντως διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀναπληρωθῆναι τὴν ἐκδίκησιν,² οὐ συνεχωρήθητε διαναστῆναι πρὸς τὴν ἀντίληψιν.³ ἐπιζητοῦμεν⁴ γὰρ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ κρατοῦντι τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς οἰκουμένης φανεράν γενέσθαι διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐλαβείας τὴν ἡμετέραν σύγχυσιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο δύσκολον, ἀλλ' ἐλθεῖν τινας παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ παραμυθίαν τῶν θλιβομένων, ἵν' ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑποβάλλωσι⁵ τὰ πάθη τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ἅπερ ἀκοαῖς ἀδύνατον παραδέξασθαι, τῷ μηδένα λόγου εὐρίσκεσθαι ἐναργῶς παριστώντα⁶ ὑμῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα.

Διωγμὸς κατέληφεν ἡμᾶς, ἀδελφοὶ τιμιώτατοι, καὶ διωγμῶν ὁ βαρύτατος. διώκονται γὰρ ποιμένες, ἵνα διασκορπισθῶσι τὰ ποίμνια. καὶ τὸ βαρύτατον, ὅτι οὔτε οἱ μὲν⁷ κακούμενοι⁸ ἐν πληροφορίᾳ μαρτυρίου τὰ πάθη δέχονται, οὔτε οἱ λαοὶ ἐν μαρτύρων τάξει τοὺς ἀθλητὰς θεραπεύουσι, διὰ τὸ Χριστιανῶν ὄνομα τοῖς διώκουσι περικεῖσθαι. ἐν ἐστὶν ἐγκλημα νῦν σφοδρῶς ἐκδικούμενον, ἢ ἀκριβῆς τήρησις τῶν πατρικῶν παραδόσεων. διὰ τοῦτο ἀπελαύνονται μὲν τῶν

neither will you endure to cast us off, but you will sympathize as much with our afflictions, to which we have been given over on account of our sins, as we rejoice with you who are glorying in the peace with which the Lord has blessed you. Now then on another occasion also we appealed to your Charities for assistance for us and sympathy; but surely because our punishment was not fulfilled you were not allowed to rise to our assistance. For we seek, if it is possible, that through your Reverences our ruin may be made clear even to the Emperor¹ himself of your part of the world; but if this is difficult, at least that some men may come from you to visit and give comfort to the afflicted, in order that they may see with their own eyes the sufferings of the East, which it is impossible to learn by report, since no words can be found that can set forth our situation clearly to you.

Persecution has laid hold of us, most honoured brethren, and the most oppressive of persecutions. For shepherds are being persecuted that their flocks may be scattered. And the most oppressive part of this is, that neither do those who are being wronged accept their sufferings in the certainty of martyrdom, nor do the laity reverence their athletes as being in the class of martyrs, because the persecutors are cloaked with the name of Christians. There is one charge now being vehemently prosecuted—the precise observance of the traditions of the Fathers. On this account the pious are driven from their

¹ i. e. Gratian, successor of Valentinian I in 375.

¹ ἡμῖν E.

² ἡμῶν add. editi.

³ ἡμῶν add. E.

⁴ ἐπιζητοῦμεν E.

⁵ ὑποβάλλωσι editi antiq̄i.

⁶ παριστώντα editi antiq̄i.

⁷ om. E, editi antiq̄i.

⁸ κακούμενοι editi antiq̄i.

πατρίδων οἱ εὐσεβεῖς, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐρημίας μετοικίζονται, οὐ πολὺὰ τοῖς κριταῖς τῆς ἀδικίας αἰδέσιμος, οὐκ ἄσκησις εὐσεβείας, οὐ πολιτεία κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ νεότητος εἰς γῆρας διανυσθεῖσα, ἀλλὰ κακούργος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀνευ ἐλέγχων καταδικάζεται, ἐπίσκοποι δὲ ἀπὸ¹ μόνης συκοφαντίας ἐάλωσαν, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀποδείξωσ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν ἐπενεχθείσης ταῖς τιμωρίαις ἐκδίδονται, τινὲς δὲ οὔτε ἐγνώρισαν κατηγοροῦσ, οὔτε εἶδον δικαστήρια, οὔτε ἐσυκοφαντήθησαν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἄωρι τῶν νυκτῶν βιαίως ἀναρπασθέντες εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἐφυγαδευθήσαν, ταῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας κακοπαθείαις παραδοθέντες εἰς θάνατον. τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐπόμενα γνώριμα παντί, κὰν ἡμεῖς σιωπήσωμεν· φυγαὶ πρεσβυτέρων, φυγαὶ διακόνων, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου λεηλασίη,² ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἢ προσκυνῆσαι τῇ εἰκόνι, ἢ τῇ πονηρᾷ φλογὶ τῶν μαστίγων παραδοθῆναι. στεναγμοὶ³ λαῶν, δάκρυον διηλεκτὸν καὶ κατ' οἴκους καὶ δημοσίᾳ, πάντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀδυρομένων ἃ πάσχουσιν, οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω λίθινος τὴν καρδίαν, ὥστε πατρὸς στερηθείς, πρῶτος φέρειν τὴν ὀφθαίαν. ἤχος θρηνοῦντων ἐν πόλει, ἤχος ἐν ἀγροῦς, ἐν ὁδοῖς, ἐν ἐρημίαις, μία φωνὴ ἐλεεινῶ πάντων⁴ καὶ σκυθρωπὰ φθεγ-

native places, and are exiled to desert regions. A hoary head receives no reverence with the judges of justice, nor does practice of piety, nor a life spent according to the Gospel from youth until old age. But though no malefactor is condemned without proofs, yet bishops have been convicted on the strength of calumny alone, and, although no proof has supported the charges, they are given over to the punishments. And some have neither known accusers, nor seen courts of law, nor been falsely accused at all, but seized by violence late at night they have been exiled to foreign lands, given over to the cruel sufferings of the desert unto death.¹ And what follows all this is known to everyone, even if we are silent about it—flight of presbyters, flight of deacons, and harassment of all the clergy. For we must either worship the image or be given over to the painful flame of the whips.² There are groans of laity, incessant weeping both in private and in public, all men bewailing to one another the things they suffer. For no one is so stony of heart as to be deprived of a father and bear the bereavement calmly. There is the sound of people lamenting in city, the sound in fields, on roads, in deserts. There is one cry of all, voicing their

² Cf. Dan. 3, 10 and 11: *σύ, βασιλεῦ, προσέταξας καὶ ἔκρινας, ἵνα πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἀν ἀκούσῃ τῆς σάλπιγγος, σύριγγός τε καὶ σαμβύκης, καθάρας καὶ ψαλτηρίου καὶ παντὸς ἤχου μουσικῶν, πεσὼν προσκυνῆσῃ, τῇ εἰκόνι τῆ χρυσοῦ, καὶ ὃς ἀν μὴ πεσὼν προσκυνῆσῃ, ἐμβληθήσεται εἰς τὴν κάμνον τοῦ πυρὸς τῆν καιομένην.* "Thou, O king, hast made a decree that every man that shall hear the sound of the trumpet, the flute, and the harp, of the sackbut, and psaltery, of the symphony, and of all kind of music, shall prostrate himself, and adore the golden statue: / And that if any man shall not fall down and adore, he should be cast into a furnace of burning fire."

¹ ἕπο quattuor MSS.

² Ληηλασία editi antiq̄i.

³ στεναγμὸς non pauci MSS.

⁴ ἀπάντων E, editi antiq̄i.

¹ For a midnight banishment, cf. Theod. 4, 13, where the expulsion of Eusebius from Samosata is described. The most striking example of death following on exile is that of John Chrysostom in 407. Basil, of course, did not live to see this.

γομένων. ἐξήρται χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη πνευματική. εἰς πένθος ἐστράφησαν ἡμῶν αἱ ἑορταὶ· οἴκοι προσευχῶν ἀπεκλείσθησαν· ἀργὰ τὰ θυσιαστήρια τῆς πνευματικῆς λατρείας. οὐκέτι σύλλογοι Χριστιανῶν, οὐκέτι διδασκάλων προεδρίαί, οὐ διδάγματα σωτήρια, οὐ πανηγύρεις, οὐχ ὑμνοδαί νυκτεριναί, οὐ τὸ¹ μακάριον ἐκεῖνο τῶν ψυχῶν ἀγαλλίαμα, τὸ² ἐπὶ ταῖς συνάξεσι καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγινόμενον³ τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς Κύριον. ἡμῖν πρέπει λέγειν, ὅτι Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἄρχων, οὔτε προφήτης, οὔτε ἡγούμενος, οὔτε προσφορά, οὔτε θυμίαμα, οὐ τόπος τοῦ καρπῶσαι ἐνώπιον Κυρίου, καὶ εὐρεῖν ἔλεος.

Ταῦτα εἰδόντων ἐπιστέλλομεν, διότι οὐδὲν μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἢ τὰς ἡμετέρας λοιπὸν ἡγγόησε συμφοράς, ὥστε οὐ διδασκαλίαν ἔνεκεν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ποιεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς νομίζειν προσήκειν, οὐδὲ τοῦ⁴ ὑπομῆσαι ὑμῶν τὴν ἐμμέλειαν. οἶδαμεν γάρ, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐπιλάβοισθε⁵ ἡμῶν,⁶ οὐ μᾶλλον γε ἢ ἡ⁷ μήτηρ τῶν ἐκγόνων τῆς κοιλίας αὐτῆς. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οἱ

¹ οὐ τὸ] ὅτε editi antiqi.

² δ editi antiqi.

³ ἐγγίνεται editi antiqi.

⁴ τὸ E.

⁵ ἐπιλάβοισθε editi antiqi.

⁶ ὑμῶν E.

⁷ om. E.

pitiable and sad state. Spiritual joy and gladness have been taken away. Our feasts have been turned into mourning;¹ houses of prayer have been closed; idle are the altars of spiritual service. No longer are there gatherings of Christians, no longer precedence of teachers, no teachings of salvation, no assemblies, no evening singing of hymns, nor that blessed joy of souls which arises in the souls of those who believe in the Lord at the gatherings for Holy Communion and when the spiritual blessings are partaken of. It is fitting for us to say: "Neither is there at this time prince, or prophet, or leader, or oblation, or incense, or place of first-fruits before the Lord and no place to find mercy."²

These things we write to those who know, because there is no part of the world which is now ignorant of our misfortunes. So you must not suppose that to give news was our object in composing these lines, or to remind your Grace. For we know that you could never forget us, no more indeed than the mother can forget the children of her womb.³

will make it as the mourning of an only son, and the latter end thereof as a bitter day."⁴

² Cf. Dan. 3. 38 and 39: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ, ταῦτα ἄρχων καὶ προφήτης καὶ ἡγούμενος, οὐδὲ ὀλοκαυτώσις οὐδὲ θυσία οὐδὲ προσφορά οὐδὲ θυμίαμα, οὐ τόπος τοῦ καρπῶσαι ἐναντίον σου καὶ εὐρεῖν ἔλεος. "Neither is there at this time prince, or leader, or prophet, or holocaust, or sacrifice, or oblation, or incense, or place of first-fruits, before thee, that we may find thy mercy."⁵

³ Cf. Is. 49, 15: μή ἐπιλήσεται γυνὴ τοῦ παιδίου αὐτῆς, ἢ τοῦ μή λησῆσαι τὰ ἔκγονα τῆς κοιλίας αὐτῆς; εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιλάβοιτο γυνή, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαι σοῦ, εἶπεν Κύριος. "Can a woman forget her infant, so as not to have pity on the son of her womb? and if she should forget, yet will I not forget thee."

¹ Cf. Amos 8. 10: καὶ μεταστρέψω τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν εἰς πένθος, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν εἰς θρήνον, καὶ ἀναβιβῶ ἐπὶ πάσαν ὀσφύν σάκκου, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν κεφαλὴν φαλάκρωμα, καὶ θήσομαι αὐτὸν ὡς πένθος ἀγαπητοῦ, καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἡμέραν ὀδύνης. "And I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation: and I will bring up sackcloth upon every back of yours, and baldness upon every head: and I

περιωδυνία¹ τιw κατεχόμενοι διὰ τῶν στεναγμῶν
κουφίξειw πως τὰς ἀληθόνας πεφύκασι, τοῦτο
καὶ ἡμεῖς ποιούμεw· οἶον ἀποσκευαζόμεθα τῆς
λύπης τὸ βίρος, δι' ὧν πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν
ἀγάπην τὰς πολυειδεῖς ἡμῶν συμφορὰς ἐξαγ-
γέλλομεw, εἰ πως ἂν, σφοδρότερον εἰς τὰς ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν προσευχὰς κινήθηντες, δυσωπήσητε² τὸν
Κύριον διαλλαγῆναι ἡμῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν αἱ θλίψεις
ἦσαν μόναι αἱ καταπονοῦσαι ἡμᾶς, κἄν συνε-
βουλευσαμεw ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειw, καὶ
χαίρειw τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιw, ἐπειδὴ
οὐκ ἀξία τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν
μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθήσεσθαι εἰς ἡμᾶς.
νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα, μήποτε αὐξανόμενον τὸ κακόν,
ὡσπερ τις φλόξ διὰ τῆς καιομένης ἕλης βα-
δίζουσα,³ ἐπειδὴν καταναλώσῃ⁴ τὰ πλησίον,
ἄψῃται καὶ τῶν πόρρω. ἐπινέμεται γάρ τὸ
κακόν τῆς αἰρέσεωσ· καὶ δέος ἐστὶ, μὴ τὰς
ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας καταφαγοῦσα, ἐρῃσῃ λοιπὸν
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον μέρος τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς παροι-
κίας. τάχα μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν πλεονάσαι
τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, πρῶτοι παρεδόθημεw εἰς κατὰ-
βρωσιν⁵ τοῖς ὁμοφάγοις ὁδοῦσι τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ
Θεοῦ⁶· τάχα δέ, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐστιw εἰκόσαι, ὅτι
ἐπειδὴ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπὸ τῶν
ἡμετέρων τόπων ἀρξάμενον εἰς πᾶσαν ἐξῆλθε τὴν
οἰκουμένην, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ κοινὸς τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν
ἐχθρὸς, τὰ τῆς ἀποστασίας σπέρματα,⁷ ἀπὸ τῶν
αὐτῶν τόπων τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντα, εἰς πᾶσαν

But since those who are in the grip of excessive
pain are wont to alleviate their sufferings somehow
by groans, this we also are doing. How great a
weight of grief do we cast off, as we narrate our
manifold misfortunes to your Charities, if perchance,
being roused the more zealously to pray for us,
you may importune the Lord to be reconciled
with us. Now if it were our afflictions alone that
trouble us, we should have determined to keep
silence and to rejoice in our sufferings for Christ, for
"the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be
compared with the glory that shall be revealed in
us."¹ But as things are, we fear lest the evil as it
increases, like a flame passing through the burning
forest, after it has consumed what is near by, may lay
hold of what is afar. For the evil of heresy is spread-
ing; and there is fear lest, after consuming our
churches, it may creep presently upon the portion of
your district that is sound. So perhaps, because
iniquity has abounded with us, we have been the
first to be given over to be devoured by the savage
teeth of the enemies of God. But perhaps—and this
is even more probable—since the gospel of the
kingdom, having begun in our region, has gone forth
to the whole world, on this account the common
enemy of our souls strives that the seeds of apostasy,
having taken their beginning in the same region,

¹ Cf. Rom. 8. 18: *Λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἀξία τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.* "For I reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come, that shall be revealed in us."

¹ ἰδὲνη editi antiqi. ² δυσωπήσετε editi antiqi.

³ βαδίσασα nonnulli MSS.

⁴ καταναλώσῃ] καταλάβοι; καὶ καταναλώσει editi antiqi.

⁵ κατὰβρωμα editi antiqi.

⁶ Χριστοῦ editi antiqi.

⁷ βήματα quinque MSS.

οίκουμένην διαδοθῆναι φιλονεικεί, ἐφ' οὗς γὰρ ἔλαμψεν ὁ φωτισμὸς τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπὶ τούτους ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας σκότος ἐπινοεῖ.

Τμέτερα οὖν λογίσασθε τὰ πάθη ἡμῶν, ὡς γνήσιοι μαθηταὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, οὐχ ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, οὐχ ὑπὲρ δόξης, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν προσκαίρων καταπολεμούμεθα,¹ ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινουῦ κτήματος, τοῦ πατρικοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς ὑγιαίνουσας πίστεως, ἐστήκαμεν ἀγωνιζόμενοι, συναλγήσατε ἡμῖν, ὦ φιλάδελφοι, ὅτι ἀποκέκλεισται μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν τῶν εὐσεβούντων τὰ στόματα, ἤνοικται² δὲ πᾶσα θρασεῖα καὶ βλάσφημος γλῶσσα τῶν λαλούντων κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀδικίαν. οἱ στῦλοι καὶ τὸ ἐδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν διασπορᾷ, ἡμεῖς δέ, οἱ διὰ μικρότητα παροφθέντες, ἀπαρρησίαστοι. ἀγωνιάσατε ὑπὲρ τῶν λαῶν καὶ μὴ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς σκοπεῖτε μόνον, ὅτι ἐν λιμέσιν εὐδίοις ὀρμίζεσθε, τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος πᾶσαν ὑμῖν σκέπην χαρισαμένης³ ἀπὸ τῆς ζύλης τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς χειμαζομέναις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν χεῖρα ὀρέξατε, μήποτ' ἐγκαταλειφθεῖσαι, παντελῶς ὑπομείνωσι⁴ τῆς πίστεως τὸ⁵ ναυάγιον, στεναῖσατε ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὅτι ὁ Μονογενὴς βλασφημεῖται, καὶ ὁ ἀντιλέγων οὐκ ἔστι, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀθετεῖται, καὶ ὁ δυνάμενος ἐλέγχειν ἀποδίδωκεται, πολυθεῖα κεκράτηκε, μέγας Θεὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ μικρός. Τίς οὐχὶ φύσεως

may be distributed to the whole world. For upon whom the light of the knowledge of Christ has shone, upon these the darkness of impiety also contrives to come.

Therefore, as genuine disciples of the Lord, consider that our sufferings are yours. Not for wealth, not for glory, not for anything else of temporary things, do we urge war against them; but for our common possession—our treasure, inherited from our fathers, of the sound faith—have we taken our stand in the struggle. Grieve with us, ye lovers of the brethren, because while the mouths of those among us who live piously have been closed, yet every bold and blasphemous tongue of those who speak iniquity against God has been loosed.¹ The pillars and foundation of the truth are dispersed, and we, who on account of our insignificance have been overlooked, are deprived of our freedom of speech. Struggle in behalf of the laity, and look not only to yourselves, that you are moored in calm harbours, since the grace of God grants you every protection from the storm of the winds of wickedness; but also stretch forth your hand to those of the churches that are being tossed about, lest, if they are abandoned, they may endure complete shipwreck of the faith. Sigh for us because the Only-begotten is blasphemed, and there is no one to utter objection. The Holy Spirit is denied, and he who can offer refutation is driven into exile. Polytheism has prevailed. They have a great and a small god. "Son" is not a name of nature, but

¹ πολεμούμεθα quinque MSS.

² ἤνοιγη editi antiqui.

³ χαρισμένης editi antiqui.

⁴ ἀπομείνωσι E.

⁵ om. E.

¹ Cf. Psal. 73. 8: διανοήθησαν καὶ ἐλάλησαν ἐν πονηρίᾳ, ἀδικίαν εἰς τὸ ὄψος ἐλάλησαν. The English Versions are quite different, and need not be quoted.

ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ τιμῆς τινος εἶναι προσηγορία νενομισται· τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐ συμπληρωτικὸν εἶναι τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, οὐδὲ κοινὸν τῆς θείας καὶ μακαρίας φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐν τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς κτίσεως, εἰκῆ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ προσερίφθαι. τίς δώσει τῇ κεφαλῇ μου ὕδωρ, καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς¹ μου πηγὴν δακρύων; καὶ κλαύσομαι τὸν λαὸν ἡμέρας πολλάς, τὸν ταῖς πονηραῖς ταύταις διδασκαλίαις πρὸς τὴν ἀπωλειαν συνωθούμενον. παρασύρονται τῶν ἀκραιοτέρων αἱ ἀκοαί· εἰς συνήθειαν λοιπὸν ἦλθον τῆς αἰρετικῆς δυσσεβείας. συνεκτρέφεται τὰ νήπια τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῖς λόγοις τῆς ἀσεβείας. τί γὰρ καὶ ποιήσουσι; βαπτίσματα παρ' ἐκείνοις,² προπομπὰ τῶν ἐξοδούντων, ἐπισκέψεις τῶν ἀσθενούντων, παρακλήσεις τῶν λυπουμένων, βοήθειαι τῶν καταπονυμένων, ἀντιλήψεις παντοδαπαί, μυστηρίων κοινωῖαι· ἅ πάντα, δι' ἐκείνων ἐπιτελούμενα, σύνδεσμος γίνεται τοῖς λαοῖς τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμοιοῖας· ὥστε μικροῦ χρόνου προελθόντος, μηδ' εἰ γένοιτό τις ἄδεια, ἐλπίδα λοιπὸν εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς χρονίας ἀπάτης κατασχεθέντας, πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀνακληθῆναι.

Τούτων ἕνεκεν πολλοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐχρῆν συνδραμεῖν πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν σεμνότητα, καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων ἐξηγητὴν γενέσθαι. νῦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δεῖγμα γενέσθω ὑμῖν τῆς κακοπαθείας, ἐν ᾗ διάγομεν, ὅτι οὐδ' ἀποδημίας ἐσμέν κύριοι. εἰ γὰρ τις καὶ πρὸς τὸ βραχύτατον τῆς

is considered an appellation of some honour; the Holy Ghost is considered to be, not as rounding out the Holy Trinity, nor even as sharing in its divine and blessed nature, but as one of the things of creation, that without purpose and at random has been added to Father and to Son. "Who will give water to my head, and a fountain of tears to my eyes?"¹ And I shall weep for the laity many days, who by these wicked teachings are being forced into destruction. The ears of the more simple-minded are being turned away; already they have become accustomed to the heretical impiety. The nurslings of the Church are being brought up in the doctrines of ungodliness. For what are they indeed to do? Baptisms are in the heretics' hands, attendance upon those who are departing this life, visits to the sick, the consolation of those who grieve, the assisting of those who are in distress, succour of all kinds, communion of the mysteries; all of these things, being performed by them, become a bond of agreement between them and the laity. Consequently after a little time has passed, not even if all fear should be removed, would there then be hope of recalling those held by a long-standing deception back to the recognition of the truth.

For these reasons many of us should have hastened to your August Reverences, and each have become an expounder of his own affairs. But as it is let this very fact be a proof to you of the distress in which we pass our life—that we are not even free to travel abroad! For if anyone even for the shortest while

¹ Jer. 9. 1.² ἐκείνων editi antiq.² Βλαφέροις editi antiq.

ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτοῦ¹ ἀποσταίη, ἐκδότους ἀφήσει τοὺς λαοὺς τοῖς ἐφεδρευουσιν. ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι ἕνα ἀπεστείλαμεν ἀντὶ πολλῶν, τὸν εὐλαβέστατον καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Δωρόθεον τὸν συμπρεσβύτερον ὃς καὶ ὅσα διαπέφενγεν ἡμῶν τὰ γράμματα τῇ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ διηγῆσει δυνατός ἐστιν ἀναπληρῶσαι, παρηκολουθηκῶς πᾶσι μετὰ ἀκριβείας, καὶ ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως. ὃν προσδεξάμενοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ διὰ ταχεῶν ἡμῖν ἀποπέμψατε,² ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν εὐαγγέλια φέροντα τῆς σπουδῆς ὑμῶν, ἣν ἔχετε πρὸς τὸ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἀδελφότητος.

CCXLIV

Πατροφίλω, ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς ἐν Αἰγαῖς ἐκκλησίας.³

Ἐνέτυχόν σου τοῖς γράμμασιν, ἃ διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Στρατηγίου τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου ἀπέστειλας, καὶ ἐνέτυχον ἡδέως. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλον, καὶ παρὰ ἀνδρὸς συνετοῦ γεγραμμένοις, καὶ παρὰ καρδίας τὴν πρὸς πάντας ἀγάπην ἐκ τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ Κυρίου κατορθοῦν δεδιδαγμένης; καὶ σχεδὸν ἐγνώρισα τῆς ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ σιωπῆς τὴν αἰτίαν. ἀποροῦντι γὰρ ἑώκεις καὶ ἐκθαμβουμένῳ, εἰ Βασίλειος ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τοιῶσδε δουλεύσας ἐκ παιδὸς τῷ δεῖν, ὁ τὰδε

¹ αὐτοῦ editi antiqui.

² ἀποπέμψατε E.

³ Αἰγαῖς E, Ἀγαῖς editi antiqui.

¹ Written in the summer of 376. Cf. Loofs, 17 f. This Patrophilus was a friend of Eustathius of Sebaste and of Basil. After Basil's break with Eustathius, he wrote to Basil expressing his surprise that Basil should regard Eustathius

should stay away from his church, he will leave his people betrayed to those who lie in ambush. But, by the grace of God, we have despatched one instead of many, our most pious and beloved brother Dorotheus, fellow-presbyter, who is able with his own narrative to supply whatever has escaped our letter, since he has followed all events keenly and has been from the beginning a zealous supporter of the orthodox faith. After receiving him in peace, quickly send him back to us, bearing good tidings to us of the zeal you possess for aiding the brethren.

LETTER CCXLIV

TO PATROPHILUS, BISHOP OF THE CHURCH AT AEGAE¹

I READ your letter, that you had sent through our brother Strategius, fellow-presbyter, and I read it with pleasure. For how was I not to do so, when it was written both by a man of wisdom and by a heart taught by the commandment of the Lord to keep straight his charity toward all! And I know fairly well the reason for your silence in the past. For you seemed like one at a loss and amazed, because that Basil, he who from boyhood had performed such a service for a certain person, he who had done such

as an enemy after having been for so long his friend and champion. Basil replied in the present letter explaining his position, and asking Patrophilus to inform him whether he will remain in communion with him or join his enemies. After some delay, Patrophilus wrote again urging Basil to resume his friendship with Eustathius. Basil replies with Letter CCL, giving the reasons for retaining his former attitude toward one of such heretical views.

ποιήσας ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν τῶνδε καὶ τάδε, ὁ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς μυρίους πόλεμον τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἕνα θεραπείας ἔνεκεν καταδεξιόμενος· οὗτος νῦν ἕτερος γέγονεν ἐξ ἑτέρου, καὶ πόλεμον ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ἀνῆρηται, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐπέστειλας, ἱκανῶς τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἐκπλήξιν ἐν τῇ παραλόγῳ τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολῇ ἐνδείκνυμενος, καὶ εἴ τι ἡμῶν καὶ καθήψω, οὐκ ἐδεξάμην τοῦτο δυσκόλως. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εἰμὶ ἀνουθέτητος, ὡς πρὸς τὰς ἀγαπητικὰς ἐπιπλήξει τῶν ἀδελφῶν δυσχεραίνειν. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχω τοῖς ἐπεσταλμέναις ἄχθεσθαι, ὥστε μικροῦ καὶ ἐγέλασα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ τοσοῦτων ὄντων καὶ τηλικούτων, ἃ ἡμῖν ἐδόκει τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίαν πρότερον βεβαιοῦν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ μικροῖς τοῖς μέχρῃ σου φθάσαι τηλικαύτην ἔγραψας¹ τὴν ἐκπλήξιν πεποιθέναι. ἄρ' οὖν καὶ σὺ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν πέποιθας, οἱ καταλιπόντες τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξετάζειν τὴν φύσιν, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσέχουσι, περὶ ὧν οἱ λόγοι, καὶ γίνονται, οὐχὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξετασται, ἀλλὰ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν προσώπων δοκιμασταί, ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῆς παραινέσεως, ὅτι Ἐπιγινώσκειν πρόσωπον ἐν κρίσει,² οὐ καλόν.

Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ Θεὸς πρόσωπον ἐν κρίσει ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει, ἦν πρὸς τὸ μέγα δικαστήριον ἀπολογία παρεσκευάσα, ταύτην καὶ σοὶ γνωρίσαι οὐ παραιτήσομαι. ὅτι οὐδὲν παρ' ἡμῶν

¹ ἔγραφε: E, editi antiqui.

² ἐν κρίσει om. quinque MSS.

¹ Cf. Deut. 1. 17: οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκει πρόσωπον ἐν κρίσει· κατὰ τὸν μικρὸν καὶ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν κρινεῖς, οὐ μὴ ὑποστειλῇ πρόσωπον

and such things at such and such times, he who had taken up war against countless because of his care for one man—because this person has now become different from what he was, and has taken up war instead of love, and all the rest that you wrote, displaying full well the consternation of your soul at the unexpected turn of affairs. And if you did assail us somewhat, I did not take this ill. For I am not so incorrigible as to be vexed at the kindly rebukes of the brethren. Indeed, so far was I from being annoyed by what you wrote that I almost even laughed at it—that, when there were so many strong reasons which formerly seemed to us to strengthen our friendship with each other, you of yourself, because of trivial matters that reached you, wrote that you had experienced so great consternation. It would seem, then, you also have had the experience of the many, who, failing to examine the nature of the facts, pay attention to the persons about whom there is talk, and become, not investigators of the truth, but judges of the difference between the persons, forgetful of the admonition: “It is not good to observe person in judgment.”¹

But yet, since God does not take person into account in judgment of a man, the defence which I have prepared for the great tribunal I shall not refuse to make known to you also From the

ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν· καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα δ' ἐὰν σκληρὸν ᾖ ἀπ' ὑμῶν, ἀνοίσετε αὐτὸ ἐπ' ἐμὲ, καὶ ἀκούσομαι ὑμῶν. “There shall be no difference of persons, you shall hear the little as well as the great: neither shall you respect any man's person, because it is the judgment of God. And if anything seem hard to you, refer it to me, and I will hear it.” The Douay rendering is again based on a different version.

τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μείζον, γέγονε τῆς διαστάσεως αἰτίον· ἀλλ' ἄνθρωποι μισοῦντες ἡμᾶς, δι' ἃς ἴσασι προφάσεις¹ αὐτοὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἐμὲ χρὴ λέγειν περὶ αὐτῶν οὐδέν), συνεχεῖς ἐποιοῦντο τὰς διαβολάς, καὶ ἀπαξ μὲν ταῦτα καὶ δις ἀπεδυσάμεθα, ὡς δὲ ἀπέραντον ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ οὐδὲν ὄφελος τῆς συνεχοῦς ἀπολογίας. ἡμῶν μὲν μακρὰν ἀποκισμένων, τῶν δὲ ψευδολόγων ἐγγύθεν ἔχόντων ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν τιτρώσκειν διαβολαῖς καρδίαν εὐκαταγώνιστον καὶ οὐ δεδιδαγμένην τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν ἀκοῶν ἀκεραίαν φυλάττειν τῷ μὴ παρόντι τῶν Νικοπολιτῶν ἀπαιτούντων τινα πληροφορίαν πίστεως, δι πάντως οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς ἠγνοήσατε, ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν τὴν διακομίαν τοῦ γράμματος ὑποδέξασθαι. ἐλογισάμεθα γὰρ δύο κατορθώσειν ἐν ταύτῳ· τοὺς τε Νικοπολίτας πείσειν μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ τῶν διαβαλλόντων ἡμᾶς ἐμφράζειν² τὰ στόματα, τῆς κατὰ τὴν πίστιν συμφωνίας τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν συκοφαντίας ἀποκλειούσης. καὶ δὴ καὶ συγγέγραπτο μὲν ἡ πίστις, προσηνέχθη δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ὑπεγράφη δέ. ὡς ὑπεγράφη, καὶ χωρίον ὑπεδείχθη³ συνόδου δευτέρας, καὶ καιροῦ ἑτεροῦ, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν παροικίαν ἀδελφούς ἡμῶν συνελθόντας ἐνωθῆναι ἀλλήλοις, καὶ γνησίαν καὶ ἄδολον τοῦ λοιποῦ εἶναι τὴν κοινωνίαν.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπηντήσαμεν κατὰ τὴν προθεσίαν, καὶ οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν ἀδελφοὶ οἱ μὲν παρήσαν,

¹ airtias editi antiqi.

² ἐμφράζειν E.

³ ἀπεδείχθη editi antiqi.

beginning nothing on our part, either small or great, has arisen as a cause for the estrangement; but men out of hatred for us, for what reasons they themselves know (for I must not say anything about them), were continually fabricating slanders. And though once and a second time we rid ourselves of these slanders, yet since the affair was without end, and there was no benefit from our continual defence—for we lived far away and the falsifiers were near at hand to wound with their slanders against us a heart vulnerable and untaught to keep one ear undefiled for him who is not present—at the request of the Nicopolitans for a full assurance of the faith, a fact of which surely you also were not entirely unaware, we decided to take up the service of preparing the document.¹ For we considered that we should succeed in two things at the same time—that we should persuade the Nicopolitans not to think ill of the man,² and that we should stop the mouths of those who were slandering us, since our agreement as to faith excludes the calumnies coming from either side. And indeed the creed had been composed, and was brought forward by us; and it was signed. And when it was signed, there was designated both a place for a second synod and another time, so that our brethren throughout the diocese might come together and unite with one another, and so that our communion in the future might be genuine and without guile.

We, then, appeared according to the appointment, and the brethren of our side were some present and

¹ The reference is to the formula proposed to Eustathius by Basil, which Eustathius with others signed in 373. It appears as Letter CXXXV.

² i. e. Eustathius.

οὐ δὲ ἐπέρρεον, φαιδροὶ πάντες καὶ πρόθυμοι, ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνην τρέχοντες· καὶ γράμματα παρ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμεροδρόμοι σημαίνοντες, ὅτι πάρεσμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἡμέτερον ἦν τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἀποδεδειγμένον εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν συντρεχόντων. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου μέρους οὐδεὶς ἦν, οὔτε προτρέχων, οὔτε εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν προσδοκωμένων, οἱ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποσταλέντες ἐπανήλθον κατῆφειαν πολλὴν καὶ γογγυσμὸν τῶν ἐκεῖ διηγούμενοι, ὡς καινῆς πίστεως παρ' ἡμῶν καταγγελθείσης· καὶ ἐλέγοντο διορίζεσθαι, ἢ μὴν μὴ ἐπιτρέψειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ αὐτῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαβῆναι· ἦλθε δὲ τις καὶ γράμμα φέρων ἡμῖν, ἀφωσιωμένον καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔχον μνήμην τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συγκεκμένων. καὶ ὁ πάσης δέ μοι αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς ἀξίος ἀδελφὸς Θεοφίλος, ἕνα τῶν αὐτῷ συνόντων ἀποστείλας, ἐδήλωσέ τινα, ἃ ἐνόμισε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιβάλλοντα¹ εἶναι εἰπεῖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἀκοῦσαι πρέποντα. ἐπιστεῖλαι γὰρ οὐκ ἤξιωσεν, οὐ τῶν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐλεγχοῦν ὑφορώμενος τοσοῦτον, ὅσον φροντίζων τοῦ μὴ εἰς ἀνάγκην ἔλθειν προσειπεῖν ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐπισκόπους· πλὴν γε δὴ, ὅτι σφοδρὰ ἦν τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας ἐκθερμανθείσης ἐξενεχθέντα. ἐπὶ τούτοις διελύθημεν κατησχυμμένοι, καὶ συμπεπτωκότες τῇ γνώμῃ, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι ἀποκρινοῦμεθα. χρόνος δὲ οὐ πολλὸς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ ἀποδημία μέχρι Κιλικίαν· κάκειθεν ἐπάνοδος, καὶ γράμματα εὐθύς, ἀπαγόρευσιν ἔχοντα τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίας.

¹ αὐτῷ ἐπιβάλλοντα] αὐτῷ ἐπιβάλλοντα: E.

¹ Cf. Letter CXXX.

² Of Castabala.

some streaming in, all beaming with joy and eager as though on the road to peace;¹ and there was a letter from us and couriers to indicate that we were present; for the place that had been designated to receive those who were gathering together was ours. But since there was no one from the other side, either coming in advance or announcing the presence of those who were expected, those who had been despatched by us returned, describing much dejection and murmuring on the part of the people there, as though a new creed had been proclaimed by us; and they were said to be determined of a surety not to permit their bishop to come over to us; but there came a man bringing us a letter, perfunctory and containing no mention of what had been agreed upon from the beginning; and my brother Theophilus,² worthy of all respect and honour from me, having despatched one of his supporters, disclosed certain matters which he thought were both incumbent upon him to mention and befitting us to hear. For he did not bring himself to write, not so much because he was uneasy about the refutation that would ensue from the letter, as because he was anxious not to come to the necessity of addressing us as bishop; but at any rate his words were certainly violent and delivered from an impassioned heart. Thereupon we dispersed, abashed and collapsed in mind, unable to give any answer to those who questioned us. And no great period intervened: a journey as far as Cilicia,³ and a return thence, and immediately a letter containing a prohibition of communion with us.⁴

³ Cf. Letter CXXX.

⁴ Cf. Letter CXXXVI.

Ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς ἀπορρήξεως, ὅτι Ἀπολλινάριον, φησὶν, ἐπεστείλαμεν, καὶ τὸν συμπρεσβύτερον¹ ἡμῶν Διόδωρον ἔχομεν κοινωικόν.² ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλινάριον μὲν ἐχθρὸν οὐδέποτε ἠγησάμην, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐφ' οἷς καὶ αἰδοῦμαι τὸν ἄνδρα· οὐ μὴν οὕτως ἐμαυτὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ συνήψα, ὥστε τὰ ἐκείνου ἐγκλήματα αὐτὸς ὑποδέχασθαι· ὅπου γε ἔχω τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐντυχῶν τισι τῶν συνταγμάτων αὐτοῦ. οὐ μὴν περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἢ αἰτήσας αὐτὸν οἶδα βιβλίον, ἢ ἀποσταλὲν ὑποδεξάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολυφωνότατον μὲν αὐτὸν ἀκούω πάντων συγγραφέων γεγενῆσθαι, ὀλίγοις δὲ ἐντετύχηκα τῶν συνταγμάτων³ αὐτοῦ· οὐδὲ γὰρ σχολή μοι ἔστι τὰ τοιαῦτα διερευνᾶσθαι, καὶ ἅμα δυσχερὴς τις εἰμι πρὸς τὴν τῶν νεωτέρων παραδοχὴν, ἣ⁴ γε τὸ σῶμα οὐδὲ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῶν θεοπνεύστων Γραφῶν φιλοπόνως καὶ καθ' ὃν δεῖ τρόπον συγχωρεῖ παραμένειν. τί⁵ οὖν πρὸς ἐμὲ τοῦτο, εἴ τις συνέγραψέ τι μὴ⁶ ἀρέσκον τῷ δεῖνι; καίτοι εἰ δεῖ ἄλλον ὑπὲρ ἄλλον τὰς εὐθύνas ὑπέχειν, ὁ ἐμοὶ ἐγκαλῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλινάριου ἀπολογεῖσθω⁷ ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ Ἀρείου τοῦ ἰδίου διδασκάλου, καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀετίου τοῦ ἰδίου⁸ αὐτοῦ⁹ μαθητοῦ. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε ἐδιδάχθημεν τι, οὔτε ἐμαθητεύθημεν τῷ ἀνδρὶ, οὐδ' ἐγκλήματα ἡμῖν περιτρέπουσι. Διόδωρον δὲ, ὡς θρέμμα τοῦ

¹ πρεσβύτερον E.² κοινωικόν editi antiq̄i.³ συγγραμμάτων editi antiq̄i.⁴ ἢν editi antiq̄i.⁵ τὸ add. E.⁶ δεῖ add. E.

And the reason for the break, he says, is because we wrote to Apollinarius, and because we have our fellow-presbyter Diodorus in communion. Yet I never did consider Apollinarius as an enemy; nay, there are reasons for which I even respect the man; however, I have not so united myself to him as to receive upon myself the charges brought against him; there are some things indeed wherein even I myself can complain of him, after reading certain of his works. I certainly do not recall either asking him for a book about the Holy Spirit or receiving one sent by him. Yet, though I hear that he has become the most voluminous¹ of all writers, I have read few of his works, for I have no leisure to examine into such things closely, and besides I am in a way annoyed at receiving his more recent works, since indeed my body does not even permit me to persevere in the reading of the God-inspired Scriptures industriously and in such a manner as I ought. What, then, is it to me, if someone has composed something that does not please So-and-so? And yet, if one man must render account on behalf of another, let him who accuses me on behalf of Apollinarius make his defence to us on behalf of Arius, his own teacher, and on behalf of Aetius, his own disciple. But we have neither been the pupil nor have been taught anything by the man, the charges against whom they are turning upon us. Diodorus,² however,

¹ Cf. Letter CCLXIII, par. 4.² This Diodorus, now a presbyter of Antioch, became Bishop of Tarsus after the time of Basil's death.³ ἀπολογεῖσθω E, Harl.⁴ διδασκάλου . . . ἰδίου om. E.⁵ ἐαυτοῦ E.

μακαρίου Σιλουανοῦ, τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπεδεξάμεθα·
νῦν δὲ καὶ¹ ἀγαπῶμεν καὶ περιέπομεν διὰ τὴν
προσοῦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου χάριτι, δι' ἧς πολλοὶ
τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων βελτίους γίνονται.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς γράμμασι διατεθεῖς ὡς εἰκὸς
ἦν, καὶ ἐκπλαγείς πρὸς τὴν οὕτω παράλογον καὶ
ἀθρόαν μεταβολήν, οὐδὲ ἀντιφθέγγασθαι ἠδυνή-
θην. συνδέδετο² μὲν³ γάρ μοι ἡ καρδία, παρεῖτο
δὲ ἡ γλῶσσα, νεναρκῆκει δὲ ἡ χεὶρ· καὶ ἔπαθον
πάθος ψυχῆς ἀγεννοῦς (εἰρήσεται γὰρ τάληθές,
πλὴν ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης ἄξιον)· μικροῦ καὶ εἰς
μισανθρωπίαν ἐξέπεσον, καὶ πᾶν μοι ἦθος ὑποπ-
τον ἐνομίσθη, καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει τὸ
τῆς ἀγάπης καλόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῆμα εἶναι εὐπρόσωπον
καλλωπισμὸν τινα παρέχον τοῖς κεχρημένοις, οὐ
μὴν ἐνυπάρχειν κατ' ἀλήθειαν καρδία ἀνθρώπου
τὴν διάθεσιν ταύτην, εἰ γὰρ ὁ δοκῶν ἐκ παιδὸς
εἰς γῆρας βαθὺ ἐπιμέλειαν ἑαυτοῦ πεποιῆσθαι ἐκ
τοιούτων προφάσεων οὕτω ῥαδίως ἐξηγηριώθη,
μηδὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑπολογισάμενος, μηδὲ τὴν
ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι πείραν τῆς οὕτως εὐτελοῦς
διαβολῆς κυριωτέραν θέμενος, ἀλλ' οἶόν τις
πῶλος ἀδάμαστος, οὕτω μέρειν καλῶς τὸν ἀνα-
βάτην δεδιδραγμένος, ἐκ μικρᾶς ὑποψίας ἀνεχαί-
τισε καὶ ἀπεσεῖσατο καὶ χαμαὶ ἔρριψεν· οἷς
πρότερον ἐπηγάλλετο· τί χρὴ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ὑπονοεῖν, πρὸς οὓς οὔτε ἡμῖν τοσαῦτα τῆς φιλίας
ἐστὶν ἐνέχυρα οὔτε παρ' αὐτῶν τοιαύτη τῆς τῶν
τρόπων ἐπιμελείας ἐπίδειξις; ταῦτα κατ' ἑμαυτὸν
ἀνελίσσω ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ συνεχῶς στρέφων ἐν

as a disciple of the blessed Silvanus, we accepted
from the beginning, and we now both love and
respect him for the grace of speech that he
possesses, through which many of those who meet
him become better men.

Being affected by this letter in a way that was
natural, and being astounded at so unexpected and
sudden a change, I was not even able to make reply.
For my heart was constrained, and my tongue failed,
and my hand grew numb; and I fell into the state
of an ignoble soul (for the truth must be told, though
the fact does merit forgiveness), I almost fell into
misanthropy and men of every character were
regarded with suspicion by me, and I thought that
the virtue of charity did not exist in man's nature,
but was a specious word that furnished a sort of
embellishment to those who used it, and that in
very truth this disposition did not exist in man's
heart; for if the man who seemed to have kept
watch over himself from childhood to late old age was
so easily enraged on pretexts so trivial, having
given no consideration to our side of the matter, nor
even having held his experience of me in the past
as of more importance than so cheap a slander,
but like an unbroken colt, not yet trained to bear his
rider well, at a slight suspicion reared up and shook
off and cast to the ground those in whom he formerly
gloried—after this experience with this man, what
was I to conjecture about the rest, respecting whom
we neither had such great pledges of friendship, nor
possessed such a proof of watchfulness on their part
over the habits of life? Revolving these matters in
mind by myself, and turning them continually in my

¹ om. E.² συνδέδετο E.³ om. E.

τῆ καρδία, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναστρεφόμενος¹ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν, οὕτω δακνόντων με καὶ νυσσόντων διὰ τῆς μνήμης, οὐδὲν ἐκείνοις ἀπεκρινάμην τοῖς γράμμασιν, οὐχ ὑπεροψία σιωπήσας (μὴ τοῦτο οἰηθῆς, ἀδελφέ· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ἀπολογούμεθα, ἀλλὰ κατενώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν), ἀπορία δὲ καὶ ἀμηχανία καὶ τῷ μὴ ἔχειν εἰπεῖν τι τῆς λύπης ἄξιον.

Ἔως ἐν τούτοις ἤμεν, ἐπικατέλαβεν ἡμᾶς ἕτερα γράμματα πρὸς Δαζίζαν τινὰ γεγραμμένα δῆθεν, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ πᾶσιν² ἀνθρώποις ἐπεσταλμένα, ὡς δηλοὶ αὐτῶν ἢ οὕτως ὀξεῖα διάδοσις, ὡς ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐν παντὶ μὲν τῷ Πόντῳ κατασπαρῆται καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐπιδραμεῖν. φασὶ δὲ τινας, ὅτι καὶ Βιθυνίους διεξελθόντες οἱ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τούτων ἄγγελοι μέχρι αὐτοῦ ἔφθασαν Ἑλλησπόντου. τίνα δὲ ἦν τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς Δαζίζαν ἐπεσταλμένα, πάντως μὲν οἶδας. οὐ γὰρ οὕτω σε μακρὰν τῆς ἑαυτῶν φιλίας τίθενται, ὥστε σε μόνον ἀγέραστον τῆς τιμῆς ἐκείνης καταλιπεῖν. εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς σὲ τὰ γράμματα, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοὶ ἀποστέλλω.³ ἐν οἷς εὐρήσεις ἡμᾶς κατηγορουμένους, δόλον καὶ ραδιουργίαν, φθορὰν ἐκκλησιῶν⁴ καὶ ψυχῶν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ τὸ πάντων, ὡς αὐτοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀληθέστερον,⁵ ὅτι ἐγκάθετον ἐκείνῃ τὴν προβολὴν τῆς πίστεως ἐποιησάμεθα, οὐ Νικοπολίταις διακονούμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ λαβεῖν δολερῶς ὁμολογίαν ἐπινοήσαντες. τούτων μὲν οὖν κριτῆς Κύριος· καὶ γὰρ τίς ἂν γένοιτο τῶν ἐν καρδίᾳ λογισμῶν ἐναργῆς ἀπόδειξις; ἐκεῖνο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐθαύμασα, εἰ ὅτι μὲν τῷ

¹ στρεφόμενος editi antiq̄i.

² ἀσιν E.

heart,—or rather being overturned at heart by them, so did they sting and prick me through my recollection of them—I gave no answer to that letter, not keeping silence through disdain (do not think this, brother; for we do not make our defence before men, but in the very presence of God in Christ do we speak), but through perplexity and helplessness and inability to say anything worthy of my grief.

While we were in this situation, another letter came to us, written ostensibly to a certain Dazizas, but in truth despatched to all mankind, as its circulation shows—so swift was it that in a few days the letter was spread in all Pontus and was current in Galatia. And some say that the messengers of these glad tidings, passing even through Bithynia, reached the very Hellespont. And what those things were that were written against us to Dazizas you assuredly know. For they do not place you so far from their friendship as to leave you alone unfavoured of that honour. But if the letter has not come to you, yet I shall send it to you myself. And in it you will discover that we are charged with deception and want of principle, corruption of churches, and destruction of souls, and—truest of all in their opinion—with having made that exposition of the faith insidiously, not as a service to the Nicopolitans, but contriving treacherously to obtain a confession for ourselves. Of these things is the Lord judge; for what clear proof could there be of the thoughts of the heart? But at one act of theirs I did marvel

³ ἀποστέλω Reg. secundus et Coisl. secundus.

⁴ ἐκκλησίας E.

⁵ ἀληθέστατον Med., Coisl. secundus, Reg. secundus.

παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιδοθέντι βιβλίῳ ὑπέγραψαν
 τοσαύτη κέχηρηται διαστάσει, ὥστε καὶ ὄντα
 καὶ μὴ ὄντα εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐγκαλούντων αὐτοῖς
 πληροφορίαν συμφύρειν, ὅτι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
 ἔγγραφος αὐτῶν ὁμολογία τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστεως
 ἀπόκειται, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐννοοῦσιν, οὐδὲ ὅτι διὰ
 τῆς αὐτῶν χειρὸς ἐπέδωκαν τῇ ἐν Τυάνοις συν-
 ὄδῳ τὸ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης βιβλίον, ὃ παρ' ἡμῖν κατέ-
 κειται, τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην πίστιν ἔχον. καὶ τῆς
 ἰδίας αὐτῶν δημηγορίας ἐπελάθοντο, ἢν εἰς τὸ
 μέσον καταστάντες τότε, ᾠδύροντο μὲν τὴν
 ἀπάτην, δι' ἧς ὑπήχθησαν συνθέσθαι τῷ τόμῳ
 τῷ παρὰ τοῦ συστήματος Εὐδοξίου συντεταγ-
 μένῳ¹ διότι ταύτην ἐπενόησαν τοῦ σφάλματος
 ἐκείνου ἀπολογίαν, τὸ ἀπελάθοντας εἰς Ῥώμην,
 ἐκεῖθεν λαβεῖν τὴν τῶν πατέρων πίστιν, ἵνα ἢν
 ἐποίησαν¹ βλάβην ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῇ πρὸς
 τὸ κακὸν συνθήκη, ταύτην ἐπανορθώσωνται τῇ
 ἐπεισαγωγῇ τοῦ βελτίονος. ἀλλ' οἱ τὰς μακρο-
 τάτας ἀποδημίας ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ὑποστάντες,
 καὶ τὰ σοφὰ ταῦτα δημηγορήσαντες, νῦν λοι-
 ποδοῦνται ἡμᾶς, ὡς δολίως πορευομένους, καὶ ἐν
 σχήματι ἀγάπης τὰ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ποιούν-
 τας. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ νῦν περιφερόμενα κατεγνω-
 κέναι αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστεως. εἶδον γὰρ
 Κύζικον, καὶ μετ' ἄλλης πίστεως ἐπανῆλθον.

Καὶ τί τὸ ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν εὐμετάθετον λέγω,
 πολλῶ μείζονας ἔξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς
 ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία περιτροπῆς ἔχων τὰς ἀποδείξεις;²
 οἱ γὰρ πεντακοσίων ἐπισκόπων δόγματι κατ'

—that whereas, regarding the fact that they sub-
 scribed to the document presented by us, they
 were in such a state of disagreement that they mixed
 things both true and false into the information given
 for those that accuse them, yet they do not bear
 in mind that there exists at Rome a written con-
 fession on their part of the Nicene Creed, nor that
 with their own hand they presented to the synod at
 Tyana the document from Rome, that rests in our
 possession, containing this same creed. And they
 forgot their own harangue, which on that occasion
 they made to the public, wherein they bewailed the
 deceit by which they were induced to agree with
 the articles drawn up by the faction of Eudoxius;¹
 wherefore they thought of this defence of that error
 —to depart for Rome and take from there the creed
 of the Fathers, in order that what harm they had
 done to the churches by agreeing with the evil, this
 they might set right by the introduction of some-
 thing better. But those who have undergone the
 longest travels in behalf of the faith and have publicly
 proclaimed all this wisdom are now reviling us,
 on the ground that we proceed craftily, and under
 the guise of charity play the part of plotters! And,
 furthermore, the letter that is now being carried about
 reveals that they have given judgment against the
 creed of Nicaea. For they saw Cyzicus and returned
 with another creed.

And why do I mention their fickleness of speech,
 when I have in their very deeds greater proofs of
 their changing to opposite views? For those who
 did not yield to the decree of five hundred bishops,²

¹ ἐποίησαμεν Ε.² ὑποδείξεις editi antiq̄l.

αὐτῶν ἐξενεχθέντι μὴ εἴξαντες, μηδὲ καταδεξάμενοι τῆς οἰκονομίας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀποστήναι, τοσούτων εἰς τὴν τῆς καθαιρέσεως αὐτῶν γνώμην συμφωνησάντων διότι, φασίν,¹ οὐκ ἦσαν Πνεύματος ἁγίου μέτοχοι, οὐδὲ Θεοῦ² χάριτι τὰς ἐκκλησίας οἰκονομοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίνῃ δυναστείᾳ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ³ δόξης κενῆς τὰ προστασίας ἀρπάσαντες· οὗτοι νῦν τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνων χειροτονηθέντας ὡς ἐπισκόπους δέχονται. οὐδ' ἐρώτησον ἀντ' ἐμοῦ, εἰ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντων καταφρονούσιν, ὡς οὐτ' ὄφθαλμοὺς ἔχόντων, οὐτ' ὠτα, οὐτε καρδίαν αἰσθητικὴν, ὅσον γοῦν δύνασθαι συνιδεῖν τῶν γενομένων⁴ τὸ ἀνακόλουθον, ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν καρδίᾳ τίνα διάνοιαν ἔχουσι; πῶς δυνατόναι δύο εἶναι ἐπίσκοποι, ὃ τε καθηρημένος ὑπὸ⁵ Εὐεπίου, καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ κεχειροτονημένος; τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς χειρὸς ἔργον ἀμφοτέρα. ὃς εἰ μὴ εἶχε τὴν δεδομένην τῷ Ἰερεμίᾳ χάριν, κατασκάπτει καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν, ἐκρίζουσι καὶ καταφυτεύειν, οὐτ' ἂν ἐξερρίζωσε τοῦτον, οὐτ' ἂν ἐκείνον ἐφύτευσεν. εἰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῷ δίδως, συγχωρήσεις αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἕτερον. ἀλλ' εἰς σκοπός, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ ἑαυτῶν ζητεῖν πανταχοῦ, καὶ φίλον μὲν ἠγείσθαι τὸν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν συνεργοῦντα, πολέμιον δὲ κρίνειν, καὶ μηδεμίᾳς κατ' αὐτοῦ διαβολῆς φείδεσθαι, τὸν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν ἀνθιστάμενον.

¹ φασίν MSS. et editi.² om. Med.³ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν nonnulli MSS.⁴ γενομένων editi antiq̄i. ⁵ παρὰ editi antiq̄i.¹ i.e. the 500 bishops.² Cf. Letter CCXXVIII.

which was brought forth against them, and were unwilling to withdraw from the government of their churches, although so many agreed in the decision for their overthrow—because, they say, they were not partakers of the Holy Spirit, and were not governing their churches by the grace of God, but had seized their dignity by human power and a desire of empty glory—these now accept as bishops the men ordained by those!¹ Question these instead of me—even though they despise all men as having neither eyes nor ears nor understanding hearts—enough at any rate so that you may witness the inconsistency of what has happened: “What purpose do they have in their own hearts?” “How can there be two bishops, both he who was deposed by Eupippus,² and he who was consecrated by him?” For both were acts of the same hand. If he did not have the grace given to Jeremias, to raze to the ground and to build up again, to root out and to plant³ again, neither would he have rooted out the one nor planted the other. But if you grant him the one, you will concede to him the other also. But their aim is one, as it seems—to seek their own advantage everywhere, and to consider him a friend who assists in accomplishing their desires, but to judge him an enemy, and to spare no calumny against him, who opposes their desires.⁴

¹ Cf. Jer. 1. 10: Ἴδοὺ καθέστακά σε σήμερον ἐπὶ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείας, ἐκρίζουσι καὶ κατασκάπτειν καὶ ἀπολλύνειν καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν. “Lo, I have set thee this day over the nations, and over kingdoms, to root up, and to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant.”

⁴ For Basil's view on the validity of the ordinations by heretics, cf. Canon 1 of Letter CLXXXVIII.

Οἶαι γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ νῦν κατὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας οἰκονομῶμαι. φρικταὶ μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν ποιούντων¹ εὐκολίαν, ἔλεειναι δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν πασχόντων ἀναισθησίαν. Εὐπιπίου τέκνα καὶ Εὐπιπίου ἔκγονα, διὰ πρεσβείας ἀξιόπιστου ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας μετακληθέντες εἰς τὴν Σεβάστειαν, ἐπιστεύθησαν τὸν λαόν. παρέλαβον τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ζύμη ἐγένοντο τῆς ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησίας. παρ' ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς ὁμοουσιασταὶ διωκόμεθα. Εὐστάθιος δὲ ὁ βαστάσας² ἐν τῷ χάρτη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μέχρι Τυάνων τὸ ὁμοούσιον, οὗτος νῦν αὐτοῖς ἀνακέκραται, εἰ καὶ ὅτι παραδεχθῆναι εἰς τὴν πολυπόθητον αὐτῶν κοινωνίαν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη, ἣ φοβηθέντων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ συμφωνησάντων, ἢ αἰδεσθέντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον. τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ πῶς μὲν χειροτονηθεῖς ἕκαστος, ἀπὸ ποίου δὲ τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βίου ἐπὶ ταύτην παρήλθε³ τὴν δυναστείαν νῦν, ἐγὼ μὲν μὴ ποτε οὕτω σχολάσαιμι, ὥστε τὰς ἐκείνων πράξεις⁴ ἐκδιηγέσθαι.⁵ ἔμαθον γὰρ προσεύχεσθαι. Ὅπως ἂν μὴ λαλήσῃ τὸ στόμα μου τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐρευνήσας μαθήσῃ· κἂν σε διαφύγῃ, τὸν κριτὴν πάντως οὐ λήσεται.

Ὁ μέντοι πέπονθα πάθος οὐ παραιτήσομαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐξεῖπέν ἀγάπην, ὅτι πέρυσιν, ἀσθενήσας πυρετῷ λαβροτάτῳ,⁶ καὶ ἐγγίσας⁷

See what their present plans also are against the Church! Horrible because of the shiftiness of those who perform them, and pitiable because of the lack of perception in those who suffer them. Children of Euippius and grand-children of Euippius,¹ summoned from the frontier to Sebaste by a trustworthy embassy, have been entrusted with the laity. They have taken over the altar, become leaven of the church there. By these we are persecuted as consubstantialists. But Eustathius, he who in the paper brought consubstantiality from Rome to Tyana, this man has now joined with them, although he could not be received into their much-desired communion, either because they feared the multitude of those who agreed in denouncing him, or because they were ashamed of their authority. For who these men were that were gathered together, and how each was ordained, and from what sort of a beginning in life each arrived at this present dignity—may I never be so at leisure as to describe their affairs! For I have learned to pray: "That my mouth may not speak of the works of men."² But you yourself on examination will learn: even if it escapes you, from the Judge it surely will not be hidden.

However, I shall not refuse to tell even to your Charity the suffering that I have undergone: Last year, having become ill with a most violent fever, and

¹ i.e. the clergy whose spiritual descent is to be traced to Euippius. The see presided over by Euippius is unknown.

² Cf. Psal. 16. 4: ὅπως ἂν μὴ λαλήσῃ τὸ στόμα μου τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, διὰ τοὺς λόγους τῶν χειλέων σου ἐγὼ ἐφύλαξα ἑδούς ἀκλήρως. "That my mouth may not speak the works of men: for the sake of the words of thy lips, I have kept hard ways."

¹ τοιούτων editi antiqui.

² Σεβαστεία editi antiqui.

³ παρελθὼν Regius uterque et Coisl. secundus.

⁴ τὰς ἐκείνων πράξεις] τὰ ἐκείνων editi antiqui.

⁵ ἐκδιηγέσθαι editi antiqui.

⁶ βαρυντάτῳ editi antiqui.

⁷ σχεδὸν add. E.

μέχρις αὐτῶν τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ θανάτου, εἶτα ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ἀνακληθεῖς, δυσχερῶς εἶχον πρὸς τὴν ἐπάνοδον, λογιζόμενος εἰς οἶα πάλιν ἔρχομαι κακὰ καὶ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐσκόπου, τί ποτε ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ βύθει τῆς σοφίας ἀποκείμενον τοῦ Θεοῦ, δι' ὃ ἐμοὶ πάλιν τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ ζωῆς ἡμέραι συνεχωρήθησαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔγνω ταῦτα, ἐλογισάμην, ὅτι ἐβουλήθη ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος ἰδεῖν πυνουσάμενας τοῦ σάλου τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ὃν ἔπαθον πρὸ τούτου ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ τῶν διὰ τὴν περιπεπλασμένην¹ αὐτοῖς σεμνότητα πάντα πιστευομένων. ἦ καὶ τάχα τουῶσαί μου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ νηπτικωτέραν πρὸς γε τὸ ἐφεξῆς καταστήσαι ὁ Κύριος ἐβουλήθη, ὡς μὴ προσέχειν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ἐντολῶν καταρτίζεσθαι, αἱ οὔτε καιροῖς οὔτε περιστάσεις ἐν ἀνθρώπινων πραγμάτων συμμεταβάλλονται, ἀλλ' αἱ αὐτὰ διαμένουσιν, ὡς προηνέχθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀψευδοῦς καὶ μακαρίου στόματος, οὕτω διαιωνίζουσαι.

"Ἀνθρωποι δὲ ταῖς νεφέλαις εἰκόσασιν, πρὸς τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων μεταβολὰς ἄλλοτε κατ' ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ ἀέρος ἐμφορομέναις. καὶ μάλιστα δὴ οὗτοι, περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, πολυτροπώτατοι τῶν εἰς ἡμετέραν πείραν ἠγόντων ἐφάνησαν. εἰ μὲν καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ βίου πράγματα εἶποιεν ἂν οἱ συμβεβιωκότες, ὃ δ' οὖν ἐμοὶ ἐφάνη, τὸ περὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν εὐμετάθετον, οὐκ οἶδα μέχρι τοῦ

¹ πεπλασμένην editi antiq.

having approached the very gates of death, then being recalled by God's mercy, I was dissatisfied at my return, considering the evils upon which I was again entering; and by myself I inquired what in the world it was that lay in the depth of God's wisdom, whereby days of life in the flesh had again been granted to me. But when I understood these things, I considered that the Lord wished us to see the churches resting from the storm which they had experienced before this, at the separation of those in whom, by reason of the dignity moulded about them, all things were entrusted. Or perhaps also the Lord wished to invigorate my soul and render it more serious at least for the future, so as not to give heed to men, but to perfect itself through the precepts of the Gospel, which change neither with seasons nor with vicissitudes of human affairs, but continue the same, as they were pronounced by truthful and blessed lips, thus abiding always.

But men are like clouds being borne according to the changes of the winds,¹ now to one part now to another part of the air. And especially these, about whom we speak, have proven themselves the most fickle of all who have come within our experience. Although those who have lived with them might speak regarding the other affairs of life, yet as to what was evident to me, their fickleness about faith, I do not know that up to the

¹ Cf. Jude 12: οὗτοι εἰσὶν ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν οὐκίδες, συνενωχούμενοι, ἀφόβως ἐαυτοῖς ποιμαίνοντες: νεφέλαι ἄνθρωποι, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων περιφερόμεναι: δένδρα φθνοσκοπιμὰ, ἄκαρπα, δις ἀποθανόντα, ἐκρίζωθέντα. "These are spots in their banquets, feasting together without fear, feeding themselves, clouds without water, which are carried about by winds, trees of the autumn, unfruitful, twice dead, plucked up by the roots."

ἡν ἐν ἄλλοις οὔτε αὐτὸς ἱστορήσας οὔτε ἀκούσας ἑτέρων. Ἀρεῖω κατηκολούθουν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετέθεντο πρὸς Ἑρμογένην,¹ τὸν κατὰ διάμετρον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τῆς Ἀρείου κακοδοξίας, ὡς δηλοῖ αὐτὴ ἢ πίστις ἢ κατὰ Νίκαιαν παρ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκφωνηθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ἐκοιμήθη Ἑρμογένης, καὶ πάλιν μετέστησαν πρὸς Εὐσέβιον, ἀνδρα κορυφαίου τοῦ κατὰ Ἀρειοὺ κύκλου, ὡς αὐτὸ πειραθέντες φασίν. ἐκείθεν ἐκπεσόντες δι' ἃς δῆποτε αἰτίας, πάλιν ἀνέδραμον εἰς² τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πάλιν τὸ Ἀρειανὸν³ ὑπέκρυπτον⁴ φρόνημα. παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παραλίπω, ὅσας ἐξέθεντο πίστεις ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας ἄλλην, ἑτέραν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ, ἑτέραν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, τὴν πολυθρύλλητον, ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἑτέραν, μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐν Νίκῃ τῆς Θράκης, ἡν πάλιν τὴν ἐν Κυζίκῳ ἥς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀκούω, ὅτι τὸ ὁμοούσιον κατασιγάσαντες, τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ὁμοιον ἡν ἐπιφέρουσι,⁵ καὶ τὰς εἰς⁶ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον βλασφημίας μετ' Εὐνομίῳ συγγράφουσι. τούτων δὲ τῶν πίστεων ἃς ἀπειρηθυσάμην, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔχουσιν ἐναντίως, ἀλλ' οὖν τὸ εὐμετάβολον τοῦ τρόπου ὁμοίως συνιστῶσι, διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐστάναι ῥημάτων. ταῦτά ἐστιν ἀληθῆ, μυρίων ἑτέρων ἀποσιωπηθέντων.

¹ Ἑρμογένη Harl.² πρὸς E.³ Ἀρειανῶν E.⁴ ὑπέκρυπτοντο E.⁵ περιφέρουσι. Reg. secundus, Coisl. secundus; ἐπιφέρουσι editi antiqui.⁶ τὸ add. E.

present I have observed it myself in others or heard of it from anyone else. They followed Arius in the beginning; they changed to Hermogenes, who was diametrically opposed to the infamous teachings of Arius, as the creed originally proclaimed by that man at Nicaea¹ shows. Hermogenes fell asleep, and again they changed to Eusebius, the chorus leader of the Arian circle, as those who have had experience of him say. Falling away from this man for some reason or other, they again ran back to their fatherland, and again concealed their Arian sentiments. Arriving at the episcopacy—to pass over the events of the interval—how many creeds they have set forth! At Ancyra² one, another at Seleucia,³ another at Constantinople,⁴ the celebrated one, at Lampsacus⁵ another, after this the one at Nice in Thrace,⁶ now again the one at Cyzicus.⁷ Of this last I only know so much as what I hear—that having suppressed “consubstantiality” they now add “like in substance,” and they subscribe with Eunomius to the blasphemies against the Holy Spirit. And if not all of these creeds that I have enumerated are opposed to one another, yet they alike give proof of fickleness of character, because of that fact that these men never stand by the same words. These statements are true, though countless other matters have been passed over in silence.

¹ Cf. Letter LXXXI. Hermogenes preceded Dianius as Bishop of Caesarea. While still a deacon he acted as secretary at Nicaea.² In 358, when ὁμοούσιον was accepted.³ In 359.⁴ In 360.⁵ In 364.⁶ The Creed of Nice in Thrace was the Creed of Ariminum revised.⁷ In 375 or 376. This formula is referred to in Letter COLI as the latest.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς διέβησαν ὑν, ἀξιού-
μεν ἀντιγράψαι διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς (λέγω δὲ
τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν Στρατηγίου), εἴτε ὁ
αὐτὸς διέμεινας πρὸς¹ ἡμᾶς, εἴτε καὶ ἠλλοιωθήσῃ
ἀπὸ τῆς συντυχίας. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνους εἰκὸς ἦν
σιωπῆσαι, οὔτε αὐτὸν σέ, τὸν ἡμῖν τοιαῦτα
γράψαντα, μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους τῇ παρ-
ρησία χρήσασθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν μένοις² ἐν τῇ
πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίᾳ τοῦτο ἄριστον καὶ εὐχῆς
τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἀξιόν· εἰ δέ σε πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς³
μετέθηκαν, λυπηρὸν μὲν. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἀδελφοῦ
τοιούτου χωρισμός; πλὴν εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο,
τὸ γοῦν φέρειν τὰς τοιαύτας ζημίας παρ' αὐτῶν
ἐκείνων ἰκανῶς ἐγγυμνάσθημεν.

CCXLV

Θεοφίλω ἐπισκόπῳ.

Πάλαι δεξάμενος τὰ παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης⁴
γράμματα, ἀνέμενον διὰ γνησίου προσώπου ἀντ-

¹ eis E.² μένεις E, Reg. secundus.³ αὐτοὺς E.⁴ τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης] ἀγάπης σου nonnulli MSS.; ἀγάπης σῆς editi antiqui.

¹ Placed in 376. Theophilus, Bishop of Castabala in Cilicia, was a leader of the semi-Arians. He was elected bishop of Eleutheropolis in Palaestina Prima, when, according to Sozomen, *H.E.* 4. 24, he took an oath not to accept any other bishopric. However, he consented to be transferred to Castabala by Silvanus, the metropolitan of Tarsus, for which in part the metropolitan of Tarsus was deposed by the synod of Constantinople in 360. In 362 he joined with Silvanus, Basil of Ancyra, and other leading semi-Arians, in a communi-

And since they have gone over to you now, we beg you to write in reply through the same man (I mean our fellow-presbyter Strategius), whether you have continued the same toward us or have been alienated as a result of the meeting. For it was not likely either that they remained silent, or that you yourself, who have written such things to us, did not also employ frank speech with them. Now if you should remain in communion with me, this is best and worthy of most earnest prayer. But if they have turned you to themselves, it is sad—for how would separation from such a brother not be so?—however, if in nothing else, at any rate in bearing such losses we have been sufficiently trained by those very men.

LETTER CCXLV

TO THEOPHILUS, THE BISHOP¹

ALTHOUGH I had received the letter from your Charity long ago, I waited to reply through a proper

cation to Jovian begging him to confirm the decrees of Seleucia, banish the Anomoeans, and convene a general council. Cf. Socrates, *H.E.* 3. 25, Sozomen, *H.E.* 6. 4. When, after the Council of Lampsacus, Valens declared himself the supporter of the thorough Arians, Theophilus with Eustathius and Silvanus were commissioned in 365 to communicate with him. Valens, however, had already started on his Gallic campaign, so they went on to the Bishop of Rome. When they presented a confession of faith, signed by fifty-nine semi-Arians, almost identical with that of Nicaea, Pope Liberius recognized their orthodoxy, and admitted them to communion. Theophilus and his party then went to Sicily, where they repeated the same declaration of faith at a synod of bishops of the island, and then returned home. Cf. Socrates, *H.E.* 4. 2; Sozomen, *H.E.* 6. 10-12.

επιστεῖλαι, ἵνα καὶ ὅσα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διαφύγῃ ὁ διάκονος τῶν γραμμάτων ἀναπληρώσῃ. ἐπεὶ οὖν παρεγένετο ἡμῖν ὁ ποθεινότατος καὶ εὐλαβέστατος ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Στρατήγιος, αὐτῷ ἐνόμισα δίκαιον εἶναι χρήσασθαι διακόνῳ, τῷ καὶ εἰδότι τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην καὶ δυναμένῳ γνησίως τε ἅμα καὶ εὐλαβῶς διακονησαί¹ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν.

Γίνωσκε τοίνυν, ποθεινότατε ἡμῖν καὶ τιμιώτατε,² πολλοῦ ἀξίαν τίθεσθαι ἡμᾶς τὴν πρὸς σέ ἀγάπην, ἧς, ἕνεκα μὲν τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν διαθέσεως, οὐδεμίαν ὄραν³ ἀπολειφθεῖσιν ἑαυτοῖς συνεγνωκάμεν, εἰ καὶ ὅτι πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι λύπης εὐλόγου γεγονάσιν ἀφορμαί. ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκρίναμεν τοῦτο, ὡσπερ ἐν τρυτάνῃ, τὰ χρηστότερα τοῖς ἀηδεστέροις ἀντιτιθέντες,⁴ τῇ τῶν ἀμεινόνων ῥοπῇ προσθέσθαι τὴν γνώμην.⁵ ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ πράγματα ἠλλοιώθη παρ' ὧν ἤκιστα ἐχρῆν τοῦτο γενέσθαι,⁶ συγγίνωσκε καὶ ἡμῖν οὐχὶ τὴν γνώμην ἠλλοιωθεῖσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τάξιν μεταθεμένους. μᾶλλον δὲ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μενούμεν τάξεως, ἕτεροι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ συνεχῶς μετατιθέμενοι, νῦν δὲ καὶ φανερώς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους αὐτομολούντες· ὧν ὅσου ἀξίαν ἐτιθέμεθα τὴν κοινωνίαν, ἕως⁷ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑγαινουσύνης μερίδος, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀγνοεῖς. νῦν δὲ εἰ μήτε ἐκείνους συνεπόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ φρονούντας αὐτοῖς

person, in order that the messenger of the letter might also fill in whatever should escape my writing. Therefore, when our most beloved and most pious brother Strategius visited us, I thought it right to use him as a messenger, since he both knows our mind and is able at once properly and reverently to administer our affairs.

Realize then, our most beloved and honoured friend, that we consider our love for you of great worth, in which, as far as concerns the disposition of the heart, we have at no time been conscious of having failed, although the causes of reasonable complaint have been many and great. However, we have determined on this course as placing the good over against the unpleasant, in a balance, to throw my mind in the scale along with the good. But since things have been changed by those at whose hands this should least have happened, pardon us also, not for having changed our mind, but for having shifted our position. Or, rather, we remain in the same position, but there are others who are continually shifting, and who now even openly desert to the enemy; and how much worth we were wont to regard communion with these, as long as they were with the sound party, not even you yourself are unaware. But, now if we do not follow with them, and if we avoid those who have the same ideas

calumnies against Basil. In fact, we learn from Basil that Theophilus communicated with him orally so as to avoid the necessity of giving him the episcopal title. Basil, however, expressed his respect for him in spite of everything.

Theophilus next appears in the correspondence of St. Basil. Cf. Letters CXXX, CCXLIV, CCXLV. He had joined with Eustathius of Sebaste, and had taken part in his public

¹ διακομισαί editi antiqui.

² ἀδελφὲ Θεόφιλε add. editi.

³ ἡμέραν editi antiqui.

⁴ ἀντιτίθεται editi antiqui.

⁵ τῇ γνώμῃ Med.

⁶ γίνεσθαι E, Med.

⁷ ἕν E.

ἐκκλίνομεν, συγγνώμης ἂν δικαίως¹ τύχοιμεν, μηδὲν προτιμότερον τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας τιθέμενοι.

CCXLVI

Νικοπολίταις.

Ὅταν ἴδω καὶ τὸ κακὸν εὐοδοῦμενον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐλάβειαν κεκμηκυῖαν καὶ ἀπαγορεύουσαν² πρὸς τὸ συνεχές τῶν ἐπηρειῶν, ἀθυμίας πληροῦμαι. ὅταν δὲ πάλιν τὴν μεγάλην χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐννοήσω, καὶ ὅτι οἶδεν ἀνορθοῦν τοὺς κατερραγμένους, καὶ ἀγαπᾶν δικαίους, συντρίβειν δὲ ὑπερηφάνους, καὶ καθαιρεῖν ἀπὸ θρόνων δυνάστας, πάλιν μεταβαλὼν κουφότερος γίνομαι ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ οἶδα, ὅτι διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν ταχεῖαν δείξει ἡμῖν³ ὁ Κύριος τὴν γαλήνην. μόνον μὴ ἀποκάμητε⁴ προσευχόμενοι· ἀλλ' ὡν λόγοις ἐστὲ διδάσκαλοι, τούτων ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ ἔργω πᾶσιν ἐναργῆ σπουδάσατε προβαίνειν⁵ τὰ ὑποδείγματα.

CCXLVII

Νικοπολίταις.⁶

Ὅτε ἐνέτυχον ταῖς γράμμασι τῆς ὁσιότητος ὑμῶν, ὅσον ἐστὲναξα καὶ ὠδύραμην, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ κακὰ ταῖς ἐμαντοῦ ἀκοαῖς ὑπεδεξάμην, πληγὰς

¹ δικαίως E, Med.² ἀπαγορεύσασαν editi antiq.³ ἡμῖν editi antiq.⁴ ἀποκάμητε editi antiq.⁵ προβαίνειν E, Vat.

as they, we should with justice receive pardon, for we consider nothing to be preferable to truth and our own salvation.

LETTER CCXLVI

TO THE NICOPOLITANS¹

WHEN I behold evil faring well and your Piety toil-worn and flagging before continuous reviling, I am filled with discouragement. But when contrariwise I consider the great hand of God, and that He knows how to restore those who are broken and to deal lovingly with the just, and to crush the haughty, and to take the powerful down from their seats, I change again and become more buoyant in my hopes, and I know that through your prayers speedy will be the calm which the Lord will show you. Only do not cease your prayers; nay, of those virtues of which you are the teachers in word, of these strive in the present crisis to offer in deed examples that are clear to all.

LETTER CCXLVII

TO THE NICOPOLITANS²

WHEN I read the letter of your Holiness, how did I moan and grieve that I had been obliged to hear these new troubles—blows and insults against your

¹ Written in the summer of 376. Cf. Loofs, 16, note 6.² Written in the summer of 376. Cf. Loofs, 16, note 6.⁶ πρεσβυτέρους add. Clar.

μὲν καὶ ὕβρεις εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, πόρθησι δὲ οἴκων, καὶ ἐρήμωσιν πόλεως, καὶ πατρίδος ὅλης ἀνατροπήν, διωγμὸν ἐκκλησίας καὶ φυγὴν ἱερέων, ἐπανάστασιν λύκων, καὶ ποιμνίων διασποράν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐπαυσάμην τοῦ στεναγμοῦ καὶ τῶν δακρύων, πρὸς τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς Δεσπότην ἀποβλέψας, οἶδα καὶ πέπεισμαι, ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς γινώσκων βούλομαι, ὅτι ταχεῖα ἔσται ἡ ἀντίληψις, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τέλος ἔσται ἡ ἐγκατάλειψις. ὃ μὲν γὰρ πεπόνθαμεν διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν πεπόνθαμεν τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην καὶ εὐσπλαγχνίαν ὁ φιλόανθρωπος ἐπιδείξεται.

Οὐ μέντοι παρελίπομεν καὶ παρόντες¹ τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει καθικετεύοντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπιστέλλοντες ἐπισχεθῆναι τῆς ὀργῆς τὸν λυσοῦντα. καὶ οἶμαι παρὰ πολλῶν ἤξει αὐτῷ κατάγνωσιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἄρα ὁ καιρὸς θορύβου² πεπληρωμένος μηδεμίαν δῶ σcholῆν περὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.

CCXLVIII

Ἀμφιλοχίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰκονίου.

Ὅταν μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπιδώμεν, ἀχθόμεθα τοσοῦτον διωκισμένοι τῆς εὐλαβείας σου· ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὸ εἰρηνικὸν τῆς σαυτοῦ διαγωγῆς, εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ, τῷ

¹ καὶ παρόντες] om. Med.

² θορύβων E.

¹ A rather striking allusion to the general affairs of the empire. At just about this time the Goths being driven south

selves, and pillaging of homes, and devastation of city, and upheaval of all the land, persecution of church and banishment of priests, attack of wolves, and scattering of sheep! But since I have checked my moaning and my tears, and have looked away to the Master in heaven, I know and am convinced—and I wish you too to realize it, that speedy shall be your relief and not for ever shall be your abandonment. For what we have suffered we have suffered because of our sins, but His succour shall the loving God show forth, because of His love and compassion for the churches.

However, we have not failed both in person to beseech those in power, and to write to the court to those who love us that he who rages must be checked in his anger. And I think that condemnation will come to him from many, unless indeed the times, being full of confusion,¹ give no leisure for this to those in charge of things.

LETTER CCXLVIII

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM²

WHENEVER we regard our own yearning we are annoyed at being so far separated from your Piety, but whenever we regard the peacefulness of your own life, we give thanks to the Lord for

by the Huns were becoming a danger to the empire. Cf. *Amm. Marc.* 31. 4.

² Written in 376. On Amphilochius of Iconium see the previous letters addressed to him.

ἐξελομένῳ¹ τὴν εὐλάβειάν σου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ
 τούτου, ὃς πλέον ἐπενείματο τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς παροι-
 κίαν. ἔδωκε γὰρ ἡμῖν κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ὁ
 δικαιοκρίτης ἄγγελος Σατάν, ἱκανῶς ἡμᾶς κατα-
 κουνυλίζοντα, καὶ σφοδρῶς μὲν ἐδικοῦντα τὴν
 ἀρεσίῳ μέχρι τοσούτου δὲ τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξαγα-
 γόντα πόλεμον, ὥστε μηδὲ αἵματος φείσασθαι
 τῶν εἰς Θεὸν πεπιστευκότων. πάντως γὰρ οὐκ
 ἔλαθέ σου τὴν ἀγάπην, ὅτι Ἀσκληπίους τις, διὰ
 τὸ μὴ ἐλέσθαι τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δωὴκ κοινωσίαν,
 τυπτόμενος παρ' αὐτῶν ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐναπέθανε,
 μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τῶν πληγῶν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν μετετέθη.
 ἀκόλουθα δὲ ἐκείνῳ πάντα οἴου γίνεσθαι τὰ
 λοιπά διωγμοὺς πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διδασκάλων,
 τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἂν ποιήσειαν ἄνθρωποι τῇ ἐκ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς δυναστεία πρὸς τὸ ἐαυτῶν βούλημα κεχρο-
 μένοι. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν τὴν λύσιν ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος
 ταῖς σαῖς εὐχαῖς δώσει καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν, ὥστε
 βαστάσαι ἡμᾶς τὸ βάρος τῶν πειρασμῶν ἀξίως
 τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλπίδος.

Αὐτὸς δὲ καταξίου καὶ ἐπιστέλλειν ἡμῖν συνε-
 χῶς περὶ τῶν κατὰ σεαυτὸν. κἂν εὔρης τινα
 τὸν πιστῶς σοι δυνάμενον διακομίσει τὸ πονηθὲν

¹ ἐξελομένῳ E; ἐξειλαμένῳ Med.

¹ Cf. 2 Cor. 12. 7: καὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων ἵνα μὴ
 ὑπεραίρωμαι, ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σακρί, ἄγγελος Σατάν ἵνα με

having removed your Piety from this conflagra-
 tion which has been increasingly consuming the
 district in our charge. For the just Judge in accord-
 ance with our works has given us "an angel of
 Satan"¹ who sufficiently buffets us and vehemently
 defends the heresy; and he carries on the war
 against us to such a degree that he does not even
 spare the blood of those who have placed their trust
 in God. For surely it has not escaped your Charity
 that a certain Asclepius,² for not having chosen
 communion with Doeg,³ was struck by them and died
 of the blows, or rather by means of the blows was
 translated to life. And realize that consistent with
 this are all the rest of their actions—persecutions of
 presbyters and teachers, and all other such things
 as men might do who make use of the power of
 government in accordance with their will. But the
 Lord by reason of your prayers will grant us relief
 from these things, and patience to enable us to
 endure the burden of the trials in a manner worthy of
 our hope in Him.

But do you yourself deign also to write to us
 continually about your affairs. And if you find any-
 one who can convey faithfully to you the book that

κολαφίξῃ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι. "And lest the greatness of the
 revelations should exalt me, there was given me a sting of
 my flesh, an angel of Satan, to buffet me."

² This Asclepius cannot be identified with certainty.

³ Cf. 1 Kings 21. 7: καὶ ἐκεῖ ἦν ἐν τῶν παιδαρίων τοῦ Σαούλ
 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ συνεχόμενος Νεεσαρὰν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου, καὶ
 ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Δωὴκ, ὁ Σύρος, νέμων τὰς ἡμιόνας Σαούλ. The
 Douay version based on the different text of the Vulgate reads:
 "Now a certain man of the servants of Saul was there that day,
 within the tabernacle of the Lord: and his name was Doeg,
 an Edomite, the chiefest of Saul's herdsmen."

ἡμῖν βιβλίον, καταξίωσον μεταστείλασθαι, ἵνα
 τῇ σῇ ἐπικρίσει θαρρήσαντες καὶ εἰς ἄλλων
 χεῖρας αὐτὸ¹ διαπεμφώμεθα. ἔρρωμένος, εὐθυμος
 τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὑπερευχόμενος,² χαρισθείης μοι καὶ
 τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἐκκλησίᾳ χάριτι τοῦ Ἁγίου.³

¹ αὐτῷ E.² ἡμῶν add. Clar.³ χάριτι τοῦ ἁγίου] om. Med.

has been made by us, deign to send him, that encouraged by your criticism we may despatch it also to others' hands. In good health, joyful in the Lord, and praying in our behalf may you be preserved to me and the Church of the Lord by favour of the Holy One.

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