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*Macrina the Younger as a substitute
for Eustathius of Sebastea*

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Introduction

The present study was meant to be a simple doctoral thesis in classical philology – simple in a sense that I intended to analyse literary genres of Gregory of Nyssa’s writings. The study was to be technical, not controversial. I started with the most “obvious” – the dialogue *De anima et resurrectione*. I thought it was clear that it is a philosophical dialogue that followed a model of Plato’s *Phaedo*. At the very beginning of my research, I was intrigued by two problems: first, why Gregory wrote *De anima et resurrectione* in a form of a dialogue – the only dialogue in his entire literary legacy; second, why he chose Macrina for an interlocutor. Of course, I could understand she was intended as a reminiscence of Diotyma, but what puzzled me was the question: Why Gregory wrote a dialogue with Macrina and not with his great, saint brother Basil?

Although I decided to focus on *De anima et resurrectione* I started to analyse *Vita sanctae Macrinae* as a point of reference. I was struck by the incoherencies in those writings, especially regarding Macrina herself: a simple ascetic brought up on the Holy Scripture in *Vita sanctae Macrinae* and a philosopher of the highest Ancient level in *De anima et resurrectione*. So, I looked for other sources to check which version was “the correct one”. To my greatest surprise, I discovered that apart from the writings of Gregory of Nyssa and one epitaph by Gregory of Nazianzus there is literally no mention on Macrina in any other source. When I started to read studies on Macrina I noticed the second remarkable fact: the only two authors who wrote about Macrina (Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus), passed over a very important person, an initiator of ascetic/monastic life in Pontus and Basil’s inspirer – Eustathius of Sebastea. In Gregory of Nyssa’s version, Macrina appears in Basil’s life at the moments that according to his own testimony were marked by the influence of Eustathius. At this point of my research I was already convinced that Macrina was a literary construct aimed at “covering” Eustathius and protect Basil from accusation of having been inspired by a heretic – as according to all studies Eustathius was a Pneumatomachian condemned by the Council of Constantinople (381). More or less at that time I wrote the article *Macrina the Younger – the invented*

saint, published in “Studia Pelplińskie” 52 (2018), 323-343. It has become a basis for Part I. *Macrina the Younger* of the present study. Later on, I discovered that the reason for inventing Macrina might have been different – she was to constitute a model of asceticism alternative to the one practiced by Eustathius and Basil.

Methodology

I found myself at the crossroads: I needed to choose whether I wanted to focus on the literary form of Gregory’s writings and look for literary models of the figure of Macrina or whether I would dig deeper into history including research on Eustathius of Sebastea. Prof. Ewa Wipszycka-Bravo agreed to supervise my thesis, so I recognized I had the best and unique opportunity to make a research on history under her supervision. Also my theological background turned out to be very useful when I was analysing the theological ideas of Eustathius of Sebastea and Basil the Great. Therefore, my study is presented as interdisciplinary, drawing upon the disciplines of classical philology, history and theology.

State of research

According to the recent studies on early monasticism and asceticism Macrina the Younger was one of the most important persons of 4th century Christianity in Pontus. Scholars treat *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* written by her brother Gregory of Nyssa as a source of information about her character and achievements. A.M. Silvas begins a book about Macrina with the following statement: “The holy woman known in Christian tradition as Saint Macrina the Younger (327-379) was the descendant of resolutely Christian forbears, the first-born among some famous siblings, and the leader of a family outstanding for its contribution to Christian history, piety, and culture.”¹ Further, “Macrina became a spiritual mother and teacher to her own mother, Emmelia, and to each of her four brothers”² (including Basil the Great). She is considered also “the guide and teacher of the virgins she directed in her

¹ A.M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, Turnhout 2008, 1.

² A.M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 2.

monastery,”³ “a pioneering monastic founder.”⁴ S. Elm stressed in her study about feminine asceticism in Late Antiquity: “Because of her significantly earlier experience and her uninterrupted presence, Macrina may well have been the dominant figure at Annesi; her share in developing what is known as Basilian monasticism ought not to be underrated.”⁵

The first part of my research (*Macrina the Younger*) questions the very bases of above-quoted theses. *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* has important features of hagiography and as such cannot be treated as reliable source describing real persons and events. Although it can contain a lot of true information, its aim was not to report history, but to exhort readers to live virtuously. The status of *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* as hagiography undermines not only commonly accepted facts of Macrina’s biography, but a lot of results of studies on Basil, including the most famous: *Basil of Caesarea* by Philip Rousseau and *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great* by Anna-Maria Silvas. Although they all were very useful to me I had to treat them with due caution and I found myself questioning a lot of them in large measure. The expert on Basil that “defended himself” to the end was Jean Gribomont.

The studies that helped me at the beginning of my research were studies in literature, especially thorough and innovative analyses by Hippolyte Delehaye, Averil Cameron and Timothy Barnes. In order to prove a fictional character of *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* I compared it with the first hagiography of non-martyr, namely *Vita Antonii* by Athanasius of Alexandria. Here, I based mostly on the results of research of Ewa Wipszycka-Bravo and David Brakke.

There are hardly any studies on Eustathius of Sebastea. He appears in many studies about Basil the Great but as far as I know there is only one monograph dedicated to Eustathius himself – *Eustathius of Sebaste* by William A. Jurgens. The publication is a part of the doctoral dissertation by Jurgens – unfortunately published only partially and extremely difficult to access. What is worse, the Biblioteca Gregoriana refuses any access to the entire text of his doctoral thesis.

³ L.F. Mateo-Seco, *Vita Macrinae*, in: *Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa*, eds. L.F. Mateo-Seco - G. Maspero, Leuven 2010, 469.

⁴ J. McGuckin, *Macrina*, in: *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, ed. W.M. Johnston, Chicago-London 2000, vol. 2, 801.

⁵ S. Elm, *Virgins of God: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 1994, 104.

The findings of Jurgens are well based on sources and at some point still valid. But, in the case of Eustathius (as well as a lot of personages of the 4th century) there are more hypotheses and presumptions than proofs and evidences. That is why my dating of Eustathius' life differs significantly from the one of Jurgens.

I regard as the best study of Eustathius' asceticism the book by Tomislav Zdenko Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra. Eustazio di Sebaste nell'ambiente ascetico siriano dell'Asia Minore nel IV° secolo. Excerpta ex dissertatione ad Doctoratum in Facultate (sic) Theologiae Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianaе, Romae 1991*. Recently, Federico Fatti wrote some articles on Eustathius; his research is deeply rooted in the sources, providing brilliant and innovative ideas. Even if I disagree with some of them, they were stimulating and significant point of reference for my own findings.

It is difficult for me to list all studies that played an important role during my long-lasting process of writing, especially that my study regards so many different subjects including the way bishops were elected and ordained. A reader can find references to them in the footnotes. Here, I would like to mention two more authors: Raymond van Dam and Thomas A. Kopecek whose remarks about social structure of Cappadocia were of great value to me.

Last but not least, the sources. The present study is based on sources. My starting point was to analyze *De anima et resurrectione* and *Vita sanctae Macrinae*. I quote a lot both in original and translation. I am convinced that it is pointless to summarize a source, it is better to quote it – not only to help a reader, but to help me myself. I prefer to quote several times even the same text. It happened many times that only after I looked at the same text hundreds of times, I noticed a word or an expression that turned out to be crucial in understanding some important events. I can evoke the problem of Dianius as an example. It took me a lot of time to realize that Dianius from Letter 51 by Basil could have not been Dianius bishop of Caesarea, but the enlightenment came when I was reading the very letter by Basil for the nth time. When I face incoherencies, I dig into the sources, not into the secondary literature. Sources cause problems and they can solve it.

Part I. Macrina the Younger

Chapter I. Writings about Macrina the Younger

Macrina the Younger can be found in four Ancient writings: *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, Letter 19, dialogue *De anima et resurrectione* by Gregory of Nyssa and epitaph 120 by Gregory of Nazianzus. In order to assess the information they contain it is necessary, above all, to establish their literary genre, because depending on it we can treat the events they describe as facts or not.

1. *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* by Gregory of Nyssa

Vita Sanctae Macrinae is the most extensive Ancient writing about Macrina. It has been translated many times and widely studied; lately, it aroused special interest of researchers of early Christian spirituality and feminist theologians looking for meaningful feminine characters in Antiquity.

The question about the literary genre of *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* is absolutely crucial, nevertheless it is often omitted or treated as minor or secondary. But, depending on the answer the events and persons described in the writing can be considered real or fictitious.

I am convinced that *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* is neither a philosophical biography⁶ as Maraval wanted,⁷ nor a family chronicle, as Silvas called it,⁸ but it is a hagiography. Although Barnes thinks that “hagiography was never a literary genre in the strict definition of that term,”⁹ it has its characteristic features. What makes hagiography distinct from history is, according to H. Delehaye, the religious character of the writing and the purpose of edification.¹⁰ At the beginning of *Vita*

⁶ The scope of philosophical biography was to present the life and doctrine of a philosopher, see G.J.M. Bartelink, *Introduction*, in *Vie d'Antoine*, ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, SC 400, Paris 1994, 47-48.

⁷ P. Maraval, *Introduction*, in: *Vie de sainte Macrine*, ed. P. Maraval, SC 178, Paris 1971, 21-23 and 92.

⁸ A.M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 103.

⁹ T.D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*, Tübingen 2010, 237.

¹⁰ H. Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, Bruxelles 1906, 2: “Pour être strictement hagiographique, le document doit avoir un caractère religieux et se proposer un but d'édification. Il faudra donc

Sanctae Macrinae, Gregory declares that the benefit (κέρδος) brought by the history of good things (τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἱστορίαν) is that the life of the one who had raised herself to the highest summit of human virtue (πρὸς τὸν ἀκρότατον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀρετῆς ὄρον) would not pass unprofitable (ἀνωφελής).¹¹ The profit of the story of virtue is, of course, spiritual and it does not need real events or even real persons to be attained. We can see the same purpose also in the 2nd century influential *Martyrium Polycarpi*, belonging to the so-called Smyranean hagiography.¹² The explicit aim of this writing is that “we may become Polycarp’s followers” (ἵνα μιμηταὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ γενώμεθα) and that its readers “glorify the Lord” (ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δοξάζωσιν τὸν κύριον).¹³ That purpose is from the very beginning a characteristic feature of Christian hagiography.

Vita Sanctae Macrinae was not the first hagiography of an ascetic and non-martyr. The first was *Vita Antonii* by Athanasius of Alexandria and Gregory of Nazianzus testifies that it was known among Cappadocians.¹⁴ Similarity between those two writings is striking. It consists even in the literary form: both lives are letters or rather they pretend to be the letters written as a reply to specific persons who asked the author to describe a life of the saint. One of the initial statements of *Vita Antonii* reads as follows:

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπητήσατε καὶ παρ’ ἐμοῦ
περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ μακαρίου
Ἀντωνίου, μαθεῖν θέλοντες πῶς τε
ἤρξατο τῆς ἀσκήσεως, καὶ τίς ἦν προ-
ταύτης, καὶ ὅποιον ἔσχε τοῦ βίου τὸ

Now, you have also asked me for an
account of the life of the blessed
Antony: you would like to learn how
he came to practice asceticism, what
he was previous to this, what his
death was like, and whether

réserver ce nom à tout monument écrit inspiré par le culte des saints, et destiné à le promouvoir. Ce qu’il importe d’accentuer dès le début, c’est la distinction entre l’hagiographie et l’histoire.”

¹¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae* 1, GNO 8/1, 371.

¹² For dating of the text and references to it in later Christian literature, see two articles by J.M. Kozłowski, *Pionius Polycarpi imitator: References to Martyrium Polycarpi in Martyrium Pionii*, “Science et Esprit” 67 (2015), 417–434; and *Tanto perfusus est sanguine, ut... Dependence of Passio Perpetuae 21,1–3 upon Martyrium Polycarpi 14,2 and 16,1*, “Eirene. Studia Graeca et Latina” 52 (2016), 387–395.

¹² H. Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*, Bruxelles 1966², 15–46.

¹³ *Ecclesiae Smyrnensis de martyrio S. Polycarpi epistola circularis* I 2, PG 5, 1029B; XX 1; PG 5, 1044C.

¹⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 21 (*In laudem Athanasii*), 5, SC 270, 118.

τέλος, καὶ εἰ ἀληθῆ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ
λεγόμενά ἐστιν, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τὸν
ἐκείνου ζῆλον ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάγητε· μετὰ
πολλῆς προθυμίας ἔδεξάμην τὸ παρ'
ὑμῶν ἐπίταγμα.

There is an analogous passage in *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*:

Τὸ μὲν εἶδος τοῦ βιβλίου ὅσον ἐν τῷ τῆς
προγραφῆς τύπῳ ἐπιστολὴ εἶναι δοκεῖ,
τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τὸν ἐπιστολιμαῖον
ὄρον ἐστὶν εἰς συγγραφικὴν
μακρηγορίαν παρατεινόμενον· ἀλλ'
ἀπολογεῖται ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἢ ὑπόθεσις, ἥς
ἐνεκεν γράψαι διεκελεύσω, πλείων
οὔσα ἢ κατ' ἐπιστολῆς συμμετρίαν.
[...] Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔδοκίμασας φέρειν τι
κέρδος τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἱστορίαν, ὡς ἂν
μὴ λάθοι τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον ὁ
τοιούτος βίος μηδὲ ἀνωφελῆς
παραδράμοι διὰ σιωπῆς υγκαλυφθεῖσα
ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἀκρότατον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης
ἀρετῆς ὄρον ἑαυτὴν διὰ φιλοσοφίας
ἐπάρασα, καλῶς ἔχειν ᾠήθην σοὶ τε
πεισθῆναι καὶ δι' ὀλίγων, ὡς ἂν οἴός τε
ᾧ, τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἱστορῆσαι ἐν
ἀκατασκεύῳ τε καὶ ἀπλῶ διηγήματι.

everything said about him is true.
You have in mind to model your
lives after his life of zeal. I am very
happy to accede to your request.¹⁵

From the heading of this work, you
might think that it is a letter, but it
has extended itself into a rather
lengthy monograph. My excuse is
that you ordered me to write on a
subject that goes beyond the scope
of a letter. [...] You suggested that a
history of her good deeds ought to
be written because you thought
such a life should not be lost sight
of in time and, that having raised
herself to the highest peak of
human virtue through philosophy,
she should not be passed over in
silence and her life rendered
ineffective. Accordingly, I thought
it right to obey you and to write her
life story as briefly as I could in an
artless and simple narrative.¹⁶

Both prologues have some things in common: they claim to be an answer for somebody else's initiative and they both set the same target: the edification of the

¹⁵ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, prologue, SC 400, 127; transl. R.T. Meyer, 17.

¹⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 1, GNO 8/1, 370-371; transl. V. Woods Callahan, 163-164.

readers. The purpose of edification and religious character are features that differentiate hagiography from other literary genres. Philosophical biography is aimed to show the views of the philosopher, hagiography is aimed to show a model to be imitated.¹⁷ „Antony is therefore not a philosopher to learn from, but a model to imitate.”¹⁸ Such a purpose determines which facts from the life of a saint are selected and how they are showed to the readers. The described persons and events do not have to and have no ambition to be authentic, but they must be hortatory, aiming to exhort the readers.

In order to make their accounts more reliable the authors of both lives stress that they were eyewitnesses of what they are writing about. Athanasius says that he is writing down his own memories:

Ἐβουλόμην γὰρ οὖν, δεξάμενος ὑμῶν
τὴν ἐπιστολήν, μεταπέμψασθαί τινας
τῶν μοναχῶν, τῶν μάλιστα
πυκνότερον εἰωθότων πρὸς αὐτὸν
παραγίνεσθαι. Τάχα τι πλεον μαθῶν
πληρέστερον ὑμῖν ἐπιστείλω. ἐπειδὴ
δὲ γὰρ καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν πλωϊμῶν
συνέκλειε καὶ ὁ γραμματοφόρος
ἔσπευδεν, διὰ τοῦτο ἄπερ αὐτός τε
γινώσκω (πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτὸν
ἑώρακα), καὶ ἅ μαθεῖν ἠδυνήθην παρὰ
τοῦ ἀκολουθήσαντος αὐτῷ χρόνον
οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ ἐπιχέαντος ὕδωρ κατὰ
χεῖρὸς αὐτοῦ, γράψαι τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ
ὑμῶν ἐσπούδασα.

Well, when I received your letter I wanted to send for some of the monks, especially those who used to associate with him most closely. Thus I might have learned additional details and sent you a fuller account. But the sailing season is about over and the postman is growing impatient; therefore, I make haste to write to Your Reverence what I myself know—for I have seen him often—and whatever I was able to learn from him who was his companion over a long period and poured water on his hands.¹⁹

¹⁷ G.J.M. Bartelink, *Introduction*, in: Athanase d’Alexandrie, *Vie d’Antoine*, SC 400, 47-48.

¹⁸ D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 254.

¹⁹ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, prologue, SC 400, 126-128, transl. R.T. Meyer, 18.

Gregory of Nyssa stresses his kinship with the described person that legitimizes his story:

Τὸ δὲ διήγημα ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐξ ἀκοῆς
ἐτέρων διηγημάτων τὸ πιστὸν εἶχεν,
ἀλλ' ὧν ἡ πείρα διδάσκαλος ἦν, ταῦτα
δι' ἀκριβείας ἐπεξήει ὁ λόγος, εἰς οὐδὲν
ἀκοὴν ἀλλοτριάν ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος·
οὐδὲ γὰρ ξένη τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἡ
μνημονευθεῖσα παρθένος, ὡς ἀνάγκη
εἶναι δι' ἐτέρων γινώσκειν τὰ κατ'
ἐκείνην θαύματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν
ἡμῖν γονέων, ὥσπερ τις ἀπαρχὴ
καρπῶν πρώτη τῆς μητρῶας νηδύος
ἀναβλαστήσασα.

We did not have to rely on hearsay
since experience was our teacher,
and the details of our story did not
depend on the testimony of others.
The maiden we spoke of was no
stranger to my family so that I did
not have to learn the wondrous
facts about her from others; we
were born of the same parents, she
being, as it were, an offering of first
fruits, the earliest flowering of our
mother's womb.²⁰

There were some attempts of questioning the authorship of *Vita Antonii* by Athanasius,²¹ but apart from internal evidences there are external ones that confirm Athanasius' authorship – when Athanasius was still alive he was regarded as an author.²² I assume that Athanasius was an author of *Vita Antonii* and that he created a literary fiction in this writing. D. Brakke noticed “the paucity of evidence for actual contact between Athanasius and the historical Antony”²³ and E. Wipszycka questions the probability that Athanasius knew Coptic and it was the only language he could use to talk with Antony or with the witnesses of his life.²⁴ Gregory of Nyssa himself confessed that he did not see his sister for many years²⁵ and he knew

²⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 1, GNO 8/1, 371, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 163.

²¹ R. Draguet, *La Vie primitive de S. Antoine conservée en syriaque*, CSCO 184, Louvain 1984; T.D. Barnes, *Angel of light or mystic initiate? The problem of the Life Antony*, “Journal of Theological Studies” 37 (1986), 353-368; M. Tetz, *Athanasius und die Vita Antonii. Literarische und theologische Relation*, “Zeitschrift für Neutestamentalische Wissenschaft” 73 (1982), 1-30.

²² For the discussion on the subject see W. Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism*, Oxford - New York 2004, 111-133; E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile. Monks and Monasteries in Late Antique Egypt*, transl. D. Jasiński, Warsaw 2018, 33-36.

²³ D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 205-207.

²⁴ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 49.

²⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 387.

her miracles only from the accounts of others.²⁶ The emphasis present in both writings that the author was an eyewitness of the saint's life is obviously a literary topos and has little to do with reality.

Vita Sanctae Macrinae clearly follows the model of the saint established by *Vita Antonii*. Gregory's Macrina in many details mimics the characteristics and behaviour of Athanasius' Antony. Both Antony and Macrina were born to Christian families, were raised on the Bible, isolated from the influence of culture and Pagan habits. The description of Antony's childhood reads as follows:

Ἀντώνιος γένος μὲν ἦν Αἰγύπτιος,
 εὐγενῶν δὲ γονέων καὶ περιουσίαν
 αὐτάρκη κεκτημένων. Χριστιανῶν δὲ
 αὐτῶν ὄντων Χριστιανικῶς ἀνήγετο καὶ
 αὐτός. Καὶ παιδίον μὲν ὢν, ἐτρέφετο
 παρὰ τοῖς γονεῦσι, πλέον αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ
 οἴκου μηδὲν ἕτερον γινώσκων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
 καὶ αὐξήσας ἐγένετο παῖς καὶ προέκοπτε
 τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, γράμματα μὲν μαθεῖν οὐκ
 ἠγέσχετο, βουλόμενος ἐκτός εἶναι καὶ
 τῆς πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας συνηθείας. τὴν δὲ
 ἐπιθυμίαν πᾶσαν εἶχε, κατὰ τὸ
 γεγραμμένον, ὡς ἄπλαστος οἰκεῖν ἐν τῇ
 οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Antony was an Egyptian by birth. His parents were of good stock and well-to-do; and because they were Christians he himself was brought up a Christian. As a child he lived with his parents, knowing nothing but them and his home; and when he grew to be a boy and was advancing in age, he did not take to schooling,²⁷ desiring to shun even the companionship of other children: his one desire was, as the Scripture States concerning Jacob, to lead a simple life at home.²⁸

²⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 30-31, GNO 8/1, 404-406; *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 36-38, GNO 8/1, 410-413.

²⁷ D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 255: "Thus, the young man's failure to learn letters γράμματα does not represent his total illiteracy, but his unwillingness to receive the secondary education from a grammaticos;" E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 51: "The word γράμματα may refer not only to 'letters', but also, in the metaphorical sense, 'literature', or 'education' (imparted in the form characteristic of the ancient Greek model of education, where the study of literature was fundamentally important)."

²⁸ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 1, SC 400, 130; transl. R.T. Meyer, 18.

Similarly, Macrina described by Gregory of Nyssa was brought up by Christian parents, she was taught only the Bible absolutely isolated from other people:

Ἦν δὲ τῇ μητρὶ σπουδὴ παιδεῦσαι μὲν τὴν παῖδα, μὴ μέντοι τὴν ἔξωθεν ταύτην καὶ ἐγκύκλιον παιδευσιν, ἣν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων αἰ πρώται τῶν παιδευομένων ἡλικίαι διδάσκονται. Αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ᾤετο καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπρεπὲς ἢ τὰ τραγικὰ πάθη, ὅσα ἐκ γυναικῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔδωκεν, ἢ τὰς κωμικὰς ἀσχημοσύνας ἢ τῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἴλιον κακῶν τὰς αἰτίας ἀπαλὴν καὶ εὐπλαστον φύσιν διδάσκεσθαι, καταμολυνομένην τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς ἀσεμνοτέροις περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν διηγήμασιν. Ἄλλ' ὅσα τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς εὐληπτότερα ταῖς πρώταις ἡλικίαις δοκεῖ, ταῦτα ἦν τῇ παιδί τὰ μαθήματα καὶ μάλιστα ἡ τοῦ Σολομῶντος Σοφία καὶ ταύτης πλέον ὅσα πρὸς τὸν ἠθικὸν ἔφερε βίον. Ἄλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψαλμωδομένης γραφῆς οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν ἠγνῶει καιροῖς ἰδίους ἕκαστον μέρος τῆς ψαλμωδίας διεξιούσα τῆς τε κοίτης διανισταμένη καὶ τῶν σπουδαίων ἀπτομένη τε καὶ

Her mother was eager to have the child given instruction, but not in the secular curriculum, which meant, for the most part, teaching the youngsters through poetry. For she thought that it was shameful and altogether unfitting to teach the soft and pliable nature either the passionate themes of tragedy (which are based on the stories of women and give the poets their ideas and plots), or the unseemly antics of comedy, or the shameful activities of the immoral characters in the Iliad, defiling the child's nature with the undignified tales about women. Instead of this, whatever of inspired Scripture was adaptable to the early years, this was the child's subject matter, especially the Wisdom of Solomon and beyond this whatever leads us to a moral life. She was especially well versed in the Psalms, going through each part of the Psalter at the proper time; when she got up or did her daily tasks or rested,

ἀναπαυομένη καὶ προσιεμένη τροφήν
καὶ ἀναχωροῦσα τραπέζης καὶ ἐπὶ
κοίτην ἰοῦσα καὶ εἰς προσευχὰς
διανισταμένη, πανταχοῦ τὴν
ψαλμωδίαν εἶχεν οἷόν τινα σύνοδον
ἀγαθὴν μηδενὸς ἀπολιμπανομένην
χρόνου.

when she sat down to eat or rose
from the table, when she went to
bed or rose from it for prayer, she
had the Psalter with her at all times,
like a good and faithful traveling
companion.²⁹

Such a description of childhood is strictly connected with the purpose of the writings. Athanasius calls Antony “taught by God” (θεοδίδακτος)³⁰ not by people.³¹ But, his letters demonstrate that he must have read with understanding the writings by Origen and Gnostics.³² Apparently, Antony not only could read and write, but he was quite well educated.³³ Macrina in the dialogue *De anima and resurrectione* not only mentions philosophers by name,³⁴ but engages in a discussion with Gregory on the highest scientific level (in the Ancient sense) using dialectic and rhetoric. So, isolation from culture is nothing more than a literary topos.

It is worth noticing that – as E. Wipszycka stated – “people of Late Antiquity were not as obsessively preoccupied with the individual paths of religious experience as we are. The model path of salvation and its biblical justification were more important than the accidental (and thus unimportant) impulses resulting from the vicissitudes of individual lives.³⁵ That is why there is not a single hint of development in the descriptions of the saints: according to the hagiographies both Antony and Macrina were saint from the earliest childhood, because they should be the models to be followed. Those accounts are not descriptions of real youth of little Antony or little Macrina. Both saints lived very simple lives from early

²⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 2, GNO 8/1, 373-374; transl. V. Woods Callahan, 165.

³⁰ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 66, SC 400, 308.

³¹ The importance of this expression has been stressed by Y. de Andia, *Antoine le Grand Théodidacte*, in: *Mystiques d'Orient de d'Occident*, Begrolles-en-Mauges 1994, 41-56 and E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 58.

³² S. Rubenson, *Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of A Saint*, Minneapolis 1995, 59-88; D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 256-258; E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 52-59.

³³ S. Rubenson, *Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of A Saint*, 95-99; D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 214.

³⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione*, GNO 3/3, 8 and 33-34.

³⁵ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 70.

childhood. Antony wanted to lead a simple life at home (ὡς ἄπλαστος). D. Brakke explains: “Lack of education signifies a certain disposition: it denotes seclusion, in contrast to companionship and being ‘natural’ or ‘unformed’ (ἄπλαστος) in contrast to the artificiality produced by socialization into leaned culture. Virtue, Antony claims in chapter 20, is the preservation of the soul in its ‘natural’ condition; here Antony remains in an ‘unformed’ state of innate wisdom, unsullied by the ambiguities and conventions of human discourse.”³⁶

Both Antony and Macrina undergo a conversion and start a new life in poverty, though they used to live virtuously since they were children.

Antony:

Ὡς δὲ, πάλιν εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ
Κυριακὸν, ἤκουσεν ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ
τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος, Μὴ μεριμνήσητε
περὶ τῆς αὔριον, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος ἔτι
μένειν, ἐξελθὼν διέδωκε κάκεϊνα τοῖς
μετρίοις. Τὴν δὲ ἀδελφὴν
παραθέμενος γνωρίμοις καὶ πισταῖς
παρθένοις, δούς τε αὐτὴν εἰς
παρθενίαν ἀνατρέφεισθαι, αὐτὸς πρὸ
τῆς οἰκίας ἐσχόλαζε λοιπὸν τῇ
ἀσκήσει, προσέχων ἑαυτῷ καὶ
καρτερικῶς ἑαυτὸν ἄγων.

But once again as he entered the church, he heard the Lord saying in the Gospel: Be not solicitous for the morrow. He could not bear to wait longer, but went out and distributed those things also to the poor. His sister he placed with known and trusted virgins, giving her to the nuns 17 to be brought up. Then he himself devoted all his time to ascetic living, intent on himself and living a life of self-denial, near his own house.³⁷

Macrina:

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πάσης ὑλωδεστέρας ζωῆς
ὑπόθεσις ἤδη αὐτοῖς περικέκοπτο,
πεῖθει τὴν μητέρα καταλιποῦσαν τὸν
ἐν ἔθει βίον καὶ τὴν κομπωδεστέραν
διαγωγὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὑποχειρίων

When there was no longer any necessity for them to continue their rather worldly way of life, Macrina persuaded her mother to give up her customary mode of living and her

³⁶ D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 255.

³⁷ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 3, SC 400, 134-136, transl. R.T. Meyer, 20.

θεραπείας, αἷς προσείθιστο κατὰ τὸν
ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον, ὁμότιμον
γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς τῷ φρονήματι
καὶ καταμιῖξαι τὴν ἰδίαν ζωὴν τῇ μετὰ
τῶν παρθένων διαγωγῇ, ὅσας εἶχε
μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐκ δουλίδων καὶ
ὑποχειρίων ἀδελφὰς καὶ ὁμοτίμους
ποιησαμένη·

more ostentatious existence and the services of her maids, to which she had long been accustomed, and to put herself on a level with the many by entering into a common life with her maids, making them her sisters and equals rather than her slaves and underlings.³⁸

Those description should not be trusted. “The rules of ancient biographical literature gave the authors much liberty in conjuring up the details of people’s lives as long as their writing did not violate the sense of probability: the emphasis on accuracy, so characteristic of twentieth-century biographers, was entirely foreign to the ancient way of describing the life of a person. The expectation which they had to meet was to offer a coherent portrayal – plausible, but not necessarily faithful through and through. It is worth realising at this point that descriptions of conversion in Christian literature before Athanasius were few and far between. The best-known example (and also the most detailed) is the story of Justin Martyr, who described his conversion in such a way that we would be hard pressed to believe its authenticity. We may learn from it what a philosopher’s conversion was supposed to have looked like, but we are left in the dark as to the question of how Justin actually converted to Christianity.”³⁹ E. Wipszycka quotes other examples of nearly identical conversions in the lives of Cyriakus and Hypatius, she also points out significant variances in the three accounts on the conversion of Simeon the Stylite as a proof that they must have been a literary construct not a description of real events.⁴⁰

The characteristic feature of the saints is peace and total absence of corporal sensations. In the case of Antony,

τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς πάλιν καθαρὸν τὸ ἦθος.
οὔτε γὰρ ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνίας συνεσταλμένη

the state of his soul was pure, for it was neither contracted by grief, nor

³⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 7, GNO 8/1, 377-378; transl. V. Woods Callahan, 168.

³⁹ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 163-164.

⁴⁰ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 64-67.

ἦν, οὔτε ὑφ' ἡδονῆς διακεχυμένη οὔτε
 ὑπὸ γέλωτος ἢ κατηφείας
 συνεχομένη. οὔτε γὰρ ἑωρακῶς τὸν
 ὄχλον ἑταράχθη οὔτε ὡς ὑπὸ
 τοσούτων κατασπαζόμενος ἐγεγήθει,
 ἀλλ' ὅλος ἦν ἴσος, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου
 κυβερνώμενος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν
 ἔστώ. [...] ἔπεισε πολλοὺς αἰρήσασθαι
 τὸν μονήρη βίον. καὶ οὕτω λοιπὸν
 γέγονε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι μοναστήρια,
 καὶ ἡ ἔρημος ἐπολίσθη μοναχῶν,
 ἐξελεθόντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ
 ἀπογραψαμένων τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς
 πολιτείαν.

dissipated by pleasure nor pervaded
 by jollity or dejection. He was not
 embarrassed when he saw the crowd,
 nor was he elated at seeing so many
 there to receive him. No, he had
 himself completely under control—a
 man guided by reason and stable in
 his character. [...] He induced many
 to take up the monastic life. And so
 now monasteries also sprang up in
 the mountains and the desert was
 populated with monks who left their
 own people and registered
 themselves for citizenship in
 Heaven.⁴¹

Macrina and her companions led a life similar to the angels:

Καθάπερ γὰρ αἱ διὰ θανάτου τῶν σωμάτων
 ἐκλυθεῖσαι ψυχαὶ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον
 τοῦτον μεριμνῶν συνεκλύονται, οὕτως
 κεχώριστο αὐτῶν ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἀπώκιστο
 πάσης βιωτικῆς ματαιότητος καὶ πρὸς
 μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων διαγωγῆς
 ἐρρουθμίζετο. Ἐν οἷς γὰρ οὐ θυμός, οὐ
 φθόνος, οὐ μῖσος, οὐχ ὑπεροψία, οὐκ ἄλλο
 τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐνεωρᾶτο, ἢ τε τῶν
 ματαίων ἐπιθυμία, τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης καὶ
 τύφου καὶ ὑπερηφανίας καὶ πάντων τῶν
 τοιούτων, ἐκβέβλητο· τρυφή δὲ ἦν ἡ

Just as by death souls are freed
 from the body and released
 from the cares of this life, so
 their life was separated from
 these things, divorced from all
 mortal vanity and attuned to an
 imitation of the existence of
 the angels. Among them was
 seen no anger, no envy, no
 hatred, no arrogance, or any
 such thing; neither was there in
 them longing for foolish things
 like honor and fame and
 vanity, nor a contempt for

⁴¹ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 14, SC 400, 172-174, transl. R.T. Meyer, 32-33.

ἐγκράτεια καὶ δόξα τὸ μὴ γινώσκεσθαι,
 πλοῦτος δὲ ἢ ἀκτημοσύνη καὶ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν
 ὑλικὴν παρουσίαν οἷόν τινα κόνιν τῶν
 σωμάτων ἀποτινάξασθαι.

others; all such qualities had
 been put aside.⁴²

It is an ideal that can be aspired to, but unattainable on earth. Both authors of the *Lives* were aware of its unattainableness, so Athanasius calls the way of Antony's living a heavenly state (ἢ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς πολιτείαν) and Gregory compares the lifestyle of Macrina to angels (πρὸς μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων διαγωγῆς). Bartelink analysed the biblical references in *Vita Antonii* (more than 200) proving that the ideal personified by Antony had its deep biblical roots.⁴³

D. Brakke noticed the resemblance between the behaviour of young Antony and the lifestyle of young Mary as Athanasius described it in his first *Letter to Virgins* 12-14 (paragraph numbers according to Brakke).⁴⁴ Antony repeats the behaviour that Athanasius admired in Mary: staying at home, being obedient to his parents, spending his time on prayer, attending church, listening to the Holy Scripture, eating simple food in moderate amounts, doing good deeds secretly.⁴⁵ Macrina presents similar behaviour.

The descriptions of the last days, death and funeral of Antony and Macrina are similar. In both cases they are long, detailed, and contain speeches of the heroes, kind of testaments for their companions, called farewell speeches.⁴⁶ Festugière analysed the last prayer of Macrina from *Vita sanctae Macrinae* and stated that it was a noble literary composition that had nothing to do with historical probability.⁴⁷ Both Antony and Macrina had no fear of death, they are dying cheerful, full of joy at the thought of meeting God; both leave some instructions regarding their funerals that should be modest. In both cases the attention is focused on keepsakes that are given by the saints to the closest persons: bishop Athanasius received one sheepskin and

⁴² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 11, GNO 8/1, 382; transl. V. Woods Callahan, 170-171.

⁴³ G.J.M. Bartelink, *Introduction*, SC 400, 48-53.

⁴⁴ Athanase, *Lettres festales et pastorales en copte*, ed. L.Th. Lefort, Louvain 1955, 77-80.

⁴⁵ D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 254.

⁴⁶ M. Alexandre, *À propos du récit de la mort d'Antoine. L'heure de la mort dans la littérature monastique*, in: *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge (IIIe-XIIIe siècles)*, ed. J.M. Leroux, Paris 1984, 263-282.

⁴⁷ A.J. Festugière, *Vraisemblance psychologique et forme littéraire chez les anciens*, "Philologus" 102 (1958), 38.

the cloak on which Antony used to lie, bishop Serapion received the other sheepskin, and other brothers kept the hair shirt;⁴⁸ Macrina left her iron cross to Vetiana and her iron ring to Gregory.⁴⁹ Antony distributed all his belongings as it “was fitting for a holy man, a monk and a martyr who shied away from everything that would have bound him to the world;”⁵⁰ Macrina as well had only a dress, a covering of her head and sandals.⁵¹

In order to achieve its intended purpose (which is edification of the readers) hagiography used fictional elements from the very beginning of the genre. Regarding Antony we can examine some events described in *Vita Antonii* and some of them are obviously fictitious. T.D. Barnes calls *Vita Antonii* a fictitious hagiography and an imaginative composition.⁵² Heussi thinks that the entire episode from *Vita Antonii* 46, where Antony comes to Alexandria to support persecuted Christians, is fake.⁵³ Wipszycka believes that Antony could have been in Alexandria, but she considers the ban on letting ascetics into a court anachronistic as ascetics were not a separate, distinctive group at that time.⁵⁴ She also thinks it was impossible that Antony served Christians who worked in mines/quarry (μέταλλα) as there were no such μέταλλα near Alexandria: “Athanasius knew full well that there were no *metalla* near Alexandria where Antony could have found Christian exiles. This, however, did not matter to him. Athanasius was not intent on providing a minutely accurate rendering of Antony’s biography in accordance with literary principles, nor was he obliged to do so. In describing the new model of sanctity, one which was supposed to replace that of a martyr, he tried to demonstrate that the saint visited all places where he could find martyrs and confessors: while they were being taken to trial, during interrogations, and in the places where they were eventually exiled or martyred.”⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 91, SC 400, 370.

⁴⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 30, GNO 8/1, 404.

⁵⁰ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 97.

⁵¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 29, GNO 8/1, 403.

⁵² T.D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*, 160.

⁵³ K. Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, Tübingen 1936, 94-96.

⁵⁴ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 75-76.

⁵⁵ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 75.

Athanasius intentionally described the exchange of letters between Antony and Constantine at variance with the reality. Antony receives a letter from Constantine and his sons, and replies with reluctance advising them how to hold power:

Ἐφθασε δὲ καὶ μέχρι βασιλέων ἢ περὶ Ἀντωνίου φήμη. Ταῦτα γὰρ μαθόντες Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Αὐγουστος, καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντίος καὶ Κώνστας οἱ Αὐγουστοί, ἔγραφον αὐτῷ ὡς πατρὶ, καὶ ἠϋχοντο λαμβάνειν ἀντίγραφα παρ' αὐτοῦ. [...] Καὶ ἀντέγραφεν, ἀποδεχόμενος μὲν αὐτούς, ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν προσκυνοῦσι, συνεβούλευε δὲ τὰ εἰς σωτηρίαν· καὶ μὴ μεγάλα ἠγγεῖσθαι τὰ παρόντα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μνημονεύειν τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως, καὶ εἰδέναί, ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς μόνος ἀληθῆς καὶ αἰώνιος ἐστὶ βασιλεύς. Φιλανθρώπους τε αὐτούς εἶναι ἠξίου, καὶ φροντίζειν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῶν πτωχῶν. Κακεῖνοι δεχόμενοι ἔχαιρον.

The fame of Antony reached even to emperors; for when Constantine Augustus and his sons Constantius Augustus and Constans Augustus heard about these things, they wrote to him as to a father and begged him to write back. [...] And he wrote back, commending them for worshipping Christ, and giving them salutary advice not to think highly of the things of this world, but rather to bear in mind the judgment to come; and to know that Christ alone is the true and eternal King. He begged them to show themselves humane and to have a regard for justice and for the poor. And they were glad to receive his answer.⁵⁶

According to E. Wipszycka, “the data provided in *VA* 81, which could make it possible to date the event, are considerably flawed. According to the *VA*, the letter was written by three *augusti*: Constantine, Constantius and Constans, but the latter two were elevated to the rank of augustus only after their acclamation (9 September 337) following the death of their father Constantine (before that they had been caesars). It is also striking to note that two other figures are not mentioned in the account, even though they might have deserved notice. The first of these is

⁵⁶ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 81, SC 400, 340-344, transl. R.T. Meyer, 86-87.

Constantine's eldest son, Constantine II, who died in the civil war which he began in order to defeat Constans. The other missing figure is Dalmatius, murdered in 337 (with the consent of Constantius, if not at his instigation). Both these men were subject to a certain kind of *damnatio memoriae*. The fact that the *V/A* mistook caesars for *augusti* can be easily explained by stating that Athanasius, who wrote the work many years after Constantine's death, attributed to the emperors the rank to which they were subsequently elevated. We can be sure of one thing at least: Athanasius did not have the text of the said letter, for surely he would have found the names of all those rulers placed in the beginning of the document together with the titles which they had at the time when the letter was written (as was customary for all documents and letters issued by all members of the imperial college).⁵⁷

There is the testimony of Sozomen who presented a different version of the event:

ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέων
 δήμου συνεχῶς ἐκβοῶντος καὶ ἐν
 λιταῖς ἰκετεύοντος περὶ τῆς
 Ἀθανασίου καθόδου καὶ Ἀντωνίου
 τοῦ μεγάλου μοναχοῦ πολλάκις
 περὶ αὐτοῦ γράψαντος καὶ
 ἀντιβολουῦντος μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς
 Μελιτιανοῖς, ἀλλὰ συκοφαντίας
 ἡγεῖσθαι τὰς αὐτῶν κατηγορίας,
 οὐκ ἐπείσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
 μὲν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἔγραψεν
 ἄνοιαν καὶ ἀταξίαν ἐγκαλῶν,
 κληρικοῖς δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς
 παρθένοις ἡσυχίαν ἐπιτάττων· καὶ
 μὴ μετατεθήσεσθαι τῆς γνώμης

The people of Alexandria loudly complained of the exile of Athanasius, and offered up supplications for his return; and Antony, the celebrated monk, wrote frequently to the emperor to entreat him to attach no credit to the insinuations of the Melitians, but to reject their accusations as calumnies; yet the emperor was not convinced by these arguments, and wrote to the Alexandrians, accusing them of folly and of disorderly conduct. He commanded the clergy and the holy virgins to remain quiet, and declared that he would not change his mind nor recall Athanasius, whom, he said, he regarded as an exciter of sedition, justly

⁵⁷ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 79-80.

ἰσχυρίζετο μηδὲ μετακαλεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀθανάσιον, ὡς στασιώδη καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ καταδεδικασμένον κρίσει. Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἀντεδήλωσε μὴ οἷός τε εἶναι τῆς συνόδου ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν ψῆφον. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγοι, φησί, πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν ἢ χάριν ἐδίκασαν, οὐ δῆπου πιθανὸν τοσαύτην πληθὺν ἐλλογίμων καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ὁμοίας γενέσθαι γνώμης· τὸν γὰρ Ἀθανάσιον ὑβριστὴν τε εἶναι καὶ ὑπερήφανον καὶ διχονοίας καὶ στάσεων αἴτιον.

condemned by the judgment of the Church. He replied to Antony, by stating that he ought not to overlook the decree of the Synod; for even if some few of the bishops, he said, were actuated by ill-will or the desire to oblige others, it scarcely seems credible that so many prudent and excellent bishops could have been impelled by such motives; and, he added, that Athanasius was contumelious and arrogant, and the cause of dissension and sedition.⁵⁸

Again, according to the analysis by E. Wipszycka, “In Sozomenus’s account the historical context of the letter is presented in a particularly precise manner. Chapter 31 of the second book of his Ecclesiastical History implies that it was Antony who petitioned the emperor in defence of Athanasius and that the letter of Constantine was the emperor’s response to the letter of Antony. It appears from Sozomenus’s writing that the event took place between 335 (when Athanasius was deposed at the Council of Tyre) and 337 (the year of Constantine’s death). I see no reason to doubt the veracity of Sozomenus’s account. In his letter, Constantine demonstrates the attitude known to us from other sources. His attitude towards Athanasius is also thoroughly documented in other sources, as are the arguments used by the emperor to explain why he refuses to change his mind on the matter. It would be difficult to explain why Sozomenus (or someone before him) should have invented correspondence content which would show the emperor in an unfavourable light: after all, the latter refused to listen to the suggestions of two magnificent saints, a fact which would compromise the reputation of any ruler in the eyes of contemporaries, i.e. the people living in the mid-fifth century, when

⁵⁸ Sozomen, HE II 31, 2-3, GCS 50, 96, transl. NPNF II 2, 280.

Sozomenus wrote his History. This version of events would not have been useful for praising the virtues of the saint either: to this end, one would rather expect stories of successful interventions.”⁵⁹

The scholars have no doubts that the version of Sozomen is right.⁶⁰ The case was very well known so it is difficult to assume that Athanasius wanted to falsify the history. Athanasius did not describe what happened, but what should have happened.⁶¹ And it is not a surprise, if we remember the purpose of hagiography: “the primary social function of the Athanasian Antony is to inspire imitation,”⁶² “hagiographical work may be historical, but it is not necessary. It can don all literary genres suitable for glorifying the saints from official relation modified for usage of the faithful to the exuberant poetical work, with no reference to the reality.”⁶³

Gregory of Nazianzus testifies that in the times when *Vita Antonii* was written such understanding of hagiographies was obvious:

ἐκεῖνος Ἄντωνίου τοῦ θείου βίου
 συνέγραφε, τοῦ μοναδικοῦ βίου
 νομοθεσίαν, ἐν πλάσματι
 διηγήσεως.

[Athanasius] himself wrote the life of the divine Antony, and set forth, in the form of a narrative, the laws of the monastic life.⁶⁴

D. Brakke claims straight out that Athanasius created in *Vita Antonii* a ‘narrative world’, an ‘alternative reality’ that was intended to give a certain message, clear and comprehensible for the readers.⁶⁵ The very existing of Antony is confirmed by other sources (Sozomen, Rufinus, Jerome). Nevertheless, already in the first hagiography describing the life of non-martyr real elements intertwine with the fictitious ones invented in order to accomplish the mission of the writing which was to hearten the readers not to inform them about the vicissitudes of saint’s life.

In the case of Macrina none of the sources she appears in was aimed to refer real events, so even her very existence is not confirmed. Some scholars already

⁵⁹ E. Wipszycka, *Second Gift of the Nile*, 80-81.

⁶⁰ K. Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, 86; T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, Cambridge 2001, 96-97.

⁶¹ E. Wipszycka, *Wstęp*, in: Atanazy Aleksandryjski, *Żywot świętego Antoniego*, Warszawa 1987, 39.

⁶² D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 258.

⁶³ H. Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, 2.

⁶⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orationes 21 (In laudem Athanasii)*, 5, SC 270, 118, transl. NPNF II 7, 270.

⁶⁵ D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 202.

noticed that what Gregory of Nyssa wrote about Macrina has a characteristics of literary construction. S. Elm pointed out that the description of Macrina’s earliest years is “stylized and subject to rhetorical conventions.”⁶⁶ P. Maraval claimed that Gregory knew how to distort the reality in order to make his story more reliable.⁶⁷ G. Luck suggested that he used the technique of a novelist to dramatize a very real event,⁶⁸ and that description of the Macrina’s community in Annisa is very rhetorical.⁶⁹ A. Cameron went even farther: “Though the temptation to read the *Life of Macrina* as a real portrait has been strong, especially among those interested in women in Late Antiquity, for Gregory, the figure of Macrina is a literary trope.”⁷⁰

2. Letter 19 by Gregory of Nyssa

Letter 19 has a strange title:

Πρὸς τινὰ Ἰωάννην περὶ τινῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ περὶ τῆς διαγωγῆς καὶ καταστάσεως τῆς τοιαύτης ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Μακρίνης.	To a certain John on certain subjects, especially on the way of life and the character of his sister Macrina. ⁷¹
--	--

“The certain John” must have been a symbolic person and not a real one. Addressing the letter “to the certain John” proves in my opinion that the writing was not to be a personal letter, but was thought by Gregory as a circular. Silvas rightly points out the formal style of the letter: Gregory most often uses the plural of modesty of himself and only occasionally slips into the singular. She claims that “he clearly intended this letter as a kind of bulletin of his affairs to someone well

⁶⁶ S. Elm, *Virgins of God*, 47.

⁶⁷ P. Maraval, *Encore les frères et soeurs de Grégoire de Nyssa*, “Revue d’histoire et de philosophie religieuses” 60 (1980), 163.

⁶⁸ G. Luck, *Notes on the Vita Macrinae*, in: *The Biographical Works of Gregory of Nyssa, Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa Mainz, 6-10 September 1982*, ed. A. Spira, Cambridge 1984, 26.

⁶⁹ P. Maraval, *Introduction*, in: *Vie de sainte Macrine*, SC 178, 54.

⁷⁰ A. Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity*, Washington DC 2014, <<http://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/5495>>, accessed 24 Febr. 2017.

⁷¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistula* 19, GNO 8/2, 62, transl. A.M. Silvas, 174.

placed in church affairs, meant to correct any misinformation.”⁷² The second purpose of the writing was to introduce Macrina to the common consciousness.

Scholars have had trouble with the pronoun *τοιούτος* used in the title in relation to Macrina. It can mean “such wise”, but its first meaning is “such as this” and according to Liddell & Scott it can also refer to what goes before. G. Pasquali commented it shortly: “non intellego”;⁷³ R. Crisculo translated it into Italian with the word “tal”;⁷⁴ P. Maraval into French with “célèbre”;⁷⁵ and A.M. Silvas just omitted it in her translation into English explaining: “the *τοιούτης* does not make much sense.”⁷⁶ However, I can see a reason for its use.

It is impossible to date Gregory’s writings with absolute certainty as there are no external evidence to confirm the dating, but it is possible that all four writings about Macrina (including epitaph 120 by Gregory of Nazianzus) were written more or less at the same time. It is possible that *De anima et resurrectione* was the first writing about Macrina at all, and letter 19 was a kind of explanation who was Gregory’s interlocutor. Indeed, in one of the manuscripts (F) the dialogue precedes Letter 19.⁷⁷

It is important to realise that before *De anima et resurrectione* and letter 19 were written nobody had ever mentioned Macrina – neither Gregory of Nyssa himself, nor Basil, nor Gregory of Nazianzus. *De anima et resurrectione* is probably the first writing about Macrina, so the pronoun “such” in the advertising letter 19 specifies the person, referring to what goes before (*De anima et resurrectione*). *Vita sanctae Macrina* could have been written as the last one.

But, Letter 19 is not a documentation as Silvas wanted.⁷⁸ Below, I will analyse in detail biographical “information” it contains, here I just want to define the general character of the writing. Letter 19 is a masterpiece of rhetoric. It begins with an extensive comparison of a writer to a painter. Gregory himself is a painter who

⁷² A.M. Silvas, in: Gregory of Nyssa, *The Letters. Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Leiden-Boston 2007, 173.

⁷³ GNO 8/2, 62.

⁷⁴ Gregorio di Nissa, *Epistole*, trad. R. Crisculo, Napoli 1981, 123.

⁷⁵ Grégoire de Nysse, *Lettres*, trad. P. Maraval, SC 363, Paris 1990, 243.

⁷⁶ A.M. Silvas, in: Gregory of Nyssa, *The Letters*, 174, footnote 275.

⁷⁷ GNO 8/2, 62.

⁷⁸ A.M. Silvas, in: Gregory of Nyssa, *The Letters*, 174.

paints Macrina's life with the words (ἡ διὰ τοῦ λόγου γραφή)⁷⁹ but the painting is so grossly unreal that it even does not pretend to be a portrayal of a real person. The "description" of Macrina consists mostly of quotations from the Bible and epithets that in the Bible refer to God:

Ἦν ἡμῖν ἀδελφή τοῦ βίου διδάσκαλος,
ἢ μετὰ τὴν μητέρα μήτηρ, τοσαύτην
ἔχουσα τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν παρρησίαν
ὥστε πύργον ἡμῖν ἰσχύος εἶναι καὶ
ὄπλον εὐδοκίας, καθὼς φησιν ἡ
γραφή, καὶ πόλιν περιοχῆς καὶ πᾶν
ἀσφαλείας ὄνομα διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν
ἐκ τοῦ βίου αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
παρρησίαν. ὤκει δὲ τοῦ Πόντου τὰ
ἔσχατα, τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐαυτὴν ἐξοικίσασα· χορὸς ἦν περὶ
αὐτὴν παρθένων πολὺς, ἃς αὐτὴ διὰ
τῶν πνευματικῶν ὠδίνων γεννήσασα
καὶ εἰς τελείωσιν διὰ πάσης
ἐπιμελείας προάγουσα, τὴν τῶν
ἀγγέλων ἐμιμεῖτο ζωὴν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ
τῷ σώματι. οὐκ ἦν διάκρισις ἐν αὐτῇ
νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ νύξ
ἐνεργὸς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ φωτὸς ἔργοις
ἐδείκνυτο καὶ ἡμέρα τὴν νυκτερινὴν
ἡσυχίαν τῷ ἀταράχῳ τῆς ζωῆς
ὑπεκρίνετο· φωνῆεν ἦν αὐτῇ διὰ
παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τὸ οἶκημα νυκτὸς

We had a sister who was for us a teacher of how to live, a mother in place of our mother. Such was her freedom towards God that she was for us a strong tower (Ps 60.4) and a shield of favour (Ps 5.13) as the Scripture says, and a fortified city (Ps 30.22, 59.11) and a name of utter assurance, through her freedom towards God that came of her way of life. She dwelt in a remote part of Pontus, having exiled herself from the life of human beings. Gathered around her was a great choir of virgins whom she had brought forth by her spiritual labourpains (1 Cor 4.15, Gal 4.19) and guided towards perfection through her consummate care, while she herself imitated the life of angels in a human body. With her there was no distinction between night and day. Rather, the night showed itself active with the deeds of light (Rom 12.12-13, Eph 5.8) and day imitated the tranquillity of night through serenity of life. The

⁷⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 3; GNO 8/2, 63.

καὶ ἡμέρας ταῖς ψαλμωδίαις
περιηχούμενον.

psalmodies resounded in her house
at all times night and day.⁸⁰

Moreover, Macrina is described as devoid of any corporal sensation; she knew no distinction between night and day, she lived the life that we expect after resurrection (καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὑποπτεύομεν). Gregory finished the portrayal with the meaningful rhetorical question: “How anyone could present to the eyes the reality that transcends any verbal description? (καὶ πῶς ἄν τις ὑπ’ ὄψιν ἀγάγοι προᾶγμα ὑπερβαῖνον τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων γραφήν;).”⁸¹

The following description of Gregory’s arrival to his sister is similarly rhetorical and could have not been applied to a real person. Especially in the mouth of a Christian comparing somebody to a source of water (τινα κρήνην) and calling her “the entire good/every good” (πᾶν ἀγαθόν) must have sounded as a blasphemy if the expressions concerned a real human being.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐπέστην παρ’ ὑμῶν
τοῖς Καππαδόκαις, εὐθύς τις ἡμᾶς
ἀκοή περὶ αὐτῆς διετάραξε· δέκα δὲ
ἦν ἡμερῶν ἢ διὰ τοῦ μέσου ὁδός,
καὶ ταύτην πᾶσαν διὰ τῆς
ἐνδεχομένης ἐπέιξεως διανύσας
γίνομαι κατὰ τὸν Πόντον καὶ εἶδον
καὶ ὤφθην· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ εἴ τις διὰ
μεσημβρίας ὁδεύων καὶ
καταφρυγείς τῷ ἡλίῳ τὸ σῶμα, ἐπὶ
τινα κρήνην ἀναδραμών, πρὶν
ἐπιψαῦσαι τοῦ ὕδατος, πρὶν
καταψῦξαι τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἀθρόως

Well then, after I left your region, I had halted among the Cappadocians, when unexpectedly I received some disturbing news of her. There was a ten days’ journey between us, so I covered the whole distance as quickly as possible and at last reached Pontus where I saw her and she saw me. But it was the same as a traveller at noon whose body is exhausted from the sun. He runs up to a spring, but alas, before he has touched the water, before he has cooled his tongue, all at once the stream dries up before his eyes and he finds the water turned to dust. So it was

⁸⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 6-8, GNO 8/2, 64 -65, transl. A.M. Silvas, 176-177.

⁸¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 9, GNO 8/2, 65.

αὐτῶ τῆς πηγῆς ὑποξηρανθείσης
 κόνιν εὖροι τὸ ὕδωρ γενόμενον,
 οὕτω καὶ αὐτός, ἐνιαυτῶ δεκάτῳ
 τὴν ἀντὶ μητρὸς μοι καὶ διδασκάλου
 καὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ποθουμένην
 ἰδὼν, πρὶν ἀποπληρῶσαι τὸν
 πόθον, ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ κηδεύσας
 ὑπέστρεφον. ταῦτά μοι τῆς
 πατρίδος μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδόν μου
 τὴν ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας τὰ εἰσιτήρια.

with me. At the tenth year I saw her
 whom I so longed to see, who was for
 me in place of a mother and a teacher
 and every good, but before I could
 satisfy my longing, on the third day I
 buried her and returned on my way.
 Such was my first visit to my fatherland
 after my return journey from Antioch.⁸²

Those who treat Letter 19 as a documentation become puzzled reading about ten years of separation while in *Vita sanctae Macrinae* Gregory tells about almost eight years.⁸³ I maintain that both documents were not aimed to report the history.

3. *De anima et resurrectione* by Gregory of Nyssa

Although a lot of prominent scholars claimed that *De anima et resurrectione* is a record of a real conversation between Gregory of Nyssa and Macrina,⁸⁴ it is impossible for many reasons, for many other – improbable. First of all, the dialogue occupies 123 pages in GNO edition – it is physically impossible to read or deliver it in one afternoon as *Vita sanctae Macrinae* suggests it was.⁸⁵ It is significant that even the mention of a conversation in *Vita sanctae Macrinae* is contradictory to the dialogue itself: in the *Life* it is Macrina who asks questions while in *De anima et resurrectione* Gregory asks questions and Macrina answers.

⁸² Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 10, GNO 8/2, 65, transl. A.M. Silvas, 177-178.

⁸³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 17, GNO 8/1, 389.

⁸⁴ M. Hoffmann, *Der Dialog bei den christlichen Schriftstellern der ersten vier Jahrhunderte*, Berlin 1966, 130 and 135; B.R. Voss, *Der Dialog in der frühchristlichen Literatur*, München 1970, 175; J. Quasten, *Patrology*, Allen 1986, vol. 3, 261; J.M. Sauget, *Macrina la Giovane*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 8, Roma 1996, 457; I. Ramelli, *Saggio introduttivo*, in Gregorio di Nissa, *Sull'anima et resurrezione*, Milano 2007, 7; L.F. Mateo-Seco, *Macrina*, in *Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa*, 473; D. Krueger, *Writing and the Liturgy of Memory in Gregory of Nyssa's Life of Macrina*, „Journal of Early Christian Studies” 8 (2000), 488.

⁸⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 17-18, GNO 8/1, 389-391.

On the other hand, a dialogue means not only conversation between two people but has been for ages an acknowledged literary genre.⁸⁶ A special type of that genre is a philosophical dialogue,⁸⁷ associated above all with Plato. It is difficult, if not impossible, to harmonise Plato's Socrates with the one we know from other sources (Xenophon, Aristophanes),⁸⁸ so it is generally assumed that Plato transmitted his own ideas through the personage of Socrates. And the same happened in the literary construction by Gregory of Nyssa, written in accordance with the canons of the genre – a philosophical dialogue. Therefore, I have no doubts that Macrina serves here as “a mouthpiece for Gregory's theology”⁸⁹ and the dialogue is not a record of a real conversation. As Cameron stated: “Gregory's use of the dialogue form in *On the Soul* is clearly a deliberate literary choice, carefully adopting a Platonic model.”⁹⁰

Cameron's statement is confirmed by the formal aspect of the dialogue. K. Jazdzewska has recently proved that the philosophical dialogue associated with Plato did not have indicators of the speakers.⁹¹ There are “specific groups of texts, ranging from documentary to paraliterary, in which indications of speakers are routinely given. These include reports of real proceedings, the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, the acts of Christian martyrs and – here our evidence is more limited – accounts of Church congregations, in particular of debates concerning orthodoxy and heresy. The discussed texts follow, with various degrees of exactitude, the documentary as-if-verbatim format.”⁹² If *De anima et resurrectione* had been or had pretended to be a real conversation between Gregory and Macrina, it would have had indicators of the speakers characteristic for documentary. But, the dialogue *De anima et resurrectione* in the GNO edition has no indicators of the

⁸⁶ V. Höfle, *Der philosophische Dialog: Eine Poetik und Hermeneutik*, München 2006, 32.

⁸⁷ V. Höfle, *Der philosophische Dialog*, 54.

⁸⁸ C. Kahn, *Plato and the Socratic Dialogue: The Philosophical Use of a Literary Form*, Cambridge 1996, 1-35.

⁸⁹ E.A. Clark, *Holy Women, Holy Words: Early Christian Women, Social History and the “Linguistic Turn”*, “*Journal of Early Christian Studies*” 6 (1998), 427; B. Altaner, *Précis de patrologie*, Paris 1961, 438; P. Maraval, *Introduction*, SC 178, 36; A. Momigliano, *The Life of St. Macrina by Gregory of Nyssa*, in: *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, Middletown 1987, 208; D. Krueger, *Writing and the Liturgy of Memory in Gregory of Nyssa's Life of Macrina*, “*Journal of Early Christian Studies*” 8 (2000), 488.

⁹⁰ A. Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity*.

⁹¹ K. Jazdzewska, *Indications of Speakers in Ancient Dialogue: A Reappraisal*, “*Journal of Hellenic Studies*” 138 (2018), 250.

⁹² K. Jazdzewska, *Indications of Speakers in Ancient Dialogue: A Reappraisal*, 256.

speakers. And in the PG edition the indicators of the speakers do not come from the manuscripts, but according to the editor were added by Zacharias Hasselmann.⁹³

It is worth stressing that at the time when Gregory was writing, a dialogue as a literary genre already had a long and respectable tradition in Christian literature, starting with apologetic dialogues (Ariston of Pella, Justin and Minutius Felix) to the dialogues which Hoffman called dogmatic-polemic and philosophical⁹⁴ (Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and above all Methodius of Olympus). The purpose of those writings was apologetic and polemic; none of them was intended to record a real conversation but to convince a sophisticated, well-educated reader that Christianity is a true and best philosophy. *De anima et resurrectione* has the same polemical aim: to defend Gregory’s own concepts on the soul, resurrection and apokatastasis. We can, of course, ask why he chose his sister as a “mouthpiece”, but that is a subject for independent research and actually has been already widely discussed.⁹⁵

4. Epitaphium 120 by Gregory of Nazianzus

The fourth and last Ancient writing about Macrina is an epitaph by Gregory of Nazianzus. It suggests that Macrina had been hidden and unknown before *Vita sanctae Macrinae* made her famous. The epitaph reads as follow:

Παρθένον αἰγλήεσσαν ἔχω κόνις, εἴ τιν' ἀκούεις Μακρίναν, Ἐμμελίου πρωτότοκον μεγάλης· ἥ πάντων ἀνδρῶν λάθεν ὄμματα, νῦν δ' ἐνὶ πάντων	Me, the dust, I hold the radiant virgin, if you hear about certain Macrina - the first-born of great Emmelia, who hid herself from the eyes of men, yet now she is on
--	--

⁹³ *In opusculum sequens monitum*, PG 46, page without number before col. 11.

⁹⁴ M. Hoffmann, *Der dialog*, 57-159.

⁹⁵ E.A. Clark, *Holy Women, Holy Words*, 413–430; D. Krueger, *Writing and the Liturgy of Memory*, 483–510; W.E. Helleman, *Cappadocian Macrina as Lady Wisdom*, “*Studia Patristica*” 37 (2001), 86-102; S. Wessel, *Memory and Individuality in Gregory of Nyssa’s De anima et resurrectione*, “*Journal of Early Christian Studies*” 18 (2010), 369–392; L. Karfiková, *Gregory of Nyssa, Witness of Macrina’s Life and Death*, “*Theologica Olomucensia*” 14 (2013), 15-26; A. Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity*.

γλώσση καὶ πάντων φέρτερον
εὖχος ἔχει.

every tongue and she has achieved
better fame.⁹⁶

The epitaph, which is obvious, must have been written after Macrina's death. The poetry as such could, of course, refer to real persons and historical events, but it is not necessary for its literary construction. Even the "information" that she led her life hidden from the eyes of all men is contradictory to *Vita sanctae Macrinae* that states that during her life there were noble women who joined the community moved by Macrina's fame,⁹⁷ also a soldier came with his family to see the "school of virtue" (τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς φροντιστήριον).⁹⁸

The above-quoted epitaph is a proof that Gregory of Nazianzus was involved in the process of inventing Macrina. The reasons of his involvement will become clear after the life of Eustathius and relationship between Eustathius and Basil has been exposed.

Chapter II. Contradictions in the writings about Macrina and other sources

Incoherencies and contradictions in the very writings about Macrina and between those writings and other sources are the most important evidence that none of the Macrina writings describes the real history; moreover, none of them pretended to do so. I will list here only some of the most important contradictions, but there are a lot more contradicting details.

1. Two Macrinas

The most conspicuous incoherence we face while thinking about Macrina is a huge difference between two Macrinas: one from *Vita sanctae Macrinae* and the other from *De anima et resurrectione*. In *Vita sanctae Macrinae* Macrina was educated by her Christian parents and from the very beginning she read only Bible; also when she grew up she and her companions cared only about divine things and unceasing

⁹⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epitaphia* 120, PG 38, 75-76 = epigram VIII 163, in: *Anthologie palatine*, éd. P. Walz, Paris 1944; my own translation.

⁹⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 28-29, GNO 8/1, 402.

⁹⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 36, GNO 8/1, 410.

prayer.⁹⁹ Meanwhile, in *De anima et resurrectione* Macrina not only names Pagan philosophers,¹⁰⁰ but she leads the discussion on the highest scientific level – scientific of course in the Ancient meaning; so, it is a philosophical discussion full of dialectic and rhetoric. If we treated both writings as describing historical person, we would have to admit that Macrina was schizophrenic or that there were two different Macrinas. And yet, Macrina was not schizophrenic nor Gregory was intellectually disabled, but Macrina constitutes in both writings a deliberate and elaborate literary construct. In *Vita sanctae Macrinae* she is a model of a saint ascetic, simple and focused on virtuous life. In the dialogue she is a philosopher, teacher and authority on elevated philosophical and theological topics.

2. Basil's conversion

The biggest amount of incoherencies concerns the conversion of Basil, namely his decision to start leading ascetic life. It was a crucial moment of his career as the Ancients attached a lot of significance to the master-pupil relationship. According to *Vita sanctae Macrinae*, when Basil returned to Annisa after his studies (in Athens?), he was proud and haughty because of his rhetorical skills. Then, Macrina “persuaded him to strive after philosophy” (κακείνον πρὸς τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸν ἐπεσπάσατο):

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ἀδελφὰς πρὸς
τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκάστη μετ' εὐσχημοσύνης ἢ
μήτηρ ὠκονομήσατο, ἐπάνεισιν ἐν
τούτῳ τῶν παιδευτηρίων πολλῷ χρόνῳ
προασκηθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις ὁ πολὺς
Βασίλειος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τῆς προειρημένης.
Λαβοῦσα τοίνυν αὐτὸν ὑπερφυῶς
ἐπηρμένον τῷ περὶ τοὺς λόγους
φρονήματι καὶ πάντα περιφρονοῦντα

After the mother had skillfully arranged what seemed best for each of Macrina's sisters, her brother, the distinguished Basil, came home from school where he had had practice in rhetoric for a long time. He was excessively puffed up by his rhetorical abilities and disdainful of all great reputations, and considered himself better than the

⁹⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 11, GNO 8/1, 382.

¹⁰⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione*, GNO 3/3, 8 and 33-34.

τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐν τῇ
 δυναστεία λαμπροὺς ἐπηρμένον τῷ
 ὄγκῳ, τοσοῦτῳ τάχει καὶ κεῖνον πρὸς τὸν
 τῆς φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸν ἐπεσπάσατο,
 ὥστε ἀποστάντα τῆς κοσμικῆς
 περιφανείας καὶ ὑπεριδόντα τοῦ διὰ
 τῶν λόγων θαυμάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν
 ἐργατικὸν τοῦτον καὶ αὐτόχειρα βίον
 αὐτομολῆσαι, διὰ τῆς τελείας
 ἀκτημοσύνης ἀνεμπόδιτον ἑαυτῷ τὸν
 εἰς ἀρετὴν βίον παρασκευάζοντα.

leading men in the district, but
 Macrina took him over and lured
 him so quickly to the goal of
 philosophy that he withdrew from
 the worldly show and began to look
 down upon acclaim through
 oratory and went over to this life
 full of labors for one's own hand to
 perform, providing for himself,
 through his complete poverty, a
 mode of living that would, without
 impediment, lead to virtue.¹⁰¹

Basil himself left us two different (not exclusive) stories about his own conversion. In Letter 1 addressed to Eustathius the philosopher, identified by Gribomont with Eustathius of Sebastea,¹⁰² Basil confessed that he had quit his studies in Athens when he had heard about his philosophy (κατέλιπον τὰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ φήμην τῆς σῆς φιλοσοφίας).¹⁰³ Letter 1 was written most probably in 357. In Letter 223 written in 375 and addressed to the very same Eustathius of Sebastea Basil passed over his role as an inspirer of his asceticism and wrote: “I woke up like from the deep sleep” (ὥσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου βαθέος διαναστάς).¹⁰⁴ It was the time when Basil and Eustathius were in a sharp conflict, but even here where the figure of other inspirer would be very useful for Basil, he does not refer to Macrina.

These are not the only versions of Basil's conversion that can be found in Ancient literature. Rufinus wrote that it was Gregory of Nazianzus who literally forced Basil to lead a monastic life (*ad monasterium manu injecta perduceret*).¹⁰⁵ Kardong thinks that Rufinus apparently disliked Basil and wanted to discredit him with such

¹⁰¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 6, GNO 8/1, 377, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 167-168.

¹⁰² J. Gribomont, *Eustache le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, “Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique” 54 (1959), 116-120.

¹⁰³ Basil the Great, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3.

¹⁰⁴ Basil the Great, *Epistulae* 223, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 10.

¹⁰⁵ Rufinus of Aquileia, HE II 9, PL 21, 518B.

inversion of roles.¹⁰⁶ But, N. McLynn points out that Rufinus wrote his version a decade after Gregory of Nazianzus' death and he was influenced by the literary construct of the friendship created by the latter: "The texts in which Gregory presents the details of his friendship with Basil need to be understood against the background of the 380s, and in relation to Gregory's position in Cappadocia after his return from Constantinople. After the humiliating loss of his position in the capital, he faced the very difficult task of constructing a commensurate (or at least compensating) authority at home, independently of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Various strategic can be detected in the works he produced in this period; but of all these, his appropriation of Basil was arguably the most successful. Barely a decade after Gregory's death Rufinus, who translated works by both men, could claim that it was Gregory who had led Basil from the rhetorical schools to the ascetic life and that he had lived with him for thirteen years (improving on reality by a factor of roughly ten)."¹⁰⁷ In reality, we know from letters by both Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus that it was Basil who was persuading his friend to lead an ascetic life (Letters 2 and 14 by Basil). Gregory of Nazianzus promised to come to Basil, who was staying near the Iris river, but found various excuses in order not to (Letter 1 by Gregory of Nazianzus).

3. Circumstances of the last meeting of Gregory and Macrina

All three writings about Macrina by Gregory of Nyssa describe the last meeting of the siblings. In each of them the author himself gives a different reason why he decided to visit his sister. In *De anima et resurrectione* he comes to Macrina in order to share a mourning for Basil and he does it hurriedly (κατὰ σπουδήν):

Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου πρὸς
Θεὸν μετέστη ὁ πολὺς ἐν ἁγίοις
Βασίλειος, καὶ κοινὴ πένθους ἀφορμὴ
ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις ἐγένετο, περιῆν δὲ ἔτι

When Basil, the great saint, had
passed over to God from the life of
men, he gave the churches a
common cause for grief. As our
sister and teacher still remained in

¹⁰⁶ T.G. Kardong, *Who was Basil's mentor? Part 1*, "American Benedictine Revue" 60 (2009), 185.

¹⁰⁷ N. McLynn, *Gregory Nazianzen's Basil: The Literary Construction of a Christian Friendship*, "Studia Patristica" 37 (2001), 193.

τῷ βίῳ ἢ ἀδελφῇ καὶ διδάσκαλος, ἐγὼ
μὲν ἦειν κατὰ σπουδὴν κοινωνήσων
ἐκείνη τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συμφορᾶς.

this life, I went in haste to share
with her the sad news concerning
our brother.¹⁰⁸

In *Vita sanctae Macrinae* he just wanted to visit her and it was nine months after Basil's death:

Ἐνατος ἦν μετὰ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο μὴν ἢ
μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦτο καὶ σύνοδος
ἐπισκόπων κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν
ἠθροίζετο, ἧς καὶ ἡμεῖς μετέσχομεν. Καὶ
ἐπειδὴ πάλιν [387] πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
ἕκαστος ἀπελύθημεν, πρὶν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν
παρελθεῖν, ἐνθύμιον ἐμοὶ τῷ Γρηγορίῳ
γίνεται πρὸς αὐτὴν διαβῆναι.

About nine months after this
disaster, there was a synod of
bishops in the city of Antioch, in
which I participated. And when
each of us was leaving to return to
his own diocese before the year
was out, I, Gregory, thought often
of visiting Macrina.¹⁰⁹

According to *Vita sanctae Macrinae*, during the journey he had a vision which he interpreted as a harbinger of disaster and only after that he learned that Macrina was ill:

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ
διανύσας μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀπεῖχον ὁδόν,
ὄψις τις ἡμῖν ἐξ ἐνυπνίου φανεῖσα
φοβερὰς ἐποίει τὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ
μέλλοντος. Ἐδόκουν γὰρ λείψανα
μαρτύρων διὰ χειρὸς φέρειν, εἶναι δὲ ἀπ'
αὐτῶν ἀγῆν οἷα ἐκ καθαροῦ γίνεται
κατόπτρου, ὅταν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τεθῆ
ἀντιπρόσωπον, ὥστε μοι τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς
τὴν μαρμαρυγὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνης
ἀμβλύνεσθαι. Καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μοι νυκτὸς

When I had almost finished the
journey and was about one day
away from my destination, a
vision, appearing in my sleep,
aroused fearful forebodings about
the future. I seemed to be carrying
the relics of martyrs in my hand
and a light seemed to come from
them, as happens when the sun is
reflected on a bright mirror so
that the eye is dazzled by the
brilliance of the beam. That same

¹⁰⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione*, GNO 3/3, 1, transl. C.P. Roth, 27.

¹⁰⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 386-387, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 173.

εἰς τρεῖς γενομένης τῆς τοιαύτης ὄψεως
 συμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον καθαρῶς τοῦ
 ἐνυπνίου τὸ αἰνίγμα, λύπην δέ τινα τῇ
 ψυχῇ προεώρων καὶ ἐπετήρουν τῇ
 ἐκβάσει κρῖναι τὴν φαντασίαν. Καὶ δὴ
 γενόμενος πλησίον τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς, ἐν ἣ
 διῆγεν ἐκείνη τὴν ἀγγελικὴν τε καὶ
 ἐπουράνιον κατορθοῦσα ζωὴν, ἠρόμην
 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
 πρῶτον, εἰ παρὼν εἶη· φήσαντος δὲ πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν ἐξωρηκέναι καὶ τετάρτην
 ἡμέραν ἄγειν, συνεῖς ὅπερ ἦν, ὅτι δι'
 ἑτέρας ὁδοῦ γέγονεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡ
 ὁρμή, τότε καὶ περὶ τῆς μεγάλης
 ἐπυθανόμην τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ἐν
 ἀρρωστία γεγενῆσθαί τινα
 σπουδαιότερον εἰχόμεν ἐν ἐπέξει τὸ
 λειπόμενον τῆς ὁδοῦ διανύων καὶ γὰρ μέ
 τις καὶ φόβος μηνυτῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος
 ὑποδραμῶν διετάρασεν.

night, the vision occurred three
 times. I was not able to interpret
 its meaning clearly, but I foresaw
 some grief for my soul and I was
 waiting for the outcome to clarify
 the dream. When I came near the
 outskirts of the place where that
 lady was leading her angelic and
 celestial life, I asked one of the
 workmen, first, if my brother
 happened to be there. He replied
 that he had gone out to meet us
 about four days earlier, and this
 was true, but he had taken a
 different road. Then, I inquired
 about the Superior and, when he
 said that she was ill, I was more
 eager than ever to complete the
 trip, for a certain fear, an omen of
 the future, was disturbing me.¹¹⁰

By contrast, in Letter 19 he said that while he was in Cappadocia he was alarmed by some rumours about her and that is why he decided to go to Pontus.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐπέστην παρ' ὑμῶν
 τοῖς Καππαδόκαις, εὐθύς τις ἡμᾶς
 ἀκοὴ περὶ αὐτῆς διετάραξε· δέκα δὲ
 ἦν ἡμερῶν ἢ διὰ τοῦ μέσου ὁδός, καὶ
 ταύτην πᾶσαν διὰ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης

Well then, after I left your region, I
 had halted among the Cappadocians,
 when unexpectedly I received some
 disturbing news of her. There was a
 ten days' journey between us, so I
 covered the whole distance as quickly

¹¹⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 387-388, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 174.

<p>ἐπείξεως διανύσας γίνομαι κατὰ τὸν Πόντον καὶ εἶδον καὶ ὤφθην·</p>	<p> as possible and at last reached Pontus where I saw her and she saw me.¹¹¹</p>
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Those differences are understandable if we remember a different genre and different purpose of each of the writings. In *De anima et resurrectione* the death of Basil serves as a pretext for discussion about death, resurrection and soul's immortality. In the *Vita sanctae Macrinae* Gregory “just felt like visiting Macrina (ἐνθύμιον ἐμοὶ τῷ Γρηγορίῳ γίνεται πρὸς αὐτὴν διαβῆναι),” which was to stress his close relationship with his sister and make credible his story about her. In Letter 19, Gregory justifies himself why he had left his own diocese endangered by many heresies (Cappadocia) and went on a journey to home (Pontus).

Further, Gregory himself gives us different information on the time that passed from his previous meeting with Macrina. In *Vita sanctae Macrinae* he counted the years and the result was almost eight (τὸ διάστημα ὀκτῶ μικροῦ δεῖν παραμετρούμενον ἔτεσιν);¹¹² by contrast, in Letter 19 he affirms that he saw his beloved sister for the first time in ten years (ἐνιαυτῷ δεκάτῳ).¹¹³

Also the period from the death of Basil to Gregory's visit to Macrina is different in every writing. In *De anima et resurrectione* he went to Macrina soon after Basil died as he wanted to inform her as soon as possible about the misfortune (ἐγὼ μὲν ἦειν κατὰ σπουδὴν κοινωνήσων ἐκείνη τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συμφορᾶς).¹¹⁴ Meanwhile in *Vita sanctae Macrinae* Gregory decided to visit Macrina nine months after Basil's death.¹¹⁵ He even had enough time to go to the council of Antioch that was not mentioned either in *De anima et resurrectione* or in Letter 19.

Gregory obviously did not pay attention to chronological details as none of the writings was intended to present authentic events.

¹¹¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 10, GNO 8/2, 65, transl. A.M. Silvas, 88.

¹¹² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 387.

¹¹³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 10, GNO 8/2, 65.

¹¹⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione*, GNO 3/3, 1.

¹¹⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 386.

4. Number of siblings

In one and the same writing, namely *Vita sanctae Macrinae*, Gregory seems to give two versions of the number of Emmelia's children. First, he says that the mother had four sons and five daughters (τεσσαρων γὰρ ἦν υἱῶν μήτηρ καὶ πέντε θυγατέρων),¹¹⁶ but when Emmelia is praying on the deathbed, she speaks about Macrina and Peter in such a way that a lot of scholars understand as if there were ten children:

Σοί, κύριε, καὶ ἀπάρχομαι καὶ
ἀποδεκατῶ τὸν καρπὸν τῶν ὠδίνων.
Ἐπαρχή μοι ἡ πρωτότοκος αὕτη καὶ
ἐπιδέκατος οὗτος, ἡ τελευταία ὠδὶς. Σοὶ
δὲ ἀφιέρωται παρὰ τοῦ νόμου
ἀμφοτέρω καὶ σὰ ἔστιν ἀναθήματα.
Οὐκοῦν ἔλθοι ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἐπὶ τε τὴν
ἀπαρχὴν μου ταύτην καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ
ἐπιδέκατον τοῦτο.

To you, O Lord, I offer the first and tenth fruit of my pains. The first fruit, my eldest daughter here, and this my tenth, my last-born son. Both have been dedicated to you by law and are your votive offerings. May sanctification, therefore, come to this first and tenth.¹¹⁷

Drawing the conclusion that Emmelia must have had ten children, but one of them died in infancy,¹¹⁸ seems unjustified to me. Both expressions used here in relation to children (ἀπαρχή and ἐπιδέκατον) constitute in the Bible technical terms meaning the offering for God.¹¹⁹ However, I would stress that even the number of nine children is rather symbolic (nine fruits of the Holy Spirit from Ga 5, 22-23) as there are no external testimonies to confirm it. Gregory of Nazianzus said only that all of the children of Emmelia and Basil led virtuous life, though some of them were priests, some virgins and some were married.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 5, GNO 8/1, 376.

¹¹⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 13, GNO 8/1, 385, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 172.

¹¹⁸ J.E. Pfister, *A biographical note: The Brothers and Sisters of St. Gregory of Nyssa*, "Vigiliae Christianae" 18 (1964), 113; P. Maraval, *Encore les frères et soeurs de Grégoire de Nyse*, 162; A.M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, Oxford - New York 2005, 65; A. Radde-Gallwitz, *Basil of Caesarea. A guide to his life and doctrine*, Eugene 2012, 22.

¹¹⁹ ἡ ἀπαρχή: Lev 2:21; Deut 26:2; τὸ ἐπιδέκατον: Num 18:21.26; Deut 12:17; 14:28; 26:12.

¹²⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 9, SC 384, 134.

Incoherencies and contradictions in the very writings about Macrina and between those writings and other sources are substantial and significant. They are not an effect of a slip-up or a moment of inattention. Gregory of Nyssa juggles the events in order to achieve his goals. None of the writings about Macrina had as its aim to report historical events; they are full of literary topoi, rhetoric, quotations from the Bible. All four sources about Macrina were written according to the rules of literary genres that do not have as a scope to report history, but have other aims such as edification, polemics and honouring somebody. Even if they contain some information that seems historical, they are often incoherent and contradictory. On the other hand, there are no external sources that confirm Macrina's achievements. Macrina described by Gregory of Nyssa is obviously a literary construct.

Chapter III. Writings that do not mention Macrina

If Macrina really had been a pioneering monastic founder she should have appeared in the specific places in the specific writings, but she actually did not. I will point out at least the most obvious sources in which Macrina is absent, though she should have been present, if she had been the inspirer and the prominent representative of ascetic and monastic life in Pontus.

1. Basil the Great

Many scholars have been wondering why Basil never mentioned his sister Macrina not only in his ascetic writings, but also in any of his letters.¹²¹ Basil did not say a word about Macrina in his Letter 1 describing his conversion, although according to *Vita sanctae Macrinae* it was Macrina who inspired him to the ascetic lifestyle.¹²²

¹²¹ P. Maraval, *Introduction*, SC 178, 36-37 and 53; S. Elm, *Virgins of God*, 82; J.R. Pouchet, *Basile le Grand et son univers d'amis d'après sa correspondance: une stratégie de communion*, Roma 1992, 92, footnote 3; A.M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 37; A. Radde-Gallwitz, *Basil of Caesarea*, 28; R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, Philadelphia 2003, 169; A. Meredith, *Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa on Basil*, "Studia Patristica" 32 (1997), 167; S. Elm, *Virgins of God*, 82; P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York 1998, 342.

¹²² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 6, GNO 8/1, 377.

In Letter 207 written in 375/376 he complains that there are very few women who lead an ascetic life in Pontus – “among us” refers either to the entire dioceses of Pontus or to the province of Pontus Polemoniacus as the letter is addressed to the clergy of Neocaesarea:

Εἰ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες εὐαγγελικῶς ζῆν
προελόμεναι παρθενίαν μὲν γάμου
προτιμῶσαι, δουλαγωγοῦσαι δὲ τὸ
φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ ἐν πένθει
ζῶσαι τῷ μακαριζομένῳ, μακάριαι
τῆς προαιρέσεως, ὅπου ἂν ᾧσι τῆς
γῆς. Παρὰ δὲ ἡμῶν μικρὰ ταῦτα
στοιχειουμένων ἔτι καὶ
εἰσαγομένων πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

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.¹²³

He did not mention Macrina here though according to *Vita sanctae Macrinae* Macrina should have been the leader of a group of women in Pontus for approximately 20 years. Basil passed Macrina over in Letter 223 written at the same time (375) to Eustathius of Sebastea alluding to many visits of Eustathius to the place near the river Iris, where Basil stayed with his brother Gregory.

Finally, Basil did not address to Macrina even a single one of his more than 300 letters, 13 of which were addressed directly to women and some concerned women.

If anybody suspects that Basil was a misogynist and that was a reason he did not say anything about his sister, I reply in advance: it is not true. In Letter 223 Basil confesses that he received the faith from his mother and grandmother:

Ἄλλ' ἦν ἐκ παιδὸς ἔλαβον ἔννοιαν
περὶ Θεοῦ παρὰ τῆς μακαρίας
μητρὸς μου καὶ τῆς μάμμης
Μακρίνης, ταύτην ἀύξηθεισαν
ἔσχον ἐν ἑμαυτῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα ἐξ

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

¹²³ Basil. *Epistulae* 207, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 185, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 185.

ἄλλων μετέλαβον ἐν τῇ τοῦ λόγου
 συμπληρώσει, ἀλλὰ τὰς
 παραδοθείσας μοι παρ' αὐτῶν
 ἀρχὰς ἐτελείωσα.

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.¹²⁴

Basil emphasised their role in his life by belittling achievements of his father and grandfather. On the contrary, Gregory of Nazianzus said that Basil was taught by his father:

Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα τῆς ἡλικίας ὑπὸ τῷ
 μεγάλῳ πατρὶ, ὃν κοινὸν παιδευτὴν
 ἀρετῆς ὁ Πόντος τηρικαῦτα
 προῦβάλλετο, σπαργανοῦται καὶ
 διαπλάττεται πλάσιν τὴν ἀρίστην τε
 καὶ καθαρωτάτην, ἣν ἡμερινὴν ὁ
 θεῖος Δαβὶδ καλῶς ὀνομάζει καὶ τῆς
 νυκτερινῆς ἀντίθετον.

In his earliest years he was swathed
 and fashioned, in that best and purest
 fashioning which the Divine David
 speaks of as proceeding day by day, in
 contrast with that of the night, under
 his great father, acknowledged in
 those days by Pontus, as its common
 teacher of virtue.¹²⁵

The difference between those two accounts arise from two different attitudes to the family. Gregory of Nazianzus thought that the main obligation of a son is to be obedient to his father as he himself was. Basil was eager to abandon his family for the sake of asceticism.¹²⁶ He refers to his mother and grandmother as it allows him to claim that he stands in the line of tradition that comes from Gregory Thaumaturgus. He regards his faith reliable because it was handed down to him by his grandmother:

Πίστεως δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας τίς ἂν καὶ
 γένοιτο ἐναργεστέρα ἀπόδειξις ἢ ὅτι
 τραφέντες ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τῆθι μακαρία
 γυναικὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ὠρμημένη;
 Μακρίναν λέγω τὴν περιβόητον,

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

¹²⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 12, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 299.

¹²⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43, 12, SC 384, 140, transl. NPNF II 7, 399.

¹²⁶ See Part IV. Epilogue of the present study.

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.

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.¹²⁷

2. Gregory of Nazianzus

I find it puzzling that in his Epitaph 54 on Emmelia among the children of Emmelia Gregory of Nazianzus favoured the wife of a priest (Theosebia) over the leader of asceticism in Pontus (Macrina):

Ἐμμέλιον τέθνηκε. τίς ἔφρασεν; ἢ γε
τοσοῦτων
καὶ τοίων τεκέων δῶκε φάος βίῳ, υἱέας
ἠδὲ θύγατρας ὁμόζυγας ἀζυγέας τε,
εὐπαις καὶ πολύπαις ἦδε μόνη μερόπων.
τρεις μὲν τῆσδ' ἱερῆες ἀγακλέες, ἡ δ'
ἱερῆος
σύζυγος, οἱ δὲ πέλας ὡς στρατὸς
εὐαγέων.

Emmelia is dead! Who would have thought it,
she who gave to life the light of so many and
such children, both sons and daughters
married and unmarried? She alone among
mortals had both good children and many
children. Three of her sons were illustrious
priests, and one daughter the companion of a
priest, and the rest were like an army of
saints.¹²⁸

Even if we wanted to understand ἡ ἱερῆος σύζυγος not as a wife, but as a companion, who could be a sister as well, it would be rather Theosebia, honoured in Epitaph 123 and called there the child of the famous Emmelia and the wife of the great Gregory:

Καὶ σύ, Θεοσσέβιον, κλεινῆς τέκος
Ἐμμελίῳ,

And you, Theosebia, child of noble
Emmelia, and in truth the

¹²⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 204, 6, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 178, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 169.

¹²⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epitaphia* 54, PG 38, 37-38 = *Antologia palatina* VIII 161; transl. A.M. Silvas, in: *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 81.

Γρηγορίου μεγάλου σύζυγε, ἀτρεκέως
 ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν ὑπέδυσ χθόνα, ἔρμα
 γυναικῶν
 εὐσεβέων·βίотου δ' ὄριος ἐξελύθης.

companion of great Gregory, lie here
 in sacred earth, you who were the
 support of devout women and
 departed this life at a seasonable
 age.¹²⁹

In Letter 197 Gregory of Nazianzus calls Theosebia “the most beautiful and glorious among all the beauty of the Brethren” (Θεοσεβίαν, τὴν ἐν τοσοῦτῳ κάλλει τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐπρεπεστάτην καὶ διαφανεστάτην) and “truly sacred, truly consort of a priest, and of equal honour and worthy of the Great Sacraments” (Θεοσεβίαν, τὴν ὄντως ἱερὰν καὶ ἱερέως σύζυγον καὶ ὁμότιμον καὶ τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀξίαν).¹³⁰ So, it is difficult to resolve whether she was a wife called sister because of her faith or she was a companion in ascetic life (σύζυγος).¹³¹ Anyway, Gregory of Nazianzus did write a consolation letter to Gregory of Nyssa after Theosebia (no matter, sister or wife) died,¹³² but he did not write any in connection with Macrina’s passing away. There is another consolation letter of him addressed to Gregory of Nyssa on the occasion of Basil’s death, in which he justifies himself that he had not come to Basil’s funeral due to “the serious and dangerous illness.”¹³³ If soon after that Macrina, sister of Gregory of Nyssa and Basil, died (according to *Vita sanctae Macrinae*¹³⁴), we could have expected similar letter. Unless Gregory of Nazianzus suddenly recovered and attended her funeral; but that would have been stressed in *Vita sanctae Macrinae*, since Gregory named among the

¹²⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epitaphia* 123, PG 38, 77 = *Antologia palatina* VIII 164; transl. A.M. Silvas, in: *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 82.

¹³⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae* 197, 5-6, GCS 53, 143, transl. NPNF II 7, 462.

¹³¹ J. Daniélou (*Le mariage de Grégoire de Nyssa et la chronologie de sa vie*, “Revue des études augustiniennes” 2 (1956), 71-78) thought there were two Theosebias, both married to Gregories: one daughter of Emmelia, sister of Gregory of Nyssa and Basil, married to certain Gregory, and another one, wife of Gregory of Nyssa. S. Elm (*Virgins of God*, 157, footnote 64) claims that there might have been only one Theosebia, sister of Gregory of Nyssa and Basil, and σύζυγος may mean here associate or collaborator; the same argument was repeated by Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 7, footnote 25.

¹³² Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae* 197, 5-6, GCS 53, 143, PG 37, 321-324.

¹³³ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae* 76, GCS 53, 65.

¹³⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 14-15, GNO 8/1, 385-387.

participants of the funeral an unknown bishop Araxios,¹³⁵ he surely would have mentioned his famous friend, if he had been present.

3. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*

Macrina does not appear in any Ancient source describing the Church history of that period. Certainly, Ancient historians focused on relationships between the Church and the state, doctrinal disputes and bishops, but they also said something about the monastic life. Rufinus said that Basil was the founder of monasticism in Pontus¹³⁶ and had two brothers: Gregory of Nyssa and Peter,¹³⁷ failing to mention their saint sister. It is not weird that he did not name Macrina as he generally did not mention women unless they were martyrs or members of the ruling family.

Sozomen was especially fond of histories of the ascetics; he not only mentions some saint/ascetic women by names but also describes their holy lives: Eusebia, a deaconess (HE IX 2), a holy virgin Matrona (HE VII 21), a widow Olympias (VIII 9), the zealous women Nicarete (HE VIII 23). Socrates Scholasticus was less focused on asceticism, but he dedicated the entire chapter of his history to Hypatia, the philosopher (HE VII 15). And in none of that texts there is any mention of Macrina, alleged inspirer and leader of monastic life in Pontus according to *Vita sanctae Macrinae*.

Macrina should have been evoked at least twice in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Sozomen. When describing the beginnings of monasticism in Pontus and the vicinities he points to Eustathius of Sebastea as an initiator:

Ἀρμενίοις δὲ καὶ Παφλαγόσι καὶ
τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ οἰκοῦσι λέγεται
Εὐστάθιος ὁ τὴν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ τῆς
Ἀρμενίας ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτροπεύσας
μοναχικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἄρξαι, καὶ τῆς

It is said that Eustathius, who governed the church of Sebaste in Armenia, founded a society of monks in Armenia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, and became the author of a zealous discipline, both as to what meats were

¹³⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 33, GNO 8/1, 407.

¹³⁶ Rufinus of Aquileia, HE II 9, PL 21, 518C.

¹³⁷ Rufinus of Aquileia, HE II 9, PL 21, 520C.

ἐν ταύτῃ σπουδαίας ἀγωγῆς,
ἐδεσμάτων τε, ὧν χρὴ μετέχειν καὶ
ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐσθήτος, ἣ δεῖ
κεχρηῆσθαι, καὶ ἡθῶν καὶ πολιτείας
ἀκριβοῦς εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον, ὡς
καὶ τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην Βασιλείου
Φτοῦ Καππαδόκου Ἀσκητικὴν
βίβλον ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τινὰς αὐτοῦ
γραφὴν εἶναι.

to be partaken of or to be avoided,
what garments were to be worn, and
what customs and exact course of
conduct were to be adopted. Some
assert that he was the author of the
ascetic treatises commonly attributed
to Basil of Cappadocia.¹³⁸

According to Sozomen it was Basil who continued Eustathius' work in
Pontus:

καὶ Βασίλειος μὲν τὰς πρὸς τῷ
Πόντῳ περιῶν πόλεις συνοικίας τε
μοναχῶν πολλὰς ἐκεῖσε
κατεστήσατο καὶ τὰ πλήθη διδάσκων
ὁμοίως αὐτῷ φρονεῖν ἔπειθε.

The cities in the neighborhood of
Pontus fell to the lot of Basil; and here
he founded numerous monasteries,
and, by teaching the people, he
persuaded them to hold like views
with himself.¹³⁹

According to Socrates Scholasticus, the founder of monasticism in Pontus
was Basil.¹⁴⁰ He mentioned by name two brothers of Basil: Gregory of Nyssa and
Peter, adding that only Peter followed Basil in monastic lifestyle¹⁴¹ – again, no
mention about Macrina.

The complete absence of Macrina in the *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* written in the
5th century seems to confirm that she obviously was not the founder and leader of
asceticism or monasticism in Pontus. The founder and inspirer of monasticism in
Pontus was Eustathius of Sebastea. He became also an inspiration for Basil to start
leading ascetic life.

¹³⁸ Sozomen, HE III 14, 31, GCS 50, 123, transl. NPNF II 2, 293.

¹³⁹ Sozomen, HE VI 17, 4, GCS 50, 258, transl. NPNF II 2, 356.

¹⁴⁰ Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 26, 12, GCS NF 1, 261.

¹⁴¹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 26, 26, GCS NF 1, 262.

Part II. Eustathius of Sebastea

Chapter I. Sources

1. Eustathius of Sebastea and Eustathius the Philosopher

No writings by Eustathius of Sebastea have preserved unless Eustathius of Sebastea is regarded as the author of the letter by Eustathius the Philosopher to the emperor Julian. According to F. Fatti Eustathius of Sebastea and Eustathius the Philosopher described by Eunapius in the VI book of the *Lives of Philosophers and Sophists* are one and the same person.¹⁴² The letter reads as follows:

Ἰουλιανῶ Εὐστάθιος φιλόσοφος. Ὡς
ᾤνησέ γε τὸ σύνθημα ἡμῖν μελλήσαν·
ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ τρέμειν καὶ δεδιέναι,
φερόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας ἀπήνης
καὶ περιπίπτοντα κραιπαλῶσιν
ὀρεωκόμοις καὶ ἡμιόνοις ἀκοστώσαις
καθ' Ὅμηρον δι' ἀργίαν τε καὶ
πλησμονήν, καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι κονιοροῦ
καὶ φωνῆς ἀλλοκότου καὶ ψόφου
μαστίγων, βαδίζειν ἐπὶ σχολῆς
περιέστη μοι δι' ὁδοῦ συνηρεφοῦς καὶ
ἐπισκίου, πολλὰς μὲν κρήνας, πολλὰς
δὲ ἐχούσης καταγωγὰς ἐπιτηδείους τῇ
ᾠρᾳ μεταξὺ τὸν πόνον διαναπαύοντι,
ἵνα ἂν μοι φανείη κατάλυσις εὐπνοῦς
τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆς ὑπὸ πλατάνοις ἢ
κυπαρίττοις τισὶ τὸν Φαῖδρον ἐν λαφῆς

What an advantage it was for me
that the token came late! For
instead of riding, in fear and
trembling, in the public carriage
and, in encounters with drunken
mule-drivers and mules made
restive, as Homer says, from
idleness and overfeeding, having to
endure clouds of dust and a strange
dialect and the cracking of whips, it
was my lot to travel at leisure by a
road arched over with trees and
well-shaded, a road that had
numerous springs and resting-
places suitable to the summer
season for a traveler who seeks
relief from his weariness on the
way; and where I always found a
good place to stop, airy and shaded

¹⁴² F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo: un'ipotesi sul destinatario di Bas. ep. 1 e sull'identità di Eunap. VS VI, 5, 1-6; 5; 8, 3-9*, in: E. Lopez-Tello García-B.S. Zorzi, *Church, Society and Monasticism. Acts of the International Symposium, Rome, May 31-June 3, 2006*, Roma 2009, 443-473.

ὑπὸ πλατάνοις ἢ κυπαρίττοις τισὶ τὸν
 Φαῖδρον ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντι τὸν
 Μυρρινούσιον ἢ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν
 Πλάτωνος λόγων. Ταῦτά τοι, ὦ πάντα
 θεία καὶ ἱερὰ κεφαλή, ἀπολαύων τῆς
 ἐλευθέρας ὁδοιπορίας, ἄτοπον
 ὑπέλαβον τὸ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο κοινώσασθαί
 σοι καὶ ἀποσημῆναι.

by plane trees or cypresses, while in
 my hand I held the Phaedrus or
 some other of Plato's dialogues.
 Now all this profit, O beloved, I
 gained from the freedom with
 which I travelled; therefore I
 considered that it would be
 unnatural not to communicate this
 also to you, and announce it.¹⁴³

Actually, it is not the correspondence between Julian and Eustathius the Philosopher that can refute, I think, the hypothesis of Fatti. The letter published among Julian's letters contains no information about Eustathius himself, whoever he was. Even the fact that he refers to Plato and Homer by names proves nothing as it was a frequent custom also among Christians (e.g. Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus). I am convinced that we cannot identify two Eustathius because of other reasons.

First, Fatti bases his thesis and detailed dating on the Eunapius' *Lives of Sophists*. He seems to forget that his story about Eustathius the Philosopher was constructed – let me quote here N.D. Lewis' words about the “fictive construction of Sosipatra” – “within the specific genre of late antique philosophical bioi” and “the nature of the texts themselves invites caution.”¹⁴⁴ The scope of *Lives of Sophists* was to juxtapose Pagan saints to the Christian ones; it is not a historiography, but as E. Wipszycka stated, it was written “in a hagiographic style.”¹⁴⁵

Second, Fatti thinks that Eustathius the Philosopher disappeared around 335 and that Eustathius of Sebastea appeared in a public life just before the Council of Gangra which he dates to 343.¹⁴⁶ However, it is not true that “di Eustazio filosofo, dopo la sua «dipartita» (μετὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν Εὐσταθίου),¹⁴⁷ non sappiamo più

¹⁴³ *Epistula* 36, in: L'empereur Julien, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. J. Bidez, vol. 1.2, Paris 1960; *Letter* 83, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 291-293.

¹⁴⁴ N.D. Lewis, *Living Images of the Divine: Female Theurgists in Late Antiquity*, in: *Daughters of Hecate. Women & Magic in the Ancient World*, ed. K.B. Stratton, D.S. Kalleres, Oxford 2014, 275.

¹⁴⁵ E. Wipszycka, *Wstęp*, in: Zosimos, *Nova historia*, Warszawa 1993, 16.

¹⁴⁶ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 448.

¹⁴⁷ Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum* VI 9, 1.

nulla.”¹⁴⁸ Fatti himself notes that Eustathius the Philosopher “è ancora vivo nel 358, quando prende parte all’ambasciata inviata da Costanzo II presso il re di Persia Sapore II.”¹⁴⁹ Although Eunapius is far from describing the events in the chronologic order and he often mixes facts it seems that it was regarding this embassy that he writes:

τούτων δὲ ὅμως κατεχόντων, οὕτως πάντες ἦσαν ἠρημένοι καὶ κατακεκλημένοι, ὥστε μὴ κατοκνήσαι τινα Ἑλληνα ἄνθρωπον ἐς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ βασιλέως παραβαλεῖν· καὶ τοί γε εἰώθεσαν πρότερον οἱ βασιλεύοντες τοὺς κατὰ στρατιὰν ἐπαινουμένους ἐπὶ τὰς πρεσβείας χειροτονεῖν, ἥτοι γε στρατοπεδάρχας ἢ ὅσοι γε μετ’ ἐκείνους ἐς τὸ ἄρχεῖν ἐξηρημένοι· τότε καὶ ἀνάγκης τυραννύσης, ὁ φρονιμώτατος ἀπάντων περιεσκοπεῖτο καὶ συνωμολογεῖτο Εὐστάθιος.

In this similar crisis all men were so held captive and enchanted by Eustathius, that they did not hesitate to commend a man of the Hellenic faith to the ears of the emperor; although the earlier emperors had been accustomed to elect for embassies men who had won distinction in the army, or military prefects, or men who were next in rank to these and had been selected for office. But at that time, at the imperious call of necessity, Eustathius was sought out and admitted by general consent to be the most prudent of all men.¹⁵⁰

In the very same 358 Eustathius of Sebastea was sent by bishops gathered in Ancyra as one of four deputies to Constantius who at that time was in Sirmium.¹⁵¹ The concept of Fatti is that before 343 Eustathius the Philosopher converted to Christianity and became Eustathius of Sebastea. But in 358 there are still two Eustathiuses: one of them was sent by Christian emperor to Persia despite of his Hellenic faith and the second one was a Christian bishop.

¹⁴⁸ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 472.

¹⁴⁹ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 449.

¹⁵⁰ Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum* VI 5, 3-4, transl. E. Wilmer Cave Wright, 395.

¹⁵¹ Sozomen, HE IV 13, 5, GCS 50, 156.

On the other hand, it is difficult for me to imagine that Eunapius could have chosen for an example of a Pagan saint a person who converted to Christianity. “Eunapius’ two works – the *History* as well as the *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* – were written from a strongly Pagan point of view. As a committed Pagan Eunapius is much more one-sided and polemical than Ammianus.”¹⁵²

2. Sources and chronology

So, apparently no writings by Eustathius of Sebastea have preserved. The main sources for the life of Eustathius of Sebastea are four *Ecclesiastical Histories* – by Sozomen, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoret and Philostorgius – and the letters of Basil the Great. Out of four *Ecclesiastical Histories* it is Sozomen who left the most detailed information on Eustathius. It is generally assumed that he wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* after and on the basis of the one by Socrates Scholasticus, but “not only does Sozomen introduce more details about episodes and characters dealt with by Socrates, he also includes a category of material found only in an abbreviated form in Socrates’ history. This is descriptions of the lives and virtues of various sorts of Christians: monks, holy men, martyrs as well as bishops.”¹⁵³ That is why it is no surprise that Sozomen will be the most important source of information about Eustathius’ life.

The historians who wrote in the first half of the 5th century significantly differ in their attitude towards Eustathius. It is understandable, because “although the Church historians had many sources in common and at least to some extent knew each other, there are remarkable differences in their selection and use of sources. This is highly influenced by their respective ideas on Church history and Church politics.”¹⁵⁴ For Sozomen Eustathius occupies the exceptional position in the history of the Ancient monasticism. He considers him as a father of Anatolian asceticism.¹⁵⁵ For Socrates Eustathius is definitely a heretic.

¹⁵² W. Liebeschuetz, *Pagan Historiography and the Decline of the Empire*, in: *Greek & Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Marasco, Leiden-Boston 2003, 177-178.

¹⁵³ T. Urbainczyk, *Observations on the Differences between the Church Histories of Socrates and Sozomenus*, “Historia” 46 (1997), 362.

¹⁵⁴ H. Leppin, *The Church Historians (I): Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus*, in: *Greek & Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Marasco, Leiden-Boston 2003, 229.

¹⁵⁵ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 443.

There are some mentions about Eustathius of Sebastea in Philostorgius, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus and Epiphanius of Salamis. All of them need to be treated with caution. Even *Historia Arianorum* by Athanasius is a polemical not historical writing. It seems that Athanasius was not very interested in details and considered Eustathius of Sebastea as heretic although in the circumstances when he mentions him he was not accused of heresy but of disciplinary issues.

In the Ancient sources there are four main accounts about the career of Eustathius of Sebastea. Two of them (by Socrates Scholasticus HE II 43 and Sozomen HE IV 24) are the list of charges brought against Eustathius during the Council of Constantinople in 360, the third one comes from the letter 263 by Basil the Great and the fourth is a parallel account from the letter 244 – both written by Basil during the conflict between Basil and Eustathius.¹⁵⁶ Although all four lists were not to be an objective description of Eustathius' life, they contain some important information about him. The circumstances of all three lists are important to understand why they differ among them. The two by historians refer to the events that were brought as charges for the deposition of Eustathius in 360. Basil on the other hand wanted to list changes in Eustathius' confessions.

There are serious problems with the chronology of the described events. The most discussed is the problem with dating the Council of Gangra that I will describe below. Here I only want to mention that according to most popular interpretation Socrates states that the Council of Gangra took place after the Council of Constantinople (360) while Sozomen places it in the early 340s. Usually, scholars deal with the incoherencies by choosing one of the reports and discrediting the other on the basis of some more or less rational reasons. But, they presume that the charges listed by Sozomen are put in chronological order. However, it is not so obvious and not even necessary for his narration as he did not have intention to present events one by one in chronological order, the list could have been random or put by importance of the charges. There are evidences of such an attitude in

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix II. Sources on Eustathius of Sebastea.

other charges described by Sozomen. He lists following reasons for deposing Silvanus during the same Council of Constantinople (360):

καθειλον δὲ Σιλβανὸν ὡς ἀρχηγὸν
γενόμενον ἀπονοίας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν
τε Σελευκείᾳ καὶ
Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ Θεόφιλον
προστήσαντα τῆς ἐν Κασταβάλοις
ἐκκλησίας, Ἐλευθερουπόλεως
ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα
πρότερον παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων
Παλαιστίνης καὶ ἐπομοσάμενον
παρὰ γνώμην ἑτέραν μὴ ὑπεισιέναι
ἐπισκοπήν.

The reason they assigned for the deposition of Silvanus was, that he had constituted himself the leader of a foolish party in Seleucia and Constantinople; he had, besides, constituted Theophilus as president of the church of Castabala, who had been previously ordained bishop of Eleutheropolis by the bishops of Palestine, and who had promised upon oath that he would never accept any other bishopric without their permission.¹⁵⁷

It is no doubt that the accusation of being “the leader of a foolish party in Seleucia and Constantinople” refers to two councils: Seleucia (359) and Constantinople (359/360). Tarsus is located more than 900 km away from Constantinople, but near Seleucia. Silvanus must have ordained Theophilus before the Council of Seleucia or between the two councils. The charge listed as the second one apparently occurred first in the chronological order.

The second evidence is a list of charges against Cyril of Jerusalem:

Κύριλλον τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων
καθειλον ὡς Εὐσταθίῳ καὶ
Ἐλπίδιῳ κεκοινωνηκότα, ἐναντία
σπουδάσασι τοῖς ἐν Μελιτινῇ
συνελθοῦσι, μεθ’ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς
συνεληλύθει, καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἐν
Παλαιστίνῃ καθάρεσιν κοινωνίας

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, was deposed as he stayed in communion with Eustathius and Elpidius, in defiance of those assembled in Melitina, among whom was Cyril himself; and because after his deposition in Palestine he had established contact with Basil and

¹⁵⁷ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 13, GCS 50, 181, transl. NPNF II 2, 321.

μετασχόντα σὺν Βασιλείῳ καὶ
 Γεωργίῳ [καὶ] τῷ Λαοδικεῖας
 ἐπισκόπῳ. ἐπειδὴ <γὰρ> ἐπετράπη
 τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπισκοπὴν, περὶ
 μητροπολιτικῶν δικαίων
 διεφέρετο πρὸς Ἀκάκιον τὸν
 Καισαρείας ὡς ἀποστολικοῦ
 θρόνου ἡγούμενος· ἐντεῦθεν τε εἰς
 ἀπέχθειαν κατέστησαν καὶ
 ἀλλήλους διέβαλλον, ὡς οὐχ
 ὑγιῶς περὶ θεοῦ φρονοῖεν· καὶ γὰρ
 καὶ πρὶν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ ἑκάτερος ἦν, ὁ
 μὲν τὰ Ἀρείου δογματίζων,
 Κύριλλος δὲ τοῖς ὁμοούσιον τῷ
 πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰσηγουμένοις
 ἐπόμενος. οὕτως δὲ ἔχων γνώμης
 Ἀκάκιος σὺν τοῖς τὰ αὐτοῦ
 φρονοῦσιν ἐπισκόποις τοῦ ἔθνους
 φθάνει καθελῶν Κύριλλον ἐπὶ
 προφάσει τοιαῦδε· λιμοῦ
 καταλαβόντος τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων
 χώραν, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπον ἔβλεπε
 τὸ τῶν δεομένων πλῆθος τῆς
 ἀναγκαιᾶς τροφῆς ἀπορούμενον,
 ἐπειδὴ χρήματα οὐκ ἦν οἷς

George, bishop of Laodicea.¹⁵⁸ When
 Cyril was first installed in the bishopric
 of Jerusalem, he had a dispute with
 Acacius, bishop of Caesarea, concerning
 his rights as a Metropolitan, which he
 claimed on the ground of his bishopric
 being an apostolic see. This dispute
 excited feelings of enmity between the
 two bishops, and they mutually accused
 each other of unsoundness of doctrine
 concerning the Godhead. In fact, they
 had both been suspected previously; the
 one, that is, Acacius, of favoring the
 heresy of Arius; and the other, of siding
 with those who maintain that the Son is
 in substance like unto the Father.
 Acacius being thus inimically disposed
 towards Cyril, and finding himself
 supported by the bishops of the
 province, who were of the same
 sentiments as himself, contrived to
 depose Cyril under the following pretext.
 Jerusalem and the neighboring country
 was at one time visited with a famine,
 and the poor appealed in great
 multitudes to Cyril, as their bishop, for
 necessary food. As he had no money to

¹⁵⁸ The last part of the sentence in NPNF has been translated as follows: „and because he had also received Basil and George, bishop of Laodicea, into communion after their deposition in Palestine.” Although grammatically possible (the Greek text does not specify whose deposition it was), we know nothing about any deposition of Basil of Ancyra and George of Laodicea in Palestine, but we know that Cyril himself was deposed by Acacius, bishop of Caesarea. The circumstances of this deposition are described subsequently.

ἐπικουρεῖν ἔδει, κειμήλια καὶ ἱερά
 παραπετάσματα ἀπέδοτο. ἐκ
 τούτων δὲ λόγος τινὰ ἐπιγνῶναι
 οἰκεῖον ἀνάθημα γυναιῖκα ἐκ τῶν
 ἐπὶ θυμέλης ἡμφιεσμένην,
 πολυπραγμονῆσαι τε ὅθεν ἔχοι
 καὶ εὐρεῖν ἔμπορον αὐτῇ
 ἀποδόμενον, τῷ δὲ ἐμπόρῳ τὸν
 ἐπίσκοπον. αἰτίαν δὲ ταύτην
 προῖσχόμενον καθελεῖν αὐτὸν
 Ἀκάκιον.

purchase the requisite provisions, he sold for this purpose the veil and sacred ornaments of the church. It is said that a man, having recognized an offering which he had presented at the altar as forming part of the costume of an actress, made it his business to inquire whence it was procured; and ascertained that a merchant had sold it to the actress, and that the bishop had sold it to the merchant. It was under this pretext that Acacius deposed Cyril.¹⁵⁹

The date of Cyril's deposition is not known precisely, but it is generally agreed that he was deposed "in 357 or thereabouts."¹⁶⁰ And the Council of Melitene took place most probably in 358.¹⁶¹ So the first charge ("he was associated with Eustathius and Elpidius, although they had opposed those assembled in Melitina, among whom was Cyril himself" – presumably 358) refers to the event chronologically subsequent to the second ("after his deposition in Palestine he established contact with Basil and George, bishop of Laodicea" – presumably 357). And it is absolutely obvious that the explanation which follows both charges refers to the events that had occurred before the deposition (before 357). It is not impossible that Cyril took part in the Council of Melitene (358) after he had been deposed (357) as we know from Theodoret that despite his previous deposition he attended the Council of Seleucia (359):

ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάκιος μικράς τινας εὐρῶν
 ἀφορμὰς καθεῖλε τὸν Κύριλλον καὶ τῶν
 Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξήλασεν. ὁ δὲ Κύριλλος

Acacius seized some small occasion, deposed Cyrillus, and drove him from Jerusalem. But

¹⁵⁹ Sozomen, HE IV 25, 1-4, GCS 50, 181-182, transl. NPNF II 2, 321 with alterations.

¹⁶⁰ R.P.C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God. The Arian controversy 318-381*, Grand Rapids 2007, 400.

¹⁶¹ *Sanctorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J.D. Mansi, vol. 3 (347-409), Florentiae 1759, 291; C.A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, „Catholic Historical Review” 66 (1980), 23.

τὴν μὲν Ἀντιόχειαν παρελήλυθε
 ποιμένος αὐτὴν ἐστερημένην εὐρών, εἰς
 δὲ Ταρσὸν ἀφικόμενος τῷ θαυμασίῳ
 συνῆν Σιλβανῶ· οὗτος γὰρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον
 τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνης ἡγεῖτο τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας. τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ Ἀκάκιος
 ἐπέστειλε τῷ Σιλβανῶ καὶ τὴν
 καθαίρεσιν τοῦ Κυρίλλου μεμήνυκεν. ὁ
 δέ, καὶ τὸν Κύριλλον αἰδούμενος καὶ τὸ
 πλῆθος ὑφορώμενος (ἦδιστα γὰρ τῆς
 τοῦ Κυρίλλου διδασκαλίας ἀπήλαυε),
 τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς οὐκ ἐκώλυσε
 λειτουργίας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνῆλθον εἰς
 τὴν Σελεύκειαν, ἐκοινώνει μὲν τοῖς
 ἀμφὶ τὸν Βασίλειον καὶ Εὐστάθιον καὶ
 Σιλβανὸν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁ Κύριλλος
 τοῦ συνεδρίου. ὁ δὲ γε Ἀκάκιος ἀφίκετο
 μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τοὺς
 συνεληλυθότας ἐπισκόπους
 (πεντήκοντα δὲ ἦσαν καὶ ἑκατόν),
 ἔφασκε δὲ μὴ πρότερον αὐτοῖς
 κοινωνήσειν τῶν βουλευμάτων πρὶν
 ἔξω γενέσθαι τοῦ συλλόγου τὸν
 Κύριλλον, ἅτε δὴ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης
 γεγυμνωμένον.

Cyrrillus passed by Antioch, which
 he had found without a pastor, and
 came to Tarsus, where he dwelt
 with the excellent Silvanus, then
 bishop of that see. No sooner did
 Acacius become aware of this than
 he wrote to Silvanus and informed
 him of the deposition of Cyrillus.
 Silvanus however, both out of
 regard for Cyrillus, and not without
 suspicion of his people, who greatly
 enjoyed the stranger's teaching,
 refused to prohibit him from taking
 a part in the ministrations of the
 church. When however they had
 arrived at Seleucia, Cyrillus joined
 with the party of Basilus and
 Eustathius and Silvanus and the
 rest in the council. But when
 Acacius joined the assembled
 bishops, who numbered one
 hundred and fifty, he refused to be
 associated in their counsels before
 Cyrillus, as one stripped of his
 bishopric, had been put out from
 among them.¹⁶²

Both Socrates and Sozomen wanted to refer the reasons why Eustathius had been deposed by the Council of Constantinople (360) and they could have listed them from the most important to less relevant or vice versa. In the case of Socrates,

¹⁶² Theodoret, HE II 22, GCS 44, 157-158, transl. NPNF II 3, 87.

his list of charges against Eustathius is much shorter. Actually, it consists of two charges: that he had been deposed by his own father and he had been condemned by the Council of Gangra. So, in that case the problem of chronology is much less important. On the other hand, Basil should be more eager to stick to the chronological order as he presents (alleged) changes in Eustathius' confessions. Although, with such a goal he could have omitted or misinterpreted some events.

Chapter II. The life of Eustathius of Sebastea

1. Eustathius' father and homeland

Both Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen confirm that Eustathius' father was called Eulalius and was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia: ὑπὸ Εὐλαλίου τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς καὶ ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἤδη πρότερον καθήρητο,¹⁶³ Εὐλάλιος ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν ἀφώρισεν, ἐπίσκοπος ὢν τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκκλησίας Καισαρείας.¹⁶⁴ In 1703 Tillemont stated that there was no place in the hierarchy of Caesarea for any bishop named Eulalius and that Eustathius' father was from Antioch.¹⁶⁵ Following F. Loofs a lot scholars claim that Eulalius was bishop of Sebastea.¹⁶⁶ It is true that we know the name of Eulalius from the lists of bishops who took part in the Council of Nicaea (325) as bishop of Sebastea in Armenia Minor.¹⁶⁷ However, Eulalius seems to have been a very popular name at that time. Gregory of Nazianzus even had a nephew by the name of Eulalius.¹⁶⁸ The same or another Eulalius became bishop of Nazianzus in 383.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1, GCS NF 1, 180.

¹⁶⁴ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180.

¹⁶⁵ L.S. Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, vol. 9, Paris 1703, 79.

¹⁶⁶ F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die chronologie der Basilien-Briefe. Eine patristische studie*, Halle 1898, 95; K.S. Frank, *Monastische Reform im Altertum. Eustathius von Sebaste und Basilien von Caesarea*, in: *Reformatio Ecclesiae. Beiträge zu kirchlichen Reformbemühungen von der Alten Kirche bis zur Neuzeit. Festgabe für Erwin Iserloh*, ed. R. Bäumer, Paderborn 1980, 38; C.A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, 17; J. Gribomont, *Saint Basile, Évangile et Église. Mélanges*, Bégrolles-en Mauges 1984, 95-96; W.-D. Hauschild, *Eustathius von Sebaste*, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, band 10, Berlin-New York 1982, 547.

¹⁶⁷ H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld, O. Cuntz, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina Latine, Graece, Coptice, Syriace, Arabice, Armeniace*, Lipsiae 1898, 26-27 (in Latin), 65 (in Greek), 88 (in Coptic: Eularios), 105, 129 (in Syriac), 199 (in Armenian).

¹⁶⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae* 15, GCS 53, 17.

¹⁶⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae* 182, GCS 53, 131.

According to Theodoret, a Eulalius was bishop of Antioch.¹⁷⁰ Hilary lists Eulalius, bishop of Amasea, among the bishops who undersigned a decree at the Council of Serdica (343).¹⁷¹ Sozomen speaks about Eulalius, bishop of Amasea in Pontus around 379.¹⁷² Socrates Scholasticus lists two other Eulaliuses (except for the one from Sebastea) among the participants in the Council of Nicaea (325): Eulalius of Iconium, and among the bishops from Bithynia Εὐλάλιος χωρεπίσκοπος,¹⁷³ which means “country–bishop appointed to superintend churches at a distance from the city where the bishop resided.”¹⁷⁴ And Bithynia also had its own Caesarea.

But, Eustathius came from Caesarea in Cappadocia and his father was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. The conclusive evidence is based on Basil’s accounts. In the letter 263 Basil states that Eustathius returned from Alexandria to his hometown (εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ) and was ordained by Hermogenes:

ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ,
 τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ
 Ἑρμογένει τῷ Καισαρείας κρίνοντι
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κακοδοξίᾳ ὁμολογίαν
 ἔδωκε πίστεως ὑγιοῦς. Καὶ οὕτω τὴν
 χειροτονίαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δεξάμενος
 Εὐστάθιος...

on returning to his own country, gave a confession of sound faith to the most blessed bishop Hermogenes of Caesarea, who was judging him on the charge of false doctrine. And having thus received ordination at his hands...¹⁷⁵

In two letters Basil says that Eustathius was ordained by Hermogenes, bishop of Caesarea, then went to Constantinople and returned to his homeland: ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος,¹⁷⁶ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.¹⁷⁷ In both letters ἡ πατρὶς means Cappadocia. The textual analysis of Basil’s writings confirms that understanding. Except for two quotations from the Bible, references to paradise/heaven and four cases where the meaning of ἡ πατρὶς is uncertain, Basil always and with no exception attributes ἡ

¹⁷⁰ Theodoret, HE V 40, 5; GCS 44, 348.

¹⁷¹ Hilary, *Collectanea antiariana parisina*, CSEL 65, 74.

¹⁷² Sozomen, HE VII 2, 6; GCS 50, 303.

¹⁷³ Socrates Scholasticus, HE I 13; GCS NF 1, 49-50.

¹⁷⁴ G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, 1536.

¹⁷⁵ Basil, *Letter 263*, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123-124, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93-97.

¹⁷⁶ Basil, *Letter 263*, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123.

¹⁷⁷ Basil, *Letter 244*, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82.

πατρις (in singular with the article) to Cappadocia and never to any other country/homeland of anybody. Twenty-six times it is ἡ πατρις itself with the article and no possessive and sixteen times ἡ πατρις ἡμῶν/ἐαυτῶν (with the article and the possessive).¹⁷⁸ As Y. Courtonne explains the custom of avoiding proper names and replacing them with a periphrasis is one of the characteristics of the rhetoric of that era.¹⁷⁹

Jurgens tried to connect those reports with the theory of Tillemont reaching rather weird concept: “Probably Eustathius was born at Caesarea; for Basil refers to Caesarea as Eustathius’ «own country». And while it is dangerous to urge half of an admittedly erroneous proposition in favor of any theory which is expected to be taken seriously, Socrates and Sozomen, as we have just pointed out, do say that Eustathius’ father Eulalius was bishop of Caesarea. If we amend the thought of their remark to indicate that he was, while not bishop of Caesarea, yet of Caesarea in the sense that it was his native place, we have testimony which may assist in urging Caesarea as Eustathius’ birthplace.”¹⁸⁰

Tillemont stated that “il ne se trouve aucun évêque de Cesarée de se nom”, but he was convinced that such a bishop must have lived “jusques après le Concile de Nicée” only because he believed that Eustathius was disciple of Arius in Alexandria.¹⁸¹ But, as I will show below, there are no reliable sources to confirm the latter thesis. If we remove that premise, nothing will force us to maintain that Eulalius was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia in the early 330s. Actually, we do not know a lot about bishops of Caesarea in Cappadocia until Eusebius, the predecessor of Basil, who died in 370. According to the preserved lists of bishops Leontius took part in the Council of Nicaea (325) as bishop of Caesarea,¹⁸² Sozomen names Dianius as bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia among the participants in the Council

¹⁷⁸ M. Przyszychowska, *Fatherland (πατρις) in the writings of Basil of Caesarea*, “Polish Journal of Political Science” (in press).

¹⁷⁹ Y. Courtonne, in: Basile, *Epistulae*, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3, note 2.

¹⁸⁰ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 16.

¹⁸¹ L.S. Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir a l’histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, vol. 9, Paris 1701, 79.

¹⁸² H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld, O. Cuntz, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina Latine, Graece, Coptice, Syriace, Arabice, Armeniace*, Lipsiae 1898, 24-25 (in Latin), 65 (in Greek), 86 (in Coptic), 105, 129 (in Syriac), 197 (in Armenian).

of Antioch (341).¹⁸³ Hilary testifies that Dianius of Caesarea took part in the Council of Serdica (343).¹⁸⁴ According to many scholars the very same Dianius is mentioned by Basil in Letter 51¹⁸⁵ as the one who signed the formula of faith approved at the Council of Constantinople (360):

Περὶ μέντοι τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ βίου
(οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψομαι τὰληθές)
ἐλυπήθημεν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λύπην οὐκ
ἀνεκτὴν, μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ
πατριδι φοβουμένων τὸν Κύριον, ἐπὶ
τῇ ὑπογραφῇ τῆς πίστεως, τῆς ὑπὸ
τῶν περὶ Γεώργιον ἀπὸ
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κομισθείσης.

However, at the end of his life (for I will not conceal the truth), I, together with many Godfearing people of our fatherland, suffered intolerable grief on his account, for he subscribed to the creed brought from Constantinople by George and his associates.¹⁸⁶

It is hardly possible that the person mentioned in the letter was bishop of Caesarea before Eusebius, the predecessor of Basil. Basil asks: “Tell me, did I anathematize the most blessed Dianius?” (Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰπέ μοι, τὸν μακαριώτατον Διάνιον ἀνεθεμάτισα;).¹⁸⁷ Basil could have not anathematized anyone being a deacon as excommunication was a prerogative of a bishop¹⁸⁸ and the letter indicates that Basil became reconciled with that Dianius before he died so he could not have anathematized him posthumously. Dianius from Letter 51 was someone who signed the confession of faith brought from Constantinople by the associates of George (τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Γεώργιον ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κομισθείσης)¹⁸⁹ when Basil was already bishop. It is not even certain that Dianius mentioned in Letter 51 was a bishop as Basil applied the term μακαριώτατος to any respectable person as well as to a lay (Eupsychius)¹⁹⁰ and to a woman (Julitta).¹⁹¹ It is significant that in

¹⁸³ Sozomen, HE III 5, 10, GCS 50, 107.

¹⁸⁴ Hilary, *Collectanea antiariana parisina*, CSEL 65, 75.

¹⁸⁵ R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, Philadelphia 2003, 35.

¹⁸⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 51, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 132, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 325.

¹⁸⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 51, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 132, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 323.

¹⁸⁸ P. Norton, *Episcopal elections 250-600. Hierarchy and popular will in Late Antiquity*, New York 2007, 3.

¹⁸⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 51, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 132.

¹⁹⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123.

¹⁹¹ Basil, *Homilia in martyrem Julittam*, PG 31, 237.

353 Nerses was ordained bishop of Armenia by the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia and *P'anstos Buḡandac'i's* (the source written in the 5th century) claims that the bishop's name was Eusebius not Dianius.¹⁹²

Older studies placed Eulalius after Leontius and before Hermogenes,¹⁹³ but it is hardly possible as according to Basil it was Hermogenes who ordained Eustathius and according to Sozomen and Socrates Eulalius excommunicated him when he was a priest. And we know from Basil that immediately (εὐθύς) after Hermogenes had died Eustathius run to Constantinople to Eusebius of Nicomedia.¹⁹⁴ There are two possibilities for locating Eulalius. First (less possible), he could have been bishop of Caesarea after Hermogenes and before Dianius, but it must have been before the Council of Antioch (341) in which Dianius took part as bishop of Caesarea. Second possibility: at some point after 343.

2. Disciple of Arius?

According to Jurgens our first historical contact with Eustathius is in Alexandria, where he was a disciple of Arius.¹⁹⁵ Jurgens refers only to the letters of Basil to confirm that Eustathius of Sebastea was a student of Arius. Actually, also Athanasius names Eustathius whom he describes as “Eustathius now in Sebastea” (Εὐστάθιος ὁ νῦν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ) in a group of people who were admitted into the clerical order thanks to their connections with Arius after Eustathius of Antioch had been expelled. Basil the Great also somehow connected Eustathius' ordination with Arius, but even those two seemingly similar versions differ significantly. The version of Athanasius reads as follows:

Εὐστάθιος τις ἦν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς
Ἀντιοχείας, ἀνὴρ ὁμολογητῆς καὶ
τὴν πίστιν εὐσεβῆς. οὗτος ἐπειδὴ

There was one Eustathius, Bishop of
Antioch, a Confessor, and sound in
the Faith. This man, because he was

¹⁹² Fatti is convinced that Letter 51 by Basil concerns Dianius, bishop of Caesarea, so he suggests that the source confused the name, F. Fatti, *Giuliano a Cesarea. La politica ecclesiastica del principe apostata*, Roma 2009, 65, note 69.

¹⁹³ P.B. Gams, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae catholicae*, Ratisbon 1873, 440; M. Le Quien, *Oriens christianus, in quatuor patriarchatus digestus*, vol. 1, Parisiis 1740, 370-372.

¹⁹⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 100, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 219; *Epistulae* 200, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 165.

¹⁹⁵ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 17.

πολὺς ἦν ζηλῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας
 τὴν τε ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν ἐμίσει καὶ
 τοὺς φρονοῦντας τὰ ἐκείνης οὐκ
 ἐδέχετο, διαβάλλεται Κωνσταντίνῳ
 τῷ βασιλεῖ πρόφασις τε ἐπινοεῖται
 ὡς τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ποιήσας ὕβριν. καὶ
 εὐθὺς ἐξοριστος αὐτός τε γίνεται καὶ
 πολὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ
 διακόνων ἀριθμὸς. καὶ λοιπὸν οὐς
 οὐκ ἐδέχετο διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰς
 κλῆρον, τούτους μετὰ τὸ ἐξορισθῆναι
 τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὐ μόνον εἰσήγαγον
 εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
 πλείστους ἐπισκόπους κατέστησαν,
 ἵν' ἔχωσι συνωμότας ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὴν
 ἀσέβειαν. ἐκ τούτων ἐστὶ Λεόντιος ὁ
 ἀπόκοπος ὁ νῦν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ καὶ ὁ
 πρὸ αὐτοῦ Στέφανος Γεώργιός τε ὁ
 ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ καὶ ὁ γενόμενος ἐν
 Τριπόλει Θεοδόσιος Εὐδόξιός τε ὁ ἐν
 Γερμανικείᾳ καὶ Εὐστάθιος ὁ νῦν ἐν
 Σεβαστεία.

very zealous for the truth, and hated
 the Arian heresy, and would not
 receive those who adopted its tenets,
 is falsely accused before the Emperor
 Constantine, and a charge invented
 against him, that he had insulted his
 mother. And immediately he is driven
 into banishment, and a great number
 of Presbyters and Deacons with him.
 And immediately after the banishment
 of the Bishop, those whom he would
 not admit into the clerical order on
 account of their impiety were not only
 received into the Church by them, but
 were even appointed the greater part
 of them to be Bishops, in order that
 they might have accomplices in their
 impiety. Among these was Leontius
 the eunuch, now of Antioch, and his
 predecessor Stephanus, George of
 Laodicea, and Theodosius who was of
 Tripolis, Eudoxius of Germanicia, and
 Eustathius, now of Sebastia.¹⁹⁶

In the letter 263 “To the Westerners”, written in 377, Basil also mentions Eustathius’ ordination:

Ἔστι τοίνυν εἰς τῶν πολλῶν ἡμῶν
 κατασκευαζόντων λύπην, Εὐστάθιος ὁ
 ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν

Now one of those who causes us
 much sorrow is Eustathius of
 Sebaste in Lesser Armenia, who,

¹⁹⁶ Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos* 4, Athanasius Werke II, 184-185; transl. NPNF II 4, 271.

μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν, ὃς πάλαι
 μαθητευθεὶς τῷ Ἀρείῳ, καὶ ὅτε
 ἤκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τὰς
 πονηρὰς κατὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς
 συνθεὶς βλασφημίας ἀκολουθῶν
 ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ τοῖς γνησιωτάτοις αὐτοῦ
 τῶν μαθητῶν ἐναριθμούμενος, ἐπειδὴ
 ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τῷ
 μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἑρμογένει τῷ
 Καισαρείας κρίνοντι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ
 κακοδοξίᾳ ὁμολογίαν ἔδωκε πίστεως
 ὑγιоῦς. Καὶ οὕτω τὴν χειροτονίαν ὑπ’
 αὐτοῦ δεξάμενος Εὐστάθιος μετὰ τὴν
 ἐκεῖνου κοίμησιν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ
 τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Εὐσέβιον
 ἔδραμεν, οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον καὶ αὐτὸν
 τὸ δυσσεβὲς δόγμα τοῦ Ἀρείου
 πρεσβεύοντα.

taught of old by Arius at the time
 when Arius flourished at Alexandria,
 as the author of those wicked
 blasphemies against the Only-
 begotten, following him and being
 numbered among his most faithful
 disciples, on returning to his own
 country, gave a confession of sound
 faith to the most blessed bishop
 Hermogenes of Caesarea, who was
 judging him on the charge of false
 doctrine. And having thus received
 ordination at his hands, after the
 decease of the latter, he ran to
 Eusebius of Constantinople, a man
 who himself less than no one
 sponsored the impious doctrine of
 Arius.¹⁹⁷

Athanasius and Basil differ in establishing connection between Eustathius’ ordination and Arianism. In Athanasius’ story Eustathius was ordained because of his Arianism while Basil states that in Alexandria Eustathius was among the most faithful disciples of Arius, but after he had returned to Caesarea he confessed the orthodox faith and on that basis was ordained priest. I would not question the very fact of the ordination, but I do doubt in the connection between Eustathius of Sebastea and Arius.

Although Hanson dates *Historia Arianorum* precisely to 358,¹⁹⁸ but according to A. Robertson, “the date of the History is at first sight a difficulty. The fall of Liberius is dealt with in Part V., which must therefore have been written not earlier

¹⁹⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93-94.

¹⁹⁸ R.P.C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 420.

than 358 (the exact chronology of the lapse of Liberius is not certain), while yet in §4 Leontius, who died in the summer or autumn of 357, is still bishop of Antioch. We must therefore suppose that the History was begun at about the time when the *Apologia de Fuga* was finished (cf. the bitter conclusion of that tract) and completed when the lapse of Liberius was known in Egypt. A more accurate determination of date is not permitted by our materials.¹⁹⁹ Since 358 Eustathius was an active member of the Homoiousian alliance and played an important role during the Synod in Ancyra in 358. It seems that Athanasius himself did not consider Homoiousians as Arians.²⁰⁰ On the contrary, he thought they are not far from the Nicaean creed:

πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀποδεχομένους τὰ μὲν
 ἄλλα πάντα τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ
 γραφέντων, περὶ δὲ μόνον τὸ
 ὁμοούσιον ἀμφιβάλλοντας χρῆ μὴ ὡς
 πρὸς ἐχθροὺς διακεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ
 ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὡς πρὸς Ἀρειομανίτας οὐδ'
 ὡς μαχομένους πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας
 ἐνιστάμεθα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πρὸς
 ἀδελφοὺς διαλεγόμεθα τὴν αὐτὴν μὲν
 ἡμῖν διάνοιαν ἔχοντας, περὶ δὲ τὸ
 ὄνομα μόνον διστάζοντας. καὶ γὰρ
 ὁμολογοῦντες ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ
 πατρὸς εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἑτέρας
 ὑποστάσεως τὸν υἱὸν κτίσμα τε μὴ
 εἶναι μηδὲ ποίημα αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ
 γνήσιον καὶ φύσει γέννημα αἰδίως τε
 αὐτόν συνεῖναι τῷ πατρὶ λόγον ὄντα
 καὶ σοφίαν οὐ μακρὰν εἰσιν

Those, however, who accept everything else that was defined at Nicaea, and doubt only about the Coessential, must not be treated as enemies; nor do we here attack them as Ario-maniacs, nor as opponents of the Fathers, but we discuss the matter with them as brothers with brothers, who mean what we mean, and dispute only about the word. For, confessing that the Son is from the essence of the Father, and not from other subsistence, and that He is not a creature nor work, but His genuine and natural offspring, and that He is eternally with the Father as being His Word and Wisdom, they are not far from accepting even the phrase, 'Coessential.' Now such

¹⁹⁹ NPNF II 4, 266-267.

²⁰⁰ J. Grzywaczewski, *Postawa św. Atanazego i św. Hilarego wobec decyzji synodu w Ancyrze (358)*, "Vox Patrum", 64 (2015), 171-188.

ἀποδέξασθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου
λέξιν. τοιοῦτος δὲ ἐστὶ Βασίλειος ὁ
ἀπὸ Ἀγκύρας γράψας περὶ πίστεως.

is Basil, who wrote from Ancyra
concerning the faith.²⁰¹

Unfortunately, this understanding was theoretical only. In *Historia Arianorum* Athanasius put into his list of priests and bishops ordained thanks to their involvement into the Arian “impiety” people who took part in the Homoiousian alliance: “Among them were Leontius the eunuch, now of Antioch, and his predecessor Stephanus, George of Laodicea, and Theodosius who was of Tripolis, Eudoxius of Germanicia, and Eustathius, now of Sebastia.”²⁰² He mixed here Homoiousians who opposed Arians (George of Laodicea, Eustathius of Sebastea) and real Arians (Leontius of Antioch, Stephanus, Eudoxius of Germanicia). It is possible that there were personal issues that made Athanasius think of Homoiousians as of Arians and enemies. M. DelCogliano showed that George of Laodicea and Athanasius maintained mutual animosity that commenced in the times of conflict between Alexander and Arius. Both George of Laodicea and Athanasius brought different charges against each other also regarding their theology. That was the reason why Athanasius accused George of Arianism. But, as DelCogliano points out: “It is true that George was sympathetic to the Alexandrian theological trajectory to which Arius belonged and was willing to disagree, as Arius had, with his bishop. But he was no ‘Arian’.”²⁰³ DelCogliano defines the charges against George adduced by Athanasius as “polemical jab.”²⁰⁴ When Eustathius allied with George of Laodicea and Basil of Ancyra he automatically became an enemy of Athanasius.

Athanasius might have not known the real involvement of some people and he was probably not interested in details. The example of such an approach is his “account” of the actions in the Council of Seleucia (359). Athanasius names

²⁰¹ Athanasius, *De synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 41, 1-2, Athanasius Werke II, 266-267, transl. NPNF II 4, 472.

²⁰² Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos* 4, Athanasius Werke II, 184-185; transl. NPNF II 4, 271.

²⁰³ M. DelCogliano, *George of Laodicea: A Historical Reassessment*, “The Journal of Ecclesiastical History” 62/4 (2011), 672.

²⁰⁴ M. DelCogliano, *George of Laodicea: A Historical Reassessment*, 673.

Eustathius among excommunicated by that Council because “the accusers pressed, and the accused put in pleas, and thereby were led on further by their irreligion and blasphemed the Lord” (τῶν δὲ κατηγορουμένων φευγόντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πλέον ἐν ἀσεβείαις ἐξαγομένων καὶ βλασφημούντων εἰς τὸν κύριον).²⁰⁵ Socrates lists Eustathius among deposed who “should not be restored to communion, until they made such a defense as would clear them from the imputations under which they lay.”²⁰⁶ But, Sozomen does not name him among excommunicated.²⁰⁷

Athanasius mentions Eustathius once again as degraded by the Council of Sardica (343) on account of Arianism:

οὗτοι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σαρδικὴν
γενομένη μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ καθηρέθησαν
Εὐστάθιος τε ὁ νῦν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ
Δημόφιλος τε καὶ Γερμίνιος καὶ Εὐδόξιος
καὶ Βασίλειος συνήγοροι τῆς ἀσεβείας
ὄντες εἰς τοῦτο προήχθησαν.

These were degraded in the great Synod of Sardica; Eustathius also now of Sebastea, Demophilus and Germinius, Eudoxius, and Basil, who are supporters of that impiety, were advanced in the same manner.²⁰⁸

Eustathius at that time was not even a bishop so he could have not been deposed. It is clear that Athanasius was not informed well. He probably put the name of Eustathius among deposed as the one whom he associated with George of Laodicea listed by Sozomen among deposed at the Council of Serdica.²⁰⁹ As Hanson explains: “The Easterners branded all the Westerners as Sabellians. The Westerners stigmatized all the Easterners as Arians. Both charges were equally ridiculous.”²¹⁰ It is possible that despite of his own attempts to distinguish the nuances of Eastern theology Athanasius remained mentally in the schemes commonly used in the West.

The only other mentions that Eustathius was disciple of Arius come from late letters of Basil. In the letter 244 to Patrophilus, bishop of Aegae, written in the

²⁰⁵ Athanasius, *De synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 12, 5, Athanasius Werke II, 240, transl. NPNF II 4, 456.

²⁰⁶ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 40, 45, GCS NF 1, 176, transl. NPNF II 2, 70-71.

²⁰⁷ Sozomen, HE IV 22, 25, GCS 50, 176.

²⁰⁸ Athanasius, *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* VII 4, transl. NPNF II 4, 226.

²⁰⁹ Sozomen, HE III 12, 3, GCS 50, 116.

²¹⁰ R.P.C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 296.

summer of 376 Basil accuses Eustathius of having followed Arius. “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 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.”²¹¹

Καίτοι εἰ δεῖ ἄλλον τὰς ὑπὲρ ἄλλου
εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν, ὁ ἐμοὶ ἐγκαλῶν
ὑπὲρ Ἀπολιναρίου ἀπολογείσθω ἡμῖν
ὑπὲρ Ἀρείου τοῦ ἰδίου διδασκάλου καὶ
ὑπὲρ Ἀετίου τοῦ ἰδίου ἑαυτοῦ
μαθητοῦ.

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.²¹²

Later on in the same letter:

Ἀρείῳ κατηκολούθουν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς·
μετέθεντο πρὸς Ἑρμογένην τὸν κατὰ
διάμετρον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τῆς Ἀρείου
κακοδοξίας, ὡς δηλοῖ αὐτὴ ἡ πίστις ἡ
κατὰ Νίκαιαν παρ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
ἐκφωνηθεῖσα ἐξ ἡ κατὰ Νίκαιαν παρ’
ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκφωνηθεῖσα ἐξ
ἀρχῆς. Ἐκοιμήθη Ἑρμογένης, καὶ
πάλιν μετέστησαν πρὸς Εὐσέβιον,
ἄνδρα κορυφαῖον τοῦ κατὰ Ἀρείου
κύκλου, ὡς οἱ πειραθέντες φασίν.

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 Nicaea 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.²¹³

Eustathius accused Basil of inclining to the teaching of Apollinarius. In this context in the letter 223 written in 375 to the very Eustathius Basil reminds him his alleged connections with Arius.

²¹¹ R.J. Deferrari, in: Basil, *Letters*, vol. 3, 448, footnote 1.

²¹² Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 77, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 457.

²¹³ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰς τῶν γεννησάντων
 ἀμαρτίας ἐγκλήματα τοῖς τέκνοις
 γίνεσθαι, πολὺ δικαιότερον τὰ
 Ἀρείου κατὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ
 γίνεσθαι· καὶ εἴ τις Ἀέτιον
 ἐγέννησε τὸν αἰρετικόν, ἐπὶ τὴν
 κεφαλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναβαίνει
 τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ ἐγκλήματα. Εἰ δ’
 οὐ δίκαιον ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις
 ἐγκαλεῖσθαί τινα, πολλῶ δὴ που
 δικαιότερον ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς μηδὲν
 ἡμῖν προσήκουσι μὴ λόγων ἔχειν
 εὐθύνας, εἴ γε καὶ ἡμαρτον ὅλως,
 εἴ τι καὶ γέγραπται αὐτοῖς ἄξιον
 κατακρίσεως.

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, it is much
 more just that the deeds of Arius should
 be against his disciples; and in the case of
 him who begot Aetius, 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.²¹⁴

Basil’s accusations are an example of defending by attacking. They were also, as Gribomont stated, “colored by rancor.”²¹⁵ Basil himself says some more about the source of those accusations – reports of slanderers:

Ὅθεν οὐδὲ τὰς περὶ τῶν δογμάτων
 διαβολὰς προσιέμην, καίτοι πολλῶν
 διαβεβαιουμένων μὴ ὀρθὰς ἔχειν
 περὶ Θεοῦ τὰς ὑπολήψεις, ἀλλὰ τῶ
 προστάτη τῆς νῦν αἰρέσεως
 μαθητευθέντας τὰ ἐκείνου λάθρα
 κατασπείρειν διδάγματα· ὧν ἐπειδὴ
 οὐδέποτε αὐτήκοος ἐγενόμην,

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, they
 were covertly disseminating his
 teachings; and since I had never been
 an ear-witness of them, I considered

²¹⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 5, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 11, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 305-307.

²¹⁵ J. Gribomont, *Eustathe le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, “Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique” 54 (1959), 115.

συκοφάντας ἡγούμην τοὺς
ἀπαγγέλλοντας.

those who made these reports
slanderers.²¹⁶

The only reports that Eustathius was disciple of Arius come from Athanasius – who in my opinion was not eager to go into details of who and why was deposed in the Asian Church and used stereotypes while thinking of Eastern theology – and from late letters of Basil in which he defended himself from Eustathius’ charges of Apollinarism by attributing him Arius’ legacy. Already Loofs and Tenšek considered that message as unreliable.²¹⁷ There are not reliable sources to confirm that Eustathius knew Arius, listened to him in Alexandria and was his disciple. On the contrary, Basil says that Eustathius was orthodox from the very beginning and suddenly changed when he accused Basil of Apollinarism:

ὁ δοκῶν ἐκ παιδὸς εἰς γῆρας βαθὺ
ἐπιμέλειαν ἑαυτοῦ πεποιῆσθαι ἐκ
τοιούτων προφάσεων οὕτω ῥαδίως
ἐξηγριώθη [...].

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 [...].²¹⁸

What is also important even when Basil and Eustathius came into conflict, Basil admitted that he had never heard Arian statements from Eustathius:

Ὅθεν 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
κατασπείρειν διδάγματα· ὧν ἐπειδὴ
οὐδέποτε αὐτήκοος ἐγενόμην,

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, they
were covertly disseminating his
teachings; and since I had never been
an ear-witness of them, I considered

²¹⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 11, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 297.

²¹⁷ F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die chronologie der Basilius-Briefe*, 96; T.Z. Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra. Eustazio di Sebaste nell'ambiente ascetico siriano dell'Asia Minore nel IV° secolo. Excerpta ex dissertatione ad Doctoratum in Facultate Theologiae Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana*, Romae 1991, 50.

²¹⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 77-78, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 459.

συκοφάντας ἡγούμην τοὺς
ἀπαγγέλλοντας.

those who made these reports
slanderers.²¹⁹

Although Basil claims that Eustathius changed his beliefs and as a proof he listed the confessions signed by Eustathius: Ancyra (358), Seleucia (359), Constantinople (359), Zela (?), Lampsacus (364), Rome (366), Cyzicus (375), all those confessions were Homoiousians except for the one from Constantinople which was Homoian²²⁰ and the one from Rome which was Nicaean.

3. Ordination to priesthood (late 330s)

Jurgens dates Eustathius' ordination to priesthood to the period of the 330s, after Eustathius of Antioch was banished around 330.²²¹ But the only account on the fact that Eustathius was refused the ordination by Eustathius of Antioch because of his Arian inclination is the one by Athanasius.²²² As I stated above I question the connection between Eustathius and Arius. I think that Athanasius' allegation that Eustathius of Antioch refused to ordain Eustathius has the same cause: Athanasius was personally prejudiced against (among others) George of Laodicea – one of the most important Homoiousians and an ally of Eustathius. Moreover, Athanasius thought about the affairs in the Eastern Church on the basis of stereotypical presumptions. The account of Athanasius loses its reliability also because Athanasius and Basil differ in establishing connection between Eustathius' ordination and Arianism. In Athanasius' story Eustathius was ordained because of his Arianism while Basil states that in Alexandria Eustathius was among the most faithful disciples of Arius, but after he had returned to Caesarea he confessed the orthodox faith and on that basis was ordained priest.²²³

²¹⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 11, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 297.

²²⁰ F. Loofs (*Eustathius von Sebaste und die chronologie der Basilien-Briefe*, 78) thinks that Eustathius could not have signed anything in Constantinople (359/360) as he was deposed at that Council, but apparently during the council the issues of faith were examined first and the disciplinary ones later on. Eustathius could have signed the creed of Rimini during one of the sessions that took place at the end of December of 359 and was deposed at the beginning of January 360.

²²¹ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 18-19.

²²² Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos* 4, Athanasius Werke II, 184-185; transl. NPNF II 4, 271.

²²³ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123.

So, in my opinion the first credible information on Eustathius would be the fact told by Basil that he was ordained priest by Hermogenes of Caesarea.

Ἔστι τοίνυν εἰς τῶν πολλῶν ἡμῶν
κατασκευαζόντων λύπην, Εὐστάθιος ὁ
ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν
μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν, ὃς πάλαι
μαθητευθεὶς τῷ Ἀρείῳ, καὶ ὅτε
ἤκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τὰς
πονηρὰς κατὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς
συνθεὶς βλασφημίας ἀκολουθῶν
ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς γνησιωτάτοις αὐτοῦ
τῶν μαθητῶν ἐναριθμούμενος, ἐπειδὴ
ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τῷ
μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἑρμογένει τῷ
Καισαρείας κρίνοντι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ
κακοδοξίᾳ ὁμολογίαν ἔδωκε πίστεως
ὑγιῶς. Καὶ οὕτω τὴν χειροτονίαν ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ δεξάμενος Εὐστάθιος μετὰ τὴν
ἐκείνου κοίμησιν εὐθύς πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ
τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Εὐσέβιον
ἔδραμεν, οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον καὶ αὐτὸν
τὸ δυσσεβὲς δόγμα τοῦ Ἀρείου
προσβεύοντα.

Now one of those who causes us much sorrow is Eustathius of Sebaste in Lesser Armenia, who, taught of old by Arius at the time when Arius flourished at Alexandria, as the author of those wicked blasphemies against the Only-begotten, following him and being numbered among his most faithful disciples, on returning to his own country, gave a confession of sound faith to the most blessed bishop Hermogenes of Caesarea, who was judging him on the charge of false doctrine. And having thus received ordination at his hands, after the decease of the latter, he ran to Eusebius of Constantinople, a man who himself less than no one sponsored the impious doctrine of Arius.²²⁴

Jurgens thinks that “we must presume that the ordination of which Basil speaks was ordination to the priesthood”²²⁵ and he is right as χειροτονία can signify “ordination” and if Basil himself wanted to use it in a sense of ordination of the bishop he would have used the expression χειροτονία τῶν ἐπισκόπων.²²⁶

²²⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93-94.

²²⁵ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 19.

²²⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 190, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 142.

Hermogenes himself is known only from Basil’s letters. In the letter 81 Basil mentions him again as follows:

ἐξελεξάμην τὸ τιμιώτατον σκεῦος,
τὸν ἔκγονον τοῦ μακαρίου
Ἑρμογένους, τοῦ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ
ἄρρηκτον πίστιν γράψαντος ἐν τῇ
μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ.

I have chosen that most worthy vessel,
the offspring of the blessed
Hermogenes – who, in the great Synod,
wrote the great and invincible creed.²²⁷

There is a problem with Basil’s description of Hermogenes as the one “who in the great Synod, wrote the great and invincible creed.” It is assumed that Basil means the Council of Nicaea (325), but according to the preserved lists of bishops who took part in the Council of Nicaea (325) it was Leontius who was there as bishop of Caesarea.²²⁸ Deferrari guesses that “Hermogenes may have been present in lower orders, and may have written the creed;”²²⁹ Jurgens attributes to him a position of a secretary of the Council,²³⁰ but these are pure speculations. Anyway, we do not know when Hermogenes became bishop of Caesarea or when he died either. We know from Basil that immediately (εὐθύς) after Hermogenes had died Eustathius ran to Constantinople to Eusebius of Nicomedia. Eusebius was bishop of Constantinople between 338 and 341, so Eustathius must have been ordained before 341 and needed some time to come to Constantinople and to fall into disfavour of Eusebius. That is why I assume he was ordained priest in the late 330s.

4. Deposition by Eusebius of Nicomedia (between 338 and 341)

There are three accounts on Eustathius’ deposition by Eusebius of Nicomedia. In one of them Eusebius is called of Constantinople and the other states that Eustathius was bishop of Constantinople so we can assume that it happened when he was a bishop of Constantinople, namely between 338 and 341. One account comes from Sozomen:

²²⁷ Basil, *Epistolae* 81, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 183, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 93.

²²⁸ H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld, O. Cuntz, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina Latine, Graece, Coptice, Syriace, Arabice, Armeniace*, 24-25 (in Latin), 65 (in Greek), 86 (in Coptic), 105, 129 (in Syriac), 197 (in Armenian).

²²⁹ R.J. Deferrari, in: Basil, *The Letters*, vol. 2, 93, footnote 2.

²³⁰ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 19.

ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου
καθηρέθη ἐπὶ διοικήσεσιν αἷς
ἐπετρόπη καταγνωσθεῖς

He had been [...] deposed by
Eusebius, bishop of Constantinople,
for unfaithfulness in the discharge of
certain duties that had devolved upon
him.²³¹

Basil describes Eusebius as “over Constantinople” (ἐπὶ τῆς
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως):

Εὐστάθιος μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου κοίμησιν
εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Εὐσέβιον
ἔδραμεν, οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον καὶ αὐτὸν
τὸ δυσσεβὲς δόγμα τοῦ Ἀρείου
προσβέοντα. Εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν δι’ ἅς
δήποτε αἰτίας ἀπελαθεῖς ἐλθὼν τοῖς
ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπελογήσατο πάλιν.

After the decease of the latter, he ran
to Eusebius of Constantinople, a
man who himself less than no one
sponsored the impious doctrine of
Arius. Then after being driven for
some cause or other from that place,
he returned.²³²

And in the letter 244 Basil does not apply any bishopric to Eusebius:

Ἐκοιμήθη Ἑρμογένης, καὶ πάλιν
μετέστησαν πρὸς Εὐσέβιον, ἄνδρα
κορυφαῖον τοῦ κατὰ Ἀρειὸν κύκλου,
ὡς οἱ πειραθέντες φασίν. Ἐκεῖθεν
ἐκπεσόντες, δι’ ἅς δήποτε αἰτίας,
πάλιν ἀνέδραμον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ
πάλιν τὸ Ἀρειανὸν ὑπέκρυπτον
φρόνημα.

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.²³³

Basil does not state any cause of Eustathius’ deposition. We do not even
know what duties he was entrusted. Although Socrates uses the verb that in
Christian literature used to be associated with deposition from any level of Church

²³¹ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

²³² Basil, *Letter* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 95.

²³³ Basil, *Letter* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

hierarchy (καθηρέθη), Basil does not mention any degradation or condemnation, but only states that Eustathius was expelled (ἐκεῖθεν ἀπελαθείς) and banished from that place (ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπεσόντες).

5. The Council of Serdica (343)

The only (seeming) account on deposing Eustathius of Sebastea at the Council of Serdica that took place most probably in 343²³⁴ comes from Athanasius of Alexandria.

οὗτοι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σαρδικὴν
γενομένῃ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ
καθηρέθησαν· Εὐστάθιος τε ὁ νῦν ἐν
Σεβαστείᾳ Δημόφιλος τε καὶ Γερμίνιος
καὶ Εὐδόξιος καὶ Βασίλειος συνήγοροι
τῆς ἀσεβείας ὄντες εἰς τοῦτο
προήχθησαν.

These were degraded in the great Synod of Sardica; Eustathius also now of Sebastea, Demophilus and Germinius, Eudoxius, and Basil, who are supporters of that impiety, were advanced in the same manner.²³⁵

The mention refers to the Council of Serdica seemingly only. Athanasius names here as “advanced in the same manner” four bishops whom he considers as Arians although three of them (Eustathius, Demophilus and Germinius) were Homoiousians. “In the same manner” refers to how the Council of Serdica treated the bishops but it does not necessarily mean that the Council itself treated them in that way. As we have no other confirmation of that fact I think we can treat it as a part of Athanasius’ polemics not report on history.

6. Deposed by his father Eulalius, bishop of Caesarea (early 350s)

When listing causes why Eustathius was deposed by the Council of Constantinople (360) both Socrates and Sozomen give as the first reason that he was deposed by his own father. Socrates states:

²³⁴ M. DelCogliano, *The Date of the Council of Serdica. A Reassessment of the Case for 343*, “Studies in Late Antiquity” 1/3 (2017), 282-310.

²³⁵ Athanasius, *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* VII 4, transl. NPNF II 4, 226.

ὑπὸ Εὐλαλίου τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς καὶ
ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς ἐν
Καππαδοκίᾳ ἤδη πρότερον
καθήρητο, ἐπειδὴ ἀνάρμοστον τῇ
ἱερωσύνῃ στολὴν ἠμφίεστο.

And Sozomen similarly:

πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ἡνίκα πρεσβύτερος
ἦν προκατεγνώκει αὐτοῦ Εὐλάλιος
ὁ πατήρ καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν ἀφώρισεν,
ἐπίσκοπος ὢν τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ
ἐκκλησίας Καισαρείας.

he had been long before deposed by
Eulalius, his own father, who was
bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, for
dressing in a style unbecoming the
sacerdotal office.²³⁶

was deposed because, when a presbyter,
he had been condemned, and put away
from the communion of prayers by
Eulalius, his own father, who was
bishop of the church of Cæsarea, in
Cappadocia.²³⁷

As I explained above, the charges in Socrates's account are not put chronologically. So I do not treat Sozomen's πρῶτον in the temporary meaning, but rather as a beginning of a list of charges: "first, in the first place."

It is no surprise that Basil does not mention this deposition. He does list only changes of confession and omits all disciplinary issues. But, if Socrates is right that Eustathius was deposed "for dressing in a style unbecoming the sacerdotal office," Basil could have passed the charge over for one more reason. As a pupil of Eustathius, Basil was wearing similar robe.²³⁸

Obviously, Eustathius was deposed from the sacerdotal office (not a bishopric) for disciplinary (not doctrinal) reasons. My dating of the event depends in great measure on Basil who claims:

ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τῷ
μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἑρμογένει
τῷ Καισαρείας κρίνοντι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ
κακοδοξίᾳ ὁμολογίαν ἔδωκε πίστεως
ύγιουῶς. Καὶ οὕτω τὴν χειροτονίαν ὑπ'

On returning to his own country, gave
a confession of sound faith to the
most blessed bishop Hermogenes of
Caesarea, who was judging him on the
charge of false doctrine. And having

²³⁶ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1, GCS NF 1, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72.

²³⁷ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

²³⁸ See Part III. Chapter 2: Ascetical issues.

αὐτοῦ δεξάμενος Εὐστάθιος μετὰ
 τὴν ἐκείνου κοίμησιν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν
 ἐπὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
 Εὐσέβιον ἔδραμεν, οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον
 καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ δυσσεβὲς δόγμα τοῦ
 Ἀρείου πρεσβεύοντα. Εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν δι’
 ἃς δὴποτε αἰτίας ἀπελαθεὶς ἐλθὼν
 τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπελογήσατο
 πάλιν· τὸ μὲν δυσσεβὲς
 ἐπικρυπτόμενος φρόνημα, ῥημάτων
 δέ τινα ὀρθότητα προβαλλόμενος.
 Καὶ τυχὼν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν,
 εὐθὺς φαίνεται γράψας
 ἀναθεματισμὸν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου ἐν τῷ
 κατὰ Ἀγκύραν γενομένῳ αὐτοῖς
 συλλόγῳ.

thus received ordination at his hands,
 after the decease of the latter, he ran
 to Eusebius of Constantinople, a man
 who himself less than no one
 sponsored the impious doctrine of
 Arius. Then after being driven for
 some cause or other from that place,
 he returned and made a defence again
 before the people of his own country,
 concealing his impious sentiments and
 screening himself behind a kind of
 orthodoxy of words. And when he
 somehow obtained the bishopric, he
 seems immediately to have written an
 anathema of consubstantiation at their
 synod convened at Ancyra.²³⁹

Assuming that Eulalius was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, there are two possible dates of the deposition of Eustathius by Eulalius. The deposition might have occurred slightly before 341, after Eustathius had been ordained by Hermogenes, had gone to Constantinople, had been deposed by Eusebius and had returned to Caesarea, but before Dianius became bishop of Caesarea as he is mentioned as such among the participants in the Council of Antioch (341).²⁴⁰ However, I think the deposition by Eulalius took place at some point between 343 when Dianius participated in the Council of Serdica as bishop of Caesarea and more or less 357 when Eustathius was ordained bishop of Sebastea.

According to my calculation Eustathius became a priest in late 330s. We do not know the reason of his first deposition (by Eusebius, between 338 and 341), but nothing suggests it was anyhow connected to his later asceticism. Basil passes over

²³⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123-124, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93-97.

²⁴⁰ Sozomen, HE III 5, 10, GCS 50, 107.

the charges and Sozomen states that Eustathius was deposed “for unfaithfulness in the discharge of certain duties”:

<p>ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου καθηρέθη ἐπὶ διοικήσεσιν αἷς ἐπετρόπη καταγνωσθείς</p>	<p> He had been [...] deposed by Eusebius, bishop of Constantinople, for unfaithfulness in the discharge of certain duties that had devolved upon him.²⁴¹</p>
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Since Caesarea in Cappadocia was a homeland for both Eustathius and Basil,²⁴² it is more than possible that Basil and Eustathius knew each other from youth and actually Basil confirms that he had “an intimacy with the man which dates from childhood (τῆς ἐκ παιδὸς συνηθείας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης μοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα),”²⁴³ “from boyhood he had performed such a service for a certain person” (ὁ τοιῶσδε δουλεύσας ἐκ παιδὸς τῷ δεϊνί)²⁴⁴ meaning Eustathius of Sebastea whom the letters concern. So, if Eustathius had practiced his asceticism already in 340s, Basil would have known it for sure. And, as it appears from Letter 1 by Basil, Basil and Eustathius remained in contact even when Basil was studying in Athens as his letter is an answer to that of Eustathius. Nevertheless, in Letter 1 written around 357 Basil states:

<p>Ἐγὼ κατέλιπον τὰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ φήμην τῆς σῆς φιλοσοφίας.</p>	<p> Owing to the repute of your philosophy, I left Athens.²⁴⁵</p>
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It seems that Eustathius became an ascetic while Basil was out of Caesarea. While in Athens, Basil received a message/report (φήμη) on Eustathius’ ascetic practice (φιλοσοφία)²⁴⁶ and decided to join him. Rousseau and Fedwick state that Basil was in Athens between 349 and 355.²⁴⁷ Before Basil wrote his letter, probably

²⁴¹ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

²⁴² M. Przyszychowska, *Fatherland* (πατρις) in the writings of Basil of Caesarea (in press).

²⁴³ Basil, *Epistulae* 102, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 3, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 191.

²⁴⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 74, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 449.

²⁴⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 3.

²⁴⁶ Malingrey claims that the three Cappadocian Fathers integrated the term φιλοσοφία into the Christian language as a designation of the ascetic way of life. A.-M. Malingrey, *Philosophia. Étude d’un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque, des Présocratiques au IV^e siècle après J.-C.*, Paris 1961, 234.

²⁴⁷ P.J. Fedwick, *A Chronology of the Life and Works of Basil of Caesarea*, in: *Basil of Caesarea, christian, humanist, ascetic: a sixteen-hundredth anniversary symposium*, ed. P.J. Fedwick, Toronto 1981, 6; Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, 28.

about 357 or earlier²⁴⁸, he had traveled to Constantinople, Caesarea, Syria and Egypt, so the journey must have lasted a few months, maybe years. Let's give Eustathius some time to start his asceticism and become popular. I think it can be safely assumed that Eustathius begun his unique asceticism around 350 and all depositions based on charges connected to his “philosophy” occurred after that date.

Socrates as the only one gives as Eulalius' charges:

<p>ὑπὸ Εὐλαλίου τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς καὶ ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἤδη πρότερον καθήρητο, ἐπειδὴ ἀνάρμοστον τῆ ἱερωσύνη στολήν ἠμφίεστο.</p>	<p>he had been previously deposed by Eulalius, his own father, who was bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, for dressing in a style unbecoming the sacerdotal office.²⁴⁹</p>
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A charge concerning the way of dressing appears in Canon 12 of the Council of Gangra:

<p>Εἴ τις διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν περιβολαίῳ χρῆται, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ τούτου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔχων καταψηφίζοιτο τῶν μετ' εὐλαβείας τὰς βήρους φορούντων καὶ τῆ ἄλλῃ κοινῇ καὶ ἐν συνηθείᾳ οὐσῇ ἐσθῆτι κεχρημένων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>If, because of presumed asceticism, any man wear the periboleum and, claiming that one has righteousness because of this, pronounces judgment against those who with reverence wear the berus and make use of other common and customary clothing, let him be anathema.²⁵⁰</p>
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So, if my deduction is correct, the deposition by Eulalius was the first deposition of Eustathius based on the charges connected to his way of practicing asceticism. Eulalius could have excommunicated Eustathius at the very beginning of his ascetic practice.

I definitely do not agree with Jurgens that the deposition by Eulalius and the Council of Gangra was one and the same event which, by the way, Jurgens dates for

²⁴⁸ J. Gribomont, *Eustathe le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, “Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique” 54 (1959), 120.

²⁴⁹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1, GCS NF 1, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72.

²⁵⁰ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 12, ed. P.P. Joannou, 94, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 452-453.

343. He argues as follows: “Is it not most probable then that the Eulalius who signed at Gangra was Eulalius of Sebaste? And is it not quite probable that the excommunication of Eustathius by his father, and his condemnation at Gangra are one and the same event? Basil, although he knew Eustathius very well, was unaware that he had been excommunicated by his father, and was unaware likewise that he had been condemned at Gangra. It is easier to believe Basil ignorant of one of Eustathius’ condemnations than it is to believe him ignorant of two. We are of the opinion that Eustathius’ condemnation by his father for not wearing clerical garb and his condemnation at Gangra for the same offense, a council at which his father was present, are one and the same condemnation.”²⁵¹

First, as I have already indicated above, Eulalius was a very common name at that time. Second, if according to Jurgens Eulalius was bishop of Sebastea and he was present at the Council of Gangra, it would have been pointless to address the letter to the bishops of Armenia. Third, I do not think that Basil did not know of Eustathius’ depositions. The scope of his lists of charges was to show Eustathius’ changes of confessions; Basil passed over all councils that condemned Eustathius on the basis of ascetical issues, not only deposition by Eulalius and the Council of Gangra, but other councils as well: of Melitene, Antiochia, Neocaesarea. And the reason for the concealment did not have to be an ignorance but rather the fact that Basil was a follower of Eustathius’ asceticism. Regarding the deposition by Eulalius and the Council of Gangra there is no reason not to believe Socrates and Sozomen who unanimously state that the first occurred when Eustathius was a priest: “for dressing in a style unbecoming the sacerdotal office” (Socrates), “when a presbyter” (Sozomen), while Sozomen states that at the Council of Gangra he “had been deprived of his bishopric.”²⁵²

7. Bishop of Sebastea (357)

It is not certain when exactly Eustathius was ordained bishop of Sebastea. For sure, he was already bishop of Sebastea at the Council of Ancyra (358). J.

²⁵¹ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 23.

²⁵² Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1, GCS NF 1, 180; Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180.

Gribomont was convinced that Eustathius was ordained before 356.²⁵³ T.Z. Tenšek thinks that on the basis of an information in Philostorgius HE III 27 we need to move the date of Eustathius' ordination back to 351.²⁵⁴ Let's look at the text itself:

<p>Ὅτι φησὶ τοὺς περὶ Βασίλειον καὶ Εὐστάθιον, δι' ἔχθρας γεγονότας τῷ Ἀετίῳ, διαβολὰς ἀτόπους συρράψαι καὶ τὸν Γάλλον ἐπὶ ταύταις παροξῦναι· ὥστε ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ἐπισκόποις πιστεύσαντα καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκταραχθέντα, κελεῦσαι τὸν Ἀέτιον ἀναζητηθῆναι καὶ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν σκελοῖν κατεαγῆναι.</p>	<p>He says that Basil and Eustathius and their group fabricated some absurd accusations against Aetius out of their hostility to him and used them to anger Gallus. He accordingly, because he trusted bishops and was moved to anger, ordered Aetius to be interrogated and both his legs to be broken.²⁵⁵</p>
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For some reasons, this report cannot be relied on. Kopecek thinks that this account is an anachronism, most probably made by Philostorgius on purpose: “Philostorgius’ account of the debate was an anachronistic doublet of a later debate involving precisely the same three men. This debate was held, according to Philostorgius, in Constantinople at the end of A.D. 359. Schladebach suggested that Philostorgius was motivated to the anachronism by a desire to explain (a) the hatred which Basil and Eustathius came to have for Aetius and (b) Gallus’ initial antipathy toward him.”²⁵⁶

But, if we agreed with Kopecek we should consider as another anachronism the passage of HE III 16 which reads as follows:

<p>Ὅτι Ἀέτιος, φησὶ, τοῖς περὶ Βασίλειον τὸν Ἀγκύρας καὶ Εὐστάθιον τὸν Σεβαστείας εἰς τοὺς περὶ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου λόγους καταστάς, καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αὐτοὺς διελέγξας</p>	<p>Aetius, he says, held a debate with Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius of Sebaste, and their party about the term “consubstantial,” reducing them to utter silence by his refutation and incurring thereby their</p>
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²⁵³ J. Gribomont, *Eustathe de Sebaste*, in: *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 4/2, Paris 1961, 1708.

²⁵⁴ T.Z. Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra*, 35.

²⁵⁵ Philostorgius, HE III 27, GCS 21, 52; transl. P.R. Amidon, 60-61.

²⁵⁶ T.A. Kopecek, *A history of neo-arianism*, vol. 1, 108.

<p>ἀφωνοτάτους, ὡς οὗτος τερατολογεῖ, εἰς μῖσος αὐτοῖς ἄσπονδον κατέστη.</p>	<p>undying hatred, or so runs the fable our author spins.²⁵⁷</p>
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What is interesting, in both above-quoted passages in the Greek original of Philostorgius' epitome it is not stated that the participants in the debate were Basil and Eustathius themselves but some persons from their environment - τοὺς περὶ Βασίλειον καὶ Εὐστάθιον, the fact noticed already by R.P. Vaggione.²⁵⁸ On the contrary, in HE IV 12, when referring to the debate in Constantinople 359 Philostorgius talks about Basil and Eustathius themselves:

<p>προειστήκεισαν δὲ τῶν μὲν κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιον πρεσβυόντων Βασίλειός τε καὶ Εὐστάθιος...</p>	<p>Basil and Eustathius headed the group representing the doctrine of "like in substance" ...²⁵⁹</p>
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I think that it is highly probable that Eustathius Philostorgius is talking about in HE III 16 and 27 is Eustathius of Antioch. Sometimes he adds the bishopric to the name ὁ τῆς Σεβαστείας Εὐστάθιος (HE III 16; IV 8), Εὐστάθιος ὁ Ἀντιοχείας (HE II 7), but very often uses the name without the origin/nickname. It seems that Philostorgius confused those two Eustathiuses. The example of such a confusion can be found in HE III 18 when Philostorgius uses the name "Eustathius" without any addition, but it is clear he is talking about Eustathius of Antioch, while somewhat earlier in HE III 16 Philostorgius refers to Eustathius of Sebastea by name.

On the other hand, there is an evidence in Sozomen that still during the bishopric of Leontius there were a lot of the followers of Eustathius of Antioch in Antioch:

<p>ὄν ὡς ἑτερόδοξον παρηγεῖτο Ἀθανάσιος, τοῖς δὲ καλουμένοις Εὐσταθιανοῖς ἐκοινωνεῖ ἐν ἰδιωτῶν οἰκίαις ἐκκλησιάζων. [...] τοὺς</p>	<p>Leontius obtained the bishopric. Athanasius avoided him as a heretic, and communed with those who were called Eustathians, who assembled in a</p>
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²⁵⁷ Philostorgius, HE III 16, GCS 21, 47; transl. P.R. Amidon, 55.

²⁵⁸ R.P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus and the Nicene Revolution*, Oxford 2000, 159-160, footnote 47.

²⁵⁹ Philostorgius, HE IV 12, GCS 21, 64; transl. P.R. Amidon, 71.

Εὐσταθίου ἐπαινέτας πολλοὺς
ὄντας.

private house. [...] The Eustathians,
who were very numerous.²⁶⁰

They could have had above-mentioned debates with Aetius. So I think that when Philostorgius talks about τοὺς περὶ Βασίλειον καὶ Εὐστάθιον in HE III 16 and HE III 27 with reference to the events at the beginning of 350s he refers to the followers of Eustathius of Antioch although in the first passage he names Eustathius of Sebastea. His mistake is understandable as only a few years later in 358 another man named Eustathius enters this system and together with the same Basil of Ancyra acts against Aetius – Eustathius of Sebastea.

Ὅτι, φησί, Βασίλειος, συλλαβῶν μεθ'
ἑαυτοῦ τὸν τε τῆς Σεβαστείας
Εὐστάθιον καὶ ἑτέρους ἐκκλησιῶν
προεστῶτας, τὸν τε Ἀέτιον μάλιστα
εἶτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐδόξιον πρὸς τὸν
βασιλέα διασύρει, ἄλλα τε πλάττων
περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς εἶησαν μύσται καὶ
κοινωνοὶ τῆς κατὰ Γάλλον
ἐπαναστάσεως, συμπεριλαβῶν ταῖς
κατ' ἐκείνων διαβολαῖς καὶ τὸν
Θεόφιλον.

He says that Basil took with him
Eustathius of Sebaste and some
other bishops and brought to the
emperor accusations against Aetius
especially, and also against Eudoxius,
making up various charges against
them, including that of being privy
to and participants in Gallus's revolt,
and he implicated Theophilus as well
in the charges.²⁶¹

It seems that Philostorgius was not really acquainted with the details of theology that he simply considered opposed to the ideas of the persons whom he admired and wanted to defend with his writing – namely Aetius and Eunomius. He was not interested in those details exactly to the same extent as Athanasius on the other side. That is why I think it was very easy for him to confuse one Eustathius with another, both being enemies of Aetius and living and acting more or less in the same places in the distance of a few years.

²⁶⁰ Sozomen, HE III 20, 4. 7, GCS 50, 134-135, transl. NPNF II 2, 298-299.

²⁶¹ Philostorgius, HE IV 8, GCS 21, 61-62; transl. P.R. Amidon, 68.

With reference to chronology I rely on Basil as his account had as a scope to show Eustathius' changes of confession made one by one in chronological order. And Basil states very clearly that immediately (εὐθύς) after he had been ordained a bishop, he attended the Council of Ancyra:

<p>Καὶ τυχῶν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν, εὐθύς φαίνεται γράψας ἀναθεματισμὸν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀγκύραν γενομένῳ αὐτοῖς συλλόγῳ.</p>	<p>And when he somehow obtained the bishopric, he seems immediately to have written an anathema of consubstantiation at their synod convened at Ancyra.²⁶²</p>
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Apparently, Eustathius must have become a bishop of Sebastea in 357. It would explain why Basil addressed his first letter to him as “To Eustathius, the philosopher”, because the letter must have been written before his ordination to the see of Sebastea.

8. The Council of Ancyra (358)

In 358 Basil of Ancyra and George of Laodicea (the latter not personally, but he wrote a letter to the participants) called an anti-Aetius council to Ancyra. Homoiousians were at the East a bastion of orthodoxy that defended Trinitarian theology against Anomoeans. Hanson explains: “The statement which emerged from this council (it can hardly be called a formal encyclical), and which was certainly composed by Basil himself, marks the emergence of a new and coherent theological point of view. This is the theology of those whom Epiphanius, quite undeservedly, calls ‘Semi-Arians’, but who are usually today thought of as Homoiousians, a designation which is more accurate but still a little misleading.”²⁶³ Actually Homoiousians did not use the term ὁμοιούσιος, but they emphasized that the Son is similar to the Father by substance/essence (ὅμοιος κατ’ οὐσίαν). It is important to notice that such an expression appeared in the course of conflict with Anomoeans as a direct opposition to ἀνόμοιος κατ’ οὐσίαν.

²⁶² Basil, *Letter 263*, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123-124, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93-97.

²⁶³ R.P.C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 349.

Neither Socrates nor Theodoret mention the Council of Ancyra, but we do have accounts by Sozomen and Epiphanius, and Hilary quotes its confession.²⁶⁴ Epiphanius confirms that the leaders of this alliance were Basil of Ancyra and George of the Laodicea.²⁶⁵ The letter by George of Laodicea as quoted by Epiphanius does not mention either Aetius or Eudoxius,²⁶⁶ but Sozomen rightly understood it as an exhortation to depose personally Eudoxius of Antioch and to excommunicate Aetius.²⁶⁷ Sozomen and Epiphanius differ in their accounts on the effects the Council. Sozomen states:

καὶ αἰροῦνται περὶ τούτου
 πρεσβεύειν πρὸς βασιλέα αὐτός τε
 Βασίλειος ὁ Ἀγκύρας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ
 Εὐστάθιος ὁ Σεβαστείας καὶ
 Ἐλεύσιος ὁ Κυζίκου καὶ Λεόντιος
 πρεσβύτερος ἐκ θαλαμηπόλου
 βασιλικοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰ
 βασίλεια, καταλαμβάνουσιν
 Ἀσφάλιον τινα πρεσβύτερον ἐξ
 Ἀντιοχείας, εἰσάγαν σπουδαστὴν
 τῆς Ἀετίου αἰρέσεως, ἤδη πράξαντα
 ἐφ' ᾧ παρεγένετο καὶ γράμματα
 παρὰ βασιλέως κομισάμενον
 ἐκδημεῖν μέλλοντα.
 καταμνηυθείσης δὲ τῆς αἰρέσεως
 διὰ τῶν ἐξ Ἀγκύρας πρέσβεων
 καταψηφίζεται Κωνσταντίος τῶν
 ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐδόξιον καὶ ἀνακομίζεται

In order to proffer this request to the emperor, they sent to him a deputation composed of the following bishops: Basil, bishop of Ancyra; Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste; Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus; and Leontius, the presbyter of the imperial bed-chamber. On their arrival at the palace, they found that Asphalius, a presbyter of Antioch, and a zealot of the Aëtian heresy, was on the point of taking his departure, after having terminated the business for which he undertook the journey and having obtained a letter from the emperor. On receiving, however, the intelligence concerning the heresy conveyed by the deputation from Ancyra, Constantius condemned Eudoxius and his followers, withdrew

²⁶⁴ Hilary, *De Synodis* 13-28, PL 10, 490-501.

²⁶⁵ Epiphanius, *Panarion* 73, 1, 6, GCS 37, 268.

²⁶⁶ Epiphanius, *Panarion* 73, 12, 1 – 22, 4, GCS 37, 284-295.

²⁶⁷ Sozomen, HE IV 13, 6, GCS 50, 156.

παρὰ Ασφαλίου τὴν ἰδίαν
ἐπιστολήν·γράφει δὲ τάδε.

the letter he had confided to Asphalius,
and wrote the following one.²⁶⁸

It seems that delegates of both parties went to Constantius and finally the Homoiousians convinced him to act against Anomoeans. Epiphanius attributes the victory to the allies of Aetius:

καὶ ἐκρατύνθη τότε τὸ μέρος τούτων
τῶν Ἡμιαρείων, τῶν περὶ Βασίλειον
φημί καὶ Γεώργιον καὶ Σιλουανὸν καὶ
λοιπούς· * ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν
σαρκὸς δεξιάν, Κωνσταντίον τὸν
βασιλέα, οἱ περὶ Εὐδόξιον καὶ
Γεώργιον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα καὶ
Εὐζώϊον τὸν Ἀντιοχέα. καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ
Βασίλειον καὶ Γεώργιον τὸν Λαοδικέα
ἐταπεινώθησαν, καίπερ πολλὰ
ἰσχύσαντες, ἐξ ὧν πάλιν ἕτεροι
διηρέθησαν τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως καὶ
συνόδου, καὶ γέγονε τὸ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν
σύστημα εἰς τρία τάγματα. Ἀκάκιος
γὰρ ὁ Παλαιστινὸς ὁ Καισαρείας ἅμα
Μελιτίῳ καὶ Οὐρανίῳ τῷ Τυρίῳ καὶ
Εὐτυχίῳ τῷ Ἐλευθεροπολίτῃ, διὰ τὸν
πρὸς Κύριλλον τὸν Ἱεροσολυμίτην
ζῆλόν τε καὶ μῖσος, ἀνθίστατο τοῖς
περὶ Βασίλειον καὶ Γεώργιον τὸν
Λαοδικέα καὶ Σιλουανὸν τὸν Ταρσέα,
Ἐλεύσιόν τε τὸν Κυζίκου, Μακεδόνιον
τὸν Κωνσταντινουπολίτην, Εὐστάθιον

And at that time the party of these
Semi-Arians – I mean Basil, George,
Silvanus and the rest of them – were
in the ascendant. But the others –
Eudoxius, George of Alexandria,
and Euzoetus of Antioch – opposed
them, and had on their side an arm
of flesh, the emperor Constantius. In
spite of their great influence the
party of Basil and George of
Laodicea were humiliated. Still
others of them broke with this
faction and confederacy, and the
Arian movement was divided into
three groups. For because of his
envy and hatred of Cyril of
Jerusalem, this same Acacius of
Caesarea in Palestine, along with
Melitius, Uranius of Tyre, and
Eutychius of Eleutheropolis
opposed Basil, George of Laodicea,
Silvanus of Tarsus, Eleusius of
Cyzicus, Macedonius of
Constantinople, Eustathius of
Sebaste and the newly consecrated

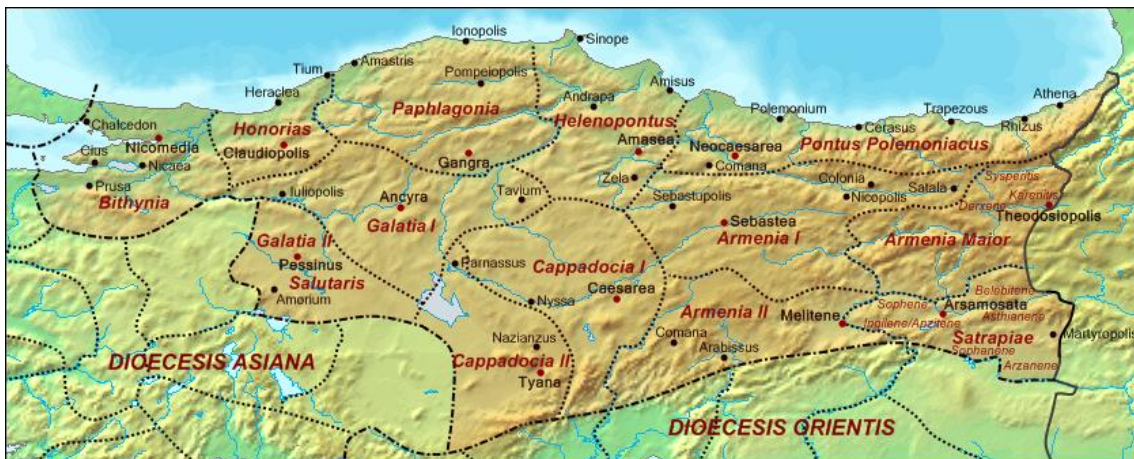
²⁶⁸ Sozomen, HE IV 13, 5-6, GCS 50, 156, transl. NPNF II 2, 308.

τὸν Σεβαστείας καὶ Ἀνιανὸν τὸν Ἀντιοχέα, τότε κατασταθέντα, κατ' αὐτῶν τε ἑαυτὸν στρατεύσας ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀκάκιος πολλὴν φύρσιν εἰργάσατο.

bishop of Antioch, Anianus. And by ranging himself against them, Acacius caused a great deal of confusion.²⁶⁹

Both Sozomen and Philostorgius state that the allies of Aetius were deposed and banished.²⁷⁰ Homoiousians won the battle although it was already the beginning of a war. What is significant for my story is that both authors mention Eustathius of Sebastea as an important figure of the Homoiousian alliance.

In the same 358 there were three more councils important for Eustathius: of Melitene, Neocaesarea and Gangra. I will describe them in a random order as it is impossible to establish the exact dates of all of them. But my dating is not random. All of them were held before the Council of Constantinople (360) as they appear in the charges brought against Eustathius during this council. And they could not have been held earlier as already after the Council of Ancyra Eustathius became known and so important that his case was examined by different councils. All three councils were held in the Diocese of Pontus.



It seems that Eustathian asceticism became very popular in the entire diocese. In the case of Gangra, the gathered bishops sent a letter to Armenia Minor in order to inform about their concerns/decisions.

²⁶⁹ Epiphanius, *Panarion* 73, 23, 3-4, GCS 37, 296, transl. F. Williams, 468.

²⁷⁰ Sozomen, HE IV 13, 6, GCS 50, 156; Philostorgius, HE IV 8.

9. The Council of Melitene (358)

Two sources mention Eustathius in the context of the Council of Melitene. Basil states that Eustathius was deposed by the Council of Constantinople (360) because of his former deposition by the Council of Melitene:

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει
συνέθετο πάλιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
αἰρετικῶν προταθεῖσι. Καὶ οὕτως
ἀπελαθεὶς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς διὰ τὸ ἐν
τῇ Μελιτηνῇ προκαθηρῆσθαι ὁδὸν
ἑαυτῷ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως
ἐπενόησε τὴν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἄφιξιν.

And at Constantinople he again agreed with the proposals of the heretics. And when he had accordingly been expelled from his episcopacy on account of his former deposition at Melitene, he conceived of the visit to you as a means of restoring himself.²⁷¹

Basil suggests that Eustathius was deposed from bishopric so the Council of Melitene must have taken place after Eustathius' ordination for the see of Sebastea. According to the very same Basil he received the bishopric and "immediately" after that went to Ancyra, so it seems very probable that the Council of Melitene was held in 358.²⁷²

The account by Sozomen reads as follows:

καὶ ὅτι ἀνατρέπειν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὰ
δόξαντα τοῖς ἐν Μελιτινῇ
συνελθοῦσι καὶ πλείστοις
ἐγκλήμασιν ἔνοχος ὢν δικαστῆς
ἡξίου εἶναι καὶ ἕτεροδόξους τοὺς
ἄλλους ἀπεκάλει.

He had likewise endeavored to reverse the decrees of those convened at Melitina; and, although he was guilty of many crimes, he had the assurance to aspire to be judge over the others, and to stigmatize them as heretics.²⁷³

Jurgens emphasizes the incoherencies between those two accounts, namely that Basil talks about Eustathius' deposition and Sozomen that he attempted to reverse the decrees of Melitene. He thinks that Eustathius was not deposed in

²⁷¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123-124, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 95.

²⁷² The date given as well by Mansi, *Sanctorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J.D. Mansi, vol. 3 (347-409), Florentiae 1759, 291-292.

²⁷³ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

Melitene.²⁷⁴ But, the report by Basil is more reliable as he was personally present at the Council of Constantinople. Philostorgius states:

προειστήκεισαν δὲ τῶν μὲν κατ'
οὐσίαν ὅμοιον πρεσβευόντων
Βασίλειός τε καὶ Εὐστάθιος· οἷς ἄλλοι
τε καὶ Βασίλειος ἕτερος παρῆν
συνασπίζων, διακόνων ἔτι τάξιν ἔχων,
δυνάμει μὲν τοῦ λέγειν πολλῶν
προφέρων, τῷ δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἀθαρσεῖ
πρὸς τοὺς κοινούς ὑποστελλόμενος
ἀγῶνας.

Basil and Eustathius headed the group representing the doctrine of “like in substance,” and they were supported by others there, including another Basil; still a deacon, he surpassed many others in eloquence, but he shrank from public debates because of his timidity.²⁷⁵

Also Gregory of Nyssa indirectly confirms that Basil was present at the Council. He quotes the following accusation of Eunomius in his *Contra Eunomium*:

εἶτα διδασκάλοις τισὶ λέγει, μηδὲ
τούτων ὀνομαστὶ μεμνημένος, τὸν
περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων προκεῖσθαι δρόμον,
ὑποφωνεῖν δὲ παρόντα τὸν ἡμέτερον
καθηγητὴν καὶ πατέρα, τῆς δὲ
κρίσεως πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους τὸ
κράτος μετατιθείσης φεύγειν αὐτὸν
τοὺς τόπους, καταλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν,
καὶ τινα καπνὸν τῆς πατρίδος
μεταδιώκειν, καὶ πολὺς ἐστὶ διασύρων
ἐν τῇ ὑπογραφῇ τῆς δειλίας τὸν
ἄνδρα· ἅπερ ἔξεστιν ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖ
γεγραμμένων τῷ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν.

Then he says that certain teachers, whose names he again does not mention, have the final lap to run, and that our tutor and father is present and cheers thee on, but when the decision transfers power to the opposition he flees the places, having deserted his post, and pursues some homeland smoke, and he much disparages this man for cowardice in his accusation, as anyone who is interested can see from what is written there.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 36-39.

²⁷⁵ Philostorgius, HE IV 12, GCS 21, 64, transl. P.R. Amidon, 71-72.

²⁷⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I 79, GNO 1, 49, transl. S.G. Hall, 47.

In the next part of the text Gregory fights against the accusation of cowardice, not even mentioning that Basil was not present at the Council. Kopecek is right that “since Gregory of Nyssa did not challenge Eunomius’ accusation, it must have been substantially accurate.”²⁷⁷ Although according to both accounts Basil fled after the first debate (which Kopecek calls the first Council) and he might not have listened to the part with depositions, it is likely that he heard the report from Eustathius himself as since 357 they were staying in the close relationship.

Anyway, I think that the incoherence between the account by Basil and Sozomen is only apparent. As seen in the case of the Council of Ancyra, Sozomen has a tendency to present his own interpretation of the documents he summarizes. It appears from other mentions about the Council of Melitene that the gathering of bishops examined disciplinary issues. Sozomen reports regarding Elpidius:

τὸν δὲ Ἐλπίδιον ὡς Βασιλείῳ ἐπι-
ταραχῇ συμμίξαντα καὶ καθηγητῆν
γενόμενον ἀταξίας καὶ παρὰ τὰ
δόξαντα τῇ ἐν Μελιτινῇ συνόδῳ
Εὐσέβιον μὲν ἄνδρα καθηρημένον
πρεσβυτερίῳ ἀποκαταστήσαντα,
Νεκταρίαν δὲ τινα διὰ παραβάσεις
συνθηκῶν καὶ ὄρκων ἀκοινώνητον
γενομένην διακονίας ἀξιώσαντα,
μὴ μετὸν αὐτῇ τιμῆς κατὰ τοὺς
νόμους τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Elpidius was deposed because he had participated in the malpractices of Basil, and had occasioned great disorders; and because he had, contrary to the decrees of the council of Melitina, restored to his former rank in the presbytery a man named Eusebius, who had been deposed for having created Nectaria a deaconess, after she had been excommunicated on account of violating agreements and oaths; and to confer this honor upon her was clearly contrary to the laws of the Church.²⁷⁸

Sozomen mentions Melitene also regarding Cyril of Jerusalem:

Κύριλλον τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων
καθεῖλον ὡς Εὐσταθίῳ καὶ Ἐλπίδιῳ

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, was deposed as he stayed in communion with Eustathius and Elpidius, in defiance of

²⁷⁷ T.A. Kopecek, *A history of neo-arianism*, vol. 2, 301.

²⁷⁸ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 16, GCS 50, 181; transl. NPNF II 2, 321.

κεκοινωνηκότα, ἐναντία
σπουδάσασι τοῖς ἐν Μελιτινῇ
συνελθοῦσι, μεθ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς
συνεληλύθει.

those assembled in Melitina, among
whom was Cyril himself.²⁷⁹

If the Council had examined confessions or created a new one Basil would have mentioned it in the list of Eustathius' confessions. Melitene appears in his letter as a cause for Eustathius' deposition in Constantinople (360). It is no reason not to believe Basil that Eustathius had been deposed in Melitene although this deposition could have been ineffective. I am leaving here open the problem whether Meletius was ordained bishop of Sebastea and when (358 or 360, after Beroe or not)²⁸⁰ as it is not crucial for the story about Eustathius. On the basis of available sources it can be stated that Eustathius was deposed in Melitene, but it is difficult to determine whether he was substituted by Meletius in 358.²⁸¹

10. The Council of Neocaesarea (358)

In my opinion the Council of Neocaesarea that concerned Eustathius was held in 358²⁸² and similarly to Melitene and Gangra it referred only to the disciplinary issues. Actually, we know hardly anything about that gathering except for two mentions in Sozomen and Socrates. The one by Sozomen reads as follows:

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐν Νεοκαισαρείᾳ τοῦ
Πόντου ὑπὸ συνόδου ἀκοινωνήτος
ἐγένετο.

and also because he had been
excommunicated by a council held at
Neocæsarea, a city of Pontus.²⁸³

Socrates names the city Caesarea, but it is assumed that he refers to Neocaesarea:²⁸⁴

²⁷⁹ Sozomen, HE IV 25, 1, GCS 50, 181, transl. NPNF II 2, 321 with alterations.

²⁸⁰ Sozomen and Socrates differ in their accounts: Sozomen (HE IV 25, 6, GCS 50, 182) says that Eustathius was replaced by Meletius after the Council of Constantinople (360) and Socrates (HE II 44, 1-2, GCS NF 1, 181-182) claims that Meletius became bishop of Sebastea before the Council of Constantinople (360) and even before the Council of Seleucia (359).

²⁸¹ Against textbooks and C.A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, 23.

²⁸² The date given also by Mansi, *Sanctorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J.D. Mansi, vol. 3 (347-409), 291-292.

²⁸³ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

²⁸⁴ *Sanctorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J.D. Mansi, vol. 3 (347-409), 291-292.

Εὐστάθιος μέντοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν
τῇ δι' αὐτὸν γενομένῃ ἐν Γάγγραις τῆς
Παφλαγονίας συνόδῳ κατεκρίθη,
διότι μετὰ τὸ καθαιρεθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν
τῇ κατὰ Καισάρειαν συνόδῳ πολλὰ
παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς τύπους
ἔπραττεν.

Eustathius indeed was subsequently
condemned by a Synod convened on
his account at Gangra in
Paphlagonia; he having, after his
deposition by the council at Cæsarea,
done many things repugnant to the
ecclesiastical canons.²⁸⁵

It seems that the deposition pronounced at this Council could have been as ineffective as the one of Melitene.

11. The Council of Gangra (358)

The discussion about the date of the Council of Gangra started with Tillemont in 1703 and has never reached the point of certainty and general agreement. Scholars have proposed different dates: 340,²⁸⁶ around 341,²⁸⁷ 342,²⁸⁸ 343,²⁸⁹ around 355,²⁹⁰ 372 or 373²⁹¹ and 376.²⁹²

It is worth noticing that the early dating (340-343) is based on two presumptions: first, that Eusebius named in the synodical letter is Eusebius of Nicomedia who died around 341,²⁹³ but nothing obliges us to believe that Eusebius

²⁸⁵ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 2, GCS NF 1, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72-73.

²⁸⁶ L.S. Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, vol. 9, 652; F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die chronologie der Basilien-Briefe*, 81-84; K. Suso Frank, *Monastische Reform im Altertum. Eustathius von Sebaste und Basilien von Caesarea*, in: *Reformatio Ecclesiae. Beiträge zu kirchlichen Reformbemühungen von der Alten Kirche bis zur Neuzeit. Festgabe für Erwin Iserloh*, ed. R. Bäumer, Paderborn 1980, 39; C.A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, 19; T.Z. Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra*, 23; A.M. Silvas, *Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 59.

²⁸⁷ J. Gribomont, *Le monachisme au IV^e siècle en Asie Mineure: De Gangres au Messalianisme*, "Studia Patristica" 2 (1957), 401; R. Pouchet, *Basile le Grand et son univers d'amis d'après sa correspondance. Une stratégie de communion*, Roma 1992, 88; J. Driscoll, *Eustazio di Sebaste e il primo ascetismo cappadocce*, in: *Basilio tra Oriente e Occidente. Convegno Internazionale «Basilio il Grande e il monachesimo orientale». Cappadocia 5-7 ottobre 1999*, ed. Comunità di Bose, Magnano 2001, 16.

²⁸⁸ E. Schwartz, *Die Kanonensammlungen der alten Reichskirche*, "Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung" 25 (1936), 36.

²⁸⁹ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 23; A. Laniado, *Note sur la datation consentie en syriaque du concile de Gangres*, "Orientalia Christiana Periodica" 61 (1995), 197; F. Fatti, *Monachesimo anatolico. Eustazio di Sebastia e Basilio di Cesarea*, in: *Monachesimo orientale. Un'introduzione*, ed. G. Filoramo Brescia 2010, 58.

²⁹⁰ T.D. Barnes, *The date of the Council of Gangra*, "Journal of Theological Studies" 40 (1989), 121-124.

²⁹¹ H. Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century A.D., with an Account of the Principal Sects and Heresies*, Hendrickson Publishers 1999, 550.

²⁹² R. Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, Paris 1734, vol. 4, 736.

²⁹³ C.A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century*, 19.

of Nicomedia was present at the council. Barnes and Laniado think that it is much more likely that the council was presided over by a bishop of Gangra (and therefore metropolitan of Paphlagonia) of the same name, unknown elsewhere.²⁹⁴

The second presumption is the date attributed to the council by the Syriac translation. In the Latin translation by Chabot the statement reads as follows: “Absoluti sunt canones synodi quae in Gangris, sub consulatu Placidi et Romuli, anno 390 juxta la computationem Antiochenorum. Sunt numero viginti.”²⁹⁵ The consulate of Placidus and Romulus was in 343 and the year 390 of the era of Antioch coincide with 341/342 – although the two indications are inconsistent, Laniado is right that the indication with the names of the consuls was less prone to negligence of a copyist and that is why it is more reliable.²⁹⁶ But he is wrong when stating that the indication of the date was preserved in two manuscripts. Schulthess based the critical edition of Syriac canones on seven manuscripts of which six include the canons of the Council of Gangra.²⁹⁷ According to the editor the stemma originates from one Greek (lost) original and then divides into two basic families. One of these families groups three codices: AFH.²⁹⁸ Of this family, manuscript H does not contain the canons of Gangra, one manuscript has an indication of the date (F- Borg. Sir. 82 of Vaticana = former K. VI 4 from Museo Borgia) and neither manuscript A (Add. 14, 528 from British Museum – indicated by Laniado as the second one with the date) from the same family nor any other from the second family has it.²⁹⁹ Barnes is right that the above-quoted sentence is a “product of later guesswork”³⁰⁰ as it is present in one manuscript only while even the second one from the same family does not contain it.

The presumption that has never been articulated clearly is that the charges listed by Sozomen are put in chronological order. On the basis of the latter some

²⁹⁴ T.D. Barnes, *The date of the Council of Gangra*, 124; A. Laniado, *Note sur la datation consente en syriaque du concile de Gangres*, 199.

²⁹⁵ *Synodicon orientale ou Recueil de synodes nestoriens*, ed. J.B. Chabot, Paris 1902, 278, note 4.

²⁹⁶ A. Laniado, *Note sur la datation consente en syriaque du concile de Gangres*, 196-197.

²⁹⁷ *Die Syrischen Kanones der Synoden von Nicaea bis Chalcedon nebst einigen zugehörigen Dokumenten*, ed. F. Schulthess, Berlin 1908, IX.

²⁹⁸ *Die Syrischen Kanones*, X.

²⁹⁹ *Die Syrischen Kanones*, 63. The Syriac text consulted by Dominique Gonnet (HiSoMA-Sources Chrétiennes).

³⁰⁰ T.D. Barnes, *The date of the Council of Gangra*, 124.

scholars date Gangra for 341 following the chronological order of the charges listed by Sozomen and some for the period after 360 following their interpretation of the account by Socrates. As I have explained above, Sozomen might have not listed his charges in chronological order. Moreover, regarding the date of Gangra the account of Socrates is not so obviously opposed to Sozomen's as it would seem at first glance. The report of Socrates reads as follows:

Εὐστάθιος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ
 Σεβαστείας οὐτε εἰς ἀπολογία
 ἐδέχθη, διότι ὑπὸ Εὐλαλίου τοῦ ἰδίου
 πατρὸς καὶ ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας
 τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἤδη πρότερον
 καθήρητο, ἐπειδὴ ἀνάρμοστον τῇ
 ἱερωσύνῃ στολήν ἠμφίεστο. Ἰστέον
 δὲ ὅτι εἰς τόπον Εὐσταθίου Μελέτιος
 κατέστη ἐπίσκοπος, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν
 ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. Εὐστάθιος μέντοι
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δι' αὐτὸν
 γενομένῃ ἐν Γάγγραις τῆς
 Παφλαγονίας συνόδῳ κατεκρίθη. [...]
 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

Eustathius bishop of Sebastia in Armenia was not even permitted to make his defense; because he had been long before deposed by Eulalius, his own father, who was bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, for dressing in a style unbecoming the sacerdotal office. Let it be noted that Meletius was appointed his successor, of whom we shall hereafter speak. Eustathius indeed was subsequently condemned by a Synod convened on his account at Gangra in Paphlagonia; [...] This, however, was done afterwards.³⁰¹

Indeed, Sozomen says that after the Council of Constantinople (360) Eustathius was replaced by Meletius (HE IV 25) and Socrates says that the Council of Gangra took place after Meletius had been ordained to the bishopric of Sebastea (HE II 43). But it does not mean that according to Socrates the Council of Gangra gathered after the Council of Constantinople (360). Socrates clearly asserts that Meletius became bishop of Sebastea BEFORE the Council of Constantinople (360) and even before the Council of Seleucia (359):

³⁰¹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1-2. 7, GCS NF 1, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72-73.

Ἦδη δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ περὶ Μελετίου
λεκτέον. Οὗτος γάρ, ὡς μικρὸν
ἔμπροσθεν εἶπον, τῆς Ἀρμενίων
Σεβαστείας ἐπίσκοπος προεβλήθη,
Εὐσταθίου καθαιρεθέντος, ἐκ δὲ τῆς
Σεβαστείας εἰς Βέροϊαν τῆς Συρίας
μετηνέχθη. Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ κατὰ
Σελεύκειαν συνόδῳ καὶ τῇ πίστει τῶν
περὶ Ἀκάκιον ὑπογράψας ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ
τὴν Βέροϊαν ἀνεχώρησεν. Γενομένης
δὲ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνόδου
οἱ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πυθόμενοι τὸν
Εὐδόξιον καταπεφρονηκέναι μὲν τῆς
αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίας, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν πλοῦτον
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀποκεκλικέναι,
μεταπεμψάμενοι τὸν Μελέτιον ἐκ τῆς
Βεροίας εἰς τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἐκκλησίαν
ἐνθρονίζουσιν.

It becomes us now to speak of
Meletius, who, as we have recently
observed, was created bishop of
Sebastia in Armenia, after the
deposition of Eustathius; from
Sebastia he was transferred to
Beroëa, a city of Syria. Being present
at the Synod of Seleucia, he
subscribed the creed set forth there
by Acacius, and immediately
returned thence to Beroëa. When the
convention of the Synod at
Constantinople was held, the people
of Antioch finding that Eudoxius,
captivated by the magnificence of
the see of Constantinople, had
contemned their church, they sent
for Meletius, and invested him with
the bishopric of the church at
Antioch.³⁰²

What's more, he is convinced that after Meletius had been ordained to the see of Sebastea, he was bishop of Beroe and as such he took part in the Council of Seleucia (359) and Constantinople (360). According to Socrates, he was appointed to the see of Antioch in 360. So, when Socrates says that the Council of Gangra took place after Meletius had been ordained to the bishopric of Sebastea, he does not refer to the decision of the Council of Constantinople (360), but (probably) to the Council of Melitene (358). So, when he indicates that Gangra took place AFTER Meletius had been appointed for the see of Sebastea replacing Eustathius, he refers to the events BEFORE the Council of Constantinople (360). Actually, the account

³⁰² Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 44, 1-3, GCS NF 1, 181-182, transl. NPNF II 2, 73.

of Socrates confirms my dating of Gangra after Melitene (358) and before Constantinople (360).

The Council of Gangra might have been held in 358. My arguments are as follows:

My first argument is based on the fact that Eustathius was born and raised in Caesarea of Cappadocia. And the synodical letter is addressed by the bishops gathered in Gangra “to their most honored lords and fellow ministers in Armenia” (κυρίοις τιμιωτάτοις ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ συλλειτουργοῖς)³⁰³ which obviously refers to Armenia Minor, the province of which Sebastea was the capital city. If it was assumed that Eustathius was from Sebastea as well as his father, it could be possible that bishops from Gangra informed his home Church about his exaggerated asceticism. However, I have established that Eustathius came from Caesarea in Cappadocia, was ordained priest there and in the early 350s was excommunicated by his father, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. So, the fact that the synodical letter of bishops gathered in Gangra was addressed specifically to the clergy of Armenia, proves that at the time of the Council of Gangra Eustathius was already bishop of Sebastea (most probably since 357). Since both Sozomen and Socrates list Gangra among the causes of his deposition in Constantinople (January 360), the Council of Gangra must have taken place before 360. It is very likely that it took place in 358.

Second, Sozomen states that Eustathius was deposed from bishopric in Gangra:

ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς οὐ δέον διδάσκων τε
καὶ πράττων καὶ φρονῶν ἀφηρεῖθη
τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐν
Γάγγραις συνεληλυθότων,

He had also been deprived of his bishopric by those who were convened in Gangra, on account of his having taught, acted, and thought contrary to sound doctrine.³⁰⁴

The synodical letter and canons of Gangra really depose all those who do not obey the synodical restrictions although the council left open the way for change:

³⁰³ *The Council of Gangra*, ed. P. Joannou, 94, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 449.

³⁰⁴ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

Διὰ οὖν ταῦτα ἠναγκάσθη ἡ
παραγενομένη ἐν Γάγγραις ἁγία
σύνοδος καταψηφίσασθαι αὐτῶν καὶ
ὄρους ἐκθέσθαι, ἐκτὸς αὐτοὺς εἶναι
τῆς ἐκκλησίας· εἰ δὲ μεταγνοῖεν καὶ
ἀναθεματίζοιεν ἕκαστον τούτων τῶν
κακῶς λεχθέντων, δεκτοὺς αὐτοὺς
γίνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξέθετο ἡ
ἁγία σύνοδος ἕκαστον, ὃ ὀφείλουσιν
ἀναθεματίσαντες δεχθῆναι. Εἰ δέ τις
μὴ πεισθεῖ τῶν λεχθειῶν, ὡς
αἰρετικὸν αὐτὸν ἀναθεματισθῆναι
καὶ εἶναι ἀκοινωνήτον καὶ
κεχωρισμένον τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ
δεήσει τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐπὶ πάντων
τῶν εὕρισκομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς
τοιούτων παραφυλάζασθαι.

Because of these things, the holy synod convened in Gangra was compelled to vote in condemnation of them and to set forth definitions, to the effect that they are outside the church. But if they repent and anathematize each of the things recounted as evil, they will be acceptable. And to this end the holy synod has set forth everything they must anathematize in order to be received. But if anyone should not comply with the things listed [herein], such a one is anathematized as a heretic and will be excommunicated and separated from the church. And it will be necessary for the bishops to be on guard against such behavior in all things discovered among them.³⁰⁵

It is difficult to determine whether the canons of Gangra were intended to condemn Eustathius himself or his disciples. The synodical letter is ambiguous:

Ἐπειδὴ συνελθοῦσα ἡ ἁγιωτάτη
σύνοδος τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ κατὰ
Γάγγραν ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τινὰς
ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας, ζητουμένων
καὶ τῶν κατ' Εὐστάθιον, εὕρισκε
πολλὰ ἀθέσμως γινόμενα ὑπὸ
τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον,
ἀναγκαίως ὥρισε καὶ πᾶσι φανερὸν

Inasmuch as the most holy synod of bishops, having convened in the church at Gangra on account of certain pressing matters of ecclesiastical business, when the affairs concerning Eustathius were also investigated, discovered that many things were being done unlawfully by Eustathius's followers, it has out of necessity

³⁰⁵ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, synodical letter, ed. P. Joannou, 88-89, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 451.

ποιῆσαι ἐσπούδασεν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν
τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς γινομένων·

established guidelines [concerning these things] and has hastened to make [them] known to all in order to put an end to the things being done evilly by him.³⁰⁶

Although the letter states that the Council examined the matters which concern Eustathius (ζητουμένων καὶ τῶν κατ' Εὐστάθιον), the charges seem to refer to his disciples – partisans of Eustathius who violated ecclesiastical discipline (πολλὰ ἀθέσμως γινόμενα ὑπὸ τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον).³⁰⁷ But, as the canons do not depose anybody by name, it must be assumed that they did refer to Eustathius and his followers as well if they did not obey the rules. It is significant that Sozomen notes that for some time after Gangra Eustathius changed his way of dressing:

διὰ δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς πλησιοχώρους
ἐπισκόπους συνελθεῖν ἐν Γάγγραις
τῇ μητροπόλει Παφλαγόνων καὶ
ἄλλοτριούς αὐτοὺς ψηφίσασθαι τῆς
καθόλου ἐκκλησίας, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς
ὅρους τῆς συνόδου ἕκαστον τῶν
εἰρημένων ἀποκηρύξωσιν. ἐντεῦθεν
δὲ λόγος Εὐστάθιον
ἐπιδεικνύμενον, ὡς οὐκ ἀυθαδείας
ἐνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς κατὰ θεὸν
ἀσκήσεως εἰσηγοῖτο ταῦτα καὶ
ἐπιτηδεύοι, ἀμειψαὶ τὴν στολὴν καὶ
παραπλησίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσι
τὰς προόδους ποιήσασθαι.

The bishops of the neighborhood of Gangra, the metropolis of Paphlagonia, assembled themselves together, and declared that all those who imbibed these opinions should be aliens to the Catholic Church, unless, according to the definitions of the Synod, they would renounce each of the aforesaid customs. It is said that from that time, Eustathius exchanged his clothing for the stole, and made his journeys habited like other priests, thus proving that he had not introduced and practiced these novelties out of self-

³⁰⁶ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, synodical letter, ed. P. Joannou, 85-86, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 450.

³⁰⁷ T.Z. Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra*, 68: “Comunque occorre notare che l'epistola sinodica è assai poco chiara; essa dice che le deviazioni sono apparse a seguito di Eustazio (κατ'Εὐστάθιον) da coloro che erano attorno ad Eustazio (ὑπὸ τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον).”

will, but for the sake of a godly
asceticism.³⁰⁸

It is also important that the group of Eustathius' disciples had enough influence to attract the attention of the council. And this is the next argument to date the Council of Gangra not for the beginning of Eustathius' career.

12. Charged with perjury by the Council of Antioch (before 360)

Socrates is the only one who mentions that Eustathius was judged by the Council of Antioch. The remark is weird as it appears in the list of charges of the Council of Constantinople (360); Eustathius was deposed there on the basis of disciplinary issues and all the charges refer to discipline.

Εὐσταθίου δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ἡνίκα
πρεσβύτερος ἦν προκατεγνώκει
αὐτοῦ Εὐλάλιος ὁ πατήρ καὶ τῶν
εὐχῶν ἀφώρισεν, ἐπίσκοπος ὢν τῆς
ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκκλησίας
Καισαρείας, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐν
Νεοκαισαρείᾳ τοῦ Πόντου ὑπὸ
συνόδου ἀκοινώνητος ἐγένετο καὶ
ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου
καθηρέθη ἐπὶ διοικήσεσιν αἷς
ἐπετράπη καταγνωσθεῖς, ἔπειτα δὲ
ὡς οὐ δέον διδάσκων τε καὶ
πράττων καὶ φρονῶν ἀφηρέθη τῆς
ἐπισκοπῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Γάγγραις
συνεληλυθότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν
Ἀντιοχείᾳ συνόδου ἐπιτορκίας ἦλω.

Eustathius, they said, was deposed because, when a presbyter, he had been condemned, and put away from the communion of prayers by Eulalius, his own father, who was bishop of the church of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia; and also because he had been excommunicated by a council held at Neocæsarea, a city of Pontus, and deposed by Eusebius, bishop of Constantinople, for unfaithfulness in the discharge of certain duties that had devolved upon him. He had also been deprived of his bishopric by those who were convened in Gangræ, on account of his having taught, acted, and thought contrary to sound doctrine. He had been convicted of perjury by the council of Antioch. He had likewise

³⁰⁸ Sozomen, HE III 14, 36, GCS 50, 124, transl. NPNF II 2, 293-294.

καὶ ὅτι ἀνατρέπειν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὰ
 δόξαντα τοῖς ἐν Μελιτινῇ
 συνελθοῦσι καὶ πλείστοις
 ἐγκλήμασιν ἔνοχος ὢν δικαστῆς
 ἡξίου εἶναι καὶ ἑτεροδόξους τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἀπεκάλει.

endeavored to reverse the decrees of
 those convened at Melitina; and,
 although he was guilty of many crimes,
 he had the assurance to aspire to be
 judge over the others, and to stigmatize
 them as heretics.³⁰⁹

The term “perjury” (ἐπιουρκία) is quite rare in Sozomen: he uses it 4 times only including the above quoted text and he sometimes uses the verb ἐφιορκέω. The perjury may refer to doctrinal matters as “Arius had perjured himself (ἐπιώρκησεν) by declaring to the Emperor Constantine that he maintained the doctrines of the council of Nicaea.”³¹⁰ But it seems that Sozomen applies the term “perjury” (ἐπιουρκία) to any case of swearing falsely. He ascribes the perjury to Basil of Ancyra as well and it has nothing to do with the doctrine:

προσέθεσαν δὲ ὅτι καὶ
 Γερμανίῳ τὸν ἐν Σιρμίῳ κληρὸν
 ἐπανάστησε καί, κοινωνῶν
 αὐτῷ καὶ Οὐάλεντι καὶ
 Οὐρσακίῳ, γράφων διέβαλλεν
 αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Ἀφρικῆς
 ἐπισκόπους, ἐγκαλούμενός τε
 ἠρνεῖτο καὶ ἐπιώρκει καὶ
 φωραθεὶς ἐπεχειρεῖ σοφίζεσθαι
 τὴν ἐπιουρκίαν.

They further deposed that Basil had excited
 the clergy of Sirimium against Germanius;
 and that, although he stated in writing that
 he had admitted Germanius, Valens, and
 Ursacius into communion, he had placed
 them as criminals before the tribunal of the
 African bishops; and that, when taxed with
 this deed, he had denied it, and perjured
 himself; and that, when he was afterwards
 convicted, he strove to justify his perjury by
 sophistical reasoning.³¹¹

So, the perjury Sozomen is talking about could have referred to any kind of accusation that Eustathius refuted by swearing (falsely) and then was condemned for that by the Council of Antioch. Assuming that the condemnation was connected to the public/ascetic activity of Eustathius, it might have occurred after 357, but it is

³⁰⁹ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

³¹⁰ Sozomen, HE IV 12, 2, GCS 50, 154, transl. NPNF II 2, 308.

³¹¹ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 6, GCS 50, 179, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

not so obvious. Eustathius could have sworn that he had fulfilled all the duties devolved upon him by Eusebius, bishop of Constantinople (before 341) and then could have been caught perjuring.

13. The Council of Seleucia (359)

While the Westerns were debating in Rimini, the Easterns gathered in Seleucia. Undoubtedly, Homoiousians had an advantage at the starting point as they had a big influence on Constantius. The main player in the ecclesiastical politics at that time was Basil of Ancyra. Sozomen says that his opinion was pivotal when the place for the council was decided (HE IV 16). The emperor wanted to conciliate between moderate Arians and Homoiousians excluding radicals of both sides of the spectrum – Aetius and Eunomius on one side and Athanasius and his followers on the other.³¹² Before the council, Mark of Arethusa wrote the confession of faith dated for 22 May 359 and called “dated creed.”³¹³ The key statements of the creed consisted in the expression that the Son is like the Father in all respects (ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα) and in placing a prohibition on using the term οὐσία with reference to God. The council was intended to agree the creed and to examine some disciplinary issues. Sozomen says that Cyril of Jerusalem and Eustathius of Sebastea insisted to focus first at the matters of discipline:

ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν πρότερον τὸ
δόγμα ἐξετάζειν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς
βίους ἀνακρίνειν τῶν
κατηγορουμένων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὧν
ἦν Κύριλλος Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ
Εὐστάθιος ὁ Σεβαστείας,
ἀναγκαῖον ἔλεγον.

Thus some were of the opinion that it was necessary to commence with the discussion of doctrinal topics, while others maintained that inquiries ought first to be instituted into the conduct of those among them against whom accusations had been laid, as had been the case with Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, and others.³¹⁴

³¹² R.P.C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 362.

³¹³ It preserved in Greek in Athanasius (*De Synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 8, Athanasius Werke II, 235-236) and Socrates Scholasticus (HE II 37, 19-24, GCS NF 1, 154-155).

³¹⁴ Sozomen, HE IV 22, 4, GCS 50, 172, transl. NPNF II 2, 317; cf. Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 39, 11-13, GCS NF 1, 170.

However, the bishops started with the examination of the doctrine. Homoiousians divided: Basil of Ancyra already before the Council had signed the dated creed while others led by Silvanus of Tarsus wanted to sign the creed of Antioch *in encaeniis* (341).³¹⁵ Acacius presented his own creed, when rejected he and his allies left the gathering. The creed signed by most and probably by Eustathius himself was the creed of Antioch *in encaeniis* (341).³¹⁶ Then, on demand of Acacius, the bishops charged with disciplinary issues were excluded from the gathering. We do not know whether Eustathius was among them. Athanasius names Eustathius among excommunicated by that Council because “the accusers pressed, and the accused put in pleas, and thereby were led on further by their irreligion and blasphemed the Lord” (τῶν δὲ κατηγορουμένων φευγόντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πλέον ἐν ἀσεβείαις ἐξαγομένων καὶ βλασφημούντων εἰς τὸν κύριον).³¹⁷ Although, Sozomen does not name him among excommunicated,³¹⁸ but Socrates lists Eustathius among deposed who “should not be restored to communion, until they made such a defense as would clear them from the imputations under which they lay.”³¹⁹ It is possible that Eustathius of Sebastea was among those who were temporarily suspended:

<p>τοὺς δὲ πλείους ἀκοινωνήτους ἐποίησαν, ἄχρις ἂν πρὸς τὰ ἐπαγόμενα ἐγκλήματα</p>	<p>Many persons were likewise put out of communion until they</p>
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³¹⁵ The second of four creeds produced by a council of ninety bishops gathered at Antioch (341) on the occasion of dedication of a church built by Constantius. The creed called “dedication creed” or *in encaeniis* preserved in Socrates Scholasticus (HE II 10, 10-18, GCS NF 1, 100-101) and in Athanasius (*De synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 23, Athanasius Werke II, 249-250). The key statements of the creed say that the Son is “unchanging and unaltering, exact image of the Godhead in the substance and will and power and glory of the Father” (τῆς θεότητος οὐσίας τε καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα) and that The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit “are three in hypostasis but one in agreement” (εἶναι τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἓν). The creed anathemized the flagship Arian statement that “either time or occasion or age exists or did exist before the Son was begotten” (ἢ χρόνον ἢ καιρὸν ἢ αἰῶνα ἢ εἶναι ἢ γεγονέναι πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι τὸν υἱόν). Translation of the creed R.P.C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 286-287.

³¹⁶ Sozomen, HE IV 22, 17, GCS 50, 174; Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 39, 20-21, GCS NF 1, 171.

³¹⁷ Athanasius, *De synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 12, 5, Athanasius Werke II, 240, transl. NPNF II 4, 456.

³¹⁸ Sozomen, HE IV 22, 25, GCS 50, 176.

³¹⁹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 40, 45, GCS NF 1, 176, transl. NPNF II 2, 70-71.

ἀπολογήσονται, καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα τῆ
ἐκάστου παροικία ἔγραψαν.

could purge themselves of the
crimes imputed to them.³²⁰

Deposed or suspended or not, Eustathius appeared at the Council of Constantinople (359/360) as bishop of Sebastea.

14. The Council of Constantinople (359/360)

It not certain that Eustathius was a delegate of the Council of Seleucia to the emperor as Jurgens wants.³²¹ Nevertheless, Basil does state that he was in Constantinople:

Κάκειῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σελεύκειαν
ἐλθὼν ἔγραψε μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
ὁμοδόξων ἅ πάντες ἴσασιν. Ἐν δὲ τῇ
Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνέθετο πάλιν
τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρετικῶν προταθεῖσι.

And going thence into Seleucia, in
conjunction with those who held the
same opinions as himself, he did what
all know. And at Constantinople he
again agreed with the proposals of the
heretics.³²²

And that he signed a creed in Constantinople:

Παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, ἵνα
τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παραλείπω, ὅσας
ἐξέθεντο πίστεις; Ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας
ἄλλην, ἑτέραν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ, ἐν
Κωνσταντινουπόλει, τὴν
πολυθρόλητον.

Arriving at the episcopacy—to pass
over the events of the interval—how
many creeds they have set forth! At
Ancyra one, another at Seleucia,
another at Constantinople, the
celebrated one.³²³

Sozomen confirms that the participants of the council were ten deputies of Seleucia and ten deputies of Rimini, but not exclusively. There were also the supporters of Acacius and “many other bishops, who, from various motives, had repaired to the city” (καὶ ἄλλων, οἵπερ ἔτυχον ἐνδημοῦντες).³²⁴ As a deputy of

³²⁰ Sozomen, HE IV 22, 26, GCS 50, 176, transl. NPNF II 2, 318.

³²¹ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 43.

³²² Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 95.

³²³ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82-83, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

³²⁴ Sozomen, HE IV 23, GCS 50, 177, transl. NPNF II 2, 319.

Seleucia or present for other reasons Eustathius apparently signed in Constantinople the creed of Rimini.

έτοιμαζόμενος τε τῇ ὑστεραία πρὸς
ὑπατικὴν πομπήν, καθὰ Ῥωμαίοις
ἔθος ἐν τῇ νουμηνία τοῦ παρ’
αὐτοῖς Ἰαννουαρίου μηνός, πᾶσαν
τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ πολὺ τῆς
ἐπιλαβούσης νυκτὸς ἀνάλωσε
μεταξὺ τῶν ἐπισκόπων
διαγιγνώσκων, εἰσότε δὴ τῇ
διακομισθείσῃ ἐξ Ἀριμίνου γραφῇ
καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σελευκείας ἀφιγμένοι
ὑπέγραψαν.

The next day preparations were made for the pompous ceremony of proclaiming him consul, which, according to the Roman custom, took place in the beginning of the month of January, and the whole of that day and part of the ensuing night the emperor spent with the bishops, and at length succeeded in persuading the deputies of the council of Seleucia to receive the formulary transmitted from Ariminum.³²⁵

This creed was similar with the “dated creed” with some significant exceptions.³²⁶ According to the preserved text the creed omitted “in all respects” (κατὰ πάντα) in the statement that the Son is like the Father (ὅμοιον).³²⁷ The anathemas that followed the creed were clearly anti-Arian so the Homoiousians could have regarded it as orthodox.³²⁸ Under the pressure of Constantius all bishops signed the creed, “even those who earlier had championed the doctrine of *other in substance*.”³²⁹

Kopecek claims that there were two councils of Constantinople: one in December 359 and the other in January 360³³⁰ and Hanson distinguishes them even by places: one in Nice and one in Constantinople.³³¹ Sozomen and Socrates with one voice admit that the Council of Constantinople was held at Acacius bidding. I think that it is likely that one gathering first examined the issues of faith and then

³²⁵ Sozomen, HE IV 23, GCS 50, 178.

³²⁶ R.P.C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 380.

³²⁷ Athanasius, *De Synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 30, Athanasius Werke II, 258-259; Theodoret, HE II 21, GCS 44, 145-146; Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 41, 15, GCS NF 1, 178.

³²⁸ R.P.C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 378-379.

³²⁹ Philostorgius, HE IV 12, GCS 21, 65, transl. P.R. Amidon, 74.

³³⁰ T.A. Kopecek, *A history of neo-arianism*, vol. 2, 299-300.

³³¹ R.P.C. Hanson, *The search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 376-380.

the disciplinary ones. Some sessions took place in the end of December of 359 and the final one with depositions at the beginning of January 360.

Philostorgius as the only one stresses the importance of Basil of Ancyra and Eustathius of Sebastea, who “headed the group representing the doctrine of like in substance” (προειστήκεισαν δὲ τῶν μὲν κατ’ οὐσίαν ὅμοιον πρεσβευόντων Βασίλειός τε καὶ Εὐστάθιος)³³² and debated with Aetius. Philostorgius also states that the first debate was won by Aetius, but Constantius called Basil of Ancyra and Aetius to his palace and demanded explanations. Finally, he expelled Aetius and ordered the bishops to sign the formula of Rimini.³³³

In January 360, all leaders of the Homoiousians were deposed, although the depositions were based on disciplinary charges:

Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀκάκιον καὶ Εὐδόξιον ἐν
Κωνσταντινουπόλει περὶ τὸ
ἀντικαθαριεῖν καὶ αὐτοὶ τινας τοῦ
ἐτέρου μέρους ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεντο.
Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οὐδέτεροι διὰ
θηρησκείαν, ἀλλὰ δι’ ἐτέρας
προφάσεις τὰς καθαιρέσεις
πεποιήνται. Διακρινόμενοι γὰρ οἷα
περὶ πίστεως ἐν τῷ καθαιρεῖν
ἀλλήλους τὴν ἀλλήλων πίστιν οὐ
διεμέμφοντο.

Acacius, Eudoxius, and those at Constantinople who took part with them, became exceedingly anxious that they also on their side might depose some of the opposite party. Now it should be observed that neither of the factions were influenced by religious considerations in making depositions, but by other motives: for although they did not agree respecting the faith, yet the ground of their reciprocal depositions was not error in doctrine.³³⁴

Among the deposed was Eustathius of Sebastea. The general character of the depositions is a cause why the charges listed by Sozomen and Socrates that I have been using as a source for the life of Eustathius until 360 focus on disciplinary matters and do not mention doctrinal issues.

³³² Philostorgius, HE IV 12, GCS 21, 64, transl. P.R. Amidon, 71.

³³³ Philostorgius, HE IV 12, GCS 21, 64-65.

³³⁴ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 42, 1-2, GCS NF 1, 179, transl. NPNF II 2, 72.

15. Macedonians (after 360)

Philostorgius says that “those deposed were also banished, Basil to Illyricum and the others each to a different place (ὑπερορίζονται δὲ καὶ οἱ καθαιρεθέντες, Βασίλειος μὲν εἰς Ἰλλυριούς, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄλλος ἄλλαχόσε),”³³⁵ but Jurgens is right when he observes: “However Basil may have been exiled, Macedonius went to live in a suburb of his see when Constantinople was given to Eudoxius. Surely Philostorgius cannot have imagined that the suburbs of Constantinople were a place of exile! We must doubt also that Eleusius and Eustathius were exiled; for we find them shortly in close association with Macedonius. It may be, however, that they were forbidden entry to the territory of their former sees.”³³⁶ Actually, Basil of Caesarea confirms that the deposed refused to accept the decrees of the council:

ὅτι καὶ παμψηφὶ παρὰ τῶν
συνελθόντων εἰς τὴν
Κωνσταντινούπολιν καθαιρεθέντες οὐκ
ἔδέξαντο τὴν καθάρεισιν αὐτῶν,
σύνοδον ἀθετούντων προσαγορεύοντες
καὶ μὴ καταδεχόμενοι ἐπισκόπους
αὐτοὺς λέγειν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν κατ’ αὐτῶν
ἔξενεχθεῖσαν ψῆφον κυρώσωσι. Καὶ
τὴν αἰτίαν προσετίθεσαν τοῦ μὴ εἶναι
αὐτοὺς ἐπισκόπους, διότι αἰρέσεως,
φησί, πονηρᾶς προεστήκασιν.

Even when they were unanimously deposed by those assembled at Constantinople, they did not accept their deposition, calling the body a gathering of rebellious men, and refusing to speak of them as bishops, hoping thus to prevent them from ratifying the vote cast against them. And they added, as the reason for their not being bishops, the fact that, as their accuser says, they were the leaders of a wicked heresy.³³⁷

It seems that the group was consolidating under the command of Macedonius who was staying near Constantinople (εἰς τι περὶ Πύλας χωρίον τῆς Βιθυνίας διέτριβεν).³³⁸ Basil of Ancyra lost his leadership and Macedonius became the most important figure of the Homoiousians.

³³⁵ Philostorgius, HE V 1, GCS 21, 66, transl. P.R. Amidon, 75

³³⁶ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 45.

³³⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 251, 2; ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 90, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 11.

³³⁸ Sozomen, HE IV 26, 1, GCS 50, 182.

Μακεδόνιος δὲ τῆς
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκβληθεὶς καὶ
μὴ φέρων τὴν καταδίκην οὐδαμῶς
ἠσυχάζειν ἠνείχετο, ἀλλ' ἀπέκλινε
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ ἑτέρου μέρους, οἱ
ἐν τῇ Σελευκείᾳ καθεῖλον τοὺς περὶ
Ἀκάκιον, διεπροσβέβητο δὲ πρὸς τε
Σωφρόνιον καὶ Ἐλεύσιον ἀντέχεσθαι
μὲν τῆς πρότερον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ
ἐκτεθείσης πίστεως, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ
ἐν Σελευκείᾳ βεβαιωθείσης, καὶ
παρασήμῳ ὀνόματι ὁμοιούσιον τὴν
πίστιν ἐπιφημισθῆναι παρήνευσεν.
Συνέρρεον οὖν πολλοὶ παρ' αὐτῶ
τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτῶ, οἱ νῦν
Μακεδονianoὶ χρηματίζουσιν ἐξ
αὐτοῦ· ὅσοι τε ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σελεύκειαν
συνόδῳ τοῖς περὶ Ἀκάκιον
διεκρίθησαν, φανερῶς τὸ ὁμοιούσιον
ἐδογμάτισαν, τὸ πρότερον οὐκ
ἐκτρανοῦντες αὐτό. Φήμη δὲ τις
κρατεῖ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὡς οὐκ εἶη
Μακεδονίου τὸ εὔρεμα, Μαραθωνίου
δὲ μᾶλλον, ὃν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς
Νικομηδείας πεποιήκει ἐπίσκοπον·
διὸ καὶ Μαραθωνιανούς καλοῦσιν
αὐτούς. Τούτοις δὲ προσφεύγει καὶ
Εὐστάθιος ὁ τῆς Σεβαστείας

Macedonius on being ejected from
Constantinople, bore his
condemnation ill and became restless;
he therefore associated himself with
the other faction that had deposed
Acacius and his party at Seleucia, and
sent a deputation to Sophronius and
Eleusius, to encourage them to adhere
to that creed which was first
promulgated at Antioch, and
afterwards confirmed at Seleucia,
proposing to give it the counterfeit
name of the 'homoiousian' creed. By
this means he drew around him a
great number of adherents, who from
him are still denominated
'Macedonians.' And although such as
dissented from the Acacians at the
Seleucian Synod had not previously
used the term homoiousios, yet from
that period they distinctly asserted it.
There was, however, a popular report
that this term did not originate with
Macedonius, but was the invention
rather of Marathonius, who a little
before had been set over the church at
Nicomedia; on which account the
maintainers of this doctrine were also
called 'Marathonians.' To this party
Eustathius joined himself, who for the

ἐκβληθεὶς δι' ἁς προφάσεις μικρῶ
πρότερον εἶρηκα.

reasons before stated had been ejected
from the church at Sebastia.³³⁹

Both Socrates and Sozomen confirm that after Constantius died (3
November 361) the Homoiousians gathered at different councils; they also name
Eustathius among supporters of Macedonius:

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Μακεδόνιον,
ῶν ἦν Ἐλεύσιος τε καὶ Εὐστάθιος
καὶ Σωφρόνιος, ἤδη εἰς τὸ προφανές
Μακεδονιανοὶ καλεῖσθαι ἀρξάμενοι
ὡς εἰς ἴδιον διακριθέντες σύστημα,
ἀδείας τετυχηκότες τῇ Κωνσταντίου
τελευτῇ, συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς ἐν
Σελευκείᾳ ὁμόφρονας αὐτοῖς
γενομένους, συνόδους τινὰς
ἐποίησαντο. καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀκάκιον
καὶ τὴν βεβαιωθεῖσαν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ
πίστιν ἀπεκήρυξαν, τῇ δὲ ἐν
Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκτεθείσῃ, ὕστερον δὲ ἐν
Σελευκείᾳ πρὸς αὐτῶν κυρωθείσῃ,
ἐπεψηφίσαντο.

At this period the adherents of
Macedonius, among whom were
Eleusius, Eustathius, and Sophronius,
who now began openly to be called
Macedonians, as constituting a distinct
sect, adopted the bold measure on the
death of Constantius, of calling
together those of their own sentiments
who had been convened at Seleucia,
and of holding several councils. They
condemned the partisans of Acacius
and the faith which had been
established at Ariminum, and
confirmed the doctrines which had
been set forth at Antioch, and
afterwards approved at Seleucia.³⁴⁰

One of those councils held in different places was the Council of Zela named
by Basil in the letter 251, 4.³⁴¹ Eustathius probably was not restored to his see by
Julian. Socrates informs that the emperor Jovian (363) “recalled from exile all those
prelates whom Constantius had banished, and who had not been re-established by
Julian.”³⁴² Anyway, he did not appear among those who signed the Nicæan Creed in
the letter addressed to Jovian (363) although it was signed by other Homoiousians:

³³⁹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 45, 1-5, GCS NF 1, 182-183, transl. NPNF II 2, 73-74.

³⁴⁰ Sozomen, HE V 14, 1-2, GCS 50, 213, transl. NPNF II 2, 336; cf. Socrates Scholasticus, HE III 10, 4, GCS NF 1, 205.

³⁴¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 251, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 92.

³⁴² Socrates Scholasticus, HE III 24, 4, GCS NF 1, 225, transl. NPNF II 2, 94.

Basil of Ancyra, Silvanus of Tarsus, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis.³⁴³ The next time we meet Eustathius he signed the creed at the Council of Lampsacus (364).

16. From the Council of Lampsacus (364) to the Council of Sicily (365 or 366)

The Council of Lampsacus was a Homoiousian gathering which appealed to withdraw all creeds except for the one from Antioch *in encaeniis* (341) and “decreed that the doctrine of the Son being in substance like unto the Father, should have the ascendancy” (κρατεῖν δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον δοξάζειν τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ κατ’ οὐσίαν).³⁴⁴ We know from Basil that Eustathius signed the decrees of Lampsacus.³⁴⁵ Unfortunately, Valens was at that time under the influence of Eudoxius, the Anomoean bishop of Constantinople.

προσελθοῦσιν οὖν τοῖς ἐκ
Λαμψάκου πρεσβευταῖς
παρεκελεύσατο μὴ διαφέρεσθαι
πρὸς Εὐδόξιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντεῖπον καὶ
τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει
γενομένην ἀπάτην καὶ τὰ
βεβουλευμένα κατὰ τῶν ἐν
Σελευκείᾳ δεδογμένων Εὐδοξίῳ
ἐμέμφοντο, κινηθεὶς πρὸς ὀργὴν
τοὺς μὲν ὑπερορίαν οἰκεῖν
προσέταξε, τὰς δὲ ἐκκλησίας
παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν
Εὐδόξιον.

When the deputies of the council of Lampsacus presented themselves before Valens, he merely exhorted them not to be at variance with Eudoxius. The deputies replied by reminding him of the artifices to which Eudoxius had resorted at Constantinople, and of his machinations to annul the decrees of the council of Seleucia; and these representations kindled the wrath of Valens to such a pitch, that he condemned the deputies to banishment, and made over the churches to the partisans of Eudoxius.³⁴⁶

³⁴³ Socrates Scholasticus, HE III 25, 18, GCS NF 1, 227; Sozomen, HE VI 4, 3, GCS 50, 240.

³⁴⁴ Sozomen, HE VI 7, 4, GCS 50, 246, transl. NPNF II 2, 350.

³⁴⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82; *Epistulae* 251, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 92.

³⁴⁶ Sozomen, HE VI 7, 9, GCS 50, 246, transl. NPNF II 2, 351.

Jurgens thinks that “the exile, to which Sozomen testifies, can hardly have been effective.”³⁴⁷ But, the banishment is confirmed by Philostorgius:

συναχθέντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ἐν
 Λαμψάκῳ (πόλις δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ
 Ἑλλησπόντου) ἀνακεφαλαιοῦνται τὰ
 τῆς πίστεως ὀρθὰ δόγματα· καὶ
 παραθέντες τὴν πίστιν Λουκιανοῦ τοῦ
 μάρτυρος, ἀνεθεμάτισαν τὸ ἀνόμοιον·
 καὶ ὑπογράψαντες τῇ πίστει τῇ
 προεκτεθείσῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων
 τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ, εἰς πάσας τὰς
 ἐκκλησίας διεπέμψαντο. οὐ μετ’ οὐ
 πολὺ δὲ ὑπαχθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως
 Οὐάλεντος τῇ αἰρέσει τοῦ ἀνομοίου,
 ἤρξαντο πάλιν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι
 ἐλαύνεσθαι καὶ ἐξορίζεσθαι, Εὐδοξίου
 σὺν Ἀετίῳ καὶ Εὐνομίῳ καὶ τῶν
 λοιπῶν αἰρετικῶν, τῶν τὸ ἀνόμοιον
 πρᾶσβευόντων, στρατηγούντων.

The bishops gathered in Lampsacus (a city of the Hellespont) and drafted a summary of the orthodox doctrines of the faith. And setting out the creed of the martyr Lucian, they condemned the doctrine of “unlike.” They subscribed the creed published by the holy fathers in Nicaea and sent it to all the churches. But when the emperor Valens was drawn into the Anomoean sect almost immediately afterwards, the bishops once again began to be harried and banished; Eudoxius along with Aetius, Eunomius, and the other sectarians representing the Anomoean doctrine were behind this.³⁴⁸

Actually, if the Homoiousians had not been banished, they would not have needed to ask Liberius for help which they did. After the Council of Lampsacus Homoiousians evidently were persecuted to that extent that they were afraid about their own lives. That is why they decided to ally with pope Liberius:

Τῶν δὲ φρονούντων τὸ ὁμοούσιον
 σφοδρῶς τότε συνελαθέντων αὐθις
 οἱ διώκοντες κατὰ τῶν
 Μακεδονιανῶν ἐχώρουν. Οἱ δὲ φόβῳ

When the maintainers of the ‘homoousian’ doctrine had been thus severely dealt with, and put to flight, the persecutors began afresh to harass the Macedonians; who impelled by

³⁴⁷ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 53.

³⁴⁸ Philostorgius, HE VIII 8a, GCS 21, 110, transl. P.R. Amidon, 117.

μᾶλλον ἢ βία στενοχωρούμενοι κατὰ πόλεις διεπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους δηλοῦντες δεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐπὶ Λιβέριον τὸν Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, ἀσπάζεσθαί τε τὴν ἐκείνων πίστιν μᾶλλον ἢ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς περὶ Εὐδόξιον. Πέμπουσιν οὖν Εὐστάθιον τὸν Σεβαστείας, ὃς πολλάκις καθήρητο, Σιλβανὸν Ταρσοῦ τῆς Κιλικίας, καὶ Θεόφιλον Κασταβάλων (Κιλικίας δὲ καὶ ἦδε πόλις), ἐντειλάμενοι μὴ διακριθῆναι πρὸς Λιβέριον περὶ πίστεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ κυρῶσαι τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου πίστιν.

fear rather than violence, send deputations to one another from city to city, declaring the necessity of appealing to the emperor's brother, and also to Liberius bishop of Rome: and that it was far better for them to embrace their faith, than to communicate with the party of Eudoxius. They sent for this purpose Eustathius bishop of Sebastia, who had been several times deposed, Silvanus of Tarsus in Cilicia, and Theophilus of Castabala in the same province; charging them to dissent in nothing from Liberius concerning the faith, but to enter into communion with the Roman church, and confirm the doctrine of the homoousian.³⁴⁹

Among the delegates to the pope was Eustathius of Sebastea. Homoiousians signed the Homoousian creed explaining that “they considered the terms ‘like in all respects’ and homoousios to have precisely the same import” (μηδέν τε διαφέρειν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τὸ <κατὰ πάντα> ὅμοιον).³⁵⁰ They received a letter by Liberius admitting all Homoiousians to the ecclesiastical communion.³⁵¹ The Homoiousian legates confirmed the Nicæan creed at the Council of Sicily. Bishops gathered in Sicily agreed to meet at the council of Tarsus to confirm the Homoousian creed and gave the delegates another letter of admission.

³⁴⁹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 12, 2-3, GCS NF 1, 238, transl. NPNF II 2, 100; cf. Sozomen, HE VI 10, 4, GCS 50, 249.

³⁵⁰ Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 12, 6, GCS NF 1, 238, transl. NPNF II 2, 100-101. The letter of delegates to Liberius: Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 12, 10-20, GCS NF 1, 239-240; Sozomen, HE VI 11, 1-3, GCS 50, 250-251.

³⁵¹ The letter by Liberius: Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 12, 22-30, GCS NF 1, 241-242.

17. After the Council of Tyana (366)

The planned council of Tarsus was prevented by Eudoxius, but the Eastern bishops gathered in Tyana in Cappadocia, read the letters of admission by Liberius and other Western bishops³⁵² and according to Basil Eustathius was restored to the bishopric of Sebastea, probably for the first time effectively after the Council of Constantinople (360):

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει
συνέθετο πάλιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
αἰρετικῶν προταθεῖσι. Καὶ οὕτως
ἀπελαθεῖς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς διὰ τὸ ἐν
τῇ Μελιτηνῇ προκαθηρῆσθαι ὁδὸν
ἑαυτῷ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως
ἐπενόησε τὴν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἄφιξιν. Καὶ
τίνα μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ προετάθη αὐτῷ
παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἐπισκόπου
Λιβερίου, τίνα δὲ ἃ αὐτὸς συνέθετο
ἀγνοοῦμεν, πλὴν ὅτι ἐπιστολὴν
ἐκόμισεν ἀποκαθιστῶσαν αὐτόν, ἣν
ἐπιδείξας τῇ κατὰ Τύαναν συνόδῳ
ἀποκατέστη τῷ τόπῳ.

And at Constantinople he again agreed with the proposals of the heretics. And when he had accordingly been expelled from his episcopacy on account of his former deposition at Melitine, he conceived of the visit to you as a means of restoring himself. And what it was that was proposed to him by the most blessed bishop Liberius, and what it was that he himself agreed to, we know not, except that he brought back a letter restoring him, by displaying which at the synod of Tyana he was restored to his place.³⁵³

According to Basil Eustathius at some point returned to his Homoiousian believes:

Παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, ἵνα
τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παραλείπω, ὅσας
ἐξέθεντο πίστεις; Ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας
ἄλλην, ἑτέραν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ, ἐν

Arriving at the episcopacy—to pass over the events of the interval—how many creeds they have set forth! At Ancyra one, another at Seleucia, another at Constantinople, the

³⁵² Sozomen, HE VI 12, 2-3, GCS 50, 251-252.

³⁵³ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123-124, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 95-97.

Κωνσταντινουπόλει, τὴν
πολυθρόλητον, ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἑτέραν,
μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐν Νίκῃ τῆς Θράκης,
νῦν πάλιν τὴν ἀπὸ Κυζίκου, ἧς τὰ
μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι, τοσοῦτον
δὲ ἀκούω ὅτι τὸ ὁμοούσιον
κατασιγάσαντες, τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν
ὅμοιον νῦν περιφέρουσι καὶ τὰς εἰς
τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα βλασφημίας μετ'
Εὐνομίου συγγράφουσι.

celebrated one, at Lampsacus another,
after this the one at Nice in Thrace,
now again the one at Cyzicus. 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.³⁵⁴

The above quoted letter comes from 376 so the last two councils (of Nice in Thrace and of Cyzicus) must have been held between 366 and 376, but there is no other source to say anything about their circumstances or character. After the Council of Sicily Eustathius disappears from the pages of the *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, but we know from the letters by Basil that he was alive and active. In order to examine his activity at that time, it is necessary to analyze his relationship with Basil as his last years were marked by a sharp conflict between them.

³⁵⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82-83, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

Part III. Eustathius of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea

Chapter I. Friendship and hatred

The question of Basil's homeland is crucial for establishing the time when he got to know Eustathius. Socrates Scholasticus says that the homeland of Basil was Caesarea in Cappadocia: he was "elevated to the bishopric of Caesarea in Cappadocia, which was his native country (τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος)." ³⁵⁵ Basil himself recognized Cappadocia as his fatherland as well. Except for quotation from Bible, references to paradise/heaven and 4 cases where the meaning of ἡ πατρις is uncertain, Basil always and with no exceptions refers ἡ πατρις (with the article) to Cappadocia and never to the any other country/homeland of anybody. ³⁵⁶ As Y. Courtonne explains the custom of avoiding proper names and replacing them with a periphrasis is one of the characters of the rhetoric of this era. ³⁵⁷ A fatherland (πατρις) meant to Basil the place where somebody was born and raised as he wrote in one of his letters: "What man is so patriotic, honouring equally with his parents the fatherland which gave him birth and reared him (τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν καὶ θρεψαμένην πατρίδα), as are you yourself." ³⁵⁸

But, there is another opposing tradition. According to Gregory of Nazianzus, the family of Basil's father came from Pontus and the family of his mother was from Cappadocia – it is worth noting that Gregory refers to the homeland of the families rather than specifically of Basil's father and mother: "On his father's side Pontus offers to me many details, in no wise inferior to its wonders of old time, of which all history and poesy are full; there are many others concerned with this my native land, of illustrious men of Cappadocia, renowned for its youthful progeny, no

³⁵⁵ Socrates Scholasticus, HE IV 26, 11, GCS NF 1, 261.

³⁵⁶ M. Przyszybowska, *Fatherland (πατρις) in the writings of Basil of Caesarea*, "Polish Journal of Political Science".

³⁵⁷ Y. Courtonne, in: Basile, *Lettres*, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, Paris 1957, 3, note 2.

³⁵⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 96, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 208, transl. R.J. Deferrari vol. 2, 157.

less than for its horses. Accordingly we match with his father's family that of his mother (Ὅθεν τῷ πατρῷ γένει τὸ μητρῶον ἡμεῖς ἀντανίσχομεν).³⁵⁹

Gregory of Nazianzus says that Basil was first taught by his father, “acknowledged in those days by Pontus as its common teacher of virtue (κοινὸν παιδευτὴν ἀρετῆς ὁ Πόντος τηνικαῦτα προῦβάλλετο).”³⁶⁰ Gregory does not admit straightforwardly that Basil was brought up in Pontus, but the suggestion is clear enough to convince some scholars that Basil came from the province of Pontus (as well as his father).³⁶¹ Pontus could have meant the entire diocese here, although in the same oration Gregory of Nazianzus uses the name in the narrow sense referring to the province when he described that Basil fled from Caesarea to Pontus when the conflict with Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea at that time, broke out.³⁶² Also Gregory of Nyssa, Basil's brother, mentions Pontus as his own fatherland.³⁶³ However, the context of those mentions is pivotal. Both statements about Pontus as his homeland come from his writings about Macrina. So, pointing out at Pontus as the fatherland of Basil (and Gregory of Nyssa) could have been a well-thought-out literary device, a part of the process of creating Macrina. The version with Pontus as the homeland of Basil could have been reliable even in Basil's own hometown since “Gregory was rewriting the history of Basil's religious development, revealing a phase previously unknown to his congregation in Caesarea.”³⁶⁴

³⁵⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 43 (Funeris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi)*, 3, SC 384, 123, transl. NPNF II 7, 396.

³⁶⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 43 (Funeris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi)*, 12, SC 384, 140; transl. NPNF II 7, 399.

³⁶¹ Ph. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1998, 1: “Basil belonged to a relatively prosperous and locally prominent family in Pontus, near the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor;” A.M. Silvas *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, Oxford - New York 2005, 1: “Basil was born in c. AD 329 to an aristocratic Christian family of Neocaesarea, the capital of Pontus Polemoniakos;” A.M. Silvas *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 62: “Basil lived at ‘home’ with his father, that is, in the city where his father pursued his career. All of this points to Neocaesarea, the metropolis of Pontus Polemoniakos, not to Caesarea metropolis of Cappadocia, as the family's residence;” A.M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 10: “The family seat was not Caesarea of Cappadocia but the city of Neocaesarea, the metropolis of Pontus Polemoniakos;” R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, Philadelphia 2003, 9: “Basil had been raised in Pontus.”

³⁶² Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 43 (Funeris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi)*, 29, SC 384, 190.

³⁶³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae* 19, 10, GNO 8/2, 65; *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 387.

³⁶⁴ N. McLynn, *Gregory Nazianzen's Basil: The Literary Construction of a Christian Friendship*, “*Studia Patristica*” 37 (2001), 180.

In Letter 210 to the learned in Neocaesarea Basil himself admits his acquaintance with the region from his childhood (διὰ τὴν ἐκ παιδός μοι πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο συνήθειαν), because he was brought up there by his grandmother (ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐτρόφην παρὰ τῆ ἑμαυτοῦ τήθη).³⁶⁵ The context of the letter is crucial. During the conflict with Atarbius, bishop of Neocaesarea, in 376, Basil addresses a letter to the laity of the city and by referring to his grandmother legitimizes himself as a lawful heir of “the tradition of the truly great Gregory Thaumaturgus and of those who followed after him up to the blessed Musonius.”³⁶⁶

There is one hint that indicates that Basil was really brought up in Cappadocia: in Letter 37 without an address on behalf of a foster brother. “For I admit that I have many friends and relatives in my country (ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος), and that I myself have been appointed to the position of a father (εἰς τὴν πατρικὴν τάξιν) by reason of this station to which the Lord has appointed me. But I have only one foster brother, this man who is the son of the woman who nursed me, and I pray that the household in which I was brought up may remain at its old assessment.”³⁶⁷ πατρικὴ τάξις refers or to the presbyterate, or to the episcopate³⁶⁸ – Basil obtained both in Caesarea in Cappadocia. As his wet-nurse lived in Cappadocia, he must have been nursed here, not in Pontus.

According to Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil “when sufficiently trained at home [...] set out for the city of Caesarea, to take his place in the schools there (Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς εἶχε τῆς ἐνταῦθα παιδεύσεως, [...] ἐπὶ τὴν Καισαρέων πόλιν ἐπέιγεται, τῶν τῆδε μεθέξων παιδευτηρίων).”³⁶⁹ At some point, in Caesarea Basil got to know Eustathius, later bishop of Sebastea. Eustathius himself was ordained priest by Hermogenes, bishop of Caesarea, and Eustathius’ father Eulalius was bishop of Caesarea later on. It must be assumed that he came from Caesarea or at least spent there his youth. Basil himself confirms that he and Eustathius knew

³⁶⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 210, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 190.

³⁶⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 210, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 191-192.

³⁶⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 37, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 80; transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 193-195.

³⁶⁸ J.R. Pouchet, *Basile le Grand et son univers d'amis d'après sa correspondance*, 186.

³⁶⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*Funeris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 13, SC 384, 142, transl. NPNF II 7, 399.

each other from his childhood (ἐκ παιδός): he had “an intimacy with the man which dates from childhood (τῆς ἐκ παιδὸς συνηθείας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης μοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα)”³⁷⁰ and he “from boyhood had performed such a service for a certain person” (ὁ τοιῶσδε δουλεύσας ἐκ παιδὸς τῷ δεῖνι);³⁷¹ in both cases meaning Eustathius of Sebastea whom the letters concern. According to the classical Ancient division of human life παιῖς was a second stage from seven to fourteen.³⁷²

According to Gregory of Nazianzus, after attending a school in Caesarea, Basil went to Constantinople where he was trained in sophistry and philosophy and then went to Athens.³⁷³ Rousseau and Fedwick state that Basil was in Athens between 349 and 355.³⁷⁴ The point of reference that is usually used to date his studies is that he became acquainted with Julian who studied in Athens in the summer and fall of 355. But, as Gribomont noted, Basil’s meeting with Julian is attested only by the mutual correspondence of doubtful authorship.³⁷⁵

In Letter 1 addressed to Eustathius the philosopher, Basil admits that he left Athens “owing to the repute of your philosophy (Ἐγὼ κατέλιπον τὰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ φήμην τῆς σῆς φιλοσοφίας).”³⁷⁶ The identity of that Eustathius was uncertain until 1959 when Jean Gribomont in his famous article established that it was Eustathius of Sebastea.³⁷⁷ Gribomont dated this letter for 357 on the basis of events that Eustathius of Sebastea was involved in.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 102, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 3, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 191.

³⁷¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 74, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 449.

³⁷² H.-I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, transl. G. Lamb, New York 1964, 147.

³⁷³ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*Funebris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 14, SC 384, 146.

³⁷⁴ P.J. Fedwick, *A Chronology of the Life and Works of Basil of Caesarea*, 6; Ph. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, 28.

³⁷⁵ J. Gribomont, *Eustathe le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, “Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique” 54 (1959), 120.

³⁷⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3; transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 3.

³⁷⁷ J. Gribomont, *Eustathe le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, 115-124. Tillemont (L.S. Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, vol. 9, Paris 1703, 810) was convinced that Eustathius that Basil followed was the famous Eustathius the philosopher. Fatti (F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 443-473) advanced the thesis that Eustathius the philosopher and Eustathius of Sebastea could have been one and the same person – I have discussed this thesis in Chapter 1 of Part II.

³⁷⁸ J. Gribomont, *Eustathe le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, 120.

While in Athens Basil received a message/report (φήμη) on Eustathius' ascetic practice (φιλοσοφία)³⁷⁹ and decided to join him. It seems that Eustathius became an ascetic while Basil was out of Caesarea. As it appears from Letter 1 by Basil, Basil and Eustathius remained in contact when Basil was studying in Athens as his letter is an answer to that of Eustathius.³⁸⁰

It is significant that even in the panegyric to the honour of Basil Gregory of Nazianzus mentions that his departure caused conflict between two friends:

Ἐνταῦθά τι κατηγορήσω μὲν
ἐμαυτοῦ, κατηγορήσω δὲ τῆς θείας
ἐκείνης καὶ ἀλήπτου ψυχῆς, εἰ καὶ
τολμηρόν. Ὁ μὲν γάρ, τὰς αἰτίας
εἰπὼν τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐπάνοδον
φιλονεικίας, κρείττων ὤφθη τῶν
κατεχόντων· καὶ βία μὲν,
συνεχωρήθη δ' οὖν ὁμῶς τὴν
ἐκδημίαν· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπελείφθην
Ἀθήνησι· τὸ μὲν τι μαλακισθεῖς,
εἰρήσεται γὰρ τάληθές, τὸ δέ τι
προδοθεῖς παρ' ἐκείνου, πεισθέντος
ἀφεῖναι μὴ ἀφιέντα καὶ
παραχωρήσαι τοῖς ἔλκουσι.
Πρᾶγμα, πρὶν γενέσθαι, μὴ
πιστευόμενον· γίνεται γὰρ ὥσπερ
ἐνὸς σώματος εἰς δύο τομὴ καὶ
ἀμφοτέρων νέκρωσις, ἢ μόσχων

And here I will bring an accusation against myself, and also, daring though it be, against that divine and irreproachable soul. For he, by detailing the reasons of his anxiety to return home, was able to prevail over their desire to retain him, and they were compelled, though with reluctance, to agree to his departure. But I was left behind at Athens, partly, to say the truth, because I had been prevailed on—partly because he had betrayed me, having been persuaded to forsake and hand over to his captors one who refused to forsake him. A thing incredible, before it happened. For it was like cutting one body into two, to the destruction of either part, or the severance of two bullocks who have shared the same manger and the same

³⁷⁹ Malingrey claims that the three Cappadocian Fathers integrated the term φιλοσοφία into the Christian language as a designation of the ascetic way of life. A.-M. Malingrey, *Philosophia. Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque, des Présocratiques au IV^e siècle après J.-C.*, Paris 1961, 234.

³⁸⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 3: “you revived my spirit and consoled me wonderfully by your letter (θαυμαστῶς πως ἀνεκαλέσω καὶ παρεμυθήσω τοῖς γράμμασι).”

<p>συντρόφων καὶ ὁμοζύγων διάζευξις γοερὸν μυκωμένων ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοις καὶ οὐ φερόντων τὴν ἀλλοτρίωσιν.</p>	<p>yoke, amid pitiable bellowings after one another in protest against the separation.³⁸¹</p>
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Silvas claims that the reason why Basil left Athens was the death of his brother Naucratius – the cause of “the anxiety to return home.”³⁸² But, Basil himself testifies that he left Athens because of Eustathius. It is easy to explain why Gregory of Nazianzus passed over the reason of Basil’s departure. He never mentioned Eustathius in any of his writings – he clearly opposed his way of practicing asceticism. The way that was followed by Basil and became a bone of contention between Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil.³⁸³

Basil left Athens and came back to his homeland (Caesarea) via Constantinople. In Letter 1, Basil states:

<p>Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβον τὴν πατρίδα καὶ σὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ μέγα ὄφελος ζητήσας οὐχ εὔρον, ἐντεῦθεν μοι λοιπὸν αἰ πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι ἀφορμαὶ τῶν ἀδοκῆτων ἐπιγεγόνασιν κωλυμάτων.</p>	<p>Yet when I reached the fatherland, and searching there for you, my great help, found you not, from that time on and ever since I have encountered many varied experiences which have put unexpected obstacles in my way.³⁸⁴</p>
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According to Gregory of Nazianzus Basil went from Athens to Caesarea,³⁸⁵ so clearly πατρίς was Caesarea to him. It is significant that Basil expected to meet Eustathius in Caesarea not elsewhere – it must have been his usual place of stay.

Basil excuses himself why he stayed in Caesarea enumerating the “obstacles” that prevented him from meeting Eustathius:

<p>Ἦ γὰρ ἀσθενεῖν πάντως ἔδει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν</p>	<p>For either I had to be sick and consequently to miss seeing you or I</p>
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³⁸¹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 43 (Funeris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi)*, 24, SC 384, 178-180, transl. NPNF II 7, 403-404.

³⁸² A.M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 69.

³⁸³ See Part IV. Epilogue.

³⁸⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 5.

³⁸⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 43 (Funeris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi)*, 25, SC 384, 182.

ἔφωαν βαδίζοντι συναπαίρειν μὴ
δύνασθαι.

found myself unable to join you as you
set out for the Orient.³⁸⁶

Most scholars claim that he was teaching rhetoric in Caesarea,³⁸⁷ while Gribomont refuses that possibility.³⁸⁸ Whatever Basil did, Gregory of Nazianzus confirms that “the city of Caesarea took possession of him (τὸν ἢ Καισαρέων κατέχει πόλις).”³⁸⁹ So, Basil must have spent some time there and then travelled to Syria and Egypt following Eustathius.³⁹⁰ When he was writing his Letter 1 in Alexandria, Eustathius apparently was nearby – in the same country (ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας) but they could not meet because of a prolonged sickness of Basil.³⁹¹

On the way from Egypt Basil visited Palestine, Coele-Syria and Mesopotamia where he had an opportunity to observe life of the ascetics.³⁹² Basil confessed in a letter to Eustathius of Sebastea:

Τούτου γοῦν ἔνεκεν θεασάμενός
τινας ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος ζηλοῦν τὰ
ἐκείνων ἐπιχειροῦντας, ἐνόμισά
τινα βοήθειαν εὐρηκέναι πρὸς τὴν
ἔμμουτοῦ σωτηρίαν.

On this account, then, having perceived
some in my fatherland (ἐπὶ τῆς
πατρίδος) trying to imitate the example
of those men, I believed that I had found
an aid to my own salvation.³⁹³

Again, Gregory of Nazianzus gives us the external reference confirming that it was Caesarea not Pontus. Gregory describes a conflict between Basil and the then bishop of Caesarea and states that some ascetics “who have separated themselves from the world and consecrated their life to God” (οἱ κόσμου χωρίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τῷ Θεῷ τὸν βίον καθιερώσαντες)³⁹⁴ went over to Basil’s side. With

³⁸⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 3-4; transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 5.

³⁸⁷ L.S. Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir a l’histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, 121; P. Maran, *Vita s. Basilii Magni*, PG 29, XII; Ph. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, 62; P.J. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea*, Eugene 2001, 135.

³⁸⁸ J. Gribomont, *Enstathe le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, 121.

³⁸⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*Funeris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 25, SC 384, 182, transl. NPNF II 7, 404.

³⁹⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 4.

³⁹¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 4.

³⁹² Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 10.

³⁹³ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 11, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 295.

³⁹⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*Funeris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 28, SC 384, 188, transl. NPNF II 7, 405.

Gregory's advice Basil "set out from the place into Pontus, and presided over the abodes of contemplation there."³⁹⁵ According to Fatti in 362 Basil, already a priest, tried to become bishop of Caesarea and did his best to depose the newly appointed bishop – Eusebius. Basil "was then the leader of the Eustathian monks in the city."³⁹⁶ When Basil arrived to Caesarea from his journey from Athens, Egypt, Palestine, Coele-Syria and Mesopotamia, Eustathius must have been already ordained bishop of Sebastea. The monks he met in Caesarea might have been Eustathius' disciples and apparently Basil joined them.

Between Basil's return to Caesarea from his "ascetical" journey and the conflict with Eusebius (elected bishop in 362³⁹⁷) an event took place which Gregory of Nazianzus did not mention. Namely, the Council of Constantinople (359) the first of two according to Kopecek (the second one was in January 360).³⁹⁸ Philostorgius stresses the importance of Basil of Ancyra and Eustathius of Sebastea, who "headed the group representing the doctrine of like in substance" (προειστήκεισαν δὲ τῶν μὲν κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιον πρεσβευόντων Βασιλείος τε καὶ Εὐστάθιος)³⁹⁹ and debated with Aetius. There is no doubt that Basil as a deacon was present at the Council of Constantinople as a part of the Homoiousian group; his presence is confirmed not only by Philostorgius (HE IV 12), but also by Gregory of Nyssa. He admitted that Eunomius accused "our tutor and father" that "when the decision transfers power to the opposition he flees the places having deserted his post."⁴⁰⁰ As Kopecek rightly pointed out: "Since Gregory of Nyssa did not challenge Eunomius accusation, it must have been substantially accurate."⁴⁰¹

It is clear that Basil and Eustathius cooperated not only on ascetical, but also on dogmatic level. Basil himself testifies that he was a kind of Eustathius' dogmatic think-tank: before Eustathius went to Lampsacus (364) he had consulted Basil.

³⁹⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*Funebris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 29, SC 384, 190, transl. NPNF II 7, 405.

³⁹⁶ F. Fatti, *An extraordinary Bishop. Eusebius of Caesarea in Cappadocia*, in: *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, S. W. J. Keough, C. Nicolay, Berlin 2011, 347-348.

³⁹⁷ F. Fatti, *Giuliano a Cesarea. La politica ecclesiastica del principe apostata*, Roma 2009, 68.

³⁹⁸ T.A. Kopecek, *A history of neo-arianism*, vol. 2, 299-300.

³⁹⁹ Philostorgius, HE IV 12, GCS 21, 64, transl. P.R. Amidon, 71.

⁴⁰⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I, 79, GNO 1, 49; transl. S.G. Hall, 47.

⁴⁰¹ T.A. Kopecek, *A history of neo-arianism*, vol. 2, 301.

Ἐρώτησον σεαυτόν· ποσάκις ἡμᾶς
ἐπεσκέψω ἐπὶ τῆς μονῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ
Ἰριδι ποταμῷ, ὅτε δὲ συμπαρήν μοι ὁ
θεοφιλέστατος ἀδελφὸς Γρηγόριος
τὸν αὐτόν μοι τοῦ βίου σκοπὸν
διανύων; Εἰ ἤκουσάς τι τοιοῦτον ἢ
ἔλαβες ἔμφασιν μικρὰν ἢ μείζονα; Ἐπὶ
δὲ τῆς Εὐσινόης, ὅτε, μετὰ πλειόνων
ἐπισκόπων μέλλοντες ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ
Λάμψακον, προσεκαλέσασθέ με, οὐ
περὶ πίστεως ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι; Οὐχὶ δὲ
πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὅσοι ταχυγράφοι
παρήσαν ἔμοι ὑπαγορεύοντι τὰ πρὸς
τὴν αἵρεσιν; Οὐ τῶν σῶν μαθητῶν οἱ
γνησιώτατοι πάντα μοι τὸν χρόνον
συνῆσαν;

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 at Eusinoe,
when you, about to set out for
Lampsacus 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? ⁴⁰²

The writing against the heresy (τὰ πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν) that Basil is mentioning was most probably *Adversus Eunomium*. Eusinoe is usually identified with Eusene - a town of Pontus, not far from the coast, a little to the northwest of Amisus (Samsun).

Having been ordained bishop of Caesarea Basil received a letter from Eustathius (not preserved) and in his answer praises Eustathius as his supporter and shield-fellow (παραστάτην καὶ συνασπιστήν) who gives him a spiritual help in the battles for the faith.⁴⁰³ In 372 Eustathius and Basil together with other 30 bishops signed a letter to the Italians and Gauls asking them for help against the heresy.⁴⁰⁴ In 373 Eustathius signed the confession of faith formulated by Basil.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰² Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 5, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 14; transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 303.

⁴⁰³ Basil, *Epistulae* 79, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 180-181.

⁴⁰⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 92, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 198-203.

⁴⁰⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 125, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 30-34.

But shortly after that the relationship between Basil and Eustathius changed from close and devoted friendship to open hatred. Eustathius charged Basil with Sabellianism and supporting Appolinarius of Laodicea; Basil gave as good as he got and accused Eustathius of Arianism and denying the deity of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁰⁶ Both charges might have been only slanders. In order to validate them I shall analyse in detail the ascetical similarities between Basil and Eustathius and try to answer the question whether Eustathius was Pneumatomachos. Then, I shall present the thesis that the true reason of the conflict was administrative: Basil acted as a metropolitan of Pontus and appointed bishops in Armenia Minor which Eustathius must have perceived as encroaching on his territory.

Chapter II. Ascetical issues

It is obvious but not always taken into account that we have no direct access to Eustathius' ascetical ideas. The only preserved sources are the synodical letter and canons of the Council of Gangra (358 according to my dating) that condemned some aspects of asceticism connected to Eustathius, but it is not clear whether the canons of Gangra referred to Eustathius himself or to his disciples. The synodical letter is ambiguous; although it states that the Council examined the matters which concern Eustathius (ζητουμένων καὶ τῶν κατ' Εὐστάθιον), the charges seem to refer to his disciples – partisans of Eustathius who violated ecclesiastical discipline (πολλὰ ἀθέσμως γινόμενα ὑπὸ τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον).⁴⁰⁷

1. Exceptions

The case becomes even more complicated as individualism was one of the main characteristics of this asceticism – the feature that was emphasized by the synodical letter of the Council of Gangra:

ἕκαστος γὰρ αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ
κανόνος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἐξῆλθεν,
ὥσπερ νόμους ἰδιάζοντας ἔσχεν οὔτε

For each of them, upon leaving the
rule of the church, became, as it
were, a law unto himself. For there is

⁴⁰⁶ L. Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology*, Oxford 2004, 225.

⁴⁰⁷ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, synodical letter, ed. P.P. Joannou, 85-86.

γὰρ κοινὴ γνώμη αὐτῶν ἀπάντων
ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ὅπερ ἂν
ἐνεθυμήθη, τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ἐπὶ
διαβολῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἑαυτοῦ
βλάβη.

not a common opinion among the
whole lot of them, but each puts
forward whatever he thinks, to the
slander of the church and to his own
harm.⁴⁰⁸

The individualism of Eustathian asceticism needs to be explained carefully. Silvas thinks that “Basil inculcates an obedience diametrically opposed to the independent if not to say arrogant manner of the enthusiasts.”⁴⁰⁹ To prove her thesis she evokes places where Basil speaks about personal obedience to the superior of the community.

Basil’s idea of obedience is something different from blind carrying out orders of a superior. The analysis by J. Gribomont has shown that in Basil both being a superior and being obedient in the community are special charismas.⁴¹⁰ Basil treats the community as one body that has as a scope to fulfill God’s will towards the community and each of its member. Obedience to a superior is a fundament of the life of the community – a member must obey decision of a superior regarding his activities and duties.⁴¹¹ Basil claims that “self-control does not consist in abstinence from irrational foods, resulting in the severity to the body condemned by the Apostle, but in complete secession from one’s own will”⁴¹² and warns about a danger of giving new adepts a possibility to choose between communities as “they suffer harm through pride of intellect, because they are not conforming to what is being taught them, but are becoming accustomed to sit as habitual judges and critics of the community.”⁴¹³ Nevertheless, he allows a possibility of leaving the community:

⁴⁰⁸ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, synodical letter, ed. P.P. Joannou, 88, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 450-451.

⁴⁰⁹ A.M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 25.

⁴¹⁰ J. Gribomont, *Obéissance et Évangile selon Saint Basile le Grand*, “La Vie spirituelle. Supplément” 5 (1952), 203.

⁴¹¹ Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 74, 96, 105, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125; *Regulae fusius tractatae* 7.

⁴¹² Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 128, PG 31, 1167; transl. A.M. Silvas, in: A.M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 343.

⁴¹³ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 35, PG 31, 1005; transl. M.M. Wagner, 302.

Τούς γε μὴν ἅπαξ
καθομολογησαμένους ἀλλήλοις
τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ζῶην ἀδιαφόρως
ἀναχωρεῖν οὐχ οἷόν τε διότι τὸ μὴ
ἐπιμένειν τοῖς δεδομένοις δύο
αἰτίας ἔχει, ἢ τὴν ἐκ τῆς
συνοικίσεως βλάβην, ἢ τὸ
ἄστατον τῆς γνώμης τοῦ
μεταβαλλομένου.

Certainly, those who have made an irrevocable and reciprocal promise to live together cannot leave at will, inasmuch as their not persevering in what they have pledged comes from one of two causes: either from the wrongs suffered in living the common life or from an unsteadiness of resolution in him who is changing his course.⁴¹⁴

Basil adds some conditions to be fulfilled if the reason of leaving is the misbehavior of brothers, such as making an open charge, but if it does not help “he may withdraw. In acting thus, he will not be separating himself from brethren but from strangers.”⁴¹⁵ The possibility of disobedience is also allowed if the superior orders something contrary to the divine commandments:

Ὅστε εἰ μὲν τί ἐστὶ κατ’ ἐντολήν τοῦ
Κυρίου λεγόμενον, ἢ πρὸς τὴν
ἐντολήν τοῦ Κυρίου
κατευθυνόμενον, κἂν θανάτου
ἀπειλήν ἔχη, ὑπακούειν χρή εἰ δέ τι
παρ’ ἐντολήν ἐστὶν, ἢ τὴν ἐντολήν
παραβλάπτει, κἂν ἄγγελος ἐξ
οὐρανοῦ, ἢ τις τῶν ἀποστόλων
ἐπιτάσῃ, κἂν ζωῆς ἐπαγγελίαν
ἔχη, κἂν θανάτου ἀπειλήν,
οὐδαμῶς ἀνέχεσθαι χρή.

Therefore, whatever is said in accordance with the Lord’s commandment or is directed to the Lord’s commandment, we must obey, even if it seems to hold a threat of death; but we must in no way pay heed to anything that is contrary to the commandment or hinders the commandment, not even if an angel from heaven or one of the apostles should enjoin it, whether promising life or threatening death.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 36, PG 31, 1008; transl. M.M. Wagner, 305.

⁴¹⁵ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 36, PG 31, 1009; transl. M.M. Wagner, 305.

⁴¹⁶ Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 303, PG 31, 1297; transl. A.M. Silvas, in: A.M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 442.

Although obedience to the superior is one of the most important features of Basil's community, the final resort is always a conscience and individual judgement of everyone. On the other hand, communities can differ one from another depending on the charisma of a leader as his role is to discern God's will and each superior can do it individually.⁴¹⁷

However, the synodical letter of the Council of Gangra does not refer to that kind of obedience. It clearly concerns Church regulations (τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ) and indicates that some ascetical behaviours act to the detriment of the Church (ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας). Disobedience to the community's superior can harm the community or the disobedient, but not the Church.

Acting against the regulation was what the synodical letter describes with an expression "as if he had his own laws" (ὡσπερ νόμους ιδιάζοντας ἔσχεν). Those exceptions, own laws seem to be very pious as they stress the necessity of piety and prudence. The Council of Gangra condemns that motivation which at first glance seems to be praiseworthy; canons described it as: "under pretence of asceticism" (διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν),⁴¹⁸ "for the sake of asceticism" (προφάσει τῆς ἀσκήσεως),⁴¹⁹ "for the sake of piety" (προφάσει θεοσεβείας),⁴²⁰ "under pretence of piety" (διὰ νομιζομένην θεοσεβείαν),⁴²¹ "because of his perfect understanding in the matter" (ἐπικυροῦντος ἐν αὐτῷ τελείου λογισμοῦ),⁴²² "from a presumptuous disposition" (ὑπερηφάνῳ διαθέσει).⁴²³

The individualism the synodical letter is talking about might have referred to two aspects: acting independently of ecclesiastical hierarchy and individual interpretation of the Holy Scripture at variance with official interpretation of the Church. Those two characteristics cause that all attempts of looking for a consistent ascetical system in Basil's writings – the system that would prove Eustathius'

⁴¹⁷ J. Gribomont, *Obéissance et Évangile selon Saint Basile le Grand*, 214: "Le rôle du προεστώς n'ira jamais pourtant jusqu'à incarner l'autorité divine, à donner une valeur religieuse aux actions indifférentes; il consiste seulement à discerner, selon une ligne prophétique, quelle est sur chacun la volonté de Dieu."

⁴¹⁸ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 12 and 13, ed. P.P. Joannou, 94; canon 18, ed. P.P. Joannou, 96.

⁴¹⁹ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 15, ed. P.P. Joannou, 95.

⁴²⁰ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 16, ed. P.P. Joannou, 96.

⁴²¹ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 17, ed. P.P. Joannou, 96.

⁴²² *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 19, ed. P.P. Joannou, 97.

⁴²³ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 20, ed. P.P. Joannou, 97.

influence on Basil – are foredoomed to failure. And that is probably why scholars differ so much in estimating that influence – from stating that Basil was more or less faithful imitator of Eustathius⁴²⁴ to claiming that his asceticism was “aimed at weaning Pontic ascetic communities from vestiges of Eustathius’ influence.”⁴²⁵ Looking for differences between Basil teaching and ideas condemned in Gangra is pointless – those differences could be the best proof that Basil followed Eustathius’ principle of individualism. The only way to find out whether Basilian asceticism had Eustathian features is to check whether it positively contained any of those condemned ideas. That is why I will not point out characteristics that differ Basil from asceticism condemned in Gangra, but only the ones that coincide.

Silvas claims that Basil “promotes collaboration with local church authorities that distributions of property are to be entrusted to ‘those who preside over the local churches’, that is, the local bishop or his deputy.”⁴²⁶ The evoked quotation comes from *Regulae brevius tractatae* 187. If Basil had put a full stop here, Silvas would be perfectly right, but this is not the end of the phrase. Basil adds: “if he is faithful and capable of prudent administration” (ἐὰν ᾗ πιστὸς, καὶ φρονίμως οἰκονομεῖν δυνάμενος).⁴²⁷ This is the core of Eustathian asceticism. Hierarchs could have been obeyed if they were devout and prudent. If not, Basil gives an ascetic the right to act independently, according to his own judgment, although this acting would be against Church regulations (τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ), as the rule established in Gangra allows no exceptions:

Εἴ τις καρποφορίας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς
ἐθέλοι ἔξωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας

If anyone wishes to receive or give
church funds outside the church,
contrary to the will of the bishop or

⁴²⁴ F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die chronologie der Basiliius-Briefe*, 97; D. Amand, *L’ascèse monastique de Saint Basile: Essai historique*, Maredsous 1949, 60; S. Elm, *Virgins of God*, 135; J. Gribomont, *Le dossier des origines du Messalianisme*, in: *Epektasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, Paris 1972, 624; J. Gribomont, *St. Basile et le monachisme enthousiaste*, “*Irénikon*” 62 (1980), 135; L. Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy*, 225; T.G. Kardong, *Who was Basil’s mentor? Part 1*, “*American Benedictine Revue*” 60 (2009), 197.

⁴²⁵ A.M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 37; K.S. Frank, *Monastische Reform im Altertum. Eustathius von Sebaste und Basiliius von Caesarea*, 43; J. Driscoll, *Eustazio di Sebaste e il primo ascetismo cappadoce*, 23.

⁴²⁶ A.M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 26.

⁴²⁷ Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 187, PG 31, 1208; trans. A.M. Silvas, in: *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 376.

λαμβάνειν ἢ διδόναι παρὰ γνώμην
τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἢ τοῦ ἐγκεχειρισμένου
τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ μὴ μετὰ γνώμης αὐτοῦ
ἐθέλοι πράττειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

the one entrusted with such matters,
and wishes to act without his
consent, let such a one be
anathema.⁴²⁸

Basil orders that “all bound slaves who flee to religious communities for refuge should be admonished and sent back to their masters”⁴²⁹ – seemingly in accordance with canon 3 of the Council of Gangra which stated:

Εἴ τις δοῦλον προφάσει θεοσεβείας
διδάσκοι καταφρονεῖν δεσπότη καὶ
ἀναχωρεῖν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, καὶ μὴ
μετ’ εὐνοίας καὶ πάσης τιμῆς τῷ
ἐαυτοῦ δεσπότη ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

If, under pretext of piety, anyone
teaches a slave to despise his master
and to withdraw from service and not
to serve his master to the utmost with
good will and all honor, let such a one
be anathema.⁴³⁰

But Basil adds an exception as the Council of Gangra named it – “under pretext of piety”:

Εἰ μέντοι κακὸς ὁ δεσπότης τύχοι,
παράνομά τινα ἐπιτάσων, καὶ πρὸς
παράβασιν ἐντολῆς τοῦ ἀληθι-
νοῦ Δεσπότη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ τὸν δοῦλον βιαζόμενος,
ἀγωνίζεσθαι χρὴ, ὅπως μὴ τὸ ὄνομα
τοῦ Θεοῦ βλασφημηθῇ διὰ τὸν δοῦλον
ἐκεῖνον ποιήσαντά τι, ὃ μὴ ἀρέσκει
Θεῷ.

If, however, it should be the case of
a wicked master who gives unlawful
commands and forces the slave to
transgress the command of the true
Master, our Lord Jesus Christ, then it
is our duty to oppose him, that the
Name of God be not blasphemed by
that slave’s performing an act
displeasing to God.⁴³¹

Basil’s teaching on the reception of married persons and slaves into the ascetic community has been considered by some scholars as very similar to the

⁴²⁸ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 7, ed. P.P. Joannou, 92, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 452.

⁴²⁹ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 11, PG 31, 948, transl. M.M. Wagner, 261.

⁴³⁰ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 3, ed. P.P. Joannou, 90, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 451.

⁴³¹ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 11, PG 31, 948, transl. M.M. Wagner, 262.

positions condemned by the Council of Gangra.⁴³² On the contrary, Silvas sees in those rules “new measures” that constitute Basil’s answers to the concerns of the Council of Gangra with only some exceptions that for her have no importance.⁴³³ In my opinion, those exceptions are the main characteristics of Eustathian asceticism as the regulations of the Council of Gangra provided no exceptions.

Another example of exception allowed by Basil is connected to canon 6 of the Council of Gangra:

<p>ς. Περὶ τῶν τὰς λειτουργίας ἔξω τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιουμένων. Εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησιάζοι, καταφρονῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐθέλοι πράττειν, μὴ συνόντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon VI. If anyone assembles outside the church on his or her own initiative and, despising the church, desires to perform church functions in the absence of a presbyter who conforms to the judgment of the bishop, let such a one be anathema.⁴³⁴</p>
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It is obvious that according to the Council there could have been no exception, but Basil did allow an exception – he says it is absolutely impermissible to celebrate the Eucharist in the private house unless it is necessary (ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ).⁴³⁵ Again, the necessity was to be stated by individual judgment probably of the superior of the community.

In the Epilogue bishops gathered in Gangra summarized that concept of asceticism:

<p>Ταῦτα δὲ γράφομεν οὐκ ἐκκόπτοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς ἀσκεῖσθαι βουλομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς</p>	<p>We write these things not to cut off those in the church of God who wish to practice asceticism according to the Scriptures but [to cut off] those who undertake the practice of asceticism to</p>
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⁴³² W.K. Lowther Clarke, *St Basil the Great: A Study in Monasticism*, Cambridge 1913, 162; T.G. Kardong, *Who was Basil's mentor? Part 1*, 197.

⁴³³ A.M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, Oxford - New York 2005, 31.

⁴³⁴ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 6, ed. P.P. Joannou, 91-92, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 452.

⁴³⁵ Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 310, PG 31, 1304.

λαμβάνοντας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς
ἀσκήσεως εἰς ὑπερηφάνειαν καὶ
κατὰ τῶν ἀφελεστέρως βιούντων
ἐπαιρομένους τε καὶ παρὰ τὰς
γραφὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς
κανόνας καινισμοὺς εἰσάγοντας.

the point of arrogance, both by exalting
themselves over those who lead a
simpler life and by introducing novel
ideas that are not found in the
Scriptures or in the writings approved
by the church.⁴³⁶

Basil's asceticism is obviously based on the Scriptures, but in some circumstances it refuses to obey ecclesiastical canons "under the pretence of asceticism". In *De iudicio Dei* Basil straightforwardly describes the scope of his ascetical writing: that we turn away from habits of our own will and from "discernment of human tradition" (τῆς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παραδόσεων παρατηρήσεως) and that we behave according to the Gospel.⁴³⁷

2. Style of dressing

Style of dressing was clearly one of the crucial indicators of Eustathian asceticism. Canon 13 of the Council of Gangra condemns women who adopted men's clothing, but there are no indicators that Basil recommended that custom to anyone. The question of dressing Eustathius and Basil themselves is much more complicated.

In the Synodical Letter the Council stated that Eustathians "wear strange dresses to the downfall of the common mode of dress" (ξένα ἀμφιάσματα ἐπί καταπτώσει κοινότητος τῶν ἀμφιασμάτων συνάγοντες).⁴³⁸ ἀμφιάσμα means nothing specific but "garment". Canon 12 of the Council of Gangra refers again to men's clothing and reads as follows:

IB. Περί τῶν περιβολαίῳ χρωμένων
καὶ καταφρονούντων τῶν βήρους
φορούντων.

Canon XII.

⁴³⁶ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, epilogue, ed. P.P. Joannou, 98, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 454.

⁴³⁷ Basil, *De iudicio Dei*, PG 31, 676.

⁴³⁸ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, synodical letter, ed. P.P. Joannou, 87, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 450.

Εἴ τις διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν
περιβολαίῳ χρῆται, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ
τούτου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔχων
καταψηφίζοιτο τῶν μετ’ εὐλαβείας
τὰς βήρους φορούντων καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ
κοινῇ καὶ ἐν συνηθείᾳ οὔσῃ ἐσθῆτι
κεχρημένων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

If, because of presumed asceticism, any man wear the periboleum and, claiming that one has righteousness because of this, pronounces judgment against those who with reverence wear the berus and make use of other common and customary clothing, let him be anathema.⁴³⁹

The term περιβόλαιον does not mean any specific robe or garment, but according to Liddell-Scott Lexicon “that which is thrown round, covering”, according to Lampe Lexicon it was a cloak. In the text it is opposed to βῆρος. “Birrus/byrrus - A waterproof cloak of Gallic origin: modern authors have speculated that it was similar to the sagum, lacerna or paenula, but there is insufficient evidence to support any of these, and the birrus has not been unequivocally identified in artistic representations. It may have had a hood (cucullus) and seems to have been made in a range of different qualities (SHA Carinus 20.6 implies good quality, whereas Code of Theodosius 14.10.1 says slaves might wear it). The word appears quite late, being unused in extant literature before the second century AD, but was quite common throughout the Roman world by AD 300. In the Church Fathers the birrus is worn by the clergy.”⁴⁴⁰ Although the canon itself does not mention clergy, but the term βῆρος indicates that the problem of the inappropriate dressing concerned priests. That interpretation is confirmed by Sozomen’s account. He states that Eustathius himself or his followers “did not retain the customary tunics and stoles (χιτῶνας συνήθεις καὶ στολάς) for their dress, but used a strange and unwonted garb (ξένη καὶ ἀήθει ἐσθῆτι)”⁴⁴¹ and after the Council of Gangra

⁴³⁹ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 12, ed. P.P. Joannou, 94, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 452-453.

⁴⁴⁰ L. Cleland, G. Davies, L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, London-New York 2007, 19. Fatti specifies that from 250s birrus used to be an attribute of a bishop, *Nei panni del vescovo. Gregorio, Basilio e il filosofo Eustazio*, in: *Le trasformazioni delle elites in età tardoantica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Perugia, 15-16 marzo 2004)*, ed. R. Lizzi Testa, Roma 2006, 203.

⁴⁴¹ Sozomen, HE III 14, 33, GCS 50, 123, transl. NPNF II 2, 293.

ἐντεῦθεν δὲ λόγος Εὐστάθιον
ἐπιδεικνύμενον, ὡς οὐκ ἀυθαδείας
ἔνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς κατὰ θεὸν ἀσκήσεως
εἰσηγοῖτο ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύει,
ἀμειψαὶ τὴν στολὴν καὶ παραπλησίως
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσι τὰς προόδους
ποιήσασθαι.

Eustathius exchanged his stole, and made his journeys habited like other priests, thus proving that he had not introduced and practiced these novelties out of self-will, but for the sake of a godly asceticism.⁴⁴²

στολή was “generally, equipment, outfit, especially clothes, so garments in general.”⁴⁴³ Similar charge occurred in Socrates’ account on the deposition of Eustathius by his father – according to my dating some 5-8 years before the Council of Gangra. Socrates claims that Eulalius deposed him because of dressing a stole inappropriate for the priesthood (ἀνάρμοστον τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ στολὴν).⁴⁴⁴ Up to this point no source has specified what kind of dress Eustathius wore. There is also no clear distinction between Eustathius himself and his followers. The only account that specifies a type of that dress is the one by Socrates:

Αὐτός τε φιλοσόφου σχῆμα φορῶν
καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ
ξένη στολῇ χρῆσθαι ἐποίει.

He himself wore the habit of a philosopher, and induced his followers to adopt a new and extraordinary garb.⁴⁴⁵

It must have been Socrates’ interpretation of Gangra’s decrees unless he had some additional documentation. Some scholars think that Socrates thought of the dress of an ascetic / a habit as the term φιλοσοφία at that time frequently occurred in a technical sense of an ascetic or monastic life.⁴⁴⁶ However, Socrates uses the noun φιλόσοφος exclusively with reference to Pagan philosophers.⁴⁴⁷ On the basis of

⁴⁴² Sozomen, HE III 14, 36, GCS 50, 124, transl. NPNF II 2, 294 with alterations.

⁴⁴³ L. Cleland, G. Davies, L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, 182.

⁴⁴⁴ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1, GCS NF 1, 180.

⁴⁴⁵ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 4, GCS NF 1, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72.

⁴⁴⁶ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 22; R. Goulet, *Eustathe de Cappadoce*, in: *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, vol. III, Paris 2000, 375.

⁴⁴⁷ Meropius and Metrodoros (HE I 19, 3, GCS NF 1, 61), Ancient philosophers in general (HE I 7, 9, GCS NF 1, 17; HE II 35, 8, GCS NF 1, 150; HE III 7, 20, GCS NF 1, 199; HE III 23, 13, GCS NF 1, 220; HE IV 25, 5, GCS NF 1, 259; HE IV 26, 8, GCS NF 1, 260; HE VII 2, 3, GCS NF 1, 348; HE VII 27, 4, GCS NF 1, 376), Maximus (HE III 1, 16, GCS NF 1, 188; HE V 21, 2, GCS NF 1, 295), Socrates (HE III 16, 20, GCS NF 1, 212; HE III 23, 12, GCS NF 1, 220), Plato and Xenophon

above-quoted excerpt, some scholars claim that Eustathius wore *τριβών* – a short cloak traditionally connected to the outfit of philosophers.⁴⁴⁸ Socrates clearly associated *τριβών* specifically with Pagan philosophers. He used that term only three times, in all of the cases *τριβών* is for him an attribute of a Pagan philosopher. Describing actions of Julian he states:

Ἐτίμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ παιδείαν
ἐσπουδακότας, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς
ἐπαγγελλομένους φιλοσοφεῖν. 56.
Διὸ καὶ τοὺς πανταχῆ <τοιούτους>
ἤγεν ἢ φήμη βρουάζοντας ἐπὶ τὰ
βασίλεια· οἱ φοροῦντες τοὺς
τρίβωνας πολλοὶ ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ παιδείας ἐδείκνυντο,
πάντες δὲ ἦσαν βαρεῖς τοῖς
χριστιανίζουσιν, ἄνδρες
ἀπατεῶνες καὶ ἀεὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος
οἰκειούμενοι τὴν θρησκείαν.

To those who were eminent for literary attainments, he extended the most flattering patronage, and especially to those who were professional philosophers; in consequence of which, abundance of pretenders to learning of this sort resorted to the palace from all quarters, wearing their palliums, being more conspicuous for their costume than their erudition. These impostors, who invariably adopted the religious sentiments of their prince, were all inimical to the welfare of the Christians.⁴⁴⁹

Describing Jovian's actions against Pagans, he adds: "The philosophers also laid aside their palliums, and clothed themselves in ordinary attire (οἱ τε τριβωνοφόροι τοὺς τρίβωνας ἀπετίθεντο <τότε> καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν σχῆμα μετημφιέννυντο)."⁴⁵⁰ The most interesting here is that he calls Pagan philosophers "those who wear tribon" (οἱ τριβωνοφόροι). The third time, Socrates uses the term *τριβών* with reference to Silvanus bishop of Troas formerly of Philippopolis:

(HE III 23, 13, GCS NF 1, 220), Empedocles (HE I 22, 2, GCS NF 1, 66), Pagan philosophers around Julian and Julian himself as a Pagan (HE III 1, GCS NF 1, 187-193), Marc Aurelius (HE III 23, 14, GCS NF 1, 220), Themistius (HE IV 32, 2, GCS NF 1, 268), Andragathius (HE VI 3, 1, GCS NF 1, 313), Theon and Hypatia (HE VII 15, 1, GCS NF 1, 360).

⁴⁴⁸ F. Fatti, *Monachesimo anatolico. Eustazio di Sebastia e Basilio di Cesarea*, 56-57; A. Urbano, 'Dressing a Christian': *The Philosopher's Mantle as Signifier of Pedagogical and Moral Authority*, "Studia Patristica" 62 (2013), 225;

⁴⁴⁹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE III 1, 55-56, GCS NF 1, 192, transl. NPNF II 2, 94.

⁴⁵⁰ Socrates Scholasticus, HE III 24, 6, GCS NF 1, 225, transl. NPNF II 2, 94.

“Silvanus was formerly a rhetorician, and had been brought up in the school of Troilus the sophist; but aiming at perfection in his Christian course, he entered on the ascetic mode of life, and set aside the rhetorician’s pallium (τρίβωνα φορεῖν οὐ προήρητο).”⁴⁵¹

So, it can be stated with certainty that Socrates interpreted the text of Gangra’s regulations or knew it from other sources that Eustathius wore τρίβων. He might have used the expression φιλοσόφου σχῆμα instead of indicating τρίβων as in Roman world “‘dress was not limited to clothing, but also includes hairstyles, shaving habits, jewelry, and other accessories.”⁴⁵² Anyway, in Socrates it is clearly an insult since he treated Pagan philosophers as enemies of the Christians.

The question is whether it was Socrates’ interpretation only or what bishops gathered in Gangra condemned was indeed wearing τρίβων by priests. Urbano claims: “Socrates writes that Eustathius dressed in the philosopher’s mantle (αὐτός τε φιλοσόφου σχῆμα φορῶν) and prescribed an otherwise undescribed ‘strange raiment’ (ξένη στολή) for his followers. This latter, called the περιβόλαιον in the Acts of the Council of Gangra, was probably not the same tribon worn by Eustathius. Socrates seems to distinguish Eustathius’ dress from that of his followers. Instead, Eustathius probably reserved the tribon for himself as a marker of both pedagogical and moral authority in his role as leader of the community.”⁴⁵³ I am not convinced that Socrates distinguished between Eustathius’ dressing and the one of his disciples. The bishops gathered in Gangra must have considered τρίβων as a strange garment (ξένη στολή) for priests. Fatti thinks that bishops condemned it as “foreign” to the Church, because it expressed a universe of values, and a type of authority, which had little to do with those of the Christianity and its leaders.⁴⁵⁴ In the Cappadocian environment some 50 years before Socrates (at least among Cappadocian Fathers) τρίβων usually had no pejorative connotation, but was a

⁴⁵¹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE VII 37, 1, GCS NF 1, 386, transl. NPNF II 2, 173-174.

⁴⁵² A. Urbano, ‘*Dressing a Christian*’, 214.

⁴⁵³ A. Urbano, ‘*Dressing a Christian*’, 225.

⁴⁵⁴ F. Fatti, *Eustazio di Sebaste, Eustazio filosofo*, 460-461.

distinction of a rhetor as profession.⁴⁵⁵ Only once, Gregory of Nazianzus says that God wanted to punish the arrogance of Greeks who considered those who wore τρίβων and a beard as good (οἱ τῷ τρίβωνι καὶ τῇ ὑπὴν τὸ σεμνὸν ὑποδύονται).⁴⁵⁶

In a praising tone, he states that Basil wore “single tunic and well-worn cloak (ἐν χιτῶνιον καὶ τριβώνιον).”⁴⁵⁷ Gregory expresses no astonishment or indignation because of that fact. Between the Council of Gangra (358) and the death of Basil (378-379) people might have got used to bishops worn in τρίβων of the philosophers/rhetors. Or, τρίβων might have been concerned as inappropriate for priests/bishops only in some circles. Moreover, τρίβων apparently was not so technical term as we think and had some synonyms. In 5th – 6th century, Hesychius defined τρίβων as στολή with signes as ornament (στολή ἔχουσα σημεῖα ὡς γάμμα) and τριβώνιον (diminutive used by Gregory of Nazianzus in reference with Basil) as πάλλιον, περιβόλαιον.⁴⁵⁸ Here we are – περιβόλαιον is the term used by the Council of Ganga in canon 12.

Basil himself never mentions τρίβων either as his own dress or the one recommended for ascetics. In Letter 223 to Eustathius of Sebastea he admits that he himself used the thick cloak and the girdle (τὸ παχὺ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἡ ζώνη).⁴⁵⁹ ἱμάτιον – “an outer garment, it tends to be worn over a tunic, although men frequently wear it alone, revealing part of the chest, shoulders and one arm. [...] It became the Roman pallium and continued to be associated with the Greek world

⁴⁵⁵ In such a meaning Gregory of Nazianzus used that term in the *Oratio* 43 (*Funeris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 17, SC 384, 158; *Epistulae* 98, 1, GCS 53, 80; *Carmina moralia*, PG 37, 697.

⁴⁵⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 25 (*In laudem Heronis philosophi*), 5, SC 284, 166.

⁴⁵⁷ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*Funeris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 61, SC 384, 258.

⁴⁵⁸ Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, ed. I.C. Cunningham and P.A. Hansen, Berlin - New York, 2009. Byzantine lexicons will define the one who wears τρίβων (τριβωνοφόρος) as someone who wears στολή with signes as ornament (ὁ φορῶν στολήν ἔχουσαν σημεῖα ὡς γαμμάτια), cf. Photios, *Lexicon (N—Φ)*, ed. C. Theodoridis, Berlin-New York 2013; Suda, *Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, Leipzig 1928-1934; *Etymologicum magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford, Oxford 1848.

⁴⁵⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 11.

and intellectual activity.”⁴⁶⁰ So, it can definitely describe the same thing as the term τρίβων.

In Letter 2 Basil mentions χιτῶν as the only dress of the ascetic, claiming that “the tunic ought to be of such thickness that it will require no auxiliary garment to keep the wearer warm.”⁴⁶¹ He praises virtues of the ascetic life claiming that the soul “is dragged down no more by thought of food nor anxiety concerning coats (πρὸς περιβολαίων μέριμναν).”⁴⁶² On the other hand, when Basil distances himself from “anxiety concerning coats” he wants to stress his own modest and ascetical approach to the dress. In a long disquisition, he explains that way of dressing is extremely important for the ascetic:

Χρήσιμον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἐσθῆτος
ιδίωμα προκηρυττούσης ἕκαστον, καὶ
προδιαμαρτυρομένης τὸ ἐπάγγελμα
τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ζωῆς ὥστε ἀκόλουθον
καὶ τὴν προᾶξιν παρὰ τῶν
συντυγχανόντων ἡμῖν ἀπαιτεῖσθαι.
Οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως τὸ ἀπρεπὲς καὶ
ἄσχημον ἐν τοῖς τυχοῦσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς
μεγάλα ὑπισχνουμένοις διαφαίνεται.
Δημότην μὲν γὰρ, ἢ τινα τῶν
τυχόντων δίδοντα πληγὰς ἢ
λαμβάνοντα δημοσίᾳ, καὶ φωνὰς
ἀπρεπεῖς ἀφιέντα, καὶ ἐν καπηλείοις
διαιτώμενον, καὶ ἄλλα παραπλήσια
τούτοις ἀσχημονοῦντα, οὐκ ἂν τις
ῥαδίως οὐδὲ παρατηρήσειεν,

This distinctiveness in dress is also useful as giving advance notice of each of us, by proclaiming our profession of the devout life. Actions in conformity with this profession are, in consequence, expected from us by those whom we meet. The standard of indecorous and unseemly conduct is not the same for ordinary folk as for those who make profession of great aspirations. No one would take particular notice of the man in the street who would inflict blows on a passerby or publicly suffer them himself, or who would use obscene language, or loiter in the shops, or commit other unseemly actions of

⁴⁶⁰ L. Cleland, G. Davies, L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, 92.

⁴⁶¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 2, 6, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 11, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 21-23. Similar requirements of the ascetic way of dressing are comprised in Basil, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 90, PG 31, 1145.

⁴⁶² Basil, *Epistulae* 2, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 8.

μονοῦντα, οὐκ ἂν τις ῥαδίως οὐδὲ παρατηρήσειεν, ἀκόλουθα εἶναι τῇ ὅλη προαιρήσει τοῦ βίου καταδεχόμενος τὰ γινόμενα· τὸν δὲ ἐν ἐπαγγέλματι ἀκριβείας, κἂν τὸ τυχὸν παρίδη τῶν καθηκόντων, πάντες ἐπιτηροῦσι, καὶ ἀντ' ὀνειδούς αὐτῷ προφέρουσι, ποιοῦντες τὸ εἰρημένον ὅτι, Στραφέντες ῥήξουσιν ὑμᾶς. Ὅστε οἰονεὶ παιδαγωγία τίς ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις, πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἄκοντας αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν φαύλων εἰργεσθαι, ἢ διὰ τοῦ σχήματος ἐπαγγελία. Ὡς οὖν ἐστὶ τι στρατιώτου ἴδιον ἐν τῷ ἐνδύματι, καὶ ἄλλο τοῦ συγκλητικῷ, καὶ ἄλλο ἄλλου, ἀφ' ὧν εἰκάζεται αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, τὰ ἀξιώματα, οὕτως εἶναι τινα καὶ Χριστιανοῦ ιδιότητα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος εὐπρεπὲς καὶ ἀκόλουθον σώζουσιν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένην κοσμιότητα.

this kind. These things are accepted as in keeping with the general course of life in the world. On the other hand, everyone takes notice of him who is bound by promise to strive for perfection, if he neglect the least part of his duty, and they heap reproaches upon him for it, fulfilling the words: and turning upon you, they tear you. A mode of dress, therefore, which denotes one's profession serves to fulfill the office of pedagogue, as it were, for the weak, to keep them from wrongdoing even against their will. As one style of dress bespeaks the soldier, another, a senator, a third, some other high position, so that the rank of these dignitaries can generally be inferred, so also it is right and proper that there be some mark of identity for the Christian which would bear out even as to his garments the good order spoken of by the Apostle.⁴⁶³

Basil clearly accepts here and justifies a specific dress that distinguishes an ascetic from other people, a dress that apparently was condemned by the Council of Gangra with reference to priests.⁴⁶⁴ Fatti claims that Basil wore τριβῶν, because he

⁴⁶³ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 22, 3, PG 31, 980; transl. M.M. Wagner, 283-284.

⁴⁶⁴ J. Gribomont, *St. Basile et le monachisme enthousiaste*, "Irénikon" 62 (1980), 132; C.A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, 18.

was a follower of Eustathius.⁴⁶⁵ Actually, Basil used τριβώνιον – a type of garment that was also called πάλλιον or περιβόλαιον.

3. Assemblies in the honour of the martyrs

There is a point of Eustathian asceticism that needs broader explanation. Canon 20 of the Council of Gangra refers to the assemblies in the honour of the martyrs:

<p>Εἴ τις αἰτιᾶται ὑπερηφάνῳ διαθέσει κεχρημένος καὶ βδελυσσόμενος τὰς συνάξεις τῶν μαρτύρων ἢ τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς γινομένας λειτουργίας καὶ τὰς μνήμας αὐτῶν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>If, assuming an arrogant disposition and loathing, anyone condemns the assemblies [in honor?] of the martyrs or the services held in them [martyria?] and in memory of [the martyrs], let such a one be anathema.⁴⁶⁶</p>
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Basil position on the celebrations in honour of the martyrs has been interpreted by scholars in two diametrically opposed ways. On the basis of the same text from *Regulae fusius tractatae* 40 Tenšek says that it is obvious that Basil was under influence of Eustathius⁴⁶⁷ while Frank claims that Basil disquisition was directed against Eustathians.⁴⁶⁸ The very text by Basil read as follows:

<p>Περὶ τῶν ἐν συνόδοις πραγματειῶν. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις γινομένας ἀγορασίας οἰκειᾶς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος δείκνυσιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλου τινὸς ἔνεκεν ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις ἢ ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὰ τόποις φαίνεσθαι ἐπιβάλλει Χριστιανοῖς, ἢ προσευχῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ τοῦ εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἐλθόντας τῆς τῶν ἁγίων ὑπὲρ</p>	<p>Concerning business transactions at public assemblies. Scripture tells us, that commercial transactions in martyrs' sanctuaries are inappropriate for us; for it does not befit Christians to appear at these shrines or in their environs for any other purpose than to pray and, by recalling to memory the saints' conflict unto death in behalf of piety, to be animated to a</p>
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⁴⁶⁵ F. Fatti, *Monachesimo anatolico. Eustazio di Sebastia e Basilio di Cesarea*, 56-57.

⁴⁶⁶ *Canones Synodi Gangrensis*, canon 20, ed. P.P. Joannou, 97, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, 454.

⁴⁶⁷ T.Z. Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra*, 104.

⁴⁶⁸ K.S. Frank, *Monastische Reform im Altertum. Eustathius von Sebaste und Basilius von Caesarea*, 48.

εὐσεβείας μέχρι θανάτου ἐνστάσεως
πρὸς τὸν ζῆλον τὸν ὁμοιον
προτραπήναι· μεμνημένους τῆς
φοβερωτάτης ὀργῆς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅτι,
καίπερ πάντοτε καὶ πανταχοῦ πραῦς
ᾧ, καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, καθὼς
γέγραπται, μόνοις τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερόν
πωλοῦσι καὶ ἀγοράζουσι τὴν
μάστιγα ἐπανετείνατο, ὡς τῆς
ἐμπορίας τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς
μεταποιούσης εἰς σπήλαιον ληστῶν.
Οὐ μὴν, ἐπειδὴ ἕτεροι προλαβόντες
παρέφθειραν τὴν κεκρατηκυῖαν ἐπὶ
τῶν ἁγίων συνήθειαν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ
προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων, καὶ
μετὰ πλειόνων προσκυνεῖν καὶ
προσκλαίειν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ
ἐξιλάσκεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἁμαρτιῶν, εὐχαριστεῖν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν
εὐεργεσιῶν, οἰκοδομεῖν δὲ διὰ τοῦ
λόγου τῆς παρακλήσεως, ὅπερ ἔτι
καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας μνήμης
τηρούμενον ἔγνωμεν, ἀντὶ τούτων
ἀγορὰν, καὶ πανήγυριν, καὶ κοινὸν
ἐμπόριον τὸν τε καιρὸν καὶ τὸν
τόπον ποιοῦνται, ἤδη καὶ ἡμᾶς
ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτοῖς προσῆκε, καὶ
βεβαιοῦν τὰ ἄτοπα τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ

like zeal. They should be mindful,
also, of the most dread wrath of the
Lord, because, even though He is
always and everywhere meek and
humble of heart, as it is written, yet
He threatened with the scourge those
and those only buying and selling in
the temple, because trafficking in
merchandise changed this house of
prayer into a den of thieves.

Furthermore, when others are setting
us an example of disregarding the
practice which obtained among the
saints, by making the shrines the
occasion and place for a market and a
fair and common trade instead of
praying for one another, adoring God
together, imploring His aid with tears,
making satisfaction for their sins,
thanking Him for His benefactions
and strengthening their faith by
hearing words of exhortation
(practices which we know to have
occurred within our own memory), we
ought not to imitate them and
confirm their unseemly conduct by
also participating in such commercial
pursuits. We should, on the contrary,
imitate those assemblies described in
the Gospel as taking place in the time
of our Lord Jesus Christ and obey the

πράγματος· ἀλλὰ μιμεῖσθαι τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις ἱστορουμένας συνόδους, καὶ πληροῦν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου ὡς συντελοῦντα τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τύπῳ διατεταγμένα. Γράφει δὲ οὕτως Ὅταν συνέρχησθε, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ψαλμὸν ἔχει, διδαχὴν ἔχει, ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει, γλῶσσαν ἔχει, ἑρμηνείαν ἔχει· πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω.

injunction of the Apostle as complying with the rule established by so illustrious a precedent. He writes as follows: When you come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a revelation, hath a tongue, hath an interpretation; let all things be done to edification.⁴⁶⁹

The Council of Gangra used the term *σύναξις* in Canons 5 and 6 – apparently in the meaning of liturgical assemblies. But, in the Canon 20 the word *σύναξις* seems to be something different from liturgy, as it is juxtaposed by the conjunction “or” (ἢ) with “service” (λειτουργία) and “commemoration” (μνήμη). Basil himself seems to avoid the term *σύναξις*; apart from quoting twice Ps. 38:7 where the term appears, he uses it only three times in his writings: all of them in his late letters. In Letter 188 written in 374 to Amphiloch *σύναξις* appears in the negative context – in the definition of “illegal assembly” (παρασυναγωγή):

παρασυναγωγὰς δὲ τὰς συνάξεις τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀνυποτάκτων πρεσβυτέρων ἢ ἐπισκόπων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν λαῶν γινομένας. Οἷον εἴ τις ἐν πταίσματι ἐξετασθεὶς ἐπεσχέθη τῆς λειτουργίας καὶ μὴ ὑπέκυψε τοῖς κανόσιν, ἀλλ’ ἑαυτῷ ἐξεδίκησε τὴν προεδρίαν καὶ τὴν

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

⁴⁶⁹ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 40, PG 31, 1020-1021, transl. M.M. Wagner, 313-314.

λειτουργίαν καὶ συναπῆλθον τούτω
τινὲς καταλιπόντες τὴν καθολικὴν
Ἐκκλησίαν, παρασυναγωγῆ τὸ
τοιούτο.

episcopal and priestly functions, and
certain people, abandoning the
Catholic Church, have gone along
with him, – such an affair is illegal
congregation.⁴⁷⁰

It is difficult to determine whether the second use of *σύναξις* in Basil has anything to do with public celebrations or not. In Letter 243 written in 376 to the bishops of Italy and Gaul Basil complains that there is no more

οὐ τὸ μακάριον ἐκεῖνο τῶν ψυχῶν
ἀγαλλίαμα ὃ ἐπὶ ταῖς συνάξεσι καὶ
τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πνευματικῶν
χαρισμάτων ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγίνεται
τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς Κύριον.

that blessed joy of souls which arises
in the souls of those who believe in
the Lord at the gatherings and because
of the holy community of spiritual
gifts.⁴⁷¹

Just above the quoted excerpt Basil lists other phenomena of religious life that are missing: gatherings of Christians (*σύλλογοι Χριστιανῶν*), precedence of teachers (*διδασκάλων προεδρία*), teachings of salvation (*διδάγματα σωτήρια*), assemblies (*πανηγύρεις*), evening singing of hymns (*ὕμνωδία νυκτεριναί*). The term automatically associated with public celebrations is *πανήγυρις* – the name that in Classic use of Greek meant “general or national assembly, especially a festal assembly in honour of a national god.” So, it is probable that *σύναξις* does not mean here public celebration but rather small gathering in the circle of more spiritual believers.

In Letter 156 written in 373 to Evagrius the presbyter, Basil expresses his sadness that Evagrius refused to take part in their religious service (*μετασχεῖν αὐτῶν τῆς συνάξεως*) with Dorotheus.⁴⁷² The context says nothing about the character of that service.

However, it would be an abuse to claim that Basil did not use the term *σύναξις* in order to avoid being associated with Eustathians. The frequency of his

⁴⁷⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 188, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 121, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 11.

⁴⁷¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 243, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 70, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 441 with alterations.

⁴⁷² Basil, *Epistulae* 156, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 84.

usage of this word does not differ significantly from the one of Gregory of Nazianzus – four times and Gregory of Nyssa – twice, while John Chrysostom used it around hundred times. Socrates Scholasticus used the term *σύναξις* 12 times in the meaning of ecclesiastical celebrations, Epiphanius 11 times, but Sozomen only twice. No territorial pattern can be traced; it seems that some authors were eager to use it more and some less often.

In 4th century several names for ecclesiastical assembly were used and it is usually impossible to determine what kind of gathering was meant in every single situation. There were no technical terms for different kinds of assemblies. From what Basil says, it can be deduced that ecclesiastical gatherings not always/not only meant Eucharist, but as well “praying for one another, adoring God together, imploring His aid with tears, making satisfaction for their sins, thanking Him for His benefactions and strengthening their faith by hearing words of exhortation.” Different names could have been applied to all kinds of ecclesiastical gatherings: *σύναξις*, *λειτουργία*, *ἐκκλησιάζω*, *πανήγυρις*, *σύλλογος*, *μνήμη*, *σύνοδος*, *τὰ ἅγια*, *συναγωγή*, *τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*. For instance Sozomen summarizing in HE III 14 decrees of the Council of Gangra uses the expression *ἐν οἰκίαις ἐκκλησιάζοντας* instead of *συνάξεις* used by the Council, obviously treating them as synonyms.

The case becomes even more complicated as all of those expressions could have meant “assembly, gathering”, but

✓ first, not necessary ecclesiastical or liturgical, it could have been any kind of gathering,

✓ second, each of those names has also different meaning, used as well by the very same authors who applied them to ecclesiastical gatherings. Here are some examples (all of them according to Lampe Lexicon):

πανήγυρις - 1. festal assembly, festival, 2. time of rejoicing, festivity, 3. festal oration, laudatory speech, 4. assembly, 5. market, trading–fair;

ἐκκλησιάζω - 1. attend an assembly, 2. address a church meeting, preach, 3. preach to, teach, 4. be member of, belong to the Church, 5. be received, approved by Church;

σύναξις - A. a bringing together, combination, sum, B. gathering, assembly for public worship and instruction, religious service, C. of the day on which a σύναξις was held, feast day, festival, D. those assembled for a service, congregation, E. form of worship or prayer obligatory upon monks and nuns, perh. sometimes referring to eucharist but also to an office, F. shrine;

λειτουργία - A. public service, B. service, C. service to God;

μνήμη - A. memory; 1. remembrance, of blessed memory, 2. commemoration, 3. faculty of memory, plur., powers of memory, 4. act of memory, recollection, 5. record, 6. mention, 7. representation, B., mina;

συναγωγή - assembly, A. of persons; 1. act of gathering together, assembling, 2. assemblage, concourse, crowd, of a social gathering, multitude of nations, 3. union with God, B. of things; 1. bringing or drawing together, 2. collection; of thoughts, i.e. recollection, combination, 3. ? content, or poss. scheme; 4. conclusion, summary, C. in connexion with public worship; 1. Jewish; a. act of assembling for worship, b. assembly of persons for worship, congregation, c. the congregation of Israel, d. the Jewish community, e. place of worship, synagogue, f. synagogue of the Samaritans, 2. Christian; a. coming together, meeting for worship, b. assembly of persons for worship, Christian congregation, c. the whole Christian body, Church, d. = σύναξις, public worship, e. place of worship, Christian church, 3. as term of contempt; a. heret. congregation, b. party, sect, c. meeting-house, conventicle;

σύνοδος - A. companion on a journey, fellow traveller, of things that go together, equivalent, B. of persons, coming together, meeting, C. of things, coming together.

Assuming that Canon 20 of the Council of Gangra by all three names (σύναξις, λειτουργία, μνήμη) meant some kinds of liturgical gatherings, it is obvious that in *Regulae fusius tractatae* 40 Basil does not refer to Gangra's canon at all. What Gangra concerned was condemning and abhorring the very sense of

honouring the martyrs. Basil's remarks consider some misbehaviours during the feasts in honour of the martyrs.

The cult of martyrs was deep-rooted in the tradition of Asia Minor.⁴⁷³ Known from the end of 2nd century it became very popular when the persecutions had ended. To such an extent that the manifestations of that cult could seem to be the major phenomenon of the religious life of the 4th century. But the forms of expressing such beliefs were very much dependent on traditional ways in which the pagans honoured their deceased: they cared about the burial, often monumental, celebrated banquets at the tomb on the day of funeral and every year on its anniversary. The funeral banquet, in honour of deceased, especially martyrs, had been accepted by the Church as a lesser evil to replace it with the pagan festivals of the same kind; but some Fathers of the Church at the end of the 4th century concerned to repress the resulting abuses, not only Basil, but Ambrose and Augustine as well.⁴⁷⁴

4. Was Basil an Eustathian?

The letters by Basil confirm that Basil and Eustathius had long-lasting and close relationship from the very childhood of Basil until the conflict started in 372. According to Sozomen some people claimed that Eustathius was a real author of the ascetical book attributed to Basil:

Ἀρμενίοις δὲ καὶ Παφλαγόσι καὶ τοῖς
πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ οἰκοῦσι λέγεται
Εὐστάθιος ὁ τὴν ἐν Σεβαστεία τῆς
Ἀρμενίας ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτροπέυσας
μοναχικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἄρξαι, καὶ τῆς
ἐν ταύτῃ σπουδαίας ἀγωγῆς,
ἐδεσμάτων τε, ὧν χρὴ μετέχειν καὶ
ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐσθῆτος, ἣ δεῖ

It is said that Eustathius, who governed the church of Sebaste in Armenia, founded a society of monks in Armenia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, and became the author of a zealous discipline, both as to what meats were to be partaken of or to be avoided, what garments were to be worn, and what customs

⁴⁷³ H. Delehay, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Bruxelles 1912, 173-210.

⁴⁷⁴ H.-I. Marrou, *L'Église de l'Antiquité tardive (303-604)*, Éditions du Seuil 2014, Chapitre X, *Le culte des martyrs* (ebook).

κεχροῖσθαι, καὶ ἡθῶν καὶ πολιτείας
ἀκριβοῦς εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον, ὡς καὶ
τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην Βασιλείου τοῦ
Καππαδόκου Ἀσκητικὴν βίβλον
ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τινὰς αὐτοῦ γραφὴν εἶναι.

and exact course of conduct were
to be adopted. Some assert that he
was the author of the ascetic
treatises commonly attributed to
Basil of Cappadocia.⁴⁷⁵

This thesis is unverifiable on the basis of the preserved sources as there are no writings by Eustathius. W.K. Lowther Clarke noted: “Basil owed much to Eustathius, and the teaching and practices of the latter must have been to some extent represented in Basil’s *Ascetica* so much so that those who recalled Eustathius’ teaching and championed his memory could say that the ideas were really his. It was but a short step to take when they or others went on to ascribe the actual writing to him. Just how much is Eustathian it is impossible to say.”⁴⁷⁶ Amand says that it is very likely that a great part of Eustathius’ ascetic ideas and his monastic rules were preserved in the softened, humanized and more systematic form in the rules of Basil.⁴⁷⁷ Frazee states that it was Eustathius’ life “which provided Basil’s inspiration and his brotherhoods were the model for Basil’s communities.”⁴⁷⁸ Tenšek presents similar position: he points out that there is no proof that Eustathius ever wrote anything, but he left “a spiritual tradition and lived experience.”⁴⁷⁹

What can be stated with certainty is that Basil’s asceticism had some characteristics condemned by the Council of Gangra. In my opinion – crucial ones. Although in many points Basil’s rules gave recommendations different or sometimes even directly opposed to some attitudes condemned in Gangra, it does not mean he was less Eustathian. It only proves that he followed Eustathius’ principle of individualism and independent interpretation of the way asceticism should be practiced. Basil stresses that it is necessary for an ascetic to read and contemplate the Holy Scripture,⁴⁸⁰ he himself used to read and interpret the Bible on his own

⁴⁷⁵ Sozomen, HE III 14, 31, GCS 50, 123, transl. NPNF II 2, 293.

⁴⁷⁶ W.K. Lowther Clarke, *St Basil the Great: A Study in Monasticism*, Cambridge 1913, 161.

⁴⁷⁷ D. Amand, *L’ascèse monastique de Saint Basile: Essai historique*, Maredsous 1949, 60.

⁴⁷⁸ C.A. Frazee, *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, 16.

⁴⁷⁹ T.Z. Tenšek, *L’ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra*, 31-32.

⁴⁸⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 2, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 8-9.

and apply it to his life according to his own judgment.⁴⁸¹ It is significant that the basis for his moral rules is only and exclusively the Holy Scripture, Basil never refers to any tradition, never quotes any saints or other holy writers. Although it is generally assumed that he together with Gregory of Nazianzus created *Philocalia* – a collection of texts by Origen, it is very likely that they were not the authors of this book. Marguerite Harl analyzed the sources and it seems that there is no convincing proof of their authorship.⁴⁸² The effect of Harl's research seems to me coherent with the general attitude of Basil – he was focused on the Holy Scripture and even if he used other intellectual tools (as dialectic) during dogmatic disputes, he did it only because it was necessary to refute heretical theses.⁴⁸³

What Basil approves in general is not so important to state whether he was an Eustathian or not – the most important is that he allows exceptions if an ascetic recognized that something is against the piety i.e. against his version of piety. That is why I do agree with Gribomont's statement that Basil was much closer to the condemned ascetics than to the bishops gathered in Gangra.⁴⁸⁴ The visible attribute of that closeness was Basil's dress, apparently the same as condemned by the canon 12 of the Council of Gangra.

Chapter III. Was Eustathius Pneumatomachos?

It is commonly accepted that Eustathius of Sebastea became Pneumatomachos in the last years of his life. At first glance the statements about Eustathius' participation in the Pneumatomachian heresy seem to be clear and unquestionable. On closer inspection, the case loses obviousness.

In the 5th century *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Socrates Scholasticus there is a statement that is usually interpreted as if Eustathius was Pneumatomachos. The very account by Socrates reads as follows:

⁴⁸¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 10.

⁴⁸² M. Harl, *Introduction*, in: Origène, *Philocalie 1-20*, SC 302, Paris 1983, 19-20.

⁴⁸³ Basil, *De fide* 1-2, PG 31, 677-680.

⁴⁸⁴ J. Gribomont, *St. Basile et le monachisme enthousiaste*, 135.

Συνέρρεον οὖν πολλοὶ παρ' αὐτῶ
τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτῶ, οἱ νῦν
Μακεδονianoὶ χρηματίζουσιν ἐξ
αὐτοῦ· ὅσοι τε ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σελεύκειαν
συνόδῳ τοῖς περὶ Ἀκάκιον
διεκρίθησαν, φανερῶς τὸ ὁμοιούσιον
ἐδογματίσαν, τὸ πρότερον οὐκ
ἐκτρανοῦντες αὐτό. Φήμη δέ τις
κρατεῖ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὡς οὐκ εἶη
Μακεδονίου τὸ εὔρεμα, Μαραθωνίου
δὲ μᾶλλον, ὃν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς
Νικομηδείας πεποιήκει ἐπίσκοπον
διὸ καὶ Μαραθωνιανούς καλοῦσιν
αὐτούς. Τούτοις δὲ προσφεύγει καὶ
Εὐστάθιος ὁ τῆς Σεβαστείας
ἐκβληθεὶς δι' ἅς προφάσεις μικρῶ
πρότερον εἶρηκα. Ὡς δὲ ὁ
Μακεδόνιος τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα
συναναλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν θεολογίαν τῆς
Τριάδος ἐξέκλινεν, τότε καὶ
Εὐστάθιος· «Ἐγώ, ἔφη, οὔτε Θεὸν
ὀνομάζειν αἰροῦμαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ
ἅγιον οὔτε κτίσμα καλεῖν ἂν
τολμήσαιμι.» Διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν
αἰτίαν καὶ Πνευματομάχους
ἀποκαλοῦσιν αὐτούς οἱ τοῦ
ὁμοουσίου φρονήματος.

By this means he drew around him a
great number of adherents, who from
him are still denominated
'Macedonians.' And although such as
dissented from the Acacians at the
Seleucian Synod had not previously
used the term homoiousios, yet from
that period they distinctly asserted it.
There was, however, a popular report
that this term did not originate with
Macedonius, but was the invention
rather of Marathonius, who a little
before had been set over the church at
Nicomedia; on which account the
maintainers of this doctrine were also
called 'Marathonians.' To this party
Eustathius joined himself, who for the
reasons before stated had been ejected
from the church at Sebastia. But when
Macedonius began to deny the
Divinity of the Holy Spirit in the
Trinity, Eustathius said: 'I can neither
admit that the Holy Spirit is God, nor
can I dare affirm him to be a creature.'
For this reason those who hold the
homoousion of the Son call these
heretics 'Pneumatomachi.'⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁵ Socrates Scholasticus HE II 45, 3-7, GCS NF 1, 182-183, transl. NPNF II 2, 73-74.

A closer look reveals that the above-quoted text is not so unambiguous as it seems. It is certain that Eustathius belonged to the Homoiousian alliance as well as Macedonius did. DelCogliano has defined the meaning of ecclesiastical alliance as follows: “In recent scholarship, the notion of an ‘alliance’ or ‘ecclesial alliance’ has been used instead of ‘church party’ to name groups or networks that arise because of some common value or are formed for the promotion of a specific agenda in the ecclesiastical sphere. These values or agendas may or may not be theological. Such groups are characterised by features such as the performance of ecclesiastical communion, sufficient doctrinal agreement with respect to both principles and terminologies, the struggle with common enemies, the activity of mutual defence, the exercise of public ecclesio-political support, loyalty to revered figures, local ecclesiastical traditions, and personal friendship. No single feature, value or agenda is necessary to constitute an ecclesial alliance, and individuals or individual Churches may be part of a larger ecclesial alliance for different reasons.”⁴⁸⁶

According to Socrates at certain point Macedonius started to deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit. And then, there is a phrase about the reaction of Eustathius usually interpreted as if he shared Macedonius’ convictions:

Ὡς δὲ ὁ Μακεδόνιος τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα
 συναναλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν θεολογίαν τῆς
 Τριάδος ἐξέκλινεν, τότε καὶ Εὐστάθιος·
 Ἐγὼ, ἔφη, οὔτε Θεὸν ὀνομάζειν
 αἰροῦμαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὔτε
 κτίσμα καλεῖν ἂν τολμήσαιμι.

But when Macedonius began to deny the Divinity of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity, Eustathius said: ‘I can neither admit that the Holy Spirit is God, nor can I dare affirm him to be a creature.’⁴⁸⁷

The sentence that describes the change in Macedonius’ believes begins with δέ, correctly translated into English as “but”. “δέ serves to mark that something is different from what precedes, but only to offset it, not to exclude or contradict it; it denotes only a slight contrast, and is therefore weaker than ἀλλά, but stronger than καί. δέ is adversative and copulative; but the two uses are not always clearly to be

⁴⁸⁶ M. DelCogliano, *George of Laodicea: A Historical Reassessment*, 669.

⁴⁸⁷ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 45, 6, GCS NF 1, 183, transl. NPNF II 2, 74.

distinguished.”⁴⁸⁸ The adversative character of δέ is weakened here by καί placed at the beginning of the second part of the sentence. But, it is worth noticing that Socrates is extremely cautious in his appraisal of Pneumatomachians. He adds that “those who hold the homoousion of the Son call these heretics ‘Pneumatomachi.’”⁴⁸⁹

The statement of Eustathius in Socrates is his only quotation in entire literature. Although it seems heretical from today’s perspective, at the time and place it was voiced it was perfectly orthodox and coherent with the teaching of Basil the Great. The sentence quoted by Socrates understood by scholars as a proof that Eustathius was Pneumatomachos, was Basil own requirement to find somebody orthodox. In his two letters written in 372 or 373 he calls to receive in communion those who do not call the Holy Spirit a creature:

Μηδὲν τοίνυν πλέον ἐπιζητῶμεν,
ἀλλὰ προτεινώμεθα τοῖς
βουλομένοις ἡμῖν συνάπτεσθαι
ἀδελφοῖς τὴν ἐν Νικαία πίστιν, κἄν
ἐκείνη συνθῶνται, ἐπερωτῶμεν καὶ
τὸ μὴ δεῖν λέγεσθαι κτίσμα τὸ
Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον μηδὲ κοινωνικοὺς
αὐτῶν εἶναι τοὺς λέγοντας.

Let us then seek nothing more, but merely propose the Creed of Nicaea to the brethren who wish to join us; and if they agree to this, let us demand also that the Holy Spirit shall not be called a creature, and that those who do so call Him shall not be communicants with them.⁴⁹⁰

προσθεῖναι δὲ τῇ πίστει ἐκείνη καὶ
τὸ μὴ χρῆναι λέγειν κτίσμα τὸ
Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ
τοῖς λέγουσι κοινωνεῖν

and that you add to the aforesaid Creed that one must not speak of the Holy Spirit as a creature, nor have communion with those who so speak of Him.⁴⁹¹

The letters were written before the conflict between Basil and Eustathius broke out, but it is obvious that the problem of the Holy Spirit was already

⁴⁸⁸ H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* 2834, Harvard 1956, 644.

⁴⁸⁹ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 45, 7, GCS NF 1, 183, transl. NPNF II 2, 74.

⁴⁹⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 113, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 17, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 225.

⁴⁹¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 114, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 19, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 229.

discussed in the Church – the problem of the divinity Holy Spirit is strictly connected to the Arian view of the Son as created. Although at the beginning of the Arian and later on Eunomian controversy the debate was focused on the divinity of the Son, the question of the status of the Holy Spirit was always present and discussed. I do agree with Beeley who points out the continuity of Basil’s teaching on the Holy Spirit; he claims: “The early *Contra Eunomium* is in some respects Basil’s strongest statement of the Spirit’s divinity, and it provides the blueprint for his later work, including the *De Spiritu Sancto*.”⁴⁹² *Contra Eunomium* was written in the early period of Basil’s writing, it was finished in 366⁴⁹³ and *De Spiritu Sancto* is one of the last writings by Basil, written after 374.⁴⁹⁴ Basil himself noticed that Pneumatomachian ideas had their roots in Arius and were developed by his followers i.e. Aetius and Eunomius:

κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ προϊόντα τὰ πονηρὰ
 τῆς ἀσεβείας σπέρματα ἃ πρότερον
 μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀρείου τοῦ προστάτου τῆς
 αἰρέσεως κατεβλήθη, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ
 τῶν τὰ ἐκείνου κακῶς διαδεξαμένων
 ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξετράφη
 καὶ ἡ ἀκολουθία τῆς ἀσεβείας εἰς τὴν
 κατὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος βλασφημίαν
 ἀπέσκηψεν.

Coming forth little by little, the baneful seeds of impiety, which had been sown before by Arius, the author of the heresy, and later by those who wickedly succeeded to his opinions, have been nurtured to the harm of the churches, and the succession of impiety has broken forth into blasphemy against the Spirit.⁴⁹⁵

The term πνευματομάχος appeared in Asia Minor for the first time around 372. Earlier, Athanasius used the participle πνευματομαχοῦντες with reference to those who claimed that the Holy Spirit was created, but the Son was not.⁴⁹⁶ It seems that it was Basil who around 372 invented the noun ὁ πνευματομάχος. He used it 5 times in his writings: twice in the *De spiritu Sancto* (XI 27 and XXI 52), once in

⁴⁹² Ch. Beeley, *The Holy Spirit in the Cappadocians: Past and Present*, “Modern Theology” 26 (2010), 91.

⁴⁹³ B. Sesboüe, *Introduction*, in: Basile de Césarée, *Contre Eunome*, ed. B. Sesboüe, SC 299, Paris 1982, 44.

⁴⁹⁴ B. Pruche, *Introduction*, in: Basile de Césarée, *Sur le Saint-Esprit*, SC 17, Paris 2002, 56-57.

⁴⁹⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 125, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 33, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 267.

⁴⁹⁶ Athanasius, *Epistulae quattuor ad Serapionem* 1, 32 and 3, 2.

Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos (PG 31, 613), in Letter 140, 2 and in Letter 263, 3. In all 4 cases except for the last one Basil uses the term πνευματομάχοι in the Arian/Eunomian context.

The case of *De Spiritu Sancto* is especially important for my research. I disagree with scholars who claim that a part (chapters X-XXVII) of *De Spiritu Sancto* by Basil is either a record of his dispute with Eustathius held in June 372⁴⁹⁷ or a later reaction to Eustathius' theses.⁴⁹⁸ The only name of the opponent that Basil himself mentions in *De Spiritu Sancto* is Aetius (II 4). When Basil refers to that debate with Eustathius, he never gives any details and there is no reason to assume that the discussion concerned the divinity of the Holy Spirit. In Letter 98 Basil only summarizes the debate in one sentence:

<p>Προσεδοκᾶτο δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα συντυχία τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Εὐσταθίου, ἢ καὶ γενομένη ἡμῖν. Διὰ γὰρ τὸ παρὰ πολλῶν καταβοᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς περὶ τὴν πίστιν παραχαράσσοντά τι, ἀφικόμεθα αὐτῷ εἰς λόγους καὶ εὕρομεν σὺν Θεῷ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὀρθότητα εὐγνωμόνως ἀκολουθοῦντα.</p>	<p>Another meeting, too, with the most reverend bishop Eustathius was expected by us, and this actually took place. For since he was being denounced by many on the ground that he was falsifying the faith in some way, we entered into conference with him, and we found him, by God's grace, candidly in harmony with all orthodoxy.⁴⁹⁹</p>
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In Letter 99 Basil describes the debate in detail, but again without naming charges against Eustathius:

<p>ἐσπουδάσαμεν εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν τῷ προειρημένῳ ἀδελφῷ</p>	<p>We made a special effort to enter into conference with our brother Eustathius</p>
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⁴⁹⁷ H. Dörries, *De spiritu sancto. Der Beitrag des Basilii zum Abschluß des trinitarischen Dogmas*, Göttingen 1956, 81-94; J. Gribomont, *Eustathe de Sebaste*, in: *Saint Basile, Évangile et Église. Mélanges*, Bégrolles-en-Mauges 1984, vol. 2, 103. This hypothesis has been already rejected by B. Pruche (*Introduction*, SC 17, 74, footnote 3): “De telles affirmations, qui reposent sur de simples hypothèses de travail, paraissent fragiles. Car l’identification des chapitres dix à vingt-sept du livre sur le Saint-Esprit avec un « protocole de Sébaste » se réclame du fait que Basile aurait employé des tachygraphes et qu’on « pouvait penser que c’était là une habitude chez lui ». A l’appui de ce dire on ne peut guère fournir que la vague allusion d’une seule lettre (Lettre 223; PG 32, 829 A).”

⁴⁹⁸ B. Pruche, *Introduction*, SC 17, 117.

⁴⁹⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 98, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 212-213, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 169.

Εὐσταθίῳ. Καὶ προοτεινάμεν αὐτῶ
τὰ περὶ τῆς πίστεως ἐγκλήματα
ὅσα προφέρουσιν αὐτῶ οἱ περὶ τὸν
ἀδελφὸν Θεόδοτον, καὶ
ἠξιώσαμεν, εἰ μὲν ἔπεται τῇ ὀρθῇ
πίστει, φανερόν ἡμῖν καταστήσαι,
ὥστε ἡμᾶς εἶναι κοινωνικούς· εἰ δὲ
ἀλλοτριῶς ἔχει, ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι
ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔξομεν πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀλλοτριῶς. Πολλῶν τοίνυν
γενομένων λόγων πρὸς ἀλλήλους
καὶ πάσης ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν
τῇ περὶ τούτων σκέψει
δαπανηθείσης, καταλαβούσης
λοιπὸν τῆς ἑσπέρας διεκρίθημεν
ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἰς οὐδὲν
ὁμολογούμενον πέρας τὸν λόγον
προαγαγόντες. Τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς πάλιν,
ἔωθεν συγκαθεσθέντες, περὶ τῶν
αὐτῶν διελεγόμεθα, ἐπελθόντος
ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ποιμενίου,
τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῆς Σεβαστείας,
καὶ σφοδρῶς ἡμῖν τὸν ἐναντίον
γυμνάζοντος λόγον. Κατὰ μικρὸν
οὖν ἡμεῖς τε ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν
ἐγκαλεῖν ἀπελυόμεθα κακείνους
εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων ὑφ'
ἡμῶν συγκατάθεσιν

just mentioned. And we presented to
him the charges regarding his faith, such
as our brother Theodotus and his
followers bring against him, and we
asked him, in case he followed the
orthodox Faith, to make this fact
manifest to us so that we might be in
communion with him ; but if he was
otherwise disposed, we asked him to
know clearly that we too should be
otherwise disposed toward him.
Thereupon, after we had conversed
much with each other, and after the
whole of that day had been consumed in
the examination of these matters,
evening having now fallen, we parted
from each other without having brought
our discussion to any conclusion to
which we could both agree. But after we
had again assembled on the morning of
the following day, we were entering upon
a discussion of the same subject, when
our brother, Poimenius, presbyter of
Sebasteia, entered our conference also,
and began vigorously to press the
opposing doctrine against us. Little by
little we for our part, accordingly, kept
clearing away the charges upon the
strength of which they seemed to accuse
us, and we brought them to such an
assent regarding the subjects of our

προσηγάγομεν, ὥστε χάριτι τοῦ
 Κυρίου εὐρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς μηδὲ εἰς τὸ
 μικρότατον πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 διαφορομένους. Οὕτω τοίνυν περὶ
 ἑνάτην πού ὥραν ἀνέστημεν ἐπὶ
 τὰς προσευχὰς εὐχαριστήσαντες
 τῷ Κυρίῳ, τῷ δόντι ἡμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ
 φρονεῖν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγειν.

investigation that by the grace of the
 Lord we found ourselves to be differing
 from one another not even in the
 smallest point. Thus, therefore,
 somewhere about the ninth hour we
 arose for prayer, thanking the Lord who
 had given us to think and speak the same
 things.⁵⁰⁰

I would not agree with Zachhuber and Rousseau in their appraisal of the roots of the conflict. Zachhuber states that the connection between Basil and Eustathius “seems to have been conditioned by their common devotion to monasticism in the first place”. He suggests that the substance of their friendship “was always the common ascetic ideal while doctrinal concurrence was presumed – until, finally, it was discovered to be missing.⁵⁰¹ Also Rousseau claims: “Basil’s disenchantment with Eustathius focused on his Trinitarian theology, and in particular on his attitude to the Holy Spirit, whose divinity he seemed to oppose.”⁵⁰²

Doctrinal issues could have been only appearances and the real cause of the conflict might have been different. It seems to be a fight for power, specifically for jurisdiction and right to ordain bishops in Armenia. It is worth noticing that in his Letter 223 dated for 375 (more or less at the time when *De Spiritu Sancto* was written) to Eustathius himself Basil did not even mention any heretical convictions of Eustathius (either Pneumatomachians or any other) – he defended himself from Eustathius’ accusations of Sabelianism and clearly stated that the reason of the conflict was NOT doctrinal. He admitted that he forced Eustathius to sign the confession of faith only because of the pressure of others:

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὑπογραφῆ τι πείστω
 προελήφθησαν ἢν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς

And when they were forestalled by an
 outline of faith which we offered
 them—not because we ourselves

⁵⁰⁰ Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 215, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 173-175.

⁵⁰¹ J. Zachhuber, *Basil and the Three-Hypostases Tradition: Reconsidering the Origins of Cappadocian Theology*, “Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum” 5 (2001), 72.

⁵⁰² Ph. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, 239.

προετείναμεν, οὐκ αὐτοὶ
ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτῶν τῷ φρονήματι,
ὁμολογῶ γάρ, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
ὑπονοίας ἃς πολλοὶ τῶν ὁμοψύχων
ἡμῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶχον θεραπεῦσαι
βουλόμενοι, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς
ὁμολογίας ἐκείνης δόξη αὐτοῖς
ἐμπόδιον ἀπαντᾶν πρὸς τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν
νῦν κρατούντων παραδεχθῆναι,
ἀπέιπαντο τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν,
καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις τῆς ἀπορρήξεως, τὸ
γράμμα τοῦτο, ἐπενοήθη.

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, they have renounced communion with us; and as an excuse for the break this letter was devised.⁵⁰³

Although in Letters 244 and 263 Basil claims that Eustathius changed his beliefs and as a proof he listed the confessions signed by Eustathius: Ancyra (358), Seleucia (359), Constantinople (359/360), Zela (?), Lampsacus (364), Rome (366), Cyzicus (375), all those confessions were Homoiousians except for the one of Constantinople which was Homoian⁵⁰⁴ and the one from Rome which was Nicæan. The creed signed in Constantinople was regarded heretical by Homoiousians and Homoiousians as well as by Anomeans, although all bishops signed it under pressure of Constantius present during the Council. Philostorgius testifies that after the Council “those sent into exile repudiated their own subscriptions that they had put to the Ariminum creed and once again announced their adherence, some to the consubstantialist doctrine and others to that of *like in substance*.”⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰³ Basil, *Epistulae* 223, 7, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 16-17, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 311.

⁵⁰⁴ Loofs (*Eustathius von Sebaste und die chronologie der Basilus-Briefe*, 78) thinks that Eustathius could not have signed anything in Constantinople (360) as he was deposed at that Council, apparently during the council the issues of faith were examined first and the disciplinary ones later on. Eustathius could have signed the creed during one of the sessions that took place at the end of December of 359 and was deposed at the beginning of January 360. Eustathius apparently signed the altered “dated creed” – that omitted “in all respects” (κατὰ πάντα) in the statement that the Son is like the Father (ὅμοιον) – at the first one and was deposed by the second one taken over by Anomoeans.

⁵⁰⁵ Philostorgius, HE V 1, GCS 21, 6, transl. P.R. Amidon, 75, cf. Sozomen, HE V 14, 1-2, GCS 50, 213.

So, the question is why Basil calls Eustathius πρωτοστάτης τῆς τῶν Πνευματομάχων αἰρέσεως/the leader of the Pneumatomachian heresy.⁵⁰⁶ The answer seems to me quite obvious. Letter 263 was addressed to “the Westeners”. The accusation of Pneumatomachian heresy might have been a similar slander as of the contacts with Arius.⁵⁰⁷ Letter 263 concerns three persons who were staying in communion with the Church, but Basil considered them hidden heretics:

Οἱ δὲ τὴν δορὰν τοῦ προβάτου
περιβεβλημένοι καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν
ἡμερον προβαλλόμενοι καὶ πραεῖαν,
ἔνδοθεν δὲ σπαράσσοντες ἀφειδῶς τὰ
Χριστοῦ ποίμνια καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν
ὠρμηθῆναι εὐκόλως ἐμβάλλοντες
βλάβην τοῖς ἀπλουστέροις, οὗτοί εἰσιν
οἱ χαλεποὶ καὶ δυσφύλακτοι.

Those who have clothed themselves
in the skin of a sheep, and present a
gentle and mild appearance, but
inwardly are rending unsparingly the
flocks of Christ, and, because they
have come from amongst ourselves,
easily inflict injury on the simpler
folk, these are they who are harmful
and difficult to guard against.⁵⁰⁸

Those “hidden heretics” are: Eustathius of Sebastea, Apollinarius of Laodicea and Paulinus of Antioch. Paulinus of Antioch was the rival of Meletius of Antioch and their conflict was a cause of the Meletian schism. Meletius was a close friend of Basil who tried to reconstitute him for the see of Antioch after he had been exiled. Around 375 Basil got a message that Paulinus received letters of support “from the West,” letters that confirmed his right to the Antiochean see.⁵⁰⁹ Letter 263 is a reaction to that information. Both sides of the conflict charged each other on heresy: Paulinus charged Meletius of having been ordained bishop by Arians.⁵¹⁰ Basil accuses Paulinus of “being inclined toward the teachings of Marcellus,”⁵¹¹ but the conflict was clearly administrative rather than doctrinal. Apparently, charging of heresy was customary in such kind of conflicts.

⁵⁰⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 124, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 97.

⁵⁰⁷ See Part II. Chapter II 2 of the present study.

⁵⁰⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 122, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 91-93.

⁵⁰⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 214, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 202-203; Basil, *Epistulae* 216, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 208.

⁵¹⁰ Socrates Scholasticus, HE V 5, 4, GCS NF 1, 277.

⁵¹¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 5, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 125, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 99.

Since 372 Basil was in conflict with Eustathius and in my opinion the reason of the conflict was similarly not doctrinal, but administrative. Basil demanded his rights to ordain bishops in Armenia Minor.⁵¹² Eustathius accused Basil of being well disposed towards Apollinarius and he circularized an old letter by Basil to Apollinarius together with the collection of quotations without naming their author, but apparently attributed to Apollinarius. Basil himself never read those heretical statements in Apollinarius' books, he "had merely heard others relate them."⁵¹³ Basil himself explains in the letter to Meletius why he accused Apollinarius:

Ἦιδειν ὅτι ξενίσει τὴν ἀκοὴν τῆς
τελειότητός σου τὸ νῦν ἐπιφυνὲν
ἐγκλημα τῷ πάντα εἰπεῖν εὐκόλῳ
Ἀπολιναρίῳ. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς
τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνον ἤμην
ἐπιστάμενος ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οἱ
Σεβαστηνοὶ διερευνησάμενοί ποθεν
αὐτὰ ἤνεγκαν εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ
περιφέρουσι σύνταγμα ἐξ οὗ
μάλιστα καὶ ἡμᾶς καταδικάζουσιν,
ὡς τὰ αὐτὰ φρονοῦντας. [...]
Γράφοντες γὰρ τισι τῶν καθ'
ἐαυτοῦς καὶ προσθέντες τὴν καθ'
ἡμῶν διαβολὴν ἐπήγαγον ταῦτα,
ῥήματα μὲν αἰρετικῶν
ὀνομάσαντες, τὸν δὲ πατέρα τῆς
συγγραφῆς ἀποκρυψάμενοι, ἵνα
τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡμεῖς νομισθῶμεν
εἶναι οἱ λογογράφοι. Πλὴν ἀλλ' οὐκ

I knew that the charge which has now sprung up against Apollinarius, that man who is so ready to say anything, would surprise the ears of your Perfection. For in fact not even I myself was aware until the present time that the situation was as it is ; but now the Sebastenes, having sought out these matters from some source, have brought them before the public, and they are circulating a document from which they bring accusations chiefly against us as well, on the ground that we hold the same views as those expressed in the document. [...] For when writing to some of their own adherents, and after making this false accusation against us, they added the words mentioned above, calling them the expressions of heretics, but concealing the name of the father of the document, in order that to people at large we might be considered the

⁵¹² See below Part III. Chapter IV. Real reasons of the conflict.

⁵¹³ Basil, *Epistulae* 131, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 44-45, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 299.

ἂν τοῦ μέχρι ῥήματα συνθεῖναι
 προήλθεν αὐτῶν ἢ ἐπίνοια, ὡς γε
 ἔμαυτὸν πείθω. Ὅθεν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ
 τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν κρατοῦσαν
 βλασφημίαν ἀπόσασθαι καὶ δεῖξαι
 πᾶσιν ὡς οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστι κοινὸν
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖνο λέγοντας,
 ἠναγκάσθημεν μνησθῆναι τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς ὡς προσεγγίζοντος τῇ
 ἀσεβείᾳ τοῦ Σαβελλίου.

author. However, their intelligence
 could not have carried them to the
 point of actually composing these
 statements, as I am convinced. Hence,
 for the sake of repudiating the charge
 of blasphemy that is prevalent against
 us, and of showing to all that we have
 nothing in common with those who say
 such things, we have been forced to
 mention this man's name as one who is
 approaching the impiety of Sabellius.⁵¹⁴

Letter 263 was written in 377.⁵¹⁵ Demosthenes, vicar of diocese of Pontus
 appointed in 375, treated Basil with outright hostility and favouritize Eustathius.⁵¹⁶
 So, Basil decided to ask for the support from the West. Basil was counting on
 Western bishops supporting his version as it was not reliable in Asia Minor because
 of the personal issues:

Ἀνάγκη δὲ τούτων ὀνομαστὶ
 μνησθῆναι, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ γνωρίσητε
 τοὺς τὰς ταραχὰς παρ' ἡμῖν
 ἐργαζομένους καὶ ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις
 ὑμῶν φανερόν καταστήσητε. Ὁ μὲν
 γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν λόγος ὑποπτὸς ἐστὶ
 τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς τάχα διὰ τινὰς
 ἰδιωτικὰς φιλονεικίας τὴν
 μικροψυχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλομένων.
 Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὅσον μακρὰν αὐτῶν
 ἀπωκισμένοι τυγχάνετε, τοσοῦτῳ
 πλέον παρὰ τοῖς λαοῖς τὸ ἀξιόπιστον

We must mention these by name, in
 order that you also may know who
 they are that cause disturbances
 among us; and do you make the
 matter clear to our churches. For
 statements made by us are suspected
 by the many, on the ground that we
 perhaps through certain personal
 quarrels hold ill-will towards them.
 But as for you, inasmuch as you
 happen to live far away from them, so
 much the greater is the confidence
 you enjoy in the eyes of the laity, in

⁵¹⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 129, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 39-40, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 283-287.

⁵¹⁵ F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die chronologie der Basilus-Briefe*, 53.

⁵¹⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 237, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 56-57.

ἔχετε, πρὸς τῷ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ
 Θεοῦ χάριν συναίρεσθαι ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν καταπονουμένων
 ἐπιμέλειαν. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ συμφώνως
 πλείονες ὁμοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ δογματίσητε,
 δῆλον ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
 δογματισάντων ἀναντίρρητον πᾶσι
 τὴν παραδοχὴν κατασκευάσει τοῦ
 δόγματος.

addition to the fact that God’s grace
 co-operates with you in the care of
 those who labour. And if, besides, a
 considerable number of you together
 declare the same doctrines with one
 voice, it is clear that the multitude of
 those who have so declared will bring
 about for all the acceptance of the
 doctrine without contradiction.⁵¹⁷

Basil could not have asked “the Westerners” for help if he confessed that the conflict between him and Eustathius regarded jurisdiction and not doctrinal matters. As Garsoïan rightly points out – it was impossible for any bishop to usurp the right to ordain bishops on the terrain of the other without accusing him on heresy.⁵¹⁸ And it was very easy for Basil to push Eustathius into the label of “Pneumatomachian”; that epithet used to be associated with Eunomians/Arians and the Westerners treated Homoiousians as exactly the same Arians as Eunomians.

I think that Pneumatomachians might have not been a distinct heresy. In Asia Minor it was only another epithet for Anomoeans, invented by Basil the Great. Actually, Basil himself seems to admit that in Letter 244 dated for 376:

ἀκούω ὅτι τὸ ὁμοούσιον
 κατασιγάσαντες, τὸ κατ’ οὐσίαν
 ὅμοιον νῦν περιφέρουσι καὶ τὰς εἰς
 τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα βλασφημίας μετ’
 Εὐνομίου συγγράφουσι.

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.⁵¹⁹

At that time, Basil himself entered into the Nicæan alliance and he was eager to use “Western” rhetoric and label “Arians” all his ecclesiastical adversaries. Nevertheless, the charge of using “like in substance” voiced by Basil seems

⁵¹⁷ Basil, *Epistulae* 263, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 122-123, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93.

⁵¹⁸ N.G. Garsoïan, *Nersés le Grand, Basile de Césarée et Eustathe de Sébaste*, “Revue des Études Arméniennes” 17 (1983), 153.

⁵¹⁹ Basil, *Epistulae* 244, 9, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82-83, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

ridiculous. Basil himself interpreted “like in substance” as coherent with the Nicæan Creed. Although some scholars doubt that Basil belonged to Homoiousian alliance,⁵²⁰ there are clear evidences of that both in external sources and in the very writings by Basil. There is no doubt that Basil was present at the Council of Constantinople (359) as a part of the Homoiousian group; his presence is confirmed not only by Philostorgius (HE IV 12), but also by Gregory of Nyssa. He admitted that Eunomius accused “our tutor and father” that “when the decision transfers power to the opposition he flees the places having deserted his post.”⁵²¹ As Kopecek rightly pointed out: “Since Gregory of Nyssa did not challenge Eunomius accusation, it must have been substantially accurate.”⁵²² What is more important, Homoiousian convictions can be traced in the very writings by Basil. In the famous Letter 9 he admits straightforwardly:

τὸ ὅμοιον κατ’οὐσίαν, εἰ μὲν
προσκεείμενον ἔχει τὸ
ἀπαράλλάκτως, δέχομαι τὴν φωνὴν
ὡς εἰς ταὐτὸν τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ
φέρουσαν, κατὰ τὴν ὑγιᾶ δηλονότι
τοῦ ὁμοουσίου διάνοιαν.

I accept the phrase “like in substance,” provided the qualification “invariably” is added to it, on the ground that it comes to the same thing as “identity of substance,” according, be it understood, to the sound conception of the term.⁵²³

Although the above-quoted text comes from 361 or 362, Basil never changed his way of thinking. There are no similarly straightforward statements in Basil, but even in *De Spiritu Sancto* – the writing written after 374, that according to Pruche has as a scope to justify equivalence between “equal in honour” (ὁμότιμος) and “consubstantial” (ὁμοούσιος)⁵²⁴ – Basil states that what is concurrent with the substance (σύνδρομον ὃν τῇ οὐσίᾳ) is alike (ὅμοιον) and equal:

Ὁ ἑώρακῶς ἐμέ, ἑώρακε τὸν Πατέρα,
οὐ τὸν χαρακτῆρα, οὐδὲ τὴν μορφὴν.

He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; not the express image, nor yet

⁵²⁰ J. Zachhuber, *Basil and the Three-Hypostases Tradition: Reconsidering the Origins of Cappadocian Theology*, “Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum” 5 (2001), 72.

⁵²¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I, 79, GNO 1, 49; transl. S.G. Hall, 47.

⁵²² T.A. Kopecek, *A history of neo-arianism*, vol. 2, 301.

⁵²³ Basil, *Epistulae* 9, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 39, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 99.

⁵²⁴ B. Pruche, *Introduction*, SC 17, 109.

καθαρά γὰρ συνθέσεως ἢ θεία φύσις·
ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ θελήματος,
ὅπερ σύνδρομον ὄν τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ὅμοιον
καὶ ἴσον, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῦτὸν ἐν Πατρὶ
καὶ Υἱῷ θεωρεῖται.

the form, for the divine nature does
not admit of combination; but the
goodness of the will, which, being
concurrent with the essence, is beheld
as like and equal, or rather the same,
in the Father as in the Son.⁵²⁵

Even in this late writing Basil still interpreted ὁμοούσιος in the Homoiousian way, although he was not eager to talk about that openly. He admitted himself that he “definitely decided not to make his own convictions public” (ἄλλως τε μηδὲ πάνυ δημοσιεύειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐγνωκότας),⁵²⁶ probably because of political reasons.

Basil (like all Homoiousians) was first of all anti-Anomoean. Since he interpreted ὁμοούσιος as ὅμοιος κατ’οὐσίαν he could accept both expressions (ὁμοούσιος and ὁμοιούσιος).⁵²⁷ Exactly like Eustathius of Sebastea. Both of them were inclined to sign the Homoiousian or the Nicaean creed depending on political circumstances, because both of them understood those creeds as expressing the same content. However, Basil himself admitted that he preferred the expression ὅμοιος κατ’οὐσίαν⁵²⁸ as in my opinion it more directly opposed ἀνόμοιος of Aetius and Eunomius.⁵²⁹ Already Harnack noticed hidden Homoiousian convictions

⁵²⁵ Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* VIII 21, SC 17 bis, 318, transl. NPNF II 8, 14.

⁵²⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 9, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 39, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 1, 99.

⁵²⁷ It is interesting that Basil understood οὐσία in Aristotelian way (he stresses its significance as “being”) so the term can refer both to the common substance and to the particular being. K. Kochańczyk-Bonińska (*Defining substance in Basil the Great’s dispute with Eunomius about the incomprehensibility of God*, *E-patrologos* 4/1 (2019), 98) explains: “The unique properties that individuate particulars do not rupture the unity of nature. This point is fundamental to Basil’s theological project. Unfortunately, he uses the same family of terms to speak both of the distinguishing marks and the propria that belong to and reveal the divine substance. The difference is that the propria are predicated of a common ousia, whereas the distinguishing terms refer to that which is unique to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.”

⁵²⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 9, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 39.

⁵²⁹ It is true that neither Aetius nor Eunomius used the very term ἀνόμοιος in their writings, but they used synonyms (Aetius, *Syntagmation* 4, ed. L.R. Wickham, 541: τὸ ἐν οὐσίᾳ ἀσύγκριτον; *Syntagmation* 10, ed. L.R. Wickham, 541: ἀνομοιομερής; Eunomius, *Liber apologeticus* 18, ed. R.P. Vaggione, 56: παρηλαλαγμένας τὰς οὐσίας; *Liber apologeticus* 26, ed. R.P. Vaggione, 70: μήτε μὴν ὁμοούσιον <μηδὲ ὁμοιούσιον>). Kopecek (*A history of neo-arianism*, t. 1, 202-203) claims that Aetius avoided the term ἀνόμοιος in order to come into agreement with Acacius and Eudoxius. But, it seems that they did use the term ἀνόμοιος during debates. Already in the synodical letter of the Council of Ancyra

behind orthodox credo of 4th century, he even insisted that it was the Homoiousian – Basil of Ancyra who was the real father of the official doctrine of the Trinity in the form in which the Churches have held to it.⁵³⁰

As Ch. Beeley observes: “Basil’s reputation as an ardent defender of the divinity of the Holy Spirit and its consubstantiality with God the Father depends to a great extent on Gregory’s [of Nazianzus] Letter 58 to Basil and his Oration 43 In Praise of Basil. In Letter 58, Gregory describes his recent defence of Basil against charges that Basil has failed to confess the Spirit’s full divinity. Most readers have taken Gregory’s account at face value, ignoring the sarcasm with which Gregory is in fact criticizing Basil’s for his refusal to confess the Spirit’s divinity – a rhetorical force that is confirmed by Basil’s angry reply. Similarly, in his memorial oration for Basil, Gregory depicts Basil in terms of his own, strongly Trinitarian position, chiefly in order to bolster his position in Basil’s former community; the piece is not an example of unadulterated historical accuracy.”⁵³¹

In the very writings by Basil, there is not even single statement either that the Holy Spirit is ὁμοούσιος with the Father and the Son or that the Holy Spirit is God. In all places evoked by scholars as a proof that Basil called the Holy Spirit God, he speaks about the Spirit’s equality of honour with the Father and the Son like in the Letter 90 dated for 372:

<p>Λαλείσθω καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν μετὰ παρρησίας τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐκεῖνο κήρυγμα</p>	<p>Let us also pronounce with boldness that good dogma of the Fathers,</p>
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(358) quoted by Epiphanius (*Panarion* 73, 9, 7, ed. K. Holl, Vol. 3, 281) there is an anathema against those who claim that the Son is unlike the invisible God in essence (ἀνόμοιον λέγοι [καὶ] κατ’ οὐσίαν τὸν υἱόν). Theodoret (HE II 23; transl. NPNF II 3, 88) describes an event that occurred after the Council of Seleucia (359). Eudoxius was charged in front of Constantius of creating the creed containing the statement that “the Son is unlike (ἀνόμοιος) God the Father. Constantius ordered this exposition of the faith to be read, and was displeased with the blasphemy which it involved. He therefore asked Eudoxius if he had drawn it up. Eudoxius instantly repudiated the authorship, and said that it was written by Aetius. [...] Aetius, totally ignorant of what had taken place, and unaware of the drift of the enquiry, expected that he should win praise by confession, and owned that he was the author of the phrases in question.”

⁵³⁰ A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, transl. N. Buchanan, vol. 4, Boston 1898, 100. Scholars still differ in their opinions on possible influence of Athanasius and/or Homoiousians on Basil and on how much he was Nicaean in his writings on the Holy Spirit. For the summary of different points of view see D.A. Giulea, *Basil of Caesarea’s Authorship of Epistle 361 and His Relationship with the Homoiousians Reconsidered*, “Vigiliae Christianae” 72 (2018), 43-44.

⁵³¹ Ch. Beeley, *The Holy Spirit in the Cappadocians: Past and Present*, “Modern Theology” 26 (2010), 92.

τῶν Πατέρων, τὸ καταστρέφον μὲν
τὴν δυσώνυμον αἵρεσιν τὴν Ἀρείου,
οἰκοδομοῦν δὲ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ
ὕγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ ἐν ἧ ὁ Υἱὸς
ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ ὁμολογεῖται καὶ
τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ὁμοτίμως
συναριθμεῖται τε καὶ συλλατρεύεται.

Similar statements appear in the confession of faith (Letter 125 by Basil)
signed by Eustathius of Sebastea in 373.

χρὴ αὐτοὺς ἀναθεματίζειν τοὺς
λέγοντας κτίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ
Ἅγιον καὶ τοὺς νοοῦντας οὕτω καὶ
τοὺς μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας αὐτὸ φύσει
ἅγιον εἶναι, ὡς ἔστι φύσει ἅγιος ὁ
Πατὴρ καὶ φύσει ἅγιος ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλ’
ἀποξενοῦντας αὐτὸ τῆς θείας καὶ
μακαρίας φύσεως. Απόδειξις δὲ τοῦ
ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος τὸ μὴ χωρίζειν
αὐτὸ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ (δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς
βαπτίζεσθαι μὲν ὡς παρελάβομεν,
πιστεύειν δὲ ὡς βαπτίζομεθα,
δοξάζειν δέ, ὡς πεπιστεύκαμεν,
Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα),
ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν
κτίσμα λεγόντων ὡς φανερῶς
βλασφημούντων, ἐκείνου
διωμολογημένου (ἀναγκαία γὰρ ἡ

which overwhelms the accursed
heresy of Arianism, and builds the
churches on the sound doctrine,
wherein the Son is confessed to be
consubstantial with the Father, and
the Holy Spirit is numbered with
them in like honour and so
adored.⁵³²

We must anathematize those who call
the Holy Spirit a creature, both those
who think so, and those who will not
confess that He is holy by nature,
even as the Father is holy by nature,
and as the Son is holy by nature, but
deprive Him of His divine and blessed
nature. And the proof of orthodox
opinion is not to separate Him from
the Father and the Son (for we must
be baptized as we have received the
words of baptism, and we must
believe as we are baptized, and we
must give glory as we have believed,
to the Father, the Son, and the Holy
Ghost), but to abstain from
communion with those, as open
blasphemers, who call Him a creature;
since this point is agreed upon (for
comment is necessary because of the

⁵³² Basil, *Epistulae* 90, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 196, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 127.

ἐπισημείωσις διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας)
ὅτι οὐτε ἀγέννητον λέγομεν τὸ
Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ἓνα γὰρ οἶδαμεν
ἀγέννητον καὶ μίαν τῶν ὄντων
ἀρχήν, τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐτε γεννητόν, ἓνα
γὰρ Μονογενῆ ἐν τῇ παραδόσει τῆς
πίστεως δεδιάγμεθα· τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα
τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς
ἐκπορεύεσθαι διδαχθέντες ἐκ τοῦ
Θεοῦ εἶναι ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀκτίστως.
Ἀναθεματίζειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς
λειτουργικὸν λέγοντας τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ
Ἅγιον, ὡς διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης εἰς
τὴν τοῦ κτίσματος κατάγοντας τάξιν.

slanders), that we neither speak of the Holy Spirit as unbegotten—for we recognize One unbegotten and One Beginning of all existing things, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ—nor speak of Him as begotten—for we have been taught One only begotten in the tradition of our Faith; and having been taught that the Spirit of Truth proceeds from the Father, we confess it to be from God without any act of creation. And we must anathematize also those who speak of the Holy Ghost as ministering, on the ground that by this expression they lower Him to the order of creatures.⁵³³

It is worth noticing how Basil differentiates the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son even in his confession included into his letter to Amphilochius of Iconium from January 376, avoiding to call the Holy Spirit God – the term reserved for the Father and the Son:

Χρῆ οὖν τῷ κοινῷ τὸ ἰδιάζον
προστιθέντας, οὕτω τὴν πίστιν
ὁμολογεῖν· κοινὸν ἢ θεότης, ἴδιον ἢ
πατρότης· συνάπτοντας λέγειν·
πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα. Καὶ
πάλιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὁμολογίᾳ τὸ
παραπλήσιον ποιεῖν, τῷ κοινῷ
συνάπτειν τὸ ἴδιον καὶ λέγειν· εἰς
Θεὸν Υἱόν. Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ

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

⁵³³ Basil, *Epistulae* 125, 3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 33-34, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 267-269.

Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῆς ἐκφωνήσεως τὴν προφορὰν σχηματίζοντας λέγειν· πιστεύω καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῖον Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ὥστε δι’ ὅλου καὶ τὴν ἐνότητα σῶζεσθαι ἐν τῇ τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος ὁμολογίᾳ, καὶ τὸ τῶν προσώπων ἰδιάζον ὁμολογεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀφορισμῷ τῶν περὶ ἕκαστον νοουμένων ἰδιωμάτων.

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.⁵³⁴

Only in the Letter 8 and the Letter 360 in the corpus of Basil’s letters there are clear statements that the Holy Spirit is God (Letter 8: δέον ὁμολογεῖν Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν Υἱόν, Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον; Letter 360: ὁμολογῶ καὶ συντίθημι πιστεύειν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν Υἱόν, Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον), but as Courtonne claims - the authorship of the first is uncertain⁵³⁵ and the second one (to Julian) is certainly apocryphal.⁵³⁶ As Beeley points out it was Gregory of Nazianzus who first dared to call the Holy Spirit God.⁵³⁷ The first time the expression Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον appears in his Oration 13 dated for 372⁵³⁸ but when he used it in 380 as bishop of Constantinople he noticed the audacity of his own words and added εἰ μὴ τραχύνῃ - “do not be angry” to the phrase Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.⁵³⁹

Summing up, there are no reliable sources to confirm that Eustathius was Pneumatomachos. The only charges of Pneumatomachian heresy come from Basil and appear in a contexts that allow to advance a thesis that they arose due to the

⁵³⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 236, 6, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 53-54, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 403.

⁵³⁵ Basil, *Epistulae* 8, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 22.

⁵³⁶ Basil, *Epistulae* 360, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 220.

⁵³⁷ Ch. Beeley, *The Holy Spirit in the Cappadocians: Past and Present*, 100.

⁵³⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 13, 4, PG 35, 856.

⁵³⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 33, 16, PG 36, 236; transl. NPNF II 7, 334. Beeley (*The Holy Spirit in the Cappadocians*, 100) translates the interjection “if you don’t mind!”.

political and not doctrinal reasons. In fact, Eustathius was Homoiousian exactly as his former friend and later adversary – Basil of Caesarea.

Chapter IV. Real reasons of the conflict

A lot of scholars claim that Basil and Eustathius remained close friends until Eustathius became a Pneumatomachian.⁵⁴⁰ No writings by Eustathius preserved, the only source that testifies Eustathius' inclination to that heresy is Basil. What is important – late Basil. On the earlier stages Eustathius was accused of Arianism by Athanasius, but that charge was based on general Western conviction that Homoiousians were Arians. Apparently, Basil shared Homoiousians ideas with Eustathius as well as ascetical ones and his charges had political background. Although it cannot be stated with certainty it is highly probable that Eustathius' Pneumatomachism was a product of Basil's propaganda.

The starting point to find out the real reasons of the conflict between Basil and Eustathius is a fluid structure of ecclesiastical subordination and vague procedure of electing bishops at that time. Although there were some attempts of regulating, they remained at such a point of generalization that to all intents and purposes the structure depended on local relationships and personalities. Canon 4 of the Council of Nicaea (325) stated:

Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκειν μάλιστα μὲν
ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ
καθίστασθαι. εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ
τοιούτου ἢ διὰ κατεπείγουσαν
ἀνάγκην, ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἔξ
ἅπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
συναγομένους, συμψήφων γινομένων

It is by all means proper that a bishop should be appointed by all the bishops in the province; but should this be difficult, either on account of urgent necessity or because of distance, three at least should meet together, and the suffrages of the absent [bishops] also

⁵⁴⁰ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 81-82; Ph. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, 239; J. Zachhuber, *Basil and the Three-Hypostases Tradition: Reconsidering the Origins of Cappadocian Theology*, 72; L. Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy*, 225; A.M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*, 86; T.G. Kardong, *Who was Basil's mentor? Part 1*, 198.

καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συντιθεμένων
διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν
ποιεῖσθαι· τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων
δίδοσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ
μητροπολίτῃ.

being given and communicated in
writing, then the ordination should
take place. But in every province the
ratification of what is done should
be left to the Metropolitan.⁵⁴¹

Unfortunately, the very same council did not specify whether ecclesiastical provinces should always follow civil administrative divisions, whether metropolitans should be bishops residing in the capitals of civil provinces, whether ecclesiastical administration should follow the civil one only up to provinces or should spread up to dioceses. Canon 6 seemed to approve *status quo* that at some points did not harmonized with civil administrative divisions:

τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύαις καὶ Πενταπόλει,
ὥστε τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον
πάντων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ
καὶ τῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο
σύνηθές ἐστιν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν
Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις
ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς
ἐκκλησίαις. καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον
ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ
μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν
τοιούτον ἡ σύνοδος ἡ μεγάλη ὥρισε
μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον· ἐὰν μέντοι τῇ
κοινῇ πάντων ψήφῳ εὐλόγῳ οὔσῃ καὶ
κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν
δύο ἢ τρεῖς δι' οἰκείαν φιλονεικίαν

Let the ancient customs in Egypt,
Libya and Pentapolis prevail, that the
Bishop of Alexandria have
jurisdiction in all these, since the like
is customary for the Bishop of Rome
also. Likewise in Antioch and the
other provinces, let the Churches
retain their privileges. And this is to
be universally understood, that if
anyone be made bishop without the
consent of the Metropolitan, the
great Synod has declared that such a
man ought not to be a bishop. If,
however, two or three bishops shall
from natural love of contradiction,
oppose the common suffrage of the
rest, it being reasonable and in
accordance with the ecclesiastical

⁵⁴¹ *Concilium Nicaenum*, canon 4, ed. J.D. Mansi, vol. 2, 669, transl. NPNF II 14, 11.

ἀντιλέγωσι, κρατεῖτω ἢ τῶν πλειόνων
ψηφός. | law, then let the choice of the
majority prevail.⁵⁴²

Although it seems clear that a metropolitan bishop had the final word when new bishops were to be appointed, but the problem is that the Council did not define which bishoprics were metropolises except for Alexandria, Rome and Antioch. Moreover, Barnes shows that the administrative system created by Diocletian is not easy to be established in details.⁵⁴³ Norton summarises: “The structures put in place by Diocletian and his successors had divided the empire (from the top down) into prefectures, dioceses, and provinces, which with some exceptions were administered respectively by Praetorian prefects, vicars and governors. [...] Thus by the middle of the fourth century we find four Praetorian prefectures, those of (1) the East (Oriens), which ran from Thrace through Asia minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt to Libya; (2) Illyricum, which covered Greece and the eastern Balkan regions; (3) Italy which comprised the western Balkans, Italy and Africa; and (4) the Gauls, which covered Gaul, Spain and Britain. These were broken down into 13 dioceses, which were themselves composed of 119 provinces (after Constantine’s reforms).”⁵⁴⁴

But, the structure changed. At some point around 371 Valens divided the province of Cappadocia into two provinces: Cappadocia Prima and Cappadocia Secunda. Gregory of Nazianzus left a detailed description of the problems that the new civil division caused in the ecclesiastical hierarchy:

Τῆς γὰρ πατρίδος ἡμῶν εἰς δύο
διαίρεθείσης ἡγεμονίας καὶ
μητροπόλεις, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς
προτέρας τῆ νέα προσαγαγούσης,
ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων
ἐστασιάσθη. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡξίου τοῖς
δημοσίοις συνδιαιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ

When our country had been divided
into two provinces and metropolitan
sees, and a great part of the former was
being added to the new one, this again
roused their factious spirit. The one
thought it right that the ecclesiastical
boundaries should be settled by the

⁵⁴² *Concilium Nicaenum*, canon 6, ed. J.D. Mansi, vol. 2, 669-771, transl. NPNF II 14, 15.

⁵⁴³ T.D. Barnes, *The new empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge (MA) 1982, 209-211.

⁵⁴⁴ P. Norton, *Episcopal elections 250-600. Hierarchy and popular will in Late Antiquity*, New York 2007, 118.

ἡμέτερα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετεποιεῖτο
τῶν νεωστὶ προσελθόντων, ὡς αὐτῶ
διαφερόντων ἤδη κάκεινου
κεχωρισμένων. Ὁ δὲ τῆς παλαιᾶς
εἶχετο συνηθείας καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν
πατέρων ἄνωθεν διαιρέσεως. Ἐξ ὧν
πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, τὰ μὲν συνέβαινε
ἤδη, τὰ δὲ ὠδίνετο. Ὑπεσπῶντο
σύνοδοι παρὰ τοῦ νέου
μητροπολίτου, πρόσοδοι
διηρπάζοντο· πρεσβύτεροι τῶν
ἐκκλησιῶν, οἱ μὲν ἀνεπείθοντο, οἱ
δὲ ὑπηλλάττοντο. Ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε
καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν χειρόν ἔχειν
διίσταμένων καὶ τεμνομένων. Καὶ
γὰρ πῶς ταῖς καινοτομίαις
χαίρουσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ σφῶν
ἠδέως παρακερδαίνουσι· καὶ ῥᾶόν τι
καταλῦσαι τῶν καθεστώτων ἢ
καταλυθὲν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. Ὁ δὲ
πλεῖον αὐτὸν ἐξέμηθεν, αἱ Ταυρικαὶ
πρόσοδοι καὶ παρόδιοι, αὐτῶ μὲν
ὀρώμεναι, ἐκείνῳ δὲ
προσγενόμεναι, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον
Ὀρέστην ἐκκαρποῦσθαι μέγα
ἐτίθετο· ὡς καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων
λαβέσθαι ποτὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἰδίαν
ὁδὸν ὀδεύοντος, εἴργων τοῦ πρώσω

civil ones: and therefore claimed those
newly added, as belonging to him, and
severed from their former
metropolitan. The other clung to the
ancient custom, and to the division
which had come down from our
fathers. Many painful results either
actually followed, or were struggling in
the womb of the future. Synods were
wrongfully gathered by the new
metropolitan, and revenues seized
upon. Some of the presbyters of the
churches refused obedience, others
were won over. In consequence the
affairs of the churches fell into a sad
state of dissension and division.
Novelty indeed has a certain charm for
men, and they readily turn events to
their own advantage, and it is easier to
overthrow something which is already
established, than to restore it when
overthrown. What however enraged
him [i.e. Anthymus, bishop of Tyana]
most was, that the revenues of the
Taurus, which passed along before his
eyes, accrued to his rival [i.e. Basil,
bishop of Caesarea], as also the
offerings at Saint Orestes', of which he
was greatly desirous to reap the fruits.
He [i.e. Anthymus, bishop of Tyana]
even went so far as, on one occasion

μετὰ ληστρικοῦ συντάγματος. Καὶ ἢ
 σκῆψις, ὡς εὐπρεπής! Τὰ γὰρ
 πνευματικὰ τέκνα, καὶ αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ
 ὁ τῆς πίστεως λόγος, καὶ ταῦτα τὰ
 τῆς ἀπληστίας ἐπικαλύμματα,
 πρᾶγμα τῶν εὐπορίστων, καὶ τό, μὴ
 χρῆναι δασμοφορεῖν κακοδόξους
 πᾶς γὰρ ὁ λυπῶν, κακόδοξος.

when Basil was riding along his own
 road, to seize his mules by the bridle
 and bar the passage with a robber
 band. And with how specious a pretext,
 the care of his spiritual children and of
 the souls entrusted to him, and the
 defence of the faith – pretexts which
 veiled that most common vice,
 insatiable avarice – and further, the
 wrongfulness of paying dues to
 heretics, a heretic being anyone who
 had displeased him.⁵⁴⁵

Two things are of crucial importance in the above-quoted description: first, it was not obvious that the ecclesiastical structure should follow the civil one; second, apparently it was customary to accuse of heresy a political rival. Actually, it worked in both ways: doctrinal enemies accused each other of unmoral behavior and political enemies – of heresy. Both kind of charges could have been similarly fake. The example of such (most probably) false accusation are depositions made by the Council of Constantinople (360) where Homoiousian bishops were charged with and deposed on the basis of disciplinary offences. Gregory of Nazianzus reveals a mechanism that must have been very common. Not only charges of Apollinarism formulated by Eustathius against Basil, but also charges of Arianism and Pneumatomiachism formulated by Basil against Eustathius could have been parts of the political conflict.

In 370 Basil became bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, capital city of the civil province of Cappadocia. Under Diocletian the large province of Cappadocia was divided into four main units: Pisidia, Cappadocia, Armenia Minor, and Pontus Polemoniacus.⁵⁴⁶ At the times of Basil, the civil province of Cappadocia was a part of a bigger unit: dioceses of Pontus with the headquarter in Amaseia. Apparently,

⁵⁴⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*Funebris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 58, SC 384, 248-252; transl. NPNF II 7, 414.

⁵⁴⁶ T.D. Barnes, *The new empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, 216.

the ecclesiastical subordination in the region did not follow the civil one since Basil could have demanded to ordain bishops in neighboring provinces that in the past were parts of the large province of Cappadocia. There are no sources that could reveal the politics of Basil's predecessors, but it seems possible that bishops of Caesarea in Cappadocia considered themselves metropolitans over much larger territory than the civil province of Cappadocia.⁵⁴⁷ The metropolitan power of Caesarea over Armenia must have been a relic of the times when Armenia just received Christianity and Gregory the Illuminator was sent to Caesarea in Cappadocia to be ordained by bishop Leontius.⁵⁴⁸

There were only a few episcopal sees in Armenia Minor in 4th century; the list of bishops who took part in the Council of Nicaea (325) names two episcopal sees in Armenia Minor: Sebastea and Satala, Sebastea as the first, so apparently more important.⁵⁴⁹ After 325 in Armenia Minor at least three more sees were created: in Nicopolis, Melitene and Colonia. The correspondence of Basil shows that he acted as a metropolitan over Armenia. It is significant that already at the beginning of his bishopric Basil calls Theodot, the bishop of Nicopolis in Armenia Minor, the bishop given (τοῦ δοθέντος ἐπισκόπου) *him εἰς συνεργίαν* – it could mean a co-operation, but as well assistance as if Theodot were a kind of auxiliary bishop that today would be called suffragan.

The situation in Armenia Minor was additionally complicated by the conflict between Basil and Anthimus of Tyana that broke out after the civil province of Cappadocia was divided around 371. Anthimus openly fought for his own independence and metropolitan status of Tyana, the civil capital of Cappadocia Secunda.⁵⁵⁰ At some point before 372 Anthimus ordained a certain Faustus for a

⁵⁴⁷ H. Chadwick, *Orthodoxy and heresy from the death of Constantine to the eve of the first Council of Ephesus*, in: *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 13: *The Late Empire, AD 337-425*, ed. A. Cameron, P. Garnsey, Cambridge 2008, 576: "As metropolitan of Cappadocia Basil could influence episcopal appointments in neighboring sees."

⁵⁴⁸ V.M. Kurkjian, *A history of Armenia*, New York 2014, 270.

⁵⁴⁹ H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld, O. Cuntz, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina Latine, Graece, Coptice, Syriace, Arabice, Armeniace*, 26-27 (in Latin), 65 (in Greek), 88 (in Coptic: Sadolon), 105, 129 (in Syriac), 198 (in Armenian).

⁵⁵⁰ R. van Dam, *Emperor, bishops and friends in late antique Cappadocia*, "Journal of Theological Studies" 37 (1986), 65.

bishop in Armenia in place of Cyril.⁵⁵¹ It seems that ordaining bishops in Armenia was an important prerogative of a metropolitan of Cappadocia.

In 371 Basil started to ordain bishops in Armenia (δοῦναι ἐπισκόπους τῆ Ἀρμενίᾳ)⁵⁵². Basil himself claims that he was supposed to do it out of the imperial ordinance (τῷ βασιλικῷ προστάγματι).⁵⁵³ Gregory of Nazianzus describes the confrontation between Basil and Valens, but according to his version the effect was that Valens decided not to persecute or expel Basil⁵⁵⁴ – nothing about any manifestation of kindness and all the more any privilege. It is hardly imaginable that Valens could have given a privilege to ordain bishops to any other bishop as the ordination of bishops was beyond any civil authority. Norton explains: “Imperial intervention in elections was not a widespread phenomenon. It is all too easy to over-estimate the capability or desire of the emperors to interfere on a wholesale basis in elections. The emperors appear to have concerned themselves at most with the occupants of the great sees, the patriarchates, whom they would have considered in the same way as they would their Praetorian prefect, or any other senior civil or military official. It was the job of these men to arrange affairs on a lower level properly.”⁵⁵⁵ So it is rather probable that Basil had a good relationship with the vicar of Pontus and thanks to that he tried to expand a range of his influences out of his own initiative and not of any ordinance. He could have hoped to succeed until he had vicar’s support. Van Dam points out: “To explain Basil’s success in gaining favours from both emperor and prefect even after confrontations with them it is therefore unnecessary to invent any ad hominem hypotheses about the social class of the bishop, his political skills, or his moral qualities (although these may well have been contributing factors). We are dealing here not so much with aspects of Basil’s personality, as rather with structural features of a Roman empire whose central

⁵⁵¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 218; *Epistulae* 120, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 26.

⁵⁵² Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 217.

⁵⁵³ Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 214.

⁵⁵⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43 (*Funebris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*), 52-54, SC 384, 234-240.

⁵⁵⁵ P. Norton, *Episcopal elections 250-600*, 239.

administration had to rely upon local men of authority, whoever they were, in order to function efficiently.”⁵⁵⁶

Norton claims that people played an important role in the choice of bishops⁵⁵⁷ and the correspondence Basil confirms it:

<p>Ἐδεξάμην δὲ καὶ ψηφίσματα παρὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Σατάλων, παράκλησιν ἔχοντα δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπίσκοπον.</p>	<p>I have received, too, a voted decision from the church of Satala, with the request that a bishop be given them by us.⁵⁵⁸</p>
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It is clear that a range of influence on ecclesiastical affairs of both civil and ecclesiastical authorities was based on their effectiveness in persuading people: laity and clergy. A new bishop was elected by the people of Satala and the task of Basil was to ordain him.

It is not by coincidence that conflict between Basil and Eustathius started just after Basil had intervened in Satala – in the territory that Eustathius must have considered his own.⁵⁵⁹ Because of his power base, Basil initially succeeded. The things changed in 375 when Demosthenes became a new vicar of Pontus.⁵⁶⁰ Basil himself testifies that the vicar (βικάριος) of Pontus treated him with outright hostility and took sides with henchmen of Eustathius.⁵⁶¹ By the way, he gives us a detailed description of how the elections of bishops looked like in reality:

<p>Πείθειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπειρᾶτο δέξασθαι τὸν Εὐστάθιον καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον. Ὡς δὲ εἶδεν αὐτοὺς ἐκόντας οὐκ ἐνδιδόντας, νῦν πειρᾶται βιαιοτέρῳ χειρὶ ἐγκαταστήσαι τὸν διδόμενον.</p>	<p>[Demosthenes] tried to persuade them [the Nicopolitans] 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 him who is being given them. And some expectation of a</p>
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⁵⁵⁶ R. van Dam, *Emperor, bishops and friends in late antique Cappadocia*, 60.

⁵⁵⁷ P. Norton, *Episcopal elections 250-600*, 6.

⁵⁵⁸ Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 4, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 218, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 2, 181; cf. *Epistulae* 102, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2, 2-4.

⁵⁵⁹ J. Gribomont, *Eustathe de Sebaste*, in: *Saint Basile, Évangile et Église. Mélanges*, vol. 2, 100: “L’occasion du conflit fut une intervention de Basile dans la province d’Eustathe.”

⁵⁶⁰ J.R. Pouchet, *Basile le Grand et son univers d’amis d’après sa correspondance*, 374.

⁵⁶¹ Basil, *Epistulae* 237, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 56-57.

Ὑποθρυλεῖται δέ τις καὶ συνόδου
προσδοκία, καθ' ἣν προαιροῦνται
καλέσαντες ἡμᾶς ἢ λαβεῖν
κοινωνοὺς ἢ χρῆσασθαι τῇ
συνηθείᾳ.

synod is being noised about, at which
they propose, after summoning us,
either to receive us into communion or
merely to enjoy our acquaintance.⁵⁶²

Apparently, Eustathius became such an important figure that he demanded his right to ordain bishops in other sees of Armenia Minor. Eustathius was bishop of Sebastea since 357 (with some breaks that are difficult to establish precisely as it is impossible to find out which of his depositions were effective). Nothing is known about his conflicts with previous bishops of Caesarea in Cappadocia. At the beginning of 370s Theodot of Nicopolis started to fight Eustathius under the pretext of his unorthodoxy. That the reason of the conflict was fake is clear from the fact that Theodot refused to take note of Basil's testimony on Eustathius' orthodoxy.⁵⁶³ Since the ecclesiastical subordination in Armenia Minor was so vague, bishops of Sebastea and Nicomedia could have fought for a metropolitan status. Basil himself confessed in the letter written in 375 to the very Eustathius that the reason of the conflict was a struggle for power:

Ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ
χωρισμοῦ αἰτία, ἑτέρα δέ ἐστι τῆς
διαστάσεως ἢ ὑπόθεσις ἣν ἐγὼ λέγειν
αἰσχύνομαι, καὶ ἐσίγησα δὲ πάντα τὸν
χρόνον, εἰ μὴ τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα
ἀναγκαίαν μοι καθίστη διὰ τὸ τῶν
πολλῶν λυσιτελεῖς τῆς ὅλης αὐτῶν
προαιρέσεως τὴν φανέρωσιν.
Νομιζέτωσαν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐμπόδιον

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 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!⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶² Basil, *Epistulae* 237, 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 57, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 411.

⁵⁶³ Basil, *Epistulae* 99, 1-3, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1, 214-217.

⁵⁶⁴ Basil, *Epistulae* 223,7, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 16, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 309-311.

αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῆς δυναστείας
ἀνάληψιν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν.

According to Jurgens the primary cause of the break in friendship between Basil and Eustathius was that “which Basil has categorized as Eustathius’ ambition for power.”⁵⁶⁵ Jurgens thinks that Eustathius wanted to regain the favour of the emperor and that is why he signed the heretical (Pneumatomachian) creed. If it had been so, Basil as well would had to sign the heretical creed in order to obtain emperor’s grace. Apparently, the political reality was much more complicated and dependent on relationships on much lower level. And charges of heresy used to be an integral part of struggle for power in the Church of 4th century.

⁵⁶⁵ W.A. Jurgens, *Eustathius of Sebaste*, 81-82.

Part VI. Epilogue

It is doubtful that Basil and Gregory had sister named Macrina. In accordance with the custom of the time, the first daughter should have got the name after her maternal grandmother as it was in the family of Gregory of Nazianzus: his sister Gorgonia was named after their maternal grandmother and Gorgonia's daughter Nonna as well.⁵⁶⁶ Macrina the Younger would have received her name contrary to the custom after her paternal grandmother, Macrina the Elder. It is worth noticing that Basil (the first son) got his name according to the custom after his father, as well as Gregory of Nazianzus.

Existed or not, Macrina described by Gregory of Nyssa is certainly a literary construct. Now, it is time to put the question: why? For what reason could anybody invent a saint? In my opinion, Macrina was invented in order to substitute Eustathius of Sebastea and Basil as his follower in the history of asceticism.

Maraval thought that Macrina was an intermediary between Eustathius and Basil, but Gregory overrated the role of Macrina to such an extent that he omitted Eustathius at all.⁵⁶⁷ Already in 1959, J. Gribomont noticed the contradiction between descriptions of Basil's conversion and claimed that *Vita sanctae Macrinae* passes over Eustathius as since 375 he was openly a Pneumatomachos.⁵⁶⁸ So the suggestion is clear: Eustathius was substituted by Macrina in order to cover the heretic inspirer of Basil. Fatti specifies more precisely that the Council of Constantinople (381) anathematized all heretic doctrines including Pneumatomachians and it was very dangerous to declare somebody a disciple of the heresiarch.⁵⁶⁹ I myself thought that it was the most probable explanation,⁵⁷⁰ until I discovered that it is more than likely that Eustathius never signed any heretical creed and his unorthodoxy was only Basil's propaganda.

⁵⁶⁶ F. Fatti, "In ossequio alle leggi dell'encomio". *Retorica e ideologia in Gregorio Nazianzeno*, in: *Comunicazione e ricezione del documento cristiano in epoca tardoantica: XXXII Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana* (Roma, 8-10 maggio 2003), Roma 2004, 635.

⁵⁶⁷ P. Maraval, *Introduction*, in: *Vie de sainte Macrine*, SC 178, Paris 1971, 52.

⁵⁶⁸ J. Gribomont, *Eustache le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée*, 123. The idea is present also in P. Maraval, *Introduction*, SC 178, 52 and S. Elm, *Virgins of God*, 135.

⁵⁶⁹ F. Fatti, *Monachesimo anatolico. Eustazio di Sebastia e Basilio di Cesarea*, 84-85.

⁵⁷⁰ M. Przyszychowska, *Macrina the Younger – the invented saint*, "Studia Pelplińskie" 52 (2018), 338.

Fatti thinks that Eustathius was blot out from the life of Basil by Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus because they wanted all credits for creating monasticism in Cappadocia and Pontus to go to Basil.⁵⁷¹ However, if Gregory of Nyssa really had wanted to promote Basil, he could have done it directly by writing *Vita sancti Basilii* instead of *Vita sanctae Macrinae* and the dialogue with brother Basil instead of the dialogue with sister Macrina. On the contrary, in the *Vita sanctae Macrinae* Basil is shown as braggart when he returned from the school of rhetoric (from Athens?):

Λαβουῖσα τοίνυν αὐτὸν ὑπερφυῶς
ἐπηρμένον τῷ περὶ τοὺς λόγους
φρονήματι καὶ πάντα περιφρονοῦντα τὰ
ἀξιώματα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ
λαμπροὺς ἐπηρμένον τῷ ὄγκῳ.

He was excessively puffed up by his rhetorical abilities and disdainful of all great reputations, and considered himself better than the leading men in the district.⁵⁷²

In this story it was Macrina who “took him over and lured him quickly to the goal of philosophy (κάκεινον πρὸς τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸν ἐπεσπάσατο).”⁵⁷³ Basil appears in *Vita sanctae Macrinae* six more times: twice he is a point of reference for other siblings: “The second of the four brothers after the great Basil was named Naucratus;”⁵⁷⁴ Peter “was no less esteemed than the great Basil for the excellent qualities of his later life;”⁵⁷⁵ twice his death is recalled to show Macrina’s apatheia in the face of a misfortune⁵⁷⁶ and once it serves as a pretext to start a conversation on “the higher philosophy.”⁵⁷⁷ The only passage that seemingly describes Basil’s career mentions as his only achievement that he ordained Peter for a priest:

⁵⁷¹ F. Fatti, *Monachesimo anatolico. Eustazio di Sebastia e Basilio di Cesarea*, 71-72.

⁵⁷² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 6, GNO 8/1, 377, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 167.

⁵⁷³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 6, GNO 8/1, 377, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 167.

⁵⁷⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 8, GNO 8/1, 378, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 168.

⁵⁷⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 12, GNO 8/1, 384, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 172.

⁵⁷⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 14, GNO 8/1, 385-386.

⁵⁷⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 17, GNO 8/1, 389.

Ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πολὺς ἐν ἁγίοις Βασίλειος
 τῆς μεγάλης Καισαρέων ἐκκλησίας
 ἀνεδείχθη προστάτης· ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν κληρὸν
 τῆς ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἱερωσύνης τὸν
 ἀδελφὸν ἄγει ταῖς μυστικαῖς ἑαυτοῦ
 ἱερουργίαις ἀφιερῶσας. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
 πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερόν τε καὶ
 ἁγιώτερον προήει ὁ βίος τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ τῆς
 φιλοσοφίας ἐπαυξηθείσης. Ὀκτὼ δὲ μετὰ
 τοῦτο διαγενομένων ἐτῶν τῷ ἐνάτῳ
 ἐνιαυτῷ ὁ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην
 ὀνομαστὸς Βασίλειος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς
 τὸν θεὸν μετοικίζεται.

At this time, Basil, distinguished
 among the holy, was made Bishop
 of Caesarea. He led his brother to
 the holy vocation of the
 priesthood, and consecrated him
 in the mystical services himself.
 And through this also, their life
 progressed to a loftier and higher
 degree, seeing that their
 philosophy was enhanced by the
 consecration. Eight years later,
 Basil, renowned throughout the
 entire world, left the world of
 men and went to God.⁵⁷⁸

It would be really difficult to claim that this could be a way of praising anybody. There must have been other reason for inventing Macrina.

Macrina's way of practicing asceticism is clearly kind of a counterpoise to the asceticism condemned in Gangra – the fact already pointed out by Robert Wiśniewski.⁵⁷⁹ *Vita sanctae Macrinae* is evidently anti-Eustathian:

- ✓ Emmelia, Macrina's mother is a saint although she was married: "Her mother was extremely virtuous, following the will of God in all things and embracing an exceptionally pure and spotless way of life, so that she had chosen not to marry. However, since she was an orphan and flowering in the springtime of her beauty, and the fame of her loveliness had attracted many suitors, there was danger that, if she were not joined to someone by choice, she might suffer some unwished-for violence, because some of the suitors maddened by her beauty were preparing to carry her off. For this reason, she chose a man well known and recommended for the dignity of his life, and

⁵⁷⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 14, GNO 8/1, 385-386, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 173.

⁵⁷⁹ R. Wiśniewski, *Macryna albo o poszukiwaniu modelu taumaturgii kobiecej*, "Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności" 3, Warszawa 2000, 309.

thus she acquired a guardian for her own life”⁵⁸⁰ in accordance with Canon 1 of the Council of Gangra,

- ✓ Naucratus used to go hunting to procure food for the old people (*Vita sanctae Macrinae* 8, GNO 8/1, 379), so the community clearly did not condemn eating meat in accordance with Canon 2 of the Council of Gangra,
- ✓ Macrina’s mother had maids (*Vita sanctae Macrinae* 7, GNO 8/1, 378) and Naucratus had housemen (*Vita sanctae Macrinae* 8, GNO 8/1, 378) who were treated as “sisters and equals rather than her slaves and underlings,” but were not taught to despise their masters in accordance with Canon 3 of the Council of Gangra,
- ✓ liturgy is always celebrated in the church with no exceptions (*Vita sanctae Macrinae* 16, GNO 8/1, 388; 22, GNO 8/1, 395; 34, GNO 8/1, 409) in accordance with Canon 6 of the Council of Gangra,
- ✓ Macrina gave all her wealth into the hands of the priest (*Vita sanctae Macrinae* 20, GNO 8/1, 393) in accordance with Canon 8 of the Council of Gangra,
- ✓ *Vita sanctae Macrinae* stresses the significance of marriage even if somebody chooses virginity (*Vita sanctae Macrinae* 5, GNO 8/1, 375) in accordance with Canon 9 of the Council of Gangra,
- ✓ married people could visit the monastery and spend there some time (*Vita sanctae Macrinae* 37, GNO 8/1, 410), they were never treated arrogantly in accordance with Canon 10 of the Council of Gangra,
- ✓ although the ascetics lived very modestly, they organized feasting (εὐωχία) for the guests (*Vita sanctae Macrinae* 38, GNO 8/1, 412) in accordance with Canon 11 of the Council of Gangra,
- ✓ Macrina wore women clothes such as a veil - τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡ καλύπτρα (*Vita sanctae Macrinae* 29, GNO 8/1, 403) in accordance with Canon 13 of the Council of Gangra,

⁵⁸⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 2, GNO 8/1, 372, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 164.

- ✓ in *Vita sanctae Macrinae* no woman abandons her husband or wishes to withdraw from marriage in accordance with Canon 14 of the Council of Gangra, only widows can become members of the community,
- ✓ in accordance with Canons 15 and 16 of the Council of Gangra, neither mother (Emmelia) abandoned her children nor daughter (Macrina) abandoned her mother under pretext of asceticism, but they lived together: “She settled upon a safeguard for her noble decision, namely, a resolve never to be separated for a moment from her mother, so that her mother often used to say to her that the rest of her children she had carried in her womb for a fixed time, but this daughter she always bore, encompassing her in her womb at all times and under all circumstances,”⁵⁸¹
- ✓ the family worshipped martyrs (*Vita sanctae Macrinae* 15, GNO 8/1, 387; 34, GNO 8/1, 408) in accordance with Canon 20 of the Council of Gangra.

Although it cannot be determined which of those condemned points were realized by Eustathius himself and which by his followers, it is evident that the ascetic life pictured in *Vita sanctae Macrinae* opposes Eustathian asceticism and is not inspired by Eustathius as Driscoll wanted.⁵⁸² As shown above, Basil remained faithful to the crucial indicators of Eustathian ascetic life. One of this pivotal features was individualism which is absolutely absent in *Vita sanctae Macrinae*. In Macrina’s asceticism there is no place for exceptions based on individual judgment of the ascetic.⁵⁸³ Macrina knows the Bible well and sings psalms all day long, but she does not interpret the Holy Scripture on her own. There is also no place for disobedience to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Even poverty must be limited according

⁵⁸¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 5, GNO 8/1, 376, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 166.

⁵⁸² J. Driscoll, *Eustazio di Sebaste e il primo ascetismo cappadoce*, 16: “La Vita di Macrina di Gregorio di Nissa ci permette di delineare lo stile di vita della madre di Basilio, di sua sorella Macrina, e di suo fratello Nauczazio: si tratta di una vita ascetica ispirata da Eustazio.”

⁵⁸³ My analysis opposes A.M. Silvas, who claimed (*Macrina the Younger. Philosopher of God*, 43): “A careful comparison of the VSM and the Small Asketikon reveals an overwhelming agreement between the Annisa community and the form of ascetic community taught in the Small Asketikon. That is, most of the features of the community at Annisa in 379 were already in place by about 365. Many of the hyper-ascetic correctives of the council of Gangra were operative even then. Yet the Small Ascetikon itself is the culmination of considerable prior development in the conception of the ascetic life.”

to the decision of the priest; when the way of burying Macrina was being decided, it turned out that she did not possess anything but a dress, a covering of her head and sandals. When Gregory asked her companion whether Macrina would oppose if he brought some of the things that he had got ready for the funeral, the companion answered:

προσέσθαι γὰρ ἂν αὐτὴν καὶ ζῶσαν
τὴν τοιαύτην παρὰ σοῦ τιμὴν κατ'
ἀμφοτέρω, διὰ τε τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὴν
ἀεὶ τιμίαν αὐτῇ καὶ διὰ τὴν
κοινωνίαν τῆς φύσεως μηδὲ γὰρ ἂν
ἀλλότριον ἑαυτῆς τὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
νομίσαι. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς σαῖς
χερσὶ περικοσμηθῆναι τὸ σῶμα
διεκελεύσατο.

If she were alive, she would accept such a gift from you for two reasons: on account of your priesthood, which she always honored, and, on account of your kinship, she would not have thought that what belonged to her brother was not also hers. It was for this reason that she ordered her body to be prepared by your hands.⁵⁸⁴

Although she was a superior of the community, Macrina did not even had access to her own money, but she gave all her wealth into the hands of the priest.⁵⁸⁵

J. Daniélou claims that at the beginning Basil was disciple of Eustathius and then changed and ordered his younger brother Gregory of Nyssa to write *De virginitate* as counterpoise to the asceticism of Eustathius.⁵⁸⁶ Daniélou bases on the fact that Gregory holds Basil up as an example of virtue. However, it is rather a rhetorical device. Gregory does not mention Basil by name and – on purpose. Although he claims that “our most reverend bishop and father” is the only one that could be “capable of teaching these things,” he wants everyone to choose his/her own teacher:

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ τοσοῦτον τὰ ἐν τοῖς
διηγήμασιν ὑποδείγματα δύναται πρὸς
κατόρθωσιν ἀρετῆς ὅσον ἡ ζῶσα φωνὴ

Since descriptions aimed at establishing virtue are not as powerful as the living voice and the actual examples of what is

⁵⁸⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 29, GNO 8/1, 403, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 184.

⁵⁸⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 20, GNO 8/1, 393.

⁵⁸⁶ J. Daniélou, *Saint Grégoire de Nyssa dans l'histoire du monachisme*, in: *Théologie de la vie monastique*, Paris 1961, 132. Similar conclusions by J. Gribomont, *Le dossier des origines du Messalianisme*, 624.

καὶ τὰ ἐνεργούμενα τῶν ἀγαθῶν
 ὑποδείγματα, ἀναγκαίως πρὸς τῷ τέλει
 τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου ἐπισκόπου
 καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν, ὡς
 μόνου δυνατῶς ἔχοντος τὰ τοιαῦτα
 παιδεύειν. Ἡ δὲ μνήμη οὐκ ἐπ' ὀνόματος
 γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τινων γνωρισμάτων
 τὸ ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν δηλούμενον ὁ λόγος
 ἠνίξατο, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα
 καθομιλοῦσι τῷ λόγῳ ἀνόνητος ἢ
 συμβουλή εἶναι δόξη, τῷ παρελθόντι τὸν
 βίον προσφοιτᾶν τοὺς νέους κελεύουσα,
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο βλέποντες μόνον, οἷον
 εἶναι προσήκει τὸν τοῦ τοιούτου βίου
 καθηγητὴν, ἐκλέγωνται ἑαυτοῖς εἰς
 ὁδηγίαν τοὺς ἀεὶ παρὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
 χάριτος εἰς προστασίαν τῆς κατ' ἀρετὴν
 πολιτείας ἀναδεικνυμένους· ἢ γὰρ
 εὐρήσουσι τὸν ζητούμενον ἢ οἷον χρὴ
 εἶναι οὐκ ἀγνοήσουσιν.

good, we have, perforce, referred
 at the end of the discourse to our
 most reverend bishop and father
 as the only one capable of
 teaching these things. We did not
 mention him by name, but the
 treatise refers to him
 enigmatically, so that the advice
 bidding the young to follow in the
 footsteps of one who has gone
 before them may not seem
 incomprehensible to those who
 have access to the treatise. Asking
 only who the fitting guide is for
 such a life, let them select for
 themselves those who, by the
 grace of God, point the way to
 the safeguarding of a life of virtue.
 For either they will find the one
 they seek or they will not be
 ignorant of what kind of person
 he must be.⁵⁸⁷

Gregory felt obliged to refer to Basil, but he did it in such a way that it was rather diminishing than honouring – like in *Vita sanctae Macrinae*. As Meredith noticed, “it is instructive to compare Gregory of Nyssa’s account of Basil with his warm appraisal of their sister Macrina, whose name, significantly, occurs nowhere in the correspondence of Basil. Again the difference in tone may be purely accidental, but the suggestion that there was a sort of ‘axis’ in the family, with the masterful

⁵⁸⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate* 2, GNO 8/1, 248-249, transl. V. Woods Callahan, in: Gregory of Nyssa, *Ascetical Works*, 7.

Basil on one side, Gregory, Macrina and Peter on the other, may not beside the point.”⁵⁸⁸

Macrina’s asceticism opposes Basil’s asceticism not only in excluding individualism and exceptions based on individual judgment, but in one more crucial aspect: the attitude towards family. R. van Dam put it this way: “By not marrying, not having children, and not accepting a position as a municipal magistrate or a teacher, Basil declined to take on the usual obligations of male adulthood in Greek cities. His friend Gregory of Nazianzus had adopted a similar life, although with one important difference, since he had assumed responsibility for looking after his elderly parents. As the oldest son, Basil might have been expected likewise to look after his mother. Instead, Macrina, who never married, exonerated Basil by staying with and caring for their mother.”⁵⁸⁹ Not only Macrina, but also Naucratus and Peter took care of their mother. Macrina “furnished food for her mother from her own labor, and, in addition, she shared her mother’s worries,” “she was a sharer of her mother’s toils, taking on part of her cares and lightening the heaviness of her griefs.”⁵⁹⁰ Naucratus “also zealously carried out his mother’s wishes if she asked anything for herself, and, in these two ways, he charted his life’s course, controlling his young manhood by his labor and caring for his mother,”⁵⁹¹ “he lived this way for five years, philosophizing and making his mother’s life a blessed one because of the way that he regulated his own life through moderation and put all his energy into fulfilling her every wish.”⁵⁹² Peter “was above all a co-worker with his sister and mother in every phase of their angelic existence.”⁵⁹³ When Macrina was lying on her death-bed and Gregory was complaining about his difficulties and persecutions she reminded him of the most important gift of God – the family:

Οὐ παύση, φησίν, ἀγνωμόνως ἐπὶ τοῖς θείοις ἀγαθοῖς διακείμενος; οὐ θεραπεύσεις τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀχάριστον;	Will you ever stop ignoring the good things that come from God? Will you not remedy the thanklessness of
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⁵⁸⁸ A. Meredith, *Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa on Basil*, “Studia Patristica” 32 (1997), 167.

⁵⁸⁹ R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 37.

⁵⁹⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 5, GNO 8/1, 376, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 167.

⁵⁹¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 8, GNO 8/1, 379, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 169.

⁵⁹² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 9, GNO 8/1, 379, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 169.

⁵⁹³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 12, GNO 8/1, 384, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 172.

οὐκ ἀντιπαραθήσεις τοῖς τῶν πατέρων
τὰ σά; καίτοι γε κατὰ τὸν κόσμον
τοῦτον ἐν τούτῳ δὴ μάλιστα
μεγαλαυχουῦμεν, ἐν τῷ εὖ γεγονέναι
καὶ ἀπὸ εὐγενῶν φῦναι δοκεῖν.

your soul? Compare your lot with
that of our parents, although, as far
as this world is concerned, it is true
that we are proud of being well born
and coming from a good family.⁵⁹⁴

Momigliano noted: “In this complex experimentation with religious figures, the life of Macrina is therefore eccentric. It is the life of a sister surrounded by mother, brothers, and sisters; it is at the same time the story of an aristocratic clan fully conscious of its own distinction.”⁵⁹⁵

The attitude towards the family distances Gregory of Nyssa from Basil (his own brother!) and brings him closer to Gregory of Nazianzus. Gregory of Nazianzus never mentioned Eustathius – he clearly opposed his way of practicing asceticism. The way that was followed by Basil.⁵⁹⁶ The main difference between those two kinds of asceticism did not lie in strict morals or in the attitude towards the poor, or in the zealotry in reading the Holy Scriptures and in praying, or in renouncing the pleasures and comforts – in all those points both ascetics were similar. The difference lied in the attitude towards own family. Gregory of Nazianzus admits that himself:

Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἡ Καισαρέων κατέχει
πόλις, ὡς τινα δεύτερον οἰκιστὴν τε καὶ
πολιοῦχον· ἔπειτα ἐκδημίαι τινές,
ἐπειδὴ γε ἡμᾶς οὐκ εἶχε, τῶν
ἀναγκαίων ὑπολαμβάνουσι, καὶ οὐκ
ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τῆς προκειμένης
φιλοσοφίας. Ἐμὲ δὲ πατέρων εὐλάβεια
καὶ γηροκομία καὶ συμφορῶν
ἐπανάστασις κατασχούσα τοῦ ἀνδρός

The city of Caesarea took
possession of him, as a second
founder and patron, but in course
of time he was occasionally absent,
as a matter of necessity due to our
separation, and with a view to our
determined course of philosophy.
Dutiful attendance on my aged
parents, and a succession of
misfortunes kept me apart from

⁵⁹⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita sanctae Macrinae* 21, GNO 8/1, 394, transl. V. Woods Callahan, 178.

⁵⁹⁵ A. Momigliano, *The Life of St. Macrina by Gregory of Nyssa*, 217.

⁵⁹⁶ F. Fatti, *Nei panni del vescovo. Gregorio, Basilio e il filosofo Eustazio*, 177-238.

ἀπήγαγεν· οὐ καλῶς μὲν ἴσως οὐδὲ
δικαίως, ἀπήγαγε δ' οὖν.

him, perhaps without right or
justice, but so it was.⁵⁹⁷

Van Dam noted: “For all his love of solitude and ascetic isolation, Gregory had always remained a family man. Basil had rejected his father’s vocation as a teacher in order to become an ascetic and finally a bishop. In the process, he had estranged himself not only from his father’s family in Pontus, but also from his siblings and other relatives. Although Gregory had likewise been reluctant to imitate his father’s career as a cleric, he had never distanced himself from his parents, his family, and his relatives. His devotion to his father in particular was always a dominant influence in his life.”⁵⁹⁸

Gregory of Nazianzus was not so close friend of Basil as it is commonly assumed. The picture of the idyllic friendship was a product of Gregory’s rhetoric, “it would be Gregory’s own writings that contributed to the formation of this image of an ideal friendship.”⁵⁹⁹ Gregory was rewriting the history of his relationship with Basil in order to regain the position in Cappadocia after he returned from Constantinople (381).⁶⁰⁰ He also treated the friendship with Basil as a part of the classical culture he was committed to.⁶⁰¹

Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa apparently shared the same idea of the family that according to S. Elm could have had its roots in philosophy: “As he made clear, the ideal Christian Greek philosopher was first and foremost embodied by Gregory himself. But, as is evident from the shared assumptions of Neoplatonist philosophy, such a man also needed an appropriately sacred ‘genesis’. And since a philosopher’s divine inspiration was prefigured in his origins, it was made manifest not only in himself, but also, of course, in his entire family.”⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁷ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 43 (Funerbris in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi)*, 25, SC 384, 182; transl. NPNF II 7, 404.

⁵⁹⁸ R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 58.

⁵⁹⁹ R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 155-156.

⁶⁰⁰ N. McLynn, *Gregory Nazianzen’s Basil: The Literary Construction of a Christian Friendship*, “*Studia Patristica*” 37 (2001), 193.

⁶⁰¹ D. Konstan, *How to Praise a Friend. St. Gregory of Nazianzus’s Funeral Oration for St. Basil the Great*, in: *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, ed. T. Hägg, P. Rousseau, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 2000, 161; R. van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, 171-172.

⁶⁰² S. Elm, *Gregory’s women: Creating a philosopher’s family*, in: *Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections*, ed. J. Bjørtnes, T. Hägg, Copenhagen 2005, 186.

Honoring members of the family was the pivotal part of constructing his own image as a philosopher.⁶⁰³ Gregory of Nazianzus realized that plan by praising his brother Cesarius, his father Gregory and his sister Gorgonia in the funeral orations (*Oratio* 7, 18 and 8).

G. Luck demonstrated a lot of parallels between *Vita sanctae Macrinae* and Gregory of Nazianzus' Oration 8 on his sister Gorgonia (PG 35, 789-817): both ladies led very simple lifestyle which must have been unusual in their social circle, they were naturally beautiful without any external ornaments, both were charitable and were teachers for others, after the accident (Gorgonia) and during the illness (Macrina) both refused to consult the doctor as it required to get undressed and both were miraculously healed thanks to their own prayers.⁶⁰⁴ S. Elm claims that Gregory of Nazianzus' oration was "the earliest hagiographic text in praise of a Christian woman."⁶⁰⁵

Taking all above into account, I think that Macrina was invented by Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus in order to substitute Eustathius of Sebastea in the first place and Basil as his follower as well. The main goal of *Vita sanctae Macrinae* is to create a model of asceticism and communal life alternative to the Eustathian one.

Macrina became a part of a long tradition of fictitious women guiding men into mysteries of philosophy and true wisdom: Diotima from Plato's *Symposium*, Rhoda from *The Shepherd of Hermas*, 11 women from Methodius of Olympus' *Symposium*. She was also not the first fictional ascetic. In the middle 370s Jerome wrote *Vita beati Pauli monachi Thebani*, the life of the first hermit. Since 1877 many scholars have claimed that it is a life of a completely fictional character.⁶⁰⁶ The hagiography was written in Latin, but it was translated into Greek and spread widely in the East as well as in the West.⁶⁰⁷ Even if it had not been translated into Greek

⁶⁰³ S. Elm, *Gregory's women: Creating a philosopher's family*, 191.

⁶⁰⁴ G. Luck, *Notes on the Vita Macrinae*, 23-25.

⁶⁰⁵ S. Elm, *Gregory's women: Creating a philosopher's family*, 187.

⁶⁰⁶ S. Rebenich, *Inventing an Ascetic Hero. Jerome's Life of Paul the First Hermit*, in *Jerome of Stridon. His Life, Writings and Legacy*, eds. A. Cain - J. Lössl, New York 2009, 14-16; T.D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*, 172.

⁶⁰⁷ J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome, his Life, Writings and Controversies*, London 1975, 60; K. Jażdżewska, *Hagiographic Invention and Imitation: Niketas' Life of Theoktiste and Its Literary Models*, "Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies" 49 (2009), 269.

before *Vita sanctae Macrinae*, Jerome could have told about it personally to both Gregories when they met in Constantinople in the years 380-381. *Vita beati Pauli* by Jerome sets up the precedent of substitution of one leader and master for another.⁶⁰⁸ It is very likely that it was aimed at presenting model of monastic life alternative to the one presented in *Vita Antonii*.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁸ Jerome attested that openly at the very beginning of his *Vita beati Pauli monachi Thebani* (SC 508, 144-146; transl. NPNF II 6, 404): “It has been a subject of wide-spread and frequent discussion what monk was the first to give a signal example of the hermit life. [...] So then inasmuch as both Greek and Roman writers have handed down careful accounts of Antony, I have determined to write a short history of Paul’s early and latter days.”

⁶⁰⁹ S. Rebenich, *Inventing an Ascetic Hero*, 20-23.

Appendix I. Vita sanctae Macrinae

Vita sanctae Macrinae, GNO 8/1, ed. V. Woods Callahan, Leiden 1963, 370-414; transl. V. Woods Callahan, *The life of St Macrina*, in: Gregory of Nyssa, *Ascetical Works*, Washington D.C. 1990, 163-191. Paragraph numbers according to SC 178.

(1) Τὸ μὲν εἶδος τοῦ βιβλίου ὅσον ἐν τῷ
τῆς προγραφῆς τύπῳ ἐπιστολῆ εἶναι
δοκεῖ, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τὸν
ἐπιστολιμαῖον ὄρον ἐστὶν εἰς
συγγραφικὴν μακρογορίαν
παρατεινόμενον· ἀλλ' ἀπολογεῖται ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν ἢ ὑπόθεσις, ἧς ἔνεκεν γράψαι
διεκελεύσω, πλείων οὔσα ἢ κατ'
ἐπιστολῆς συμμετρίαν. Πάντως δὲ οὐκ
ἀμνημονεῖς τῆς συντυχίας, ὅτε κατ'
εὐχὴν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπιφοιτᾶν μέλλων,
ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς τοῦ κυρίου διὰ
σαρκὸς ἐπιδημίας ἐν [371] τοῖς τόποις
ἰδεῖν, συνέδραμόν σοι κατὰ τὴν
Ἀντιόχου πόλιν καὶ παντοίων
ἀνακινουμένων ἡμῖν λόγων (οὐδὲ γὰρ
εἰκὸς ἦν ἐν σιωπῇ τὴν συντυχίαν εἶναι,
πολλὰς τῷ λόγῳ τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῆς σῆς
συνέσεως ὑποβαλλούσης), οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ
πολλάκις ἐν τούτοις γίνεσθαι, εἰς
μνήμην βίου τινὸς εὐδοκίμου προῆλθε
ῤέων ὁ λόγος. Γυνὴ δὲ ἦν ἢ τοῦ
διηγήματος ἀφορμή, εἴπερ γυνή· οὐκ
οἶδα γὰρ εἰ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως

1. From the heading of this work, you might think that it is a letter, but it has extended itself into a rather lengthy monograph. My excuse is that you ordered me to write on a subject that goes beyond the scope of a letter. In any case, you will recall our meeting in Antioch, where we happened to come across each other as I was on my way to Jerusalem to fulfill a vow to see the evidence of our Lord's sojourn in the flesh in that region of the world. We talked of all sorts of things (indeed, seeing you precipitated so many topics of conversation that it was not likely to be a silent encounter) and, as often happens, the flow of our conversation turned to the life of an esteemed person. We spoke of a woman, if one may refer to her as that, for I do not know if it is right to use that natural designation for one who went beyond the nature of a woman. We did not have to

αὐτὴν ὀνομάζειν τὴν ἄνω γενομένην
τῆς φύσεως. Τὸ δὲ διήγημα ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐξ
ἀκοῆς ἐτέρων διηγημάτων τὸ πιστὸν
εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὧν ἡ πείρα διδάσκαλος ἦν,
ταῦτα δι' ἀκριβείας ἐπεξήει ὁ λόγος, εἰς
οὐδὲν ἀκοὴν ἀλλοτρῖαν
ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ξένη τοῦ
γένους ἡμῶν ἡ μνημονευθεῖσα
παρθένος, ὡς ἀνάγκη εἶναι δι' ἐτέρων
γινώσκειν τὰ κατ' ἐκείνην θαύματα,
ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν γονέων, ὥσπερ
τις ἀπαρχὴ καρπῶν πρώτη τῆς μητρῶας
νηδύος ἀναβλαστήσασα. Ἐπεὶ οὖν
ἐδοκίμασας φέρειν τι κέρδος τὴν τῶν
ἀγαθῶν ἱστορίαν, ὡς ἂν μὴ λάθοι τὸν
μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος μηδὲ
ἀνωφελῆς παραδράμοι διὰ σιωπῆς
συγκαλυφθεῖσα ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἀκρότατον
τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀρετῆς ὄρον ἑαυτὴν
διὰ φιλοσοφίας ἐπάρασα, καλῶς ἔχειν
ῥῆθην σοί τε πεισθῆναι καὶ δι' ὀλίγων,
ὡς ἂν οἴός τε ᾧ, τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν
ἱστορῆσαι ἐν ἀκατασκεύῳ τε καὶ ἀπλῶ
διηγήματι.

rely on hearsay since experience
was our teacher, and the details of
our story did not depend on the
testimony of others. The maiden
we spoke of was no stranger to my
family so that I did not have to
learn the wondrous facts about her
from others; we were born of the
same parents, she being, as it were,
an offering of first fruits, the
earliest flowering of our mother's
womb. At that time, you suggested
that a history of her good deeds
ought to be written because you
thought such a life should not be
lost sight of in time and, that
having raised herself to the highest
peak of human virtue through
philosophy, she should not be
passed over in silence and her life
rendered ineffective. Accordingly, I
thought it right to obey [164] you
and to write her life story as briefly
as I could in an artless and simple
narrative.

(2) Μακρίνα ἦν ὄνομα τῆ παρθένῳ,
εὐδόκιμος δέ τις πάλαι κατὰ τὸ γένος
ἦν ἡ Μακρίνα, μήτηρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν
γεγεννημένη, ταῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ

2. The maiden's name was Macrina.
She had been given this name by
her parents in memory of a
remarkable Macrina earlier in the
family, our father's mother, who

ὁμολογίαις τῶ καιρῶ τῶν διωγμῶν
ἐναθλήσασα, ἣ ἐπωνομάσθη παρὰ τῶν
[372] γονέων ἢ παιῖς. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν
ἐν φανερῶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ παρὰ τῶν
γινωσκόντων ὀνομαζόμενον, ἕτερον δὲ
κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς αὐτῇ ἐπεκέκλητο, ὃ
πρὶν παρελθεῖν διὰ τῶν ὠδίνων εἰς φῶς
ἔκ τινος ἐπιφανείας ἐπωνομάσθη. Ἦν
γὰρ δὴ τοιαύτη κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἡ μήτηρ
ὡς πανταχοῦ τῶ θείῳ βουλήματι
χειραγωγεῖσθαι, διαφερόντως δὲ τὴν
καθαράν τε καὶ ἀκηλίδωτον τοῦ βίου
διαγωγὴν ἀσπασαμένη, ὡς μηδὲ τὸν
γάμον ἐκουσίως ἐλέσθαι. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ
ὀρφανὴ μὲν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἦν,
ὑπερήνθει δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ
πολλοῦσ' ἤ φήμη τῆς εὐμορφίας πρὸς
τὴν μνηστείαν συνήγειρε, κίνδυνος δὲ
ἦν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὸ ἐκούσιόν τινι
συναρμοσθεῖη, παθεῖν τι τῶν
ἀβουλήτων ἐξ ἐπηρείας, πρὸς ἀρπαγὰς
παρεσκευασμένων τῶν ἐπιμεμηγνόντων
τῶ κάλλει· διὰ τοῦτο ἐλομένη τὸν ἐπὶ
σεμνότητι βίου γνωριζόμενόν τε καὶ
μαρτυρούμενον, ὥστε φύλακα
κτήσασθαι τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς, εὐθύς ἐν ταῖς
πρώταις ὠδίσι ταύτης γίνεται μήτηρ.
Καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρῆν ὁ καιρός, καθ' ὃν ἔδει

had distinguished herself in the
confession of Christ at the time of
the persecutions. This was her
official name which her
acquaintances used, but she had
been given another secretly in
connection with a vision which
occurred before she came into the
light at birth. Her mother was
extremely virtuous, following the
will of God in all things and
embracing an exceptionally pure
and spotless way of life, so that she
had chosen not to marry. However,
since she was an orphan and
flowering in the springtime of her
beauty, and the fame of her
loveliness had attracted many
suitors, there was danger that, if
she were not joined to someone by
choice, she might suffer some
unwished-for violence, because
some of the suitors maddened by
her beauty were preparing to carry
her off. For this reason, she chose
a man well known and
recommended for the dignity of his
life, and thus she acquired a
guardian for her own life. In her
first pregnancy, she became
Macrina's mother. When the time

λυθῆναι τὴν ὠδῖνα τῷ τόκῳ, εἰς ὕπνον
 καταπεσοῦσα φέρειν ἐδόκει διὰ χειρὸς
 τὸ ἔτι ὑπὸ τῶν σπλάγχχνων
 περιεχόμενον καὶ τινα ἐν εἶδει καὶ
 σχήματι μεγαλοπρεπεστέρω ἢ κατὰ
 ἄνθρωπον ἐπιφανέντα προσειπεῖν τὴν
 βασταζομένην ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος
 Θέκλης, ἐκείνης Θέκλης, ἧς πολὺς ἐν
 ταῖς παρθένοις ὁ λόγος. Ποίησαντα δὲ
 τοῦτο εἰς τρεῖς μεταστῆναι τῶν ὄψεων
 καὶ δοῦναι τῇ ὠδῖνι τὴν εὐκολίαν, ὡς
 ὁμοῦ τε τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτὴν διαναστῆναι
 καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὕπαρ ἰδεῖν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν
 ὄνομα τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἐκεῖνο ἦν. Δοκεῖ
 δέ μοι μὴ τοσοῦτον πρὸς τὴν
 ὀνοματικὴν κλησιν [373] ὀδηγῶν τὴν
 γειναμένην ὁ ἐπιφανεῖς τοῦτο
 προσφθέξασθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον
 προειπεῖν τῆς νέας καὶ τὴν τῆς
 προαιρέσεως ὁμοιότητα διὰ τῆς
 ὁμωνυμίας ἐνδείξασθαι.

(3) Τρέφεται τοίνυν τὸ παιδίον, οὔσης
 μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τιθηνοῦ ἰδίας, τὰ δὲ
 πολλὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ταῖς
 ἰδίαις τιθηνουμένης. Ὑπερβᾶσα δὲ τὴν
 τῶν νηπίων ἡλικίαν εὐμαθὴς ἦν τῶν
 παιδικῶν μαθημάτων, καὶ πρὸς ὅπερ ἂν
 ἢ τῶν γονέων κρίσις ἤγε μάθημα, κατ'

came in which she was to be freed
 from her pain by giving birth to the
 child, she fell asleep and seemed to
 be holding in her hands the child
 still in her womb, and a person of
 greater than human shape and
 form appeared to be addressing the
 infant by the name of Thecla.

(There was a Thecla of much fame
 among virgins.) After doing this
 and invoking her as a witness three
 times, he disappeared from sight
 and gave ease to her pain so that as
 she awoke from her sleep she saw
 the dream realized. This, then, was
 her secret name. It seems to me
 that the one who appeared was not
 so much indicating how the child
 should be named, but foretelling
 the life of the child and intimating
 that she would choose a life similar
 to that of her namesake.

3. So the child grew, nursed chiefly
 by her mother although [165] she
 had a nurse of her own. Upon
 leaving infancy, she was quick to
 learn what children learn, and to
 whatever learning the judgment of
 her parents directed her, the little
 one's nature responded brilliantly.

ἐκεῖνο ἢ φύσις τῆς νέας διέλαμπεν. Ἦν δὲ τῇ μητρὶ σπουδὴ παιδεῦσαι μὲν τὴν παῖδα, μὴ μέντοι τὴν ἔξωθεν ταύτην καὶ ἐγκύκλιον παιδευσιν, ἦν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων αἱ πρῶται τῶν παιδευομένων ἡλικίαι διδάσκονται. Αἰσχροὺν γὰρ ᾤετο καὶ παντάπασι ἀπρεπὲς ἢ τὰ τραγικὰ πάθη, ὅσα ἐκ γυναικῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔδωκεν, ἢ τὰς κωμικὰς ἀσχημοσύνας ἢ τῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἴλιον κακῶν τὰς αἰτίας ἀπαλὴν καὶ εὐπλαστον φύσιν διδάσκεσθαι, καταμολυνομένην τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς ἀσεμνοτέροις περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν διηγήμασι. Ἀλλ' ὅσα τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς εὐληπτότερα ταῖς πρώταις ἡλικίαις δοκεῖ, ταῦτα ἦν τῇ παιδί τὰ μαθήματα καὶ μάλιστα ἡ τοῦ Σολομῶντος Σοφία καὶ ταύτης πλέον ὅσα πρὸς τὸν ἠθικὸν ἔφερε βίον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψαλμωδομένης γραφῆς οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν ἠγνῶει καιροῖς ἰδίους ἕκαστον μέρος τῆς ψαλμωδίας [374] διεξιούσα τῆς τε κοίτης διανισταμένη καὶ τῶν σπουδαίων ἀπτομένη τε καὶ ἀναπαυομένη καὶ προσιεμένη τροφήν καὶ ἀναχωροῦσα τραπέζης καὶ ἐπὶ

Her mother was eager to have the child given instruction, but not in the secular curriculum, which meant, for the most part, teaching the youngsters through poetry. For she thought that it was shameful and altogether unfitting to teach the soft and pliable nature either the passionate themes of tragedy (which are based on the stories of women and give the poets their ideas and plots), or the unseemly antics of comedy, or the shameful activities of the immoral characters in the Iliad, defiling the child's nature with the undignified tales about women. Instead of this, whatever of inspired Scripture was adaptable to the early years, this was the child's subject matter, especially the Wisdom of Solomon and beyond this whatever leads us to a moral life. She was especially well versed in the Psalms, going through each part of the Psalter at the proper time; when she got up or did her daily tasks or rested, when she sat down to eat or rose from the table, when she went to bed or rose from it for prayer, she had the Psalter with her at all times,

κοίτην ἰοῦσα καὶ εἰς προσευχὰς
διανισταμένη, πανταχοῦ τὴν
ψαλμωδίαν εἶχεν οἷόν τινα σύνοδον
ἀγαθὴν μηδενὸς ἀπολιμπανομένην
χρόνου.

like a good and faithful traveling
companion.

(4) Τούτοις συναυξανομένη καὶ τοῖς
τοιούτοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα
πρὸς τὴν ἐριουργίαν διαφερόντως
ἀσκήσασα πρόεισιν εἰς δωδέκατον ἔτος,
ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τὸ τῆς νεότητος ἄνθος
ἐκλάμπειν ἄρχεται. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ
θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅπως οὐδὲ
κεκρυμμένον τῆς νέας τὸ κάλλος
ἐλάνθανεν οὐδέ τι κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα
παῖσαν ἐκείνην τοιοῦτον θαῦμα ἐδόκει
οἷον ἐν συγκρίσει τοῦ κάλλους ἐκείνου
καὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας εἶναι, ὡς μηδὲ
ζωγράφων χεῖρας ἐφικέσθαι δυνηθῆναι
τῆς ὥρας· ἀλλὰ τὴν πάντα
μηχανωμένην τέχνην καὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις
ἐπιτολμῶσαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν
στοιχείων τὰς εἰκόνας διὰ τῆς μιμήσεως
ἀνατυποῦσθαι, τὴν τῆς μορφῆς ἐκείνης
εὐκληρίαν μὴ ἰσχυσαί δι' ἀκριβείας
μιμήσασθαι. Τούτου χάριν πολὺς ἔσμος
τῶν μνηστευόντων τὸν γάμον αὐτῆς
τοῖς γονεῦσι περιεχεῖτο. Ὁ δὲ πατὴρ (ἦν
γὰρ δὴ σώφρων καὶ κρίνειν τὸ καλὸν

4. Growing up with these and
similar pursuits and becoming
extraordinarily skilled in the
working of wool, she came to her
twelfth year in which the flowering
of youth begins especially to shine
forth. Here, it is worth marveling at
how the young girl's beauty did not
escape notice, although it had been
concealed. Nor did there seem to
be anything in all that country
comparable to her beauty and her
loveliness, so that the hand of the
painters could not reproduce its
perfection, and the art that devises
all things and dares the greatest
things, even to the fashioning of
planets through imitation, was not
powerful enough to imitate the
excellence of her form.

Consequently, a great stream of
suitors for her hand crowded
round her parents. Her father (he
was wise [166] and considered
outstanding in his judgment of
what was good) singled out from

ἐπεσκεμμένος) εὐδόκιμόν τινα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους, γνώριμον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη, ἄρτι τῶν παιδευτηρίων ἐπανήκοντα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποκρίνας ἐκείνῳ κατεγγυᾶν ἐγνώκει τὴν παιῖδα, εἶπερ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθοι. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἦν ταῖς χρηστοτέραις [375] καὶ καθάπερ τι τῶν κεχαρισμένων ἔδνων τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων εὐδοκίμησιν προσῆγε τῷ πατρὶ τῆς νέας, ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀγῶσι τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐπιδεικνύμενος δύναμιν. Ὁ δὲ φθόνος ἐπικόπτει τὰς χρηστοτέρας ἐλπίδας ἀναρπάσας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς ἐν ἐλεεινῇ τῇ νεότητι.

the rest a young man in the family known for his moderation, who had recently finished school, and he decided to give his daughter to him when she came of age. During this period, the young man showed great promise and brought to the girl's father (as a cherished bridal gift, as it were) his reputation as an orator, displaying his rhetorical skill in lawsuits in defense of the wronged. But envy cut short this bright promise by snatching him from life in his piteous youth.

(5) Οὐκ ἠγνόει δὲ τὰ τῷ πατρὶ δεδογμένα ἢ κόρη· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ νεανίου τὸ κεκριμένον ἐπ' αὐτῇ διεκόπη, γάμον ὀνομάσασα τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κρίσιν, ὡς γεγενημένου τοῦ κεκριμένου, μένειν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς τὸ λοιπὸν ἠξίου, καὶ ἦν τῆς ἡλικίας ἢ κρίσις παγιωτέρα. Πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτῇ τοὺς περὶ τοῦ γάμου προσαγόντων λόγους τῶν γεννησαμένων διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς κατὰ φήμην τοῦ κάλλους μνηστεύειν ἐθέλοντας, ἄτοπον ἔλεγε καὶ παράνομον εἶναι μὴ στέργειν

5. The girl was not unaware of what her father had decided, and when the young man's death broke off what had been planned for her, she called her father's decision a marriage on the grounds that what had been decided had actually taken place and she determined to spend the rest of her life by herself; and her decision was more firmly fixed than her age would have warranted. When her parents talked of marriage (many men wanted to marry her on account of the reputation of her beauty), she used

τὸν ἅπαξ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆ
κυρωθέντα γάμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς
ἕτερον ἀναγκάζεσθαι βλέπειν, ἐνὸς
ὄντος ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ γάμου ὡς μία
γένεσις καὶ θάνατος εἷς· τὸν δὲ
συναρμοσθέντα κατὰ τὴν τῶν γονέων
κρίσιν μὴ τεθνάναι δισχυρίζετο, ἀλλὰ
τὸν τῷ θεῷ ζῶντα διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς
ἀναστάσεως ἀπόδημον κρίνειν καὶ οὐ
νεκρὸν ἄτοπον δὲ εἶναι τῷ ἐκδημοῦντι
νυμφίῳ μὴ φυλάσσειν τὴν πίστιν. Τοῖς
τοιούτοις λόγοις ἀπωθουμένη τοὺς
παραπείθειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἐν
ἔδοκίμασεν ἑαυτῇ τῆς ἀγαθῆς κρίσεως
φυλακτήριον, τὸ μηδέποτε τῆς ἰδίας
μητρὸς μηδὲ ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τοῦ χρόνου
διαζευχθῆναι, ὡς [376] πολλάκις τὴν
μητέρα πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὰ λοιπὰ
τῶν τέκνων τεταγμένῳ τινὶ χρόνῳ
ἐκυοφόρησεν, ἐκείνην δὲ διὰ παντὸς ἐν
ἑαυτῇ φέρειν πάντοτε τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς
σπλάγχνοις ἑαυτῆς περιέχουσα. Ἀλλ'
οὐκ ἦν ἐπίπονος οὐδὲ ἀκερδῆς τῇ μητρὶ
τῆς θυγατρὸς ἢ συνδιαγωγῆ· ἀντὶ γὰρ
πολλῶν αὐτῇ θεραπαινίδων ἦν ἢ παρὰ
τῆς θυγατρὸς γινομένη θεραπεία καὶ ἦν
ἀντίδοσις τις ἀγαθῆ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων
ἀλλήλαις ἀντιπληρουμένη. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ

to say that it was out of place and
unlawful not to accept once and
for all a marriage determined for
her by her father and to be forced
to look to another, since marriage
is by nature unique, as are birth and
death. She insisted that the young
man joined to her by her parent's
decision was not dead, but living in
God because of the hope of the
resurrection, merely off on a
journey and not a dead body, and it
was out of place, she maintained,
for a bride not to keep faith with
an absent husband. Thrusting aside
the arguments of those trying to
persuade her, she settled upon a
safeguard for her noble decision,
namely, a resolve never to be
separated for a moment from her
mother, so that her mother often
used to say to her that the rest of
her children she had carried in her
womb for a fixed time, but this
daughter she always bore,
encompassing her in her womb at
all times and under all
circumstances. Certainly, the
companionship of her [167]
daughter was not burdensome or
disadvantageous for the mother,

τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς νέας, ἢ δὲ τὸ σῶμα τῆς μητρὸς ἐθεράπευεν, ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι τὴν ἐπιζητουμένην ὑπηρεσίαν ἀποπληροῦσα καὶ ἐν τῷ ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ πολλάκις τῇ μητρὶ παρασκευάζειν τὸν ἄρτον· ὅπερ οὐ κατὰ τὸ προηγούμενον αὐτῇ διεσπουδάσθη, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταῖς μυστικαῖς ὑπηρεσίαις τὰς χεῖρας ἑαυτῆς ἔχρησε, πρόπειν ἠγησαμένη τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι τοῦ βίου τὴν περὶ τοῦτο σπουδὴν ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος τῇ μητρὶ παρεχορήγει τὴν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων τροφήν. Καὶ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῇ συνδιωκονόμεν τὴν ἐπικειμένην φροντίδα· τεσσάρων γὰρ ἦν υἱῶν μήτηρ καὶ πέντε θυγατέρων καὶ τρισὶν ἄρχουσιν ὑπετέλει διὰ τὸ ἐν τοσοῦτοις ἔθνεσιν αὐτῆς κατεσπάρθαι τὴν κτῆσιν. Ποικίλως τοίνυν τῆς μητρὸς ταῖς φροντίσι διὰ τοῦτο μεριζομένης ἤδη γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐξεληλύθει τὸν βίον· ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις κοινωνὸς ἦν τῇ μητρὶ τῶν πόνων συνδιαιρουμένη τὰς φροντίδας καὶ τὸ βαρὺ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἐπικουφίζουσα. [377] Καὶ ὁμοῦ μὲν τῇ παιδαγωγίᾳ τῆς μητρὸς ἄμωμον διεφύλασσεν ἑαυτῇ τὸν βίον ἐν

because the care she received from her daughter surpassed that of many of her maidservants and there was an exchange of kindly offices between them. The older woman cared for the young woman's soul and the daughter for her mother's body, fulfilling in all things every desirable service, often even making bread for her mother with her own hands. Not that this was her principal concern, but when she had anointed her hands with mystic services, thinking that it was in keeping with her way of life, in the remaining time she furnished food for her mother from her own labor, and, in addition, she shared her mother's worries. Her mother had four sons and five daughters and was paying taxes to three governors because her property was scattered over that many provinces. In a variety of ways, therefore, her mother was distracted by worries. (By this time her father had left this life.) In all of these affairs, Macrina was a sharer of her mother's toils, taking on part of her cares and lightening the heaviness of her griefs. In

μητρῶοις ὀφθαλμοῖς διὰ παντὸς
εὐθύνόμενον τε καὶ μαρτυρούμενον,
ὁμοῦ τε παρέσχε πρὸς τὸν ἴσον σκοπὸν,
τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λέγω, μεγάλην τῇ
μητρὶ διὰ τοῦ βίου ἑαυτῆς τὴν
ὑφήγησιν, κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν
ἄϋλόν τε καὶ λιτοτέραν ζωὴν
ἐφελκομένη.

addition, under her mother's
direction, she kept her life
blameless and witnessed in
everything by her, and, at the same
time, because of her own life, she
provided her mother with an
impressive leadership to the same
goal; I speak of the goal of
philosophy, drawing her on little by
little to the immaterial and simpler
life.

(6) Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ἀδελφὰς
πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκάστη μετ'
εὐσχημοσύνης ἢ μήτηρ ὠκονομήσατο,
ἐπάνεισιν ἐν τούτῳ τῶν παιδευτηρίων
πολλῷ χρόνῳ προασκηθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις
ὁ πολὺς Βασίλειος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τῆς
προειρημένης. Λαβοῦσα τοίνυν αὐτὸν
ὑπερφυῶς ἐπηρμένον τῷ περὶ τοὺς
λόγους φρονήματι καὶ πάντα
περιφρονοῦντα τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ ὑπὲρ
τοὺς ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ λαμπροὺς
ἐπηρμένον τῷ ὄγκῳ, τοσοῦτῳ τάχει
κἀκεῖνον πρὸς τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας
σκοπὸν ἐπεσπάσατο, ὥστε ἀποστάντα
τῆς κοσμικῆς περιφανείας καὶ
ὑπεριδόντα τοῦ διὰ τῶν λόγων
θαυμάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἐργατικὸν
τοῦτον καὶ αὐτόχειρα βίον

6. After the mother had skillfully
arranged what seemed best for
each of Macrina's sisters, her
brother, the distinguished Basil,
came home from school where he
had had practice in rhetoric for a
long time. He was excessively
puffed up by his rhetorical abilities
and disdainful of all great
reputations, and considered himself
better than the leading men in the
district, but Macrina took him over
and lured him so quickly to the
goal of philosophy that he
withdrew from the worldly show
and began to look down upon
acclaim through oratory and went
over to this life full of labors for
one's own hand to perform,
providing for himself, [168]

αὐτομολῆσαι, διὰ τῆς τελείας
ἀκτημοσύνης ἀνεμπόδιστον ἑαυτῷ τὸν
εἰς ἀρετὴν βίον παρασκευάζοντα. Ἀλλ'
ὁ μὲν ἐκείνου βίος καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς
ἐπιτηδεύματα, δὲ ὧν ὀνομαστός ἐν
πάσῃ τῇ ὑφ' ἡλίῳ γενόμενος ἀπέκρουσε
τῇ δόξῃ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀρετῇ
διαλάμψαντας, μακροῶς ἂν εἴη
συγγραφῆς καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ· ἐμοὶ δὲ
πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον πάλιν ὁ λόγος
τετράφθω.

through his complete poverty, a
mode of living that would, without
impediment, lead to virtue. But his
life and the outstanding activities
through which he became famous
everywhere under the sun and
eclipsed in reputation all those
conspicuous in virtue, would make
a long treatise and take much time,
and my attention must be turned
back to the subject at hand.

(7) Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πάσης ὑλωδεστέρας
ζωῆς ὑπόθεσις ἤδη αὐτοῖς περικέκοπτο,
πέθει τὴν μητέρα καταλιποῦσαν τὸν ἐν
ἔθει βίον καὶ τὴν κομπωδεστέραν
διαγωγὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὑποχειρίων
[378] θεραπείας, αἷς προσείθιστο κατὰ
τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον, ὁμότιμον
γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς τῷ φρονήματι
καὶ καταμίξαι τὴν ἰδίαν ζωὴν τῇ μετὰ
τῶν παρθένων διαγωγῇ, ὅσας εἶχε μεθ'
ἑαυτῆς ἐκ δουλίδων καὶ ὑποχειρίων
ἀδελφὰς καὶ ὁμοτίμους
ποιησαμένη· μᾶλλον δὲ μικρόν τι
βούλομαι παρενθεῖναι τῷ διηγήματι καὶ
μὴ παραδραμεῖν ἀνιστόρητον πρᾶγμα
τοιούτου, δι' οὗ μᾶλλον τὸ ὑψηλὸν τῆς
παρθένου καταμηνύεται.

7. When there was no longer any
necessity for them to continue their
rather worldly way of life, Macrina
persuaded her mother to give up
her customary mode of living and
her more ostentatious existence
and the services of her maids, to
which she had long been
accustomed, and to put herself on
a level with the many by entering
into a common life with her maids,
making them her sisters and equals
rather than her slaves and
underlings. But here, I want to
insert something into the narrative
and not to leave unrecorded an
incident which testifies so well to
Macrina's exalted character.

(8) Ἦν τῶν τεσσάρων ἀδελφῶν ὁ
δεύτερος μετὰ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον,
Ναυκράτιος ὄνομα αὐτῶ, φύσεως
εὐκληρία καὶ σώματος κάλλει καὶ ῥώμῃ
καὶ τάχει καὶ τῇ πρὸς πᾶν ἐπιτηδειότητι
διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων. Προελθὼν οὗτος
εἰς δεύτερον ἔτος καὶ εἰκοστὸν καὶ δούς
τῶν οἰκείων πόνων ἐπὶ δημοσίας ἀκοῆς
τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὥστε ἅπαν ἐπ' αὐτῶ
σεισθῆναι τῶν ἀκουόντων τὸ θέατρον,
θεία τινὶ προμηθεία τῶν ἐν χερσὶν
ἀπάντων ὑπεριδῶν πρὸς τὸν μονήρη
καὶ ἀκτήμονα βίον ἀπῆλθεν ἐν μεγάλῃ
τινὶ τῆς διανοίας ὀρμῇ, οὐδὲν
ἐπαγόμενος μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πλήν
ἑαυτὸν·εἶπετο δὲ τις αὐτῶ καὶ τῶν
οἰκετῶν Χρυσάφιος τοῦνομα, τῶ τε
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐκεῖνον ἐπιτηδεῖως
καὶ τῶ τὴν αὐτὴν προαίρεσιν περὶ τὸν
βίον ἐνστήσασθαι. Διῆγε τοίνυν καθ'
ἑαυτὸν ἐσχατιάν τινα καταλαβὼν πρὸς
τῶ Ἰριδι. Ποταμὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰρίς ἐστι μέσον
διαρρέων τὸν Πόντον, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς
Ἀρμενίας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων διὰ τῶν
ἡμετέρων τόπων ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον
Πόντον τὸ ῥεῖθρον ἐκδίδωσι. Περὶ
τοῦτον εὐρῶν τινα τόπον ὁ νεανίας ὕλη
βαθεία κομῶντα καὶ [379] λαγόνι τινὶ

8. The second of the four brothers
after the great Basil was named
Naucratus, surpassing the others in
the excellence of his nature and the
beauty of his body and strength
and swiftness and adaptability.
When he was twenty-one years old
and had given such displays of his
talent in a public audience that the
whole theater was moved, through
divine providence and some great
inspiration of thought, he was
impelled to despise all the
opportunities at hand, and he
turned to a life of monasticism and
poverty, taking no one with him,
but going alone. One of his
housemen named Chrysaphius
followed him because he was used
to taking care of him and because
he had decided upon the same
choice of life. So Naucratus went
off to live by himself, having found
a remote point on the Iris River.
The Iris flows through the middle
of Pontus, has its source in
Armenia, makes its way through
our regions, and empties into the
Black Sea. Here, the young man
found a spot bristling with deep
forest and hidden in a hollow with

τῆς ὑπερτεταμένης τοῦ ὄρους ῥαχίας
ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἐν αὐτῷ διῆγε, τῶν
ἀστικῶν θορύβων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ
στρατείας τε καὶ τῆς ἐν δικαστηρίοις
ῥητορικῆς ἀσχολημάτων πόρρω
γενόμενος. Καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν
βίον περιηχούντων τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
ζωὴν ἑαυτὸν ἐλευθερώσας πρεσβύτας
τινάς πενίᾳ καὶ ἀρρωστίᾳ συζῶντας
ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἐθεράπευε, πρέπειν
δοκιμάσας τῷ ἰδίῳ βίῳ τὴν τοιαύτην
ἀσχολίαν διὰ φροντίδος ἔχειν. Θηρεύων
τοίνυν διὰ τὸ πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος
θηρευτικῆς ἐπινοίας ἐπιτηδεύως ἔχειν
ἐπόριζε τοῖς γέρουσι τὴν τροφήν καὶ
τὴν νεότητα τοῖς τοιούτοις ἅμα
κατεδάμαζε πόνοις· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
μητρῶις θελήμασιν, εἴ ποτέ τι παρ’
αὐτῆς προσταχθείη, προθύμως
ὑπηρετῶν δι’ ἀμφοτέρων κατώρθου τὸν
βίον, τοῖς τε πόνοις κατακρατῶν τῆς
νεότητος τῇ τε περὶ τὴν μητέρα σπουδῇ
διὰ τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
εὐδοούμενος.

a rocky cliff overhead, far from the
noises of the [169] city, military
activities, and the business of
rhetoric in the lawcourts. Having
freed himself from all the usual
distractions of human life, with his
own hands, he cared for a group of
old people living together in
poverty and infirmity, judging it to
be in keeping with his life to be
occupied with such an activity.
Having special skills in matters
pertaining to all kinds of hunting,
he used to go hunting to procure
food for the old people and, at the
same time, he tamed his youthful
vigor. He also zealously carried out
his mother’s wishes if she asked
anything for herself, and, in these
two ways, he charted his life’s
course, controlling his young
manhood by his labor and caring
for his mother; and thus he made
his way to God by following divine
injunctions.

(9) Πέμπτον διήγαγεν ἔτος τοῦτον τὸν
τρόπον φιλοσοφῶν καὶ μακαριστὴν
ποιῶν τὴν μητέρα τῇ ἰδίᾳ ζωῇ, οἷς τε
κατεκόσμη διὰ σωφροσύνης τὴν

9. He lived this way for five years,
philosophizing and making his
mother’s life a blessed one because
of the way that he regulated his
own life through moderation and

οἰκείαν ζωὴν οἷς τε παρῆχε πᾶσαν τὴν
δύναμιν ἑαυτοῦ τῷ θελήματι τῆς
γεννησαμένης. Εἶτα βαρὺ τι καὶ
τραγικὸν πάθος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, οἶμαι,
τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τῇ μητρὶ συνηνέχθη,
[380] ὃ παντὶ τῷ γένει πρὸς συμφορὰν
τε καὶ πένθος ἐπήρκεσεν. Αἰφνίδιον
γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς ἀναρπάζεται, οὐ
νοσήματος προελπισθῆναι τὸ πάθος
παρασκευάσαντος, οὐκ ἄλλου τοιοῦτου
τινὸς τῶν συνήθων καὶ γνωρίμων
ἐπαγαγόντος τῷ νέῳ τὸν θάνατον· ἀλλ'
ἐπὶ θήραν ὀρμήσας, δι' ἧς παρῆχε τοῖς
γηρωκομουμένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, νεκρὸς
τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπανάγεται αὐτός τε
ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ κοινῶν αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου
Χρυσάφιος. Πόρρω δὲ ἦν τῶν
γινομένων ἢ μήτηρ, τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν
ἀφῆστῶσα τῆς συμφορᾶς, καὶ τις
ἀφίκετο παρ' αὐτὴν μηνύων τὸ πάθος.
Ἡ δὲ τελεία μὲν τοῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν
ἅπασιν ἦν, πλήν ἐκράτει κάκεινης κατὰ
τὸ ἴσον ἢ φύσις· ὀκλάσασα γὰρ τὴν
ψυχὴν ἄπνους τε καὶ ἄφθογγος
παραχρῆμα ἐγένετο, τοῦ λογισμοῦ τῷ
πάθει παραχωρήσαντος, καὶ ἔκειτο
ὁμοῦ τῇ προσβολῇ τῆς πονηρᾶς ἀκοῆς

put all his energy into fulfilling her every wish. Then, there occurred for the mother a grave and tragic experience, planned, I think, by the Adversary, which brought the entire family to misfortune and lamentation. He was unexpectedly snatched from life. It was not illness, which prepares one to anticipate the disaster, nor any of the usually anticipated things that brought the young man to death. He went out to hunt, which was his means of furnishing provisions for the old people. He was brought home dead, he and Chrysaphius, his companion. His mother was a three-day journey away from the scene and someone came to her to report what had taken place. She was perfectly schooled in virtue, but nature won out even over her. She became breathless and speechless on the spot and fainted, reason giving way to passion, and she lay there under the impact of the terrible news like a noble athlete felled by an unforeseen blow.

καθάπερ τις ἀθλητῆς γενναῖος
ἀπροσδοκῆτω κατασεισθεῖσα πληγῆ.

(10) Ἐν τούτῳ διεφάνη τῆς μεγάλης
Μακρίνης ἡ ἀρετὴ, ὅπως τῷ πάθει τὸν
λογισμὸν ἀντιστήσασα ἑαυτὴν τε
ἄπτωτον διεφύλαξε καὶ τῆς μητρικῆς
ἀσθενείας ἔρεισμα γενομένη πάλιν ἐκ
τοῦ βυθοῦ τῆς λύπης αὐτὴν ἀνιμήσατο,
τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὴν στερορῶ τε καὶ ἀνενδότῳ
καὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ψυχὴν πρὸς
ἀνδρείαν παιδοτριβήσασα. Οὐκοῦν οὐ
παρεσύρη πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἢ μήτηρ οὐδὲ
ἔπαθε δυσγενές τι καὶ γυναικεῖον, ὥστε
βοῆσαι πρὸς τὸ κακὸν ἢ περιορῆξασθαι
τὸ ἱμάτιον ἢ ἐπικωκῦσαι τῷ πάθει ἢ
ταῖς γοεραῖς μελωδίαις ἀνακινήσαι
τοὺς θρήνους. Ἀλλὰ [381] ἡσυχῇ
διεκαρτέρει τὰς τῆς φύσεως προσβολὰς
ἀπωθουμένη λογισμοῖς τοῖς τε ἰδίαις
καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆ πρὸς
τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ θεραπείαν
προσαγομένοις. Τότε γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα ἡ
ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἐπηρμένη τῆς παρθένου
ψυχῆ διεφάνη, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἡ μὲν
φύσις τὸ ἴδιον ἔπασχεν· ἀδελφὸς γὰρ ἦν
καὶ ἀδελφῶν ὁ κεχαρισμένος ὁ τῷ
τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ θανάτου
ἀναρπασθεῖς· ὅμως ὑψηλοτέρα

10. At this point, the great
Macrina's excellence was evident.
By setting reason against passion,
she kept herself in hand, and,
becoming a bulwark of her
mother's weakness, she lifted her
[170] out of the abyss of grief, and,
by her own firmness and
unyielding spirit, she trained her
mother's soul to be courageous.
Consequently, her mother was not
carried away by her misfortune, nor
did she react in an ignoble and
womanish fashion so as to cry out
against the evil or tear her clothes
or lament over her suffering or stir
up a threnody of mournful
melodies. Instead, she conquered
her natural impulses and thrust
them aside with her own
arguments or those suggested by
her daughter for the healing of the
pain. Then, especially, did the
maiden's lofty and exalted soul
shine forth because her nature had
been subject to the same
experience. It had been her
brother, and her dearest brother,
whom death snatched away in such

γενομένη τῆς φύσεως συνεπῆρε τοῖς
ιδίοις λογισμοῖς τὴν μητέρα καὶ
ὑπεράνω τοῦ πάθους ἔστησε, τῷ καθ’
ἑαυτὴν ὑποδείγματι πρὸς ὑπομονὴν τε
καὶ ἀνδρείαν παιδαγωγήσασα. Ἄλλως
δὲ καὶ ὁ βίος αὐτῆς ἀεὶ δι’ ἀρετῆς
ὑψούμενος οὐ παρεῖχε τῇ μητρὶ καιρὸν
ἐπὶ τῷ λείποντι δυσχεραίνειν μᾶλλον ἢ
τῷ ὀρωμένῳ ἀγαθῷ ἐπαγάλλεσθαι.

a manner. Nevertheless,
transcending her nature, she lifted
her mother up with her own line of
reasoning and put her beyond what
had happened, directing her by her
own example to patience and
fortitude. In particular, Macrina’s
life, always exalted by virtue, did
not give the mother an opportunity
to grieve for the one who was
absent and caused her to rejoice
rather in the good that was present.

(11) Ἐπει οὖν ἐπαύσατο τῇ μητρὶ ἢ τε
τῆς παιδοτροφίας φροντὶς καὶ ἡ τῆς
παιδεύσεώς τε καὶ καταστάσεως τῶν
τέκνων μέριμνα καὶ αἱ πλείους τῆς
ὕλωδεστέρας ζωῆς ἀφορμαὶ εἰς τὰ
τέκνα κατεμερίσθησαν, τότε, καθὼς
προεῖρηται, γίνεται σύμβουλος τῆς
μητρὸς ἢ τῆς παρθένου ζωὴ πρὸς τὴν
ἐμφιλόσοφον ταύτην καὶ ἄυλον τοῦ
βίου διαγωγὴν καὶ ἀποστήσασα τῶν ἐν
συνηθείᾳ πάντων πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον τῆς
ταπεινοφροσύνης μέτρον κατήγαγεν,
ὁμότιμον αὐτὴν γενέσθαι τῷ
πληρώματι τῶν παρθένων
παρασκευάσασα, ὡς καὶ τραπέζης μιᾶς
καὶ κοίτης καὶ πάντων τῶν πρὸς τὴν
ζωὴν κατὰ τὸ ἴσον συμμετέχειν αὐταῖς,

11. When the care of rearing the
children and the responsibility of
educating them and establishing
them in life was over, and most of
the resources connected with the
more material life were divided up
among younger members of the
family, then, as I said before,
Macrina’s life became for her
mother a guide towards the
philosophical and unworldly way of
life, and, turning her aside from all
that she was used to, she led her to
her own standard of simplicity. She
prepared her to put herself on a
level with the community of virgins
so that she shared with them the
same food and lodging and all
other things one needs in daily life,

πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν διαφορᾶς
ὑφαιρεθείσης αὐτῶν τῆς ζωῆς. Καί
τοιαύτη τις ἦν ἡ τοῦ βίου τάξις καὶ
τοσοῦτον τὸ ὕψος τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἡ
σεμνὴ τῆς ζωῆς πολιτεία ἐν [382] τῇ
καθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα διαγωγῇ, ὡς
ὑπερβαίνειν τὴν ἐκ τῶν λόγων
ὑπογραφὴν. Καθάπερ γὰρ αἱ διὰ
θανάτου τῶν σωμάτων ἐκλυθεῖσαι
ψυχαὶ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον τοῦτον
μεριμνῶν συνεκλύονται, οὕτως
κεχώριστο αὐτῶν ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἀπώκιστο
πάσης βιωτικῆς ματαιότητος καὶ πρὸς
μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων διαγωγῆς
ἐρρουθμίζετο. Ἐν οἷς γὰρ οὐ θυμὸς, οὐ
φθόνος, οὐ μῖσος, οὐχ ὑπεροψία, οὐκ
ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐνεωρᾶτο, ἢ τε
τῶν ματαίων ἐπιθυμία, τιμῆς τε καὶ
δόξης καὶ τύφου καὶ ὑπερηφανίας καὶ
πάντων τῶν τοιούτων,
ἐκβέβλητο· τροφὴ δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐγκράτεια καὶ
δόξα τὸ μὴ γινώσκεσθαι, πλοῦτος δὲ ἡ
ἀκτημοσύνη καὶ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑλικὴν
περιουσίαν οἷόν τινα κόνιν τῶν
σωμάτων ἀποτινάξασθαι, ἔργον δὲ τῶν
μὲν κατὰ τὴν ζωὴν ταύτην
σπουδαζομένων οὐδέν, ὅτι μὴ
πάρεργον, μόνη δὲ ἡ τῶν θεῶν μελέτη

and there was no difference
between her life and theirs. The
arrangement of their life, the high
level of their philosophy, the lofty
regimen of their activities night and
day was such that it transcends
description. Just as by death souls
are freed from the body and
released from the cares of this life,
so their life was [171] separated
from these things, divorced from
all mortal vanity and attuned to an
imitation of the existence of the
angels. Among them was seen no
anger, no envy, no hatred, no
arrogance, or any such thing;
neither was there in them longing
for foolish things like honor and
fame and vanity, nor a contempt
for others; all such qualities had
been put aside. Continence was
their luxury and not being known
their fame; their wealth consisted in
their poverty and the shaking off of
all worldly abundance like dust
from the body. They were not
occupied with the concerns of this
life; that is, they were not
preoccupied. Rather, their one
concern was the Divine; there was
constant prayer and an unceasing

καὶ τὸ τῆς προσευχῆς ἀδιάλειπτον καὶ ἡ
ἄπαυστος ὑμνωδία, κατὰ τὸ ἴσον παντὶ
συμπαρατεινομένη τῷ χρόνῳ διὰ
νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας πάσης, ὥστε αὐταῖς
καὶ ἔργον εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ ἔργου
ἀνάπαυσιν. Τὴν τοίνυν τοιαύτην
διαγωγὴν τίς ἂν ὑπ' ὄψιν ἀγάγοι λόγος
ἀνθρώπινος, παρ' οἷς μεθόριος ἦν ἡ
ζωὴ τῆς τε ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ τῆς
ἄσωμάτου φύσεως; Τὸ μὲν γὰρ
ἐλευθερωθῆναι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων
παθημάτων τὴν φύσιν κρεῖττον ἢ κατὰ
ἄνθρωπον ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἐν σώματι
φαίνεσθαι καὶ σχήματι περιειληφθαι
καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητικοῖς ὀργάνοις συζῆν ἐν
τούτῳ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς τε καὶ ἄσωμάτου
φύσεως τὸ ἔλαττον εἶχον. Τάχα δ' ἂν τις
τολμήσας εἴποι [383] μηδὲ πρὸς τὸ
καταδεέστερον τὴν παραλλαγὴν εἶναι,
ὅτι σαρκὶ συζῶσαι καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν
ἄσωμάτων δυνάμεων οὐκ ἐβαροῦντο
τῷ ἐφορκίῳ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ'
ἀνωφερῆς τε καὶ μετέωρος ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ
ζωὴ ταῖς οὐρανίαις
συμμετεωροποροῦσα δυνάμεσι. Χρόνος
ἦν τῆς τοιαύτης διαγωγῆς οὐκ ὀλίγος
καὶ συνηύξετο τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ
κατορθώματα, αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ

singing of hymns distributed
throughout the entire day and
night, so that this was for them
both their work and their rest from
work. What human word could
bring this kind of life before your
eyes? Their existence bordered on
both the human and the
incorporeal nature. On the one
hand, a nature freed from human
cares is more than human, whereas,
to appear in the body and to be
embraced by form and to live with
the senses is to have a nature less
than angelic and incorporeal.
Perhaps some daring person might
say the difference was negligible
because, although living in the flesh
because of their affinity to the
bodiless powers, they were not
weighted down by the allurements
of the body, but, borne upwards in
midair, they participated in the life
of the celestial powers. Not a little
time was spent in this way and, in
time, their successes increased and
always their philosophy gave them
additional aids for discovering
goods leading them to greater
purity.

καθαρώτερον ταῖς τῶν ἐφευρισκομένων
ἀγαθῶν προσθήκαις τῆς φιλοσοφίας
ἐπιδιδούσης.

(12) Ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν
μέγαν τοῦτον τοῦ βίου σκοπὸν
ὑπηρετῶν ἀδελφός τις ὁμογάστριος,
Πέτρος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔληξαν τῆς
μητρὸς ἡμῶν αἱ ὠδῖνες. Οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ
τελευταῖος τῶν γονέων βλαστός, ὃς
ὁμοῦ τε υἱὸς καὶ ὀρφανὸς ὠνομάσθη
ἅμα γὰρ τῷ παρελθεῖν τοῦτον εἰς φῶς
καταλείπει ὁ πατήρ τὸν βίον. Ἀλλ' ἡ
πρεσβυτάτη τῶν ἀδελφῶν, περὶ ἧς ὁ
λόγος, μικρὰ τῆς θηλῆς αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν
πρώτην γένεσιν μετασχόντα εὐθύς
ἀποσπάσασα τῆς τιθηνουμένης δι'
ἑαυτῆς ἀνατρέφεται καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν
ὑψηλοτέραν ἤγαγε παιδείυσιν, τοῖς
ἱεροῖς τῶν μαθημάτων ἐκ νηπίων αὐτὸν
ἐνασκήσασα, ὡς μὴ δοῦναι τῇ ψυχῇ
σχολὴν πρὸς τι τῶν ματαίων
ἐπικλιθῆναι. Ἀλλὰ πάντα γενομένη τῷ
νέῳ, πατήρ, διδάσκαλος, παιδαγωγός,
μήτηρ, ἀγαθοῦ παντὸς σύμβουλος,
τοιούτον αὐτὸν ἀπειργάσατο, ὡς πρὶν
ἐξελθεῖν τὴν ἡλικίαν τῶν παιδῶν ἔτι ἐν
μειρακιώδει τῇ ἀπαλότητι τῆς ὥρας
ἀνθοῦντα πρὸς τὸν [384] ὑψηλὸν τῆς

12. Macrina had a brother who was
a great help towards this fine goal
of life; he was named Peter and he
was the youngest of us, the last
offspring of our parents called at
once both son and orphan, for as
he came into the light of life his
father departed from it. His eldest
sister, the subject of our story, took
him almost immediately from his
nurse's breast and reared him
herself and led him to all the higher
education, [172] exercising him
from babyhood in sacred learning
so as not to give him leisure to
incline his soul to vanities. She
became all things to the boy;
father, teacher, attendant, mother,
the counselor of every good, and
she held him in check so that, even
before his flowering in the
tenderness of youth, he was raised
to the high goal of philosophy, and,
by some good fortune of nature, he
had such skill in every form of
handicraft that without instruction
he arrived at a complete mastery of
skills upon which most people

φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸν ἐπαρθῆναι καὶ τινι
φύσεως εὐκληρίᾳ πρὸς πᾶσαν τέχνης
ιδέαν τὴν διὰ χειρὸς ἐνεργουμένην
ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχειν, ὡς μηδενὸς
καθηγουμένου διὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας
ἐκάστου τὴν ἐπιστήμην κατωρθώκεναι,
ὧν χρόνῳ καὶ πόνῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἢ
μάθησις παραγίνεται. Οὗτος τοίνυν τῆς
περὶ τοὺς ἕξωθεν τῶν λόγων ἀσχολίας
ὑπεριδῶν, ἱκανὴν δὲ διδάσκαλον
παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ μαθήματος τὴν φύσιν
ἔχων ἀεὶ τε πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν βλέπων
καὶ σκοπὸν ἀγαθοῦ παντὸς ἐκείνην
ποιούμενος εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπέδωκεν
ἀρετῆς, ὡς μηδὲν ἔλαττον τοῦ μεγάλου
Βασιλείου δοκεῖν ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς κατ'
ἀρετὴν προτερήμασιν. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ
μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ· τότε δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων ἦν
τῇ ἀδελφῇ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ συνεργῶν
αὐταῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ἐκείνην
ζωήν. Ὅς ποτε καὶ σιτολειψίας χαλεπῆς
γεγενημένης καὶ πολλῶν πανταχόθεν
κατὰ φήμην τῆς εὐπορίας πρὸς τὴν
ἐσχατιάν, ἐν ἣ κατῴκουν, ἐπιρρεόντων
τοσοῦτον δι' ἐπινοιῶν τὰς τροφὰς
ἐπλεόνασεν, ὡς τῷ πλήθει τῶν
ἐπιφοιτῶντων πόλιν εἶναι τὴν ἐρημίαν
δοκεῖν.

expend much time and energy. So,
scorning extraneous instructions
and having nature as an adequate
teacher of all good learning and
always looking to his sister and
making her the focal point of every
good, he became so virtuous that
he was no less esteemed than the
great Basil for the excellent
qualities of his later life. But then,
he was above all a co-worker with
his sister and mother in every
phase of their angelic existence.
Once, when there was a terrible
famine and many people came
pouring in to our region because of
the fame of its prosperity, he
furnished so much nourishment
through his foresight that the large
numbers going to and fro made the
hermitage seem like a city.

(13) Ἐν τούτῳ εἰς γῆρας λιπαρὸν
προελθοῦσα ἡ μήτηρ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
μετανίστατο, ἐν ταῖς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν
τέκνων χερσὶ τὸν βίον ἑαυτῆς
ἀναπαύσασα. Ἦς ἄξιον τὴν τῆς
εὐλογίας ἱστορεῖν φωνήν, ἣ ἐπὶ τῶν
τέκνων ἐχρήσατο, τῶν τε μὴ παρόντων
ἐκάστου κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορον
ἐπιμνησθεῖσα, ὡς μηδένα γενέσθαι τῆς
εὐλογίας ἀπόκληρον, καὶ διαφερόντως
τοὺς παρόντας αὐτῇ τῷ θεῷ διὰ
προσευχῆς παραθεμένη.

Παρακαθημένων γὰρ αὐτῇ κατὰ τὸ
πλάγιον [385] ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῆς κλίνης
τῶν δύο τούτων ἑκατέρᾳ χειρὶ
ἐφαψαμένη τῶν τέκνων ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν
θεὸν εἶπεν ἐν τελευταίαις φωναῖς· Σοί,
κύριε, καὶ ἀπάρχομαι καὶ ἀποδεκατῶ
τὸν καρπὸν τῶν ὠδίνων. Ἀπαρχή μοι ἡ
πρωτότοκος αὕτη καὶ ἐπιδέκατος οὗτος,
ἡ τελευταία ὠδὶς. Σοὶ δὲ ἀφιέρωται
παρὰ τοῦ νόμου ἀμφοτέρᾳ καὶ σὰ ἐστὶν
ἀναθήματα. Οὐκοῦν ἔλθοι ὁ ἁγιασμὸς
ἐπὶ τε τὴν ἀπαρχὴν μου ταύτην καὶ ἐπὶ
τὸ ἐπιδέκατον τοῦτο, δείξασα ταῖς
δεικτικαῖς φωναῖς τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν
παῖδα. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ εὐλογεῖν
παυσαμένη καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπαύσατο, τοῖς

13. At this time, our mother,
having come to a rich old age, went
to God, taking her departure from
life in the arms of these two of her
children. Worth recording is the
blessing she gave to each of her
children, suitably remembering
each of the absent ones so that
none would be without a blessing,
and through prayer entrusting
especially to God the two who
were with her. As they were sitting
beside her bed, she touched each
of them with her hand and said to
God in her last words: 'To you, O
Lord, I offer the first and tenth
fruit of my pains. The first fruit,
my eldest daughter here, and this
my tenth, my last-born son. Both
have been dedicated to you by law
and are your votive offerings. May
sanctification, therefore, come to
this first and tenth.' And she
indicated specifically [173] her
daughter and her son. Having
finished her blessing, she ended her
life, instructing her children to
place her body in our father's
tomb. These two, having fulfilled
her command, attained to a higher
level of philosophy, always

παισὶν ἐπισκήψασα τὸ τῆ πατρῶα σορῶ
καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖνης ἐναποθέσθαι σῶμα. Οἱ
δὲ πληρώσαντες τὸ διατεταγμένον
ὑψηλότερον εἶχοντο τῆς φιλοσοφίας,
ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον διαμιλλώμενοι βίον
καὶ τὰ φθάσαντα τῶν κατορθωμάτων
τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἀποκρύπτοντες.

struggling in their individual lives
and eclipsing their early successes
by their later ones.

(14) Ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πολὺς ἐν ἀγίοις
Βασίλειος τῆς μεγάλης Καισαρέων
ἐκκλησίας ἀνεδείχθη προστάτης· ὃς ἐπὶ
τὸν κληρὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ
ἱερωσύνης τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἄγει ταῖς
μυστικαῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἱεουργίαις
ἀφιερῶσας. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάλιν αὐτοῖς
ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερόν τε καὶ ἀγιώτερον
προήει ὁ βίος τῆ ἱερωσύνης τῆς
φιλοσοφίας ἐπαυξηθείσης. Ὀκτῶ δὲ
μετὰ τοῦτο διαγενομένων ἐτῶν τῷ
ἐνάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ [386] ὁ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
οἰκουμένην ὀνομαστός Βασίλειος ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μετοικίζεται
κοινὴ πένθος ἀφορμὴ τῆ πατρίδι καὶ
τῆ οἰκουμένη γενόμενος. Ἡ δὲ
πόρρωθεν ἐκ φήμης ἀκούσασα τὴν
συμφορὰν ἔπαθε μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τῆ
τοσαύτῃ ζημίᾳ (πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἤμελλεν
ἄπτεσθαι κακείνης τὸ πάθος, οὐ καὶ οἱ
ἐχθροὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπήσθοντο;).

14. At this time, Basil,
distinguished among the holy, was
made Bishop of Caesarea. He led
his brother to the holy vocation of
the priesthood, and consecrated
him in the mystical services
himself. And through this also,
their life progressed to a loftier and
higher degree, seeing that their
philosophy was enhanced by the
consecration. Eight years later,
Basil, renowned throughout the
entire world, left the world of men
and went to God, and his death
was a common source of grief for
his country and the world. When
Macrina heard the report of his
distant death, she was greatly
disturbed by such a loss. (How
could this fail to touch her when
even the enemies of truth were
affected by it?) But, just as they say
gold is tested in many furnaces,
that if it gets through the first firing

Καθάπερ δὲ τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ φασι
δοκιμασίαν ἐν διαφόροις γίνεσθαι
χωνευτηρίοις, ὡς εἶ τι τὴν πρώτην
διαφύγοι χωνείαν, ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ
διακριθῆναι, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ
πάντα τὸν ἐμμεμιγμένον ῥύπον τῇ ὕλῃ
ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀκριβεστάτην
εἶναι βάσανον τοῦ δοκίμου χρυσοῦ, εἰ
διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν χοάνης μηδένα
δοκίμου χρυσοῦ, εἰ διὰ πάσης
διεξελθὼν χοάνης μηδένα ῥύπον
ἀποποιήσῃ τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνης
συνέβη, ταῖς διαφόροις τῶν λυπηρῶν
προσβολαῖς τῆς ὑψηλῆς διανοίας
βασανισθείσης πανταχόθεν
ἀναδειχθῆναι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς
ἀκιβδήλευτόν τε καὶ ἀταπείνωτον,
πρότερον μὲν ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ
ἄλλου μεταστάσει, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τῷ
χωρισμῷ τῆς μητρὸς, ἐκ τρίτου δὲ ὅτε τὸ
κοινὸν τῆς γενεᾶς καλόν, Βασίλειος,
τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς ἐχωρίζετο.
Ἐμείνε τοίνυν καθάπερ τις ἀθλητῆς
ἀκαταγώνιστος, οὐδαμοῦ τῇ προσβολῇ
τῶν συμφορῶν ἐποκλάσασα.

and is tested in the second and, in
the last is finally cleansed of all
extraneous matter (this is the most
accurate proof of true gold if, after
all this firing, no impurity remains),
something similar happened in her
case. When her lofty understanding
had been tried by the different
attacks of grief, the genuine and
undebased quality of her soul was
revealed in every way; previously,
by the departure of her other
brother, then, by the separation
from her mother, and, in the third
instance, when Basil, the common
honor of the family, departed from
human life. She remained like an
undefeated athlete, in no way
overcome by the onslaught of
misfortunes.

(15) Ἐνατος ἦν μετὰ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο
μῆν ἢ μικρόν ὑπὲρ τοῦτο καὶ σύνοδος
ἐπισκόπων κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν

15. About nine months after this
disaster, there was a synod of
bishops in the city of Antioch, in
which I participated. And when

ἠθροίζετο, ἥς καὶ ἡμεῖς μετέσχομεν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάλιν [387] πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος ἀπελύθημεν, πρὶν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν παρελθεῖν, ἐνθύμιον ἔμοι τῷ Γρηγορίῳ γίνεται πρὸς αὐτὴν διαβῆναι. Πολὺς γὰρ ἦν ὁ διὰ μέσου χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἐπισκέψεις αἱ τῶν πειρασμῶν περιστάσεις ἐκώλυσαν, ἃς ὑπέμενον πανταχοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐπιστατούντων ἐξελαυνόμενος. Καὶ ἀριθμοῦντί μοι τὸν διὰ μέσου χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν κατ' ὀφθαλμοῦς συντυχίαν οἱ πειρασμοὶ διεκώλυσαν, οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐφαίνετο τὸ διάστημα ὀκτῶ μικροῦ δεῖν παραμετρούμενον ἔτεσιν. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ διανύσας μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀπειχόν ὁδόν, ὄψις τις ἡμῖν ἐξ ἐνυπνίου φανεῖσα φοβερὰς ἐποίει τὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ μέλλοντος. Ἐδόκουν γὰρ λείψανα μαρτύρων διὰ χειρὸς φέρειν, εἶναι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀγῆν οἷα ἐκ καθαροῦ γίνεται κατόπτρου, ὅταν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τεθῆ ἀντιπρόσωπον, ὥστε μοι τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς τὴν μαρμαρυγὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνης ἀμβλύνεσθαι. Καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μοι νυκτὸς εἰς τρεῖς γενομένης τῆς τοιαύτης ὄψεως συμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ

each of us was leaving to return to his own diocese before the year was out, I, Gregory, thought often of visiting Macrina. For a long time had elapsed during which [174] the circumstances of my trials had prevented our coming together, since I was exiled time and again by the leaders of heresy. When I counted up the time during which these troubles prevented our coming face to face, it added up to almost eight years. When I had almost finished the journey and was about one day away from my destination, a vision, appearing in my sleep, aroused fearful forebodings about the future. I seemed to be carrying the relics of martyrs in my hand and a light seemed to come from them, as happens when the sun is reflected on a bright mirror so that the eye is dazzled by the brilliance of the beam. That same night, the vision occurred three times. I was not able to interpret its meaning clearly, but I foresaw some grief for my soul and I was waiting for the outcome to clarify the dream. When I came near the outskirts of

εἶχον καθαρῶς τοῦ ἐνυπνίου τὸ αἶνιγμα, λύπην δέ τινα τῇ ψυχῇ προεώρων καὶ ἐπετήρουν τῇ ἐκβάσει κρῖναι τὴν φαντασίαν. Καὶ δὴ γενόμενος πλησίον τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς, ἐν ἣ διῆγεν ἐκεῖνη τὴν ἀγγελικὴν τε καὶ ἐπουράνιον κατορθοῦσα ζωὴν, ἠρόμην τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πρῶτον, εἰ παρῶν [388] εἶη· φήσαντος δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν ἐξωρμηκέναι καὶ τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἄγειν, συνεῖς ὅπερ ἦν, ὅτι δι' ἑτέρας ὁδοῦ γέγονεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἢ ὁρμή, τότε καὶ περὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐπυρθανόμην τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ἐν ἀρρωστίᾳ γεγενῆσθαί τιτι σπουδαιότερον εἰχόμεν ἐν ἐπέξει τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς ὁδοῦ διανύων καὶ γὰρ μέ τις καὶ φόβος μηνυτῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος ὑποδραμῶν διετάρασεν.

(16) Ὡς δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐγενόμην τὸν τόπον (καὶ προκατήγγειλε τῇ ἀδελφότητι τὴν παρουσίαν ἢ φήμη), τότε σύνταγμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἅπαν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος πρὸς ἡμᾶς προεχέθη· σύνηθες γὰρ αὐτοῖς τιμᾶν τῇ ὑπαντήσει τοὺς καταθυμίους· ὁ δὲ ἐν γυναιξὶ τῆς παρθενίας χορὸς εὐκόσμως κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν εἴσοδον ἡμῶν ἀνέμενε.

the place where that lady was leading her angelic and celestial life, I asked one of the workmen, first, if my brother happened to be there. He replied that he had gone out to meet us about four days earlier, and this was true, but he had taken a different road. Then, I inquired about the Superior and, when he said that she was ill, I was more eager than ever to complete the trip, for a certain fear, an omen of the future, was disturbing me.

16. As I made my way (rumor had announced my presence beforehand to the community), a line of men streamed toward us. It was customary for them to welcome guests by coming out to meet them. However, a group of women from the convent waited modestly at the entrance of the church for us. When the prayer and

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ εὐχή τε καὶ ἡ
εὐλογία καὶ αἱ μὲν μετὰ τὸ ὑποσχεῖν τῇ
εὐλογίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν εὐσχημόνως
ἀναποδίζουσαι πρὸς ἑαυτὰς
ἀνεχώρουν, ὑπελείπετο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν
πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐδεμία, εἰκάσας ὅπερ ἦν,
μὴ ἐν ἐκείναις εἶναι τὴν καθηγουμένην,
προηγησαμένου τινὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἐν
ᾧ ἦν ἡ μεγάλη, καὶ τὴν θύραν
διαπετάσαντος, ἐντὸς τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης
ἐγενόμην μονῆς. Ἡ δὲ σφοδρῶς ἤδη τῇ
ἀρρωστία κατείχετο, ἀνεπαύετο δὲ οὐκ
ἐπὶ κλίνης τινὸς ἢ στρωμνῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
τοῦ ἐδάφους, σανίδος ὑποτεταμένης τῷ
σάκκῳ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἑτέρας πάλιν
σανίδος ὑπερειδούσης, ἧς ἡ ἐργασία
τοιαύτη τις ἦν, ὡς ἀντὶ προσκεφαλαίου
τῇ κεφαλῇ γίνεσθαι, ἐν λοξῷ [389] τῷ
σχήματι τοὺς τένοντας ὑποβαίνουσα
καὶ καταθυμίως ἀνέχουσα ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς
τὸν ἀρχένα.

blessing were finished and the
women had responded to the
blessing by bowing their heads,
they removed themselves from our
presence and went off to their own
quarters. Since not one of them
remained with me, I correctly
surmised that their Superior was
not among them. An attendant led
me to the house where the
Superior was and opened the door,
and I entered that sacred place. She
was already very ill, but she was not
resting on a couch or bed, [175]
but upon the ground; there was a
board covered with a coarse cloth,
and another board supported her
head, designed to be used instead
of a pillow, supporting the sinews
of her neck slantwise and
conveniently supporting the neck.

(17) Ἐπει οὖν εἶδεν ἐγγὺς τῶν θυρῶν με
γενόμενον, ὀρθώσασα ἑαυτὴν ἐπ'
ἀγκῶνος προσδραμεῖν μὲν οὐχ οἷα τε
ἦν, ἤδη τῷ πυρετῷ τῆς ἰσχύος
ὑπολυθείσης· πῆξασα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ
ἐδάφους τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον οἶόν τε
ἦν ἔξω ἑαυτὴν τοῦ χαμηνίου

17. When she saw me standing at
the door, she raised herself on her
elbow; her strength was already so
wasted by fever that she was not
able to come towards me, but she
fixed her hands on the floor and,
stretching as far forward as she
could, she paid me the honor of a

προτείνασα τὴν τῆς ὑπαντήσεως
ἐπλήρου τιμὴν· καὶ γὰρ προσδραμῶν καὶ
ταῖς χερσὶν ὑπολαβῶν χαμαὶ τὸ
πρόσωπον κεκλιμένον ἀνώρθωσά τε
πάλιν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπέδωκα τῷ συνήθει
τῆς κατακλίσεως σχήματι. Ἡ δὲ
προτείνασα τῷ θεῷ τὴν χεῖρα· Καὶ
ταύτην ἐπλήρωσάς μοι, φησί, τὴν χάριν
ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἐστέρησάς με ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐπιθυμίας μου, ὅτι ἐκίνησας τὸν σὸν
οἰκέτην εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν τῆς παιδίσκης
σου. Καὶ ὡς ἂν μηδεμίαν ἐπαγάγοι τῇ
ἐμῇ ψυχῇ δυσθυμίαν, τὸν στεναγμὸν
κατεπράϋνε καὶ τὴν συνοχὴν τοῦ
ἄσθματος κρύπτειν πῶς ἐβιάζετο, διὰ
πάντων τε πρὸς τὸ φαιδρότερον
μεθηρμόζετο, τῶν καταθυμίων λόγων
αὐτὴ τε κατάρχουσα καὶ ἡμῖν τὰς
ἀφορμὰς δι' ὧν ἠρώτα
παρασκευάζουσα. Τῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ
μεγάλου Βασιλείου μνήμης τῇ
ἀκολουθίᾳ τοῦ λόγου παρεμπεσούσης,
ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐπώκλαζεν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ
συνέπιπτεν ἐν κατηφείᾳ τὸ πρόσωπον
καὶ ἐξεχεῖτο τῶν βλεφάρων τὰ δάκρυα
ἢ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τῷ ἡμετέρῳ
συνταπεινωθῆναι πάθει, [390] ὥστε
ἀφορμὴν ποιησαμένη τῆς ὑψηλοτέρας

bow. I ran to her and, lifting her
bowed head, I put her back in her
accustomed reclining position. But
she stretched out her hand to God
and said: 'You have granted me this
favor, O God, and have not
deprived me of my desire, since
you have impelled your servant to
visit your handmaid.' And in order
not to disturb me, she tried to
cover up her groans and to conceal
somehow the difficulty she had in
breathing, and, through it all, she
adjusted herself to the brighter
side. She initiated suitable topics of
conversation and gave me an
opportunity to speak by asking me
questions. As we spoke, we recalled
the memory of the great Basil and
my soul was afflicted and my face
fell and tears poured from my eyes.
But she was so far from being
downcast by our sorrow that she
made the mentioning of the saint a
starting point towards the higher
philosophy. She rehearsed such
arguments, explaining the human
situation through natural principles
and disclosing the divine plan
hidden in misfortune, and she
spoke of certain aspects of the

φιλοσοφίας τὴν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μνήμην
τοιούτους διεξῆλθε λόγους
φυσιολογοῦσά τε τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ
τὴν θεϊαν οἰκονομίαν τὴν διὰ τῶν
σκυθρωπῶν κεκρυμμένην τῷ λόγῳ
διακαλύπτουσα τὰ τε περὶ τῆς
μελλούσης ζωῆς καθάπερ
θεοφορουμένη τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι
διεξιούσα· ὥστε μοι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔξω
μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως
εἶναι δοκεῖν συνεπαρθεῖσαν τοῖς
λεγόμενοις καὶ ἐντὸς τῶν οὐρανίων
ἀδύτων τῇ χειραγωγίᾳ τοῦ λόγου
καθισταμένην.

future life as if she was inspired by
the Holy Spirit, so that my soul
almost seemed to be lifted up out
of its human sphere by what she
said and, under the direction of her
discourse, take its stand in the
heavenly sanctuaries.

(18) Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἰώβ ἱστορίας
ἀκούομεν, ὅτι πανταχόθεν τῇ σηπεδόνι
τῶν τραυμάτων ὄλω τῷ σώματι διὰ
ἰχώρων ὁ ἀνὴρ συντηκόμενος οὐ πρὸς
τὸ ἀλγύνον τὴν αἴσθησιν τοῖς λογισμοῖς
ἐπεκλίνετο, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ σώματι τὸ
ἀλγοῦν εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν
ἐνέργειαν οὐκ ἠμβλύνετο οὐδὲ διέκοπτε
τὸν λόγον τοῖς ὑψηλοτέροις
ἐμβατεύοντα· τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς
μεγάλης ἐώρων ἐκείνης, τοῦ πυρετοῦ
πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς
καταφρύγοντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον
συνελαύνοντος, καθάπερ δρόσῳ τινὶ τὸ

18. And just as we hear in the story
of Job, that when the man was
wasting away and his whole body
was covered with erupting and
putrefying sores, he did not direct
attention to his pain but kept the
pain inside his body, neither
blessing [176] his own activity nor
cutting off the conversation when
it embarked upon higher matters.
Such a thing as this I was seeing in
the case of this Superior also;
although the fever was burning up
all her energy and leading her to
death, she was refreshing her body
as if by a kind of dew, she kept her

σῶμα ἑαυτῆς ἀναψύχουσα, οὕτως ἀπαραπόδιστον εἶχεν ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν θεωρίᾳ τὸν νοῦν, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τοσαύτης ἀρρωστίας παραβλαπτόμενον. Καὶ εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἄπειρον ἐξετείνετο μῆκος ἢ συγγραφῆ, πάντα ἂν καθεξῆς διηγησάμην, ὅπως ἐπήρθη τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τε τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῖν φιλοσοφοῦσα καὶ τῆς διὰ σαρκὸς ζωῆς τὴν αἰτίαν διεξιούσα, καὶ ὅτου χάριν ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὅπως θνητὸς καὶ ὅθεν ὁ θάνατος καὶ τίς ἢ ἀπὸ τούτου πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν πάλιν ἀνάλυσις. Ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν ὡσπερ [391] ἐμπνευσθεῖσα τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πάντα διεξήει σαφῶς τε καὶ ἀκολούθως, ἐν εὐκολίᾳ πάσῃ τοῦ λόγου ῥέοντος καθάπερ ἐκ πηγῆς τινος ἀπαραποδίστως πρὸς τὸ πρᾶν ἐς φερομένου τοῦ ὕδατος.

(19) Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεπεράνθη ὁ λόγος· Ὁρα σοι, φησὶν, ἀδελφέ, πολλῶ τῷ κόπῳ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας πεπονηκότι βραχὺ τι διαναπαῦσαι τὸ σῶμα. Κάμοι μεγάλη μὲν καὶ ἀληθῆς ἄνεσις ἦν τὸ προσορᾶν τε αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἐπακροᾶσθαι λόγων ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο κεχαρισμένον ἦν καὶ φίλον αὐτῇ, ὡς ἂν διὰ πάντων πείθεσθαι τῇ διδασκάλῳ

mind free in the contemplation of higher things and unimpeded by the disease. If my treatise were not becoming too long, I would put down everything in order: how she was lifted up by her discourse on the soul; how she explained the reason for life in the flesh, why man exists; how he is mortal, whence death comes; and what release there is from death back again into life. In all of this, she went on as if inspired by the power of the Holy Spirit, explaining it all clearly and logically. Her speech flowed with complete ease, just as a stream of water goes down a hill without obstruction.

19. When the conversation was finished, she said: 'Now, brother, it is time for you to rest your body awhile because the trip must have been tiring.' For me, just seeing her and hearing her noble words was truly a great source of relaxation, but, since it was pleasing and desirable to her, in order to seem obedient to her as my teacher in all

δοκοίην, ἔν τινι τῶν παρακειμένων
κηπίων χαρίεσσάν τινα καταγωγῆν
παρεσκευασμένην εὐρῶν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν
ἀναδενδρά δων σκιὰν ἀνεπαυόμην.
Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν τῶν
εὐφραινόντων τὴν αἴσθησιν ἔχειν τῆς
ψυχῆς ἔνδοθεν τῆ τῶν σκυθρωπῶν
ἐλπίδι συγχεομένης· τοῦ γὰρ ἐνυπνίου ἡ
ὄψις ἐκκαλύπτειν μοι διὰ τῶν
φαινομένων ἐδόκει τὸ αἰνίγμα. Ἦν γὰρ
ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ προκειμένον θέαμα
μάρτυρος ἁγίου λείψανον, ὃ τῆ μὲν
ἀμαρτία νενέκρωτο, τῆ δὲ ἐνοικούση
τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι κατελάμπετο.
Καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τινα διεξήειν τῶν
προακηκοότων μου τὸ ἐνύπνιον
κατηφέστερον δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἶκός ἡμῶν ἐν
τῆ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν λυπούντων
διακειμένων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως
στοχασαμένη τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν διανοίας
ἀγγελίαν τινὰ τῶν εὐθυμοτέρων πρὸς
ἡμᾶς διαπεμψαμένη θαρρεῖν
ἐνεκελεύετο καὶ τὰς ἀμείνους ὑπὲρ
[392] αὐτῆς ἔχειν ἐλπίδας ἐπησθῆσθαι
γὰρ τῆς πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ῥοπῆς. Ταῦτα
δὲ οὐ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐλέγετο, ἀλλ' ἐξ
αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ἦν, κἂν
ἡμεῖς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἠγνοήσαμεν. Τῶ

things, I found a pleasant resting
place in one of the gardens nearby
and rested in the shade of the vine-
clad trees. However, I was unable
to enjoy myself because my soul
was overwhelmed by the
anticipation of sorrows. For the
vision in my dream seemed to have
been explained by what I had seen.
Truly, this was what had appeared,
the remains of a holy martyr had
been 'dead to sin,' but illuminated
by the grace of the indwelling
spirit. I explained this to one of
those to whom I had previously
told the dream. Guessing, I know
not how, that we were dejected by
the grief that was to come, Macrina
sent a message bidding us to cheer
up and to be more hopeful about
her condition for she perceived a
turn for the better. This was not
said to deceive us, but was actually
the truth, although we did not [177]
recognize it at the time. For just as
a runner who has outrun his rival
and comes to the end of the course
when he nears the judges' stand
and sees the victor's crown, as if he
has already obtained the prize, he
rejoices within himself and

ὄντι γὰρ καθάπερ τις δρομεὺς
παραδραμὼν τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ ἤδη
πρὸς τὸ τέλος τοῦ σταδίου γενόμενος,
προσεγγίζων τε τῷ βραβείῳ καὶ τὸν
ἐπινίκιον στέφανον βλέπων, ὡς ἤδη
τετυχηκῶς τοῦ προκειμένου
ἐπαγάλλεται τε αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς
εὐνουστέροις τῶν θεατῶν τὴν νίκην
εὐαγγελίζεται, ἀπὸ τοιαύτης ἡμῖν
διαθέσεως κάκεινη τὰ χρηστότερα περὶ
ἑαυτῆς ἐλπίζειν ἐδίδου, ἤδη πρὸς τὸ
βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως βλέπουσα
καὶ μονονουχὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ
ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς φθεγγομένη, ὅτι Ἀπόκειται
μοι λοιπὸν ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος,
ὃν ἀποδώσει μοι ὁ δίκαιος κριτής,
ἐπειδὴ τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἠγωνίσμαι καὶ
τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα καὶ τὴν πίστιν
τετήρηκα. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν
ἀγαθῶν ἀγγελίαν εὐθυμοὶ
καταστάντες τῆς τῶν προκειμένων
ἀπολαύσεως ἤμεν: ποικίλα δὲ ἦν ταῦτα
καὶ πάσης πεπλήρωτο θυμηδίας ἢ
παρασκευὴ οὕτω τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνης
καὶ μέχρι τούτων τῆ σπουδῆ κατιούσης.

(20) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἤμεν
αὐτῆς, οὐ γὰρ εἶα τὴν εὐσχολὸν ὥραν
ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν διάγειν, ἀναλαβοῦσα τῶν

announces his victory to the
cheering onlookers, in the same
way, Macrina led us to hope for
greater good for herself, for she
was already looking towards the
prize of her high calling and, in her
words, almost echoed the words of
the apostle: 'Now there is laid up
for me the crown of Justice which
the just Judge will give me since I
have fought the good fight,
finished the race, kept the faith.'
Reassured by this message, we
began to enjoy what was put before
us and the offerings were varied
and pleasurable since the great lady
was very thoughtful also in such
matters.

20. When we returned to her
presence (for she did not allow us
to idle away the time by ourselves),
she took up the story of her life

ἐκ νεότητος αὐτῇ βεβιωμένων τὴν
μνήμην καθάπερ ἐπὶ συγγραφῆς πάντα
κατεξῆς διεξήρχετο καὶ ὅσα τῆς τῶν
πατέρων ζωῆς διὰ μνήμης εἶχε καὶ τὰ
πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς [393] γενέσεως καὶ τὸν
μετὰ ταῦτα βίον· σκοπὸς δὲ αὐτῇ τοῦ
διηγήματος ἦν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
εὐχαριστία. Τῶν τε γὰρ γονέων
ἀπεδείκνυ τὸν βίον οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐκ
περιουσίας λαμπρὸν τοῖς τότε καὶ
περίβλεπτον ὄντα, ὅσον ἐκ θείας
φιλανθρωπίας ἐπαυξηθέντα, τῶν μὲν
τοῦ πατρὸς γονέων διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν
ὁμολογίαν δεδημευμένων, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ
μητέρα προπάτορος ἐκ βασιλικῆς
ἀγανακτήσεως ἀνηρημένου καὶ
πάντων τῶν προσόντων εἰς ἑτέρους
μετακεχωρηκότων δεσπότας καὶ ὅμως
εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς διὰ πίστεως τὴν
ζωὴν ἀυξηθῆναι, ὡς μὴ εἶναι τὸν ὑπὲρ
αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις
ὀνομαζόμενον πάλιν δὲ τῆς περιουσίας
αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν τέκνων
ἐννεαχῆ διατμηθείσης, οὕτως ἐκάστῳ
δί' εὐλογίας πληθυνθῆναι τὴν μοῖραν,
ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν γονέων εὐκληρίαν τὴν
ἐκάστου τῶν τέκνων εἶναι ζωὴν. Αὐτῆς
δὲ ἐκείνης τῶν μὲν ἐπονομασθέντων

from infancy as if she were putting
it all into a monograph. She told
what she remembered of our
parents' life, both what happened
before my birth and afterwards.
What she concentrated on in her
story was thanksgiving to God, for
what she stressed in the life of our
parents was not so much their
being outstanding among their
contemporaries because of their
prosperity, but their having been
enhanced by divine favor. Our
father's parents had been deprived
of their possessions because of the
confession of Christ; our mother's
grandfather was killed by the anger
of the emperor and all his property
handed over to other masters.
Nevertheless, their life was so
exalted on account of their faith
that no one had a greater
reputation among the men of that
time. Later, when their property
was divided nine ways in
accordance with the number of the
children, the share of each had
been so bountifully increased that
the children lived more
prosperously than their parents.
Macrina did not accept the amount

αὐτῇ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς
ἰσομοιρίαν ὑπολειφθῆναι μηδέν, ἀλλὰ
πάντα ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ ἱερέως κατὰ τὴν
θείαν ἐντολὴν οἰκονομηθῆναι· τὸν δὲ
βίον αὐτῇ τοιοῦτον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
χορηγίας γενέσθαι, ὡς μηδέποτε λῆξαι
τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ἐντολὴν ἐνεργούσας
μηδὲ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀποβλέψαι ποτὲ
μηδὲ διὰ τινος ἀνθρωπίνης εὐεργεσίας
γενέσθαι αὐτῇ τὰς πρὸς τὴν εὐσχήμονα
διαγωγὴν ἀφορμὰς, ἀλλὰ μήτε τοὺς
αἰτοῦντας ἀποστραφῆναι μήτε τοὺς
διδόντας ἐπιζητῆσαι, λεληθότως τοῦ
θεοῦ καθάπερ τινὰ σπέρματα τὰς
βραχείας ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἀφορμὰς εἰς
πολύχουν καρπὸν ταῖς εὐλογίαις
ἐπαύξοντος.

that was assigned to her in the
equal distribution, but gave it all
into [178] the hands of the priest in
accordance with the divine
command. By divine dispensation,
her existence was such that she
never stopped using her hands in
the service of God, nor did she
look to men for help or any
opportunity for living a life of
comfort. She never turned away
anyone who asked for something,
nor did she look for benefactors,
but God, in His blessings, secretly
made her little resources of activity
grow as seeds, as it were, into a
full-flowering harvest.

(21) Ἐμοῦ δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους [394] πόνους ἐν
οἷς ἤμην διεξιόντος, πρότερον μὲν τοῦ
βασιλέως Οὐαλέντος διὰ τὴν πίστιν
ἐλαύνοντος, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῆς ἐν ταῖς
ἐκκλησίαις συγχύσεως πρὸς ἄθλους
ἡμᾶς καὶ καμάτους ἐκκαλουμένης· Οὐ
παύση, φησίν, ἀγνωμόνως ἐπὶ τοῖς
θείοις ἀγαθοῖς διακείμενος; οὐ
θεραπεύσεις τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀχάριστον;
οὐκ ἀντιπαραθήσεις τοῖς τῶν πατέρων
τὰ σά; καίτοι γε κατὰ τὸν κόσμον

21. I told her about the difficulties
in which I had been involved; first,
how the Emperor Valens drove me
into exile for the faith, then, the
confusion in the churches which
called me to disputes and
disagreements. She said: “Will you
ever stop ignoring the good things
that come from God? Will you not
remedy the thanklessness of your
soul? Compare your lot with that
of our parents, although, as far as
this world is concerned, it is true

τοῡτον ἐν τούτῳ δὴ μάλιστα
μεγαλαυχοῡμεν, ἐν τῷ εὖ γεγονέναι καὶ
ἀπὸ εὐγενῶν φῦναι δοκεῖν. Πολύς,
φησί, κατὰ τὴν παιδείυσιν ἐν τοῖς τότε
χρόνοις ὁ πατὴρ ἐνομιζέτο, ἀλλὰ μέχρι
τῶν ἐγχωρίων δικαστηρίων ἢ κατ'
αὐτὸν ἴστατο δόξα. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν
λοιπῶν διὰ τῆς σοφιστικῆς αὐτοῦ
καθηγουμένου οὐκ ἐξῆλθε τὸν Πόντον
ἢ φήμη, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν ἦν ἐκείνῳ τὸ ἐν
τῇ πατρίδι περιβλεπτον. Σὺ δέ, φησί,
πόλεσι καὶ δήμοις καὶ ἔθνεσιν
ὀνομαστὸς εἶ καὶ σὲ πρὸς συμμαχίαν τε
καὶ διόρθωσιν ἐκκλησῖαι πέμπουσι καὶ
ἐκκλησῖαι καλοῦσι, καὶ οὐχ ὄρας τὴν
χάριν; οὐδὲ ἐπιγι νώσκεις τῶν
τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι σε
τῶν γονέων αἱ εὐχαὶ πρὸς ὕψος
αἴρουσιν, οὐδεμίαν ἢ ὀλίγην οἴκοθεν
ἔχοντα πρὸς τοῦτο παρασκευῆν; [395]

that we are proud of being well
born and coming from a good
family. Our father in the past was
well thought of because of his
education, and his reputation was
established in the local law courts.
Later, although he surpassed the
rest in rhetoric, his fame did not go
beyond the Pontic region, but he
was satisfied to be looked up to in
his own land. Whereas you,' she
continued, 'are known in the cities,
among the peoples and the tribes;
churches send you forth and
summon you as ally and advocate,
and do you not see the grace in it?
Do you not realize the cause of
such blessings, namely, that the
prayers of your parents are lifting
you to the heights, since you have
little or nothing within yourself by
which to achieve this?'

(22) Ταῦτα διεξιούσης ἐγὼ μὲν
παρατείνεσθαι πλέον τὸ ἡμερήσιον
ἐπόθουν μέτρον, ὡς ἂν μὴ λήξειε
καταγλυκαίνουσα ἡμῶν τὴν ἀκοήν
ἀλλ' ἢ φωνὴ τῶν ψαλλόντων πρὸς τὰς
ἐπιλυχνίους εὐχαριστίας ἐξεκαλεῖτο,
καὶ μὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκπέμψασα
πάλιν ἢ μεγάλη διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν

22. As she went on this way, I kept
wishing that the day might be
lengthened so that we could
continue to enjoy the sweetness of
her words. But the sound of the
choir was calling us to vespers and,
having sent me off to the church,
the Superior withdrew to God in
prayer and the night was devoted

πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀνεχώρει. Καὶ ἡ μὲν νύξ
ἐν τούτοις ἦν. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο,
ἐμοὶ μὲν πρόδηλον ἐκ τῶν ὀρωμένων
ἦν, ὅτι ἔσχατος αὐτῇ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα
ζωῆς ὄρος ἡ ἐνεστῶσα ἡμέρα ἦν, πᾶσαν
τὴν ἐγκειμένην τῇ φύσει δύναμιν τοῦ
πυρετοῦ δαπανήσαντος. Ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸ
ἀσθενὲς ἡμῶν τῆς διανοίας βλέπουσα
παράγειν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς κατηφεστεῖρας
ἐλπίδος ἐμηχανᾶτο, πάλιν τοῖς καλοῖς
ἐκείνοις λόγοις διαχέουσα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ
λυπούμενον ἐν λεπτῷ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ
συνεχομένῳ τῷ ἄσθματι. Ἐνθα δὲ καὶ
μάλιστα ποικίλως διετίθετό μοι πρὸς τὸ
φαινόμενον ἡ ψυχῇ, τῆς μὲν φύσεως εἰς
σκυθρωπότητα κατὰ τὸ εἶκος
βαρουμένης διὰ τὸ μηκέτι προσδοκᾶν
τῆς τοιαύτης φωνῆς καὶ αὐθις
ἀκούσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσον οὐδέπω τὸ
κοινὸν καύχημα τῆς γενεᾶς ἐλπίζειν ἐκ
τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου μεταστήσεσθαι,
τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς οἷον ἐνθουσιώσης ἐκ τῶν
φαινομένων καὶ ἐκβεβηκέναι τὴν
κοινὴν φύσιν ὑπονοούσης. Τὸ γὰρ μηδὲ
ἐν ἐσχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς αὐτὴν οὔσαν
παθεῖν τινα ξενισμόν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῆς
μεταστάσεως μηδὲ δειλιάσαι πρὸς τὸν
χωρισμόν τῆς ζωῆς, ἀλλ' ὑψηλῇ τῇ

to it. When dawn came, it was clear
to me that this day was to be the
last for her in the life of the flesh,
for the fever had [179] consumed
all her natural strength. When she
saw our concern about her
weakness, she tried to rouse us
from our downcast hopes by
dispersing again with her beautiful
words the grief of our souls with
her last slight and labored
breathing. At this point, especially,
my soul was in conflict because of
what it was confronted by. My
disposition was naturally made
gloomy by the anticipation of never
again hearing such a voice, but
actually I had not yet accepted the
idea that she was going to leave this
mortal life, and my soul was so
exalted by appearances that I
secretly thought that she had
transcended the common nature.
For the fact was that, in her last
breath, she experienced nothing
strange in the expectation of the
change and displayed no cowardice
towards the departure from life.
Instead, she philosophized with
high intelligence on what had been
decided upon by her about this life

διανοία τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτῇ περὶ τοῦ
 τῆδε βίου κεκριμένοις μέχρι τῆς
 ἐσχάτης ἐμφιλοσοφεῖν [396] ἀναπνοῆς
 οὐκέτι μοι ἐδόκει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων
 εἶναι, ἀλλ' οἷον ἀγγέλου τινὸς
 οἰκονομικῶς ἀνθρωπίνην ὑπελθόντος
 μορφῆν, ᾧ μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης πρὸς τὸν ἐν
 σαρκὶ βίον συγγενείας ἢ οἰκειώσεως
 οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ τὴν διάνοιαν
 μένειν, μὴ καθελκούσης τῆς σαρκὸς
 πρὸς τὰ ἴδια πάθη. Διὰ τοῦτό μοι ἐδόκει
 τὸν θεῖον ἐκεῖνον καὶ καθαρὸν ἔρωτα
 τοῦ ἀοράτου νυμφίου, ὃν
 ἐγκεκρυμμένον εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς
 ἀπορρήτοις τρεφόμενον, ἔκδηλον
 ποιεῖν τότε τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ
 δημοσιεύειν τὴν ἐν καρδίᾳ διάθεσιν τῷ
 ἐπείγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ποθούμενον, ὡς
 ἂν διὰ τάχους σὺν αὐτῷ γένοιτο τῶν
 δεσμῶν ἐκλυθεῖσα τοῦ σώματος. Τῷ
 ὄντι γὰρ ὡς πρὸς ἐραστήν ὁ δρόμος
 ἐγίνετο, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν κατὰ τὸν
 βίον ἡδέων πρὸς ἑαυτὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν
 ἐπιστρέφοντος.

from the beginning up to her last
 breath, and this made her appear to
 belong no longer to the world of
 men. It was as if an angel had by
 some providence taken on human
 form, an angel who had no relation
 with or similarity to the life of the
 flesh and for whom it was not at all
 unreasonable to remain detached
 since the flesh was not part of her
 experience. For this reason, she
 seemed to me to be making clear to
 those present the divine and pure
 love of the unseen Bridegroom
 which she had secretly nourished in
 the depths of her soul, and she
 seemed to be communicating the
 disposition in her heart to go to the
 One she was longing for, so that,
 once loosed from the chains of the
 body, she might quickly be with
 Him. Truly, her race was towards
 the Beloved and nothing of the
 pleasure of life diverted her
 attention.

(23) Καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας ἤδη παρῶν κεί
 τὸ πλέον καὶ ὁ ἥλιος πρὸς δυσμᾶς
 ἐπεκλίνετο. Τῇ δὲ οὐκ ἐνεδίδου ἡ
 προθυμία, ἀλλ' ὅσον τῇ ἐξόδῳ

23. The day was almost over and
 the sun was beginning to set, but
 the zeal in her did not decline.
 Indeed, as she neared her end and
 saw the beauty of the Bridegroom

προσῆγγιζεν, ὡς πλέον θεωροῦσα τοῦ
νυμφίου τὸ κάλλος ἐν σφοδροτέρῃ τῇ
ἐπεΐξει πρὸς τὸν ποθούμενον ἴετο,
τοιαῦτα φθεγγομένη οὐκέτι πρὸς ἡμᾶς
τοὺς παρόντας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἐκεῖνον εἰς ὃν ἀτενὲς ἀφείωρα τοῖς
ὄμμασι. Πρὸς γὰρ ἀνατολήν ἐτέτραπτο
αὐτῇ τὸ χαμεῦνιον, καὶ ἀποστᾶσα τοῦ
πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαλέγεσθαι δι' εὐχῆς ὠμίλει
τὸ λοιπὸν τῷ θεῷ χερσὶ τε ἱκετεύουσα
καὶ ὑποφθεγγομένη λεπτῇ τῇ φωνῇ,
ὥστε ἡμᾶς ἐπαΐειν μετρίως τῶν
λεγομένων· τοιαύτη δὲ ἦν ἡ εὐχή, [397]
ὡς μηδὲ ἀμφιβάλλειν, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὸν
θεὸν ἐγίνετο καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου ἠκούετο.

(24) Σὺ, φησὶν, ἔλυσας ἡμῖν, κύριε, τοῦ
θανάτου τὸν φόβον. Σὺ ζωῆς ἀληθινῆς
ἀρχὴν ἡμῖν ἐποίησας τὸ τέλος τῆς
ἐνταῦθα ζωῆς. Σὺ πρὸς καιρὸν ἡμῶν
ὑπνῷ διαναπαύεις τὰ σώματα καὶ
πάλιν ἀφυπνίζεις «ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ
σάλπιγγι. Σὺ δίδως παρακαταθήκην τῇ
γῆ τὴν μετέραν γῆν, ἣν ταῖς σαῖς χερσὶ
διεμόρφωσας, καὶ πάλιν ἀνακωμίζῃ ὁ
ἔδωκας, ἀφθαρσίᾳ καὶ χάριτι
μεταμορφώσας τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν καὶ
ἄσχημον. Σὺ ἐρρῶσω ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς
κατάρως καὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ἀμφοτέρω

more clearly, she rushed with
greater impulse towards the One
she desired, no longer speaking to
those of us who were present, but
to that very One toward whom she
looked with steadfast eyes. [180]
Her couch was turned to the East
and, stopping her conversation
with us, for the rest of the time she
addressed herself to God in prayer,
beseeching Him with her hands
and speaking in a low soft voice so
that we barely heard what she said.
This was her prayer and there is no
doubt that it made its way to God
and that it was heard by Him.

24. She said: 'O Lord, You have
freed us from the fear of death;
You have made the end of life here
the beginning of a true life for us.
For a time, You give rest to our
bodies in sleep and You awaken us
again with the last trumpet. The
dust from which You fashioned us
with Your hands You give back to
the dust of the earth for
safekeeping, and You who have
relinquished it will recall it after
reshaping with incorruptibility and
grace our mortal and graceless
substance. You redeemed us from

ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γενόμενος. Σὺ συνέθλασας
τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ δράκοντος τοῦ διὰ τοῦ
χάσματος τῆς παρακοῆς τῷ λαιμῷ
διαλαβόντος τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Σὺ
ᾠδοποίησας ἡμῖν τὴν ἀνάστασιν,
συντρίψας τὰς πύλας τοῦ ἄδου καὶ
καταργήσας τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ
θανάτου. Σὺ ἔδωκας τοῖς φοβουμένοις
σε σημείωσιν τὸν τύπον τοῦ ἁγίου
σταυροῦ εἰς καθάρσεις τοῦ
ἀντικειμένου καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῆς
ἡμετέρας ζωῆς. Ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ᾧ
ἐπερρίφην ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός, ὃν
ἠγάπησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐξ ὅλης
δυνάμεως, ᾧ ἀνέθηκα καὶ τὴν σάρκα
καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ νεότητός μου καὶ
μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, σύ μοι παρακατάστησον
φωτεινὸν ἄγγελον τὸν χειραγωγοῦντά
με πρὸς τὸν τόπον [398] τῆς ἀναψύξεως,
ὅπου τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ἀναπαύσεως, παρὰ
τοὺς κόλπους τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων. Ὁ
διακόψας τὴν φλόγα τῆς πυρίνης
ρόμφαιας, καὶ ἀποδοὺς τῷ παραδείσῳ
τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν συσταυρωθέντα σοι
καὶ ὑποπεσόντα τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου,
κάμου μνήσθητι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, ὅτι
κάγὼ σοὶ συνεσταυρώθην,
καθηλώσασα ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου τὰς

the curse⁸ and from sin, having
taken both upon Yourself; You
crushed the heads of the serpent
who had seized us with his jaws in
the abyss of disobedience. Breaking
down the gates of hell and
overcoming the one who had the
empire of death, You opened up
for us a path to the resurrection.
For those who fear You, You gave
as a token the sign of the holy
cross for the destruction of the
Adversary and the salvation of our
life. O God everlasting, towards
whom I have directed myself from
my mother's womb, whom my soul
has loved with all its strength, to
whom I have dedicated my body
and my soul from my infancy up to
now, prepare for me a shining
angel to lead me to the place of
refreshment where is the water of
relaxation near the bosom of the
holy Fathers. You who broke the
flaming sword and [181]
compassionately gave Paradise
back to the man crucified with
You, remember me also in Your
kingdom, for I, too, have been
crucified with You, having nailed
my flesh through fear of You and

σάρκας μου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κριμάτων σου φοβηθεῖσα. Μὴ διαχωρισάτω με τὸ χάσμα τὸ φοβερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου, μηδὲ ἀντιστήτω ὁ βάσκανος τῇ ὁδῷ μου μηδὲ εὐρεθείη κατενώπιον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου ἡ ἁμαρτία μου, εἴ τι σφαλεῖσα διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἡμαρτον. Ὁ ἔχων ἐπὶ γῆς ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας, ἄνες μοι, ἵνα ἀναψύξω καὶ εὐρεθῶ ἐνώπιόν σου ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματός μου μὴ ἔχουσα σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα ἐν τῇ μορφῇ τῆς ψυχῆς μου, ἀλλ' ἄμωμος καὶ ἀκηλίδωτος προσδεχθείη ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου.

having feared Your judgments. Let the terrible abyss not separate me from Your chosen ones; let the Slanderer not stand in my way or my sins be discovered before Your eyes if I have fallen and sinned in word or deed or thought because of the weakness of our nature. Do You who have power on earth to forgive sins¹⁸ forgive me so that I may be refreshed and may be found before You once I have put off my body, having no fault in the form of my soul, but blameless and spotless may my soul be taken into Your hands as an offering before Your face.'

(25) Καὶ ταῦτα ἅμα λέγουσα ἐπετίθει τὴν σφραγίδα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τῷ στόματι καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ. Καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἢ τε γλῶσσα τῷ πυρετῷ καταφρυγεῖσα οὐκέτι διήρθρου τὸν λόγον καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ὑπενεδίδου, καὶ ἐν μονῇ τῇ τῶν χειλέων διαστολῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν χειρῶν κινήσει τὸ ἐν προσευχῇ εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐγινώσκομεν. Καὶ ἐν τούτοις τῆς ἑσπέρας ἐπιλαβούσης καὶ φωτὸς [399] εἰσκομισθέντος ἀθρόον τὸν τῶν

25. As she said this, she made the sign of the cross upon her eyes and mouth and heart, and little by little, as the fever dried up her tongue, she was no longer able to speak clearly; her voice gave out and only from the trembling of her lips and the motion of her hands did we know that she was continuing to pray. Then, evening came on and the lamp was brought in. Macrina directed her eye toward the beam of light and made it clear that she

ὀμμάτων διαστείλασα κύκλον καὶ πρὸς
τὴν αὐγὴν ἀπιδούσα ἔκδηλος μὲν ἦν
καὶ φθέγγασθαι τὴν ἐπιλύχνιον
εὐχαριστίαν προθυμουμένη· τῆς δὲ
φωνῆς ἐπιλειπούσης διὰ τῆς καρδίας
καὶ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν κινήσεως ἐπλήρου
τὴν πρόθεσιν καὶ τὰ χεῖλη πρὸς τὴν
ἔνδοθεν ὀρμὴν συνεκινεῖτο· ὡς δὲ
ἐπλήρωσε τὴν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ ἡ χεὶρ
ἐπαχθεῖσα διὰ τῆς σφραγίδος τῷ
προσώπῳ τὸ πέρασ τῆς εὐχῆς
διεσήμανε, μέγα τι καὶ βύθιον
ἀναπνεύσασα τῇ προσευχῇ τὴν ζωὴν
συγκατέληξεν. Ὡς δὲ ἦν τὸ λοιπὸν
ἄπνους τε καὶ ἀκίνητος, μνησθεὶς τῶν
ἐντολῶν, ἃς εὐθύς παρὰ τὴν πρώτην
συντυχίαν πεποίητο εἰποῦσα
βούλεσθαι τὰς ἐμὰς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
αὐτῆς ἐπιβληθῆναι χειρᾶς καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ
τὴν νενομισμένην θεραπείαν
ἐπαχθῆναι τῷ σώματι, ἐπήγαγον τῷ
ἀγίῳ προσώπῳ νεναρκτηκυῖαν ἐκ τοῦ
πάθους τὴν χειρᾶ, ὅσον μὴ δόξαι τῆς
ἐντολῆς ἀμελεῖν· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν
ἐπορθούντων οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ
προσεδέοντο, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ
φύσιν γίνεται ὕπνου, τοῖς βλεφάροις
εὐκόσμως διελημμένοι τὰ τε χεῖλη

was eager to say the nocturnal
prayer and, although her voice
failed her, with her heart and the
movement of her hands, she
fulfilled her desire and moved her
lips in keeping with the impulse
within her. When she had
completed the thanksgiving and
indicated that the prayer was over
by making the sign of the cross,
she breathed a deep breath and
with the prayer her life came to an
end. From then on, she was
without breath and movement, and
I recalled an injunction she had
given me when I arrived, saying
that she wanted my hands to be
placed upon her eyes and the
customary care of the body to be
taken by me. So I placed my hand,
deadened by grief, upon her holy
face so as not to seem to disregard
her request. Actually, her eyes
required no [182] attention; it was
as if she was asleep with her eyelids
becomingly lowered; her lips were
set naturally and her hands rested
naturally on her breast and the
whole position of her body was so
spontaneously harmonious that

προσφυῶς μεμυκότα καὶ αἱ χεῖρες
εὐπρεπῶς ἐπανακλιθεῖσαι τῷ στήθει
πᾶσά τε ἡ τοῦ σώματος θέσις
αὐτομάτως κατὰ τὸ εὐσχημον
ἀρμοσθεῖσα οὐδὲν τῆς τῶν κοσμοῦντων
χειρὸς ἐπεδέετο.

there was no need for any
arranging hand.

(26) Ἐμοὶ δὲ διχόθεν ἐγίνετο πάρετος ἡ
ψυχὴ καὶ οἷς τὸ φαινόμενον ἔβλεπον
καὶ οἷς τὴν ἀκοὴν διὰ τῆς γοεραῶς τῶν
παρθένων οἰμωγῆς περιηχούμην. Τέως
μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ [400] διεκαρτέρουν
ἐκεῖναι, τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν ὀδύνην
ἐγκατακλείουσαι, καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰμωγῆς
ὀρμὴν τῷ πρὸς αὐτὴν φόβῳ
κατέπνιγον, ὥσπερ δεδοικυῖαι καὶ
σιωπῶντος ἤδη τοῦ προσώπου τὴν
ἐπιτίμησιν, μὴ που παρὰ τὸ
διατεταγμένον αὐταῖς φωνῆς τινος
παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκραγείσης λυπηθείη πρὸς
τὸ γινόμενον ἢ διδάσκαλος. Καὶ οἰονεῖ
πυρὸς τινος ἔνδοθεν αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς
διασμύχοντος, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι
κατακρατεῖσθαι δι' ἡσυχίας τὸ πάθος
ἠδύνατο, ἀθρόως πικρὸς τις καὶ
ἄσχετος ἀναρρήγνυται ἤχος, ὥστε μοι
μηκέτι μένειν ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι τὸν
λογισμὸν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ χειμάρρου
τινὸς ἐπικλύσαντος ὑποβρύχιον

26. My soul was disquieted for two
reasons, because of what I saw and
because I heard the weeping of the
virgins. Until now, they had
controlled themselves and kept in
check the grief in their souls and
they had choked down the impulse
to cry out for fear of her, as if they
were afraid of the reproach of her
voice already silent; lest, contrary to
her order, a sound should break
forth from them and their teacher
be troubled by it. But when their
suffering could no longer be
controlled in silence (their grief was
affecting their souls like a
consuming fire within them),
suddenly, a bitter, unrestrained cry
broke forth, so that my reason no
longer maintained itself, but, like a
mountain stream overflowing, it
was overwhelmed below the
surface by my suffering and,
disregarding the tasks at hand, I
gave myself over wholly to

παρενεχθῆναι τῷ πάθει καὶ τῶν ἐν
 χερσὶν ἀμελήσαντα ὅλον τῶν θρήνων
 εἶναι. Καί μοι δικαία πῶς ἐδόκει καὶ
 εὐλογος ἡ τοῦ πάθους ἀφορμὴ ταῖς
 παρθένοις εἶναι. Οὐ γὰρ συνηθείας
 τινὸς ἢ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα κηδεμονίας τὴν
 στέρησιν ἀπωδύροντο οὐδ' ἄλλο τι
 τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἐφ' ᾧ πρὸς τὰς
 συμφορὰς δυσανασχετοῦσιν οἱ
 ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ὡς τῆς κατὰ θεὸν
 ἐλπίδος αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ψυχῶν
 σωτηρίας ἀποσχισθεῖσαι ταῦτα ἐβόων
 καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς θρήνοις
 ἀπωλοφύροντο. Ἐσβέσθη, λέγουσαι,
 τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν ὁ λύχνος· ἀπῆρθη
 τὸ φῶς τῆς τῶν ψυχῶν ὁδηγίας· διελύθη
 τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἡ ἀσφάλεια ἤρθη ἡ
 σφραγὶς τῆς ἀφθαρσίας· διεσπᾶσθη ὁ
 σύνδεσμος τῆς ὁμοφροσύνης, συνετριβή
 τὸ στήριγμα τῶν ἀτονούντων, ἀφηρέθη
 ἡ θεραπεία τῶν ἀσθενούντων. Ἐπὶ [401]
 σοῦ ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ νύξ ἀντὶ ἡμέρας ἦν
 καθαρᾶ ζωῆ φωτιζομένη· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἡ
 ἡμέρα πρὸς ζόφον μεταστραφῆσεται.
 Χαλεπώτερον δὲ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας τὸ
 πάθος ἐξέκαιον αἱ μητέρα αὐτὴν καὶ
 τροφὸν ἀνακαλοῦσαι. Ἦσαν δὲ αὐταί,
 ἃς ἐν τῷ τῆς σιτοδείας καιρῷ κατὰ τὰς

lamentation. The cause of the
 maidens' grief seemed to me to be
 just and reasonable. They were not
 bewailing the deprivation of some
 ordinary bond or carnal attraction
 or any other such thing for which
 one mourns. But, as if they were
 torn away from their hope in God
 or the salvation of their souls, they
 cried out and loudly bewailed as
 follows: "The lamp of our life has
 been extinguished; the light that
 directed the path of our souls has
 been taken away; the safety of our
 lives has been destroyed; the seal of
 our incorruptibility has been
 removed; the bond of our union
 has been demolished; the support
 of the feeble has been shattered;
 the care of the weak taken away.
 With you even our night was
 illuminated like day by the pure life,
 but now even the day is turned into
 darkness." The ones who called her
 mother and nurse were more
 seriously distraught than the rest.
 These were those she had nursed
 and reared after finding them
 prostrate [183] along the highway
 at the moment of starvation and

όδους ἐρριμμένας ἀνελομένη
ἐτιθνήσατό τε καὶ ἀνεθρέψατο καὶ
πρὸς τὸν καθαρὸν τε καὶ ἄφθορον βίον
ἐχειραγώγησεν.

she led them to the pure and
uncorrupted life.

(27) Ἐπεὶ δέ πως καθάπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ
τινος τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀνελεξάμην
πρὸς τὴν ἀγίαν ἐκείνην κεφαλὴν
ἀτενίσας, ὥσπερ ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ
ἀταξία τῶν ἐπιθορυβούντων διὰ τοῦ
θρήνου· Πρὸς ταύτην βλέψατε, εἶπον
μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ πρὸς τὰς παρθένους
βοήσας, καὶ τῶν παραγγελμάτων αὐτῆς
ἀναμνήσθητε, δι' ὧν τὸ ἐν παντὶ
τεταγμένον καὶ εὐσχημον παρ' αὐτῆς
ἐπαιδεύθητε. Ἐνα καιρὸν δακρῦν ὑμῖν
ἡ θεία ψυχὴ αὕτη ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐν τῷ
τῆς προσευχῆς καιρῷ τοῦτο πράττειν
παρεγγυήσασα ὃ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖν ἔξεστι,
τῆς τῶν θρήνων οἰμωγῆς εἰς συμπαθῆ
ψαλμωδίαν μετατεθείσης Ταῦτ' ἔλεγον
μείζονι τῇ φωνῇ, ὡς ἂν τὸν ἦχον τῶν
θρήνων ὑπερηγήσαιμι. Εἶτα μεταστῆναι
παρεκάλεσα μικρὸν ἐπὶ τὸν σύνεγγυς
οἶκον, καταλειφθῆναι δέ τινας ἐξ
αὐτῶν, ὧν ἡδέως ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τὴν
θεραπείαν προσίετο.

27. But when I recalled my soul
from the depths, gazing intently at
the holy head, and, as if I were
rebuked for the disorderly conduct
of the women, I said: 'Look at her,'
shouting at the maidens in a loud
voice, 'and be mindful of the
instructions she gave you for order
and graciousness in everything. Her
divine soul sanctioned one moment
of tears for us, commanding us to
weep at the moment of prayer.
This command we can obey by
changing the wailing of our
lamentation into a united singing of
psalms.' I said this with a loud
voice to drown out the noise of the
wailing. Then, I bade them
withdraw a little to their quarters
nearby and to leave behind a few of
those whose services she accepted
during her lifetime.

(28) Ἐν ταύταις ἦν γυνή τις τῶν
εὐσχημόνων πλούτῳ καὶ γένει καὶ τῇ

28. Among these, there was a
woman outstanding for her wealth
and birth and the beauty of her

τοῦ σώματος ὥρα καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ
 περιφανείᾳ περιβλεπτος ἐν νεότητι
 γενομένη· καὶ συνοικισθεῖσά τινα τῶν
 ἐπὶ μείζονος ἀξίας καὶ βραχὺν
 συνοικήσασα χρόνον καὶ [402] ἐν νέῳ
 τῷ σώματι τῆς συζυγίας διαζευχθεῖσα,
 φύλακά τε καὶ παιδαγωγὸν τῆς χηρείας
 τὴν μεγάλην Μακρίναν ποιησαμένη,
 συνῆν τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς παρθένοις τὸν
 πρὸς ἀρετὴν βίον παρ' αὐτῶν
 ἐκδιδασκομένη. Οὐετιανὴ δὲ ὄνομα τῇ
 γυναικί, ἧς ὁ πατὴρ Ἀράξιος ἦν τῶν εἰς
 τὴν ὑπατον συντελούντων βουλήν πρὸς
 ταύτην εἶπον ἀνεπίφθονον εἶναι νῦν
 γοῦν τὸν φαιδρότερον ἐπιβαλεῖν
 κόσμον τῷ σώματι καὶ λαμπραῖς
 ὀθόναῖς κατακοσμησαί τὴν καθαρὰν
 ἐκείνην καὶ ἀκηλίδωτον σάρκα. Ἡ δὲ
 μαθεῖν ἔφη χρῆναι, τί τῇ ἀγία περὶ
 τούτων καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδοκιμάσθη μὴ γὰρ
 εὐαγὲς εἶναι παρὰ τὸ κεχαρισμένον
 αὐτῇ τι παρ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι. Πάντως δὲ
 ὁ τῷ θεῷ φίλον τε καὶ εὐάρεστον,
 κακείνη καταθύμιον εἶναι.

body, and admired in her youth for
 her other attributes. She had been
 married to a distinguished man
 and, after having been with him for
 a short time, she was released from
 marriage while still quite young.
 She made Macrina the guardian
 and director of her widowhood,
 and, spending much of her time
 with the women, she learned from
 them the life of virtue. The
 woman's name was Vetiana, whose
 father was Araxius, one of the
 senators. I told her that now, at
 least, it was suitable to put brighter
 raiment on the body and to adorn
 with shining ornament that pure
 and unsullied flesh. She replied that
 it was necessary to learn what
 decisions had been made by the
 holy one about these matters, for it
 would not be right for us to do
 anything to her contrary to what
 would be pleasing to her. But what
 was dear and pleasing to God -was
 also desirable to her.

(29) Καὶ ἦν τις προτεταγμένη τοῦ χοροῦ
 τῆς παρθενίας ἐν τῷ τῆς διακονίας
 βαθμῷ, Λαμπάδιον ὄνομα αὐτῇ· ἡ
 ἀκριβῶς ἔφη γινώσκειν περὶ τῶν κατὰ

29. There was a certain woman, a
 deaconess in charge of a group of
 the women, whose name was
 Lampadium, and she said she knew
 exactly what Macrina had decided

τὴν ταφὴν δεδογμένων ἐκείνη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ἠρόμην αὐτὴν περὶ τούτων (παρουῶσα
 γὰρ ἔτυχε τῇ βουλευσεί), ἔφη μετὰ
 δακρύων ταῦτα λέγουσα· Τῇ ἁγίᾳ
 κόσμος ὁ καθαρὸς βίος διεσπουδάσθη
 τοῦτο καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἐγκαλλώπισμα καὶ
 τοῦ θανάτου ἐντάφιον ἐκείνη ἐστὶ· τὰ δ'
 ὅσα πρὸς καλλωπισμὸν σώματος
 βλέπει, οὔτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ζωῆς χρόνῳ
 προσήκατο οὔτε εἰς τὴν παρουῶσαν
 χρῆσιν ἐταμιεύσατο, ὥστε οὐδὲ
 βουλομένοις [403] ἡμῖν ἔσται τι πλεον
 τῆς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρασκευῆς
 παρούσης. – Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς
 ἀποκειμένοις εὐρεῖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τῶν
 ἐπικοσμησαί τι δυναμένων τὴν
 ἐκφορὰν; – Ποίοις, εἶπεν, ἀποκειμένοις;
 ἐν χερσὶν ἔχεις πᾶν τὸ ἀπόθετον ἰδοὺ τὸ
 ἱμάτιον, ἰδοὺ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ καλύπτρα,
 τὰ τετριμμένα τῶν ποδῶν ὑποδήματα
 οὗτος ὁ πλοῦτος, αὕτη ἡ περιουσία.
 Οὐδὲν παρὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἐν
 ἀποκρύφοις ἀπόκειται κιβωτοῖς τισὶν ἢ
 θαλάμοις ἠσφαλισμένον. Μίαν
 ἀποθήκην ἤδει τοῦ ἰδίου πλούτου, τὸν
 θησαυρὸν τὸν οὐράνιον· ἐκεῖ πάντα
 ἀποθεμένη οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
 ὑπελείπετο. Τί οὖν, ἔφην πρὸς αὐτὴν

about her burial. When I asked her
 about it (for she happened to be
 [184] present at our discussion) she
 replied weeping: 'For the holy one,
 the pure life was what she sought
 as adornment; for her, this was
 both the ornament of her life and
 the shroud of death. She had so
 little concern for dress that she
 owned nothing during her lifetime
 and stored none away for the
 present situation, so that, even if
 we desired it, there is nothing more
 to use than what is already here.' I
 said: 'Is there nothing in the
 storage closets to decorate the
 funeral bier?' 'What closets?' she
 replied. 'You have everything she
 possessed in your hands. Look at
 her dress, look at the covering of
 her head, her worn sandals. This is
 her wealth, this is her property.
 There is nothing beyond what you
 see put aside in hidden places or
 made secure in treasures houses.
 She recognized one storage place
 for private wealth: the treasury of
 heaven. There she deposited
 everything and left nothing behind
 on earth.' I said to her: 'What if I
 brought some of the things I had

ἐγώ, εἰ τῶν ἐμοί τι πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν
ἠτοιμασμένων προσαγάγοιμι μὴ τι τῶν
ἀβουλήτων αὐτῇ διὰ τούτου γενήσεται;
Οὐκ οἴεσθαι ἔφη τοῦτο παρὰ γνώμην
εἶναι αὐτῇ· προσέσθαι γὰρ ἂν αὐτὴν καὶ
ζῶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην παρὰ σοῦ τιμὴν
κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, διὰ τε τὴν ἱερωσύνην
τὴν ἀεὶ τιμίαν αὐτῇ καὶ διὰ τὴν
κοινωνίαν τῆς φύσεως μηδὲ γὰρ ἂν
ἀλλότριον ἑαυτῆς τὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
νομίσαι. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς σαῖς χερσὶ
περικκοσμηθῆναι τὸ σῶμα διεκελεύσατο.

got ready for the funeral? Would
this be against her wish?' She
replied that she did not think it
would be. 'For,' she said, 'if she
were alive, she would accept such a
gift from you for two reasons: on
account of your priesthood, which
she always honored, and, on
account of your kinship, she would
not have thought that what
belonged to her brother was not
also hers. It was for this reason that
she ordered her body to be
prepared by your hands.'

(30) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδέδοκτο καὶ ἔδει
περισταλῆναι ταῖς ὀθόναϊς τὸ ἱερόν
σῶμα ἐκεῖνο, διελομένοι τὴν σπουδὴν
[404] ἄλλος ἄλλο τι περὶ αὐτὴν
ἐπονοῦμεν. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα
τῶν ἐμῶν τινὶ προσαγαγεῖν
ἐνεκελευσάμην, ἣ δὲ μνημονευθεῖσα
Οὐετιανὴ τὴν ἀγίαν ἐκείνην κεφαλὴν
ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ κατακοσμοῦσα, ἐπειδὴ
κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα τὴν χεῖρα
ἤνεγκεν· Ἰδοῦ, φησί, πρὸς ἐμὲ βλέψασα,
οἷος περιδέραιος κόσμος τῆς ἀγίας
ἐξήρηται. Καὶ ἅμα τοῦτο λέγουσα
ἐκλύσασα τὸν δεσμὸν ἐκ τοῦ κατόπιν
προέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δείκνυσί μοι
σιδήρεον τοῦ σταυροῦ τύπον καὶ

30. When this was decided upon
and it was necessary for the sacred
body to be dressed in fine linen, we
divided the various tasks among us.
I told one of my attendants to
bring in the robe. Vetiana, whom I
have mentioned before, was
arranging that holy head with her
own hands when she put her hand
on her neck and said looking at me:
'See the necklace the holy one
wore.' And, at the same time, she
unfastened the chain, stretched out
her hand, and showed me an iron
cross and a ring of the same
material. Both of these worn on a
thin chain were always on her

δακτύλιόν τινα τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης, ἅπερ ἀμφοτέρωθεν λεπτῆς ὀρμιᾶς ἐξημμένα ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας διὰ παντὸς ἦν. Καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον· Κοινὸν γενέσθω τὸ κτῆμα. Καὶ σὺ μὲν ἔχε τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ φυλακτήριον· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρκέσει ἡ τοῦ δακτυλίου κληρονομία. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τούτου σφραγίδος ὁ σταυρὸς ἐγκεχάρακτο ὡς ἐνατενίσασά φησι πάλιν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἡ γυνή· Οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ σοι γέγονεν ἡ ἐκλογή τοῦδε τοῦ κτήματος. Κοῖλος γὰρ κατὰ τὴν σφενδόνην ἐστὶν ὁ δακτύλιος καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς κατακέκρυπται· καὶ οὕτως ἄνωθεν ἡ σφραγὶς τῷ ἰδίῳ τύπῳ μηνύει τὸ ὑποκείμενον.

heart. And I said: 'Let us make [185] this a common possession. You take the protection of the cross, and the ring will be enough for me,' for on the seal of the ring a cross was carved. Gazing at it, the woman said to me: 'You have made a good choice, for the ring is hollowed out and in it is hidden a piece of the wood of life. And thus the seal of the cross on the outside testifies by its form to what is inside.'

(31) Ὡς δὲ καὶ περικαλυφθῆναι τῇ ἐσθῆτι τὸ καθαρὸν σῶμα καιρὸς ἦν καὶ μοι τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην ἡ ἐντολή τῆς μεγάλης ἀναγκαίαν ἐποίησε, παρούσα τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ συνεφαπτομένη ἡ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνης κληρονομίας [405] ἡμῖν κοινωθήσασα· Μὴ παραδράμης, φησὶν, ἀνιστόρητον τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγίας ταύτης κατορθωθέντων θαυμάτων. — Τί τοῦτο; ἔφην ἐγώ. Ἡ δὲ μέρος τι τοῦ στήθους

31. When the time came to cover the body with the robe, the injunction of the great lady made it necessary for me to perform this function. The woman who was present and sharing the great assignment with us said: 'Do not pass over the greatest of the miracles of the saint.' 'What is that?' I asked. She laid bare a part of the breast and said: 'Do you see this thin, almost imperceptible, scar below the neck?' It was like a mark

παραγυμνώσασα· Ὁρᾶς, ἔφη, τὸ λεπτὸν
τοῦτο καὶ ἀφανὲς ὑπὸ τὴν δέρριν
σημεῖον; στίγματι προσέοικε διὰ λεπτῆς
ῥαφίδος ἐγγενομένῳ. Καὶ ἅμα τὸν
λύχνον ἐγγύτερον ἐποίει τοῦ
δεικνυμένου μοι τόπου. Τί οὖν, εἶπον,
θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἀφανεῖ τινι σημεῖῳ τὸ
σῶμα κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔστικται; —
Τοῦτο, φησί, τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ θεοῦ
βοηθείας μνημόσυνον τῷ σώματι
λείπεται. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔφυ ποτέ τι κατὰ
τὸ μέρος τοῦτο πάθος ἀνιαρὸν καὶ
κίνδυνος ἦν ἢ ἀνατμηθῆναι τὸν ὄγκον ἢ
πάντη καὶ πάντως εἰς ἀνήκεστον
προελθεῖν τὸ κακόν, εἰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν
καρδίαν τόποις πελάσειεν, ἐδέετο μὲν ἡ
μήτηρ, φησί, πολλὰ καὶ ἰκέτευε
παραδέξασθαι τοῦ ἱατροῦ τὴν
ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς καὶ ταύτης ἐκ θεοῦ τῆς
τέχνης ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
καταδειχθείσης. Ἡ δὲ τὸ γυμνώσαί τι
τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις τοῦ
πάθους χαλεπώτερον κρίναςα, ἐσπέρας
καταλαβούσης, ἐπειδὴ τῇ μητρὶ τὴν
συνήθη διὰ τῶν χειρῶν ὑπηρεσίαν
ἐπλήρωσεν, ἐντὸς γενομένη τοῦ
παναγιαστηρίου παννύχιον προσπίπτει
τῷ θεῷ τῶν ἰάσεων καὶ τὸ ἀπορρῦν

made by a small needle. At the
same time, she brought the lamp
nearer to the place she was
showing me. ‘What is miraculous
about that,’ I said, ‘if the body has
a small mark here?’ She said: ‘This
is left on the body as a reminder of
the great help of God. At one time,
there was a painful sore here and
there was the risk that if it was not
cut out it would develop into an
irremediable illness if it should
spread to places near the heart. Her
mother begged her to accept the
doctor’s care and implored her
many times saying that the art of
medicine was given by God to man
for his preservation. But Macrina
considered worse than the disease
laying bare part of the body to
another’s eyes, and one evening,
after she had finished her usual
tasks connected with her mother,
she went inside the sanctuary and
all night supplicated the God of
healing, pouring out a stream from
her eyes upon the ground, and she
used the mud from her tears as a
remedy for the disease. When her
mother was earnestly distressed
and asking her again to see the

τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὕδωρ πρὸς τὴν γῆν
ἀναχέασα τῷ ἐκ τῶν δακρῶν πηλῶ
φαρμάκῳ πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἐχρήσατο τῆς
δὲ μητρὸς ἀθύμως διακειμένης καὶ
πάλιν ἐνδοῦναι τῷ [406] ἱατρῷ
παρακαλούσης ἀρκεῖν ἔλεγε πρὸς
θεραπείαν ἑαυτῆ τοῦ κακοῦ, εἰ τῇ ἰδίᾳ
χειρὶ ἢ μήτηρ ἐπιβάλοι τῷ τόπῳ τὴν
ἀγίαν σφραγίδα. Ὡς δὲ ἐντὸς ἐποιήσατο
τοῦ κόλπου τὴν χεῖρα ἢ μήτηρ, ἐφ' ᾧ τε
περισφραγίσαι τὸ μέρος, ἢ μὲν σφραγίς
ἐνήργει, τὸ δὲ πάθος οὐκ ἦν. Ἀλλὰ
τοῦτο, φησί, τὸ βραχὺ σημεῖον καὶ τότε
ἀντὶ τοῦ φορικοῦ ἐωράθη ὄγκου καὶ
μέχρι τέλους παρέμεινεν, ὡς ἂν, οἶμαι,
τῆς θείας ἐπισκέψεως μνημόσυνον εἶη
πρὸς ἀφορμὴν καὶ ὑπόθεσιν τῆς
διηνεκοῦς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐχαριστίας.

(32) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πέρας εἶχεν ἡμῖν ἡ σπουδὴ
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόητων περιεκοσμήθη τὸ
σῶμα, πάλιν φησὶν ἡ διάκονος μὴ
πρέπειν νυμφικῶς ἐσταλμένην αὐτὴν
ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν παρθένων ὄρασθαι.
Ἄλλ' ἔστι μοι, φησί, τῆς μητρὸς τῆς
ὑμετέρας τῶν φαιῶν πεφυλαγμένον
ἱμάτιον, ὃ ἄνωθεν ἐπιβληθῆναι καλῶς
ἔχειν φημί, ὡς ἂν μὴ τῷ ἐπεισάκτῳ διὰ
τῆς ἐσθῆτος κόσμῳ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο

doctor, she said that there was a
cure for her disease if her mother
with her own hand would make the
sign of the cross on the place.
When the mother put her hand
inside to make the sign of the cross
on her [186] breast, the sign of the
cross worked and the sore
disappeared. But this,' she said, 'is a
small token and was seen then
instead of the terrible sore, and
remained to the end as a reminder,
I suppose, of the divine
consideration, a cause and reason
for unceasing thanksgiving to
God.'

32. When our work was finished
and the body was adorned with
what we had, the deaconess spoke
again and said that it was not fitting
that Macrina should be seen by the
maidens dressed as a bride. She
said: 'I have a dark mantle of your
mother's which I think we should
put over her, so that this holy
beauty should not be made
splendid by the extraneous

κάλλος λαμπρύνοιτο. Ἐκράτει τὰ
δεδογμένα καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἐπεβλήθη ἡ
δὲ ἔλαμπε καὶ ἐν τῷ φαιῶ, τῆς θεΐας,
οἶμαι, δυνάμεως καὶ ταύτην προσθείσης
τὴν χάριν τῷ σώματι, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν
τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ὄψιν ἀκριβῶς αὐγὰς τινὰς
ἐκ τοῦ κάλλους ἐκλάμπειν δοκεῖν.

adornment of the robe.’ Her
opinion prevailed and the mantle
was put over her. But even in the
dark, the body glowed, the divine
power adding such grace to her
body that, as in the vision of my
dream, rays seemed to be shining
forth from her loveliness.

(33) Ὡς δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐν τούτοις ἦμεν καὶ αἱ
ψαλμωδίαι τῶν παρθένων τοῖς θρήνοις
καταμιχθεῖσαι περιήχουν τὸν τόπον,
οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως ἐν κύκλῳ πανταχόθεν
ἀθρόως τῆς φήμης διαχεθείσης πάντες
οἱ περιοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος
συνέρρεον, ὡς μηκέτι τὸ προαύλιον
ἰκανὸν εἶναι τοὺς συντρέχοντας. Τῆς
οὔν παννυχίδος περὶ αὐτὴν ἐν [407]
ὑμνωδίαῖς καθάπερ ἐπὶ μαρτύρων
πανηγύρεως τελεσθείσης, ἐπειδὴ
ὄρθρος ἐγένετο, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν ἐκ
πάσης τῆς περιοικίδος συρρυσθέντων
ἀνδρῶν ἅμα καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπεθορύβει
ταῖς οἰμωγαῖς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν ἐγὼ δὲ
καίτοι γε κακῶς τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῆς
συμφορᾶς διακείμενος ὅμως ἐκ τῶν
ἐνόητων ἐπενόουν, ὡς ἦν δυνατόν,
μηδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ κηδεῖα
πρεπόντων παραλειφθῆναι, ἀλλὰ
διαστήσας κατὰ γένος τὸν συρρυσθέντα

33. While we were engaged in these
activities and the maidens’ psalm-
singing, mingled with lamentation,
resounded through the place, in
some way the report spread about
on all sides and all the people of
the area began to rush in so that
the vestibule was not large enough
to hold them. There was an all
night vigil with hymn-singing as is
the custom in the case of the praise
of martyrs, and, when it was
finished and day dawned, a crowd
of those who had hurried in from
the entire countryside, men and
women both, broke in on the
psalmody with their cries of grief.
Although my soul was distressed
by my misfortune, I kept thinking,
nevertheless, how it should be
possible not to leave undone
anything suitable for such an
occasion. Separating the flow of

λαὸν καὶ τὸ ἐν γυναιξὶ πλῆθος τῶ τῶν
παρθένων συγκαταμίξας χορῶ, τὸν δὲ
τῶν ἀνδρῶν δῆμον τῶ τῶν μοναζόντων
τάγματι, μίαν ἐξ ἑκατέρων εὐρυθμόν τε
καὶ ἑναρμόνιον καθάπερ ἐν χοροστασίᾳ
τὴν ψαλμωδίαν γίνεσθαι παρεσκευάσα
διὰ τῆς κοινῆς πάντων συνωδίας
εὐκόσμως συγκεκραμένην. Ὡς δὲ
προΐει κατ' ὀλίγον ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ
ἔστενοχωρεῖτο πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν ἐσχατιὰν
τόπος τῶ πλῆθει τῶν συρρυσέντων,
παραστὰς ὁ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων διὰ τῆς
ἐπισκοπῆς προεστώς, Ἀράξιος ὄνομα
αὐτῶ (παρῆν γὰρ σὺν παντὶ τῶ τῆς
ἱερωσύνης πληρώματι), προάγειν
ἡρέμα παρεκάλει τὸ σκῆνωμα ὡς
πολλοῦ τε ὄντος τοῦ μεταξὺ
διαστήματος καὶ τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς τὴν
ὀξυτέραν κίνησιν ἐμποδῶν
γενησομένου, καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων
προσεκαλεῖτο πάντας τοὺς τῆς
ἱερωσύνης αὐτῶ συμμετέχοντας, ὡς ἂν
δί' ἐκείνων κομισθεῖν τὸ σκῆνωμα.

people according to sex, I put the
women with the choir of nuns and
the men in the ranks of the monks.
I arranged for the singing to come
rhythmically and harmoniously
from the group, blended well as in
choral singing with the common
responses of all. But as the day was
advancing and the place was
overcrowded by the multitude of
people, the bishop of the region,
whose name [187] was Araxius (he
was present with the full company
of his priests), ordered the bier to
be brought forward immediately,
on the grounds that there was quite
a distance to be covered and the
crowd would prevent the swift
movement of the funeral
procession. At the same time, he
ordered all the priests who were
with him to escort the bier
themselves.

(34) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδέδοκτο καὶ ἐν
χερσὶν ἦν ἡ σπουδὴ, ὑποβὰς τὴν κλίνην
ἐγὼ κάκεινον ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος
προσεκαλεσάμενος, ἄλλων τε δύο τῶν
ἐν τῶ κλήρω [408] τετιμημένων τὸ

34. When this was decided upon
and the activity begun, I went to
one side of the bier and called him
to the other, and two of the others,
distinguished in rank, took their
position at the opposite end. I led

ὀπίσθιον τῆς κλίνης μέρος
ὑπολαβόντων, ἦειν τοῦ πρόσω
ἐχόμενος βάδην, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ κατ'
ὀλίγον ἡμῖν γινομένης τῆς κινήσεως.
Τοῦ γὰρ λαοῦ περὶ τὴν κλίνην
πεπυκνωμένου καὶ πάντων ἀπλήστως
ἐχόντων τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐκείνου θαύματος
οὐκ ἦν εὐπορον ἐν εὐκολίᾳ τὴν πορείαν
ἡμῖν διανύεσθαι· προηγεῖτο δὲ καθ'
ἐκάτερον μέρος διακόνων τε καὶ
ὑπηρετῶν πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον
στοιχηδὸν τοῦ σκηνώματος
προπομπεύοντες, ἐκ κηροῦ λαμπάδας
διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες πάντες, καὶ ἦν τις
μυστικὴ πομπὴ τὸ γινόμενον,
ὁμοφώνως τῆς ψαλμωδίας ἀπ' ἄκρων
ἐπὶ ἐσχάτους καθάπερ ἐν τῇ τῶν τριῶν
παίδων ὑμνωδίᾳ μελωδουμένης. Ἐπτὰ
δὲ ὄντων ἢ ὀκτὼ τῶν διὰ μέσου σταδίων
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ἁγίων
μαρτύρων οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ τῶν
γονέων ἀπέκειτο σώματα, διὰ πάσης
σχεδὸν τῆς ἡμέρας μόλις τὴν ὁδὸν
διηλύσαμεν. Οὐ γὰρ εἶα τὸ πλῆθος τό τε
συνερχόμενον καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ
προσγινόμενον κατὰ γνώμην τὴν
πρόοδον γίνεσθαι. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἐντὸς
τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ οἴκου κατέστημεν,

the way slowly, as was fitting, and
we proceeded at a moderate rate.
The people crowded around the
bier and could not get enough of
that holy sight, so it was not easy
for us to pass. There was a row of
deacons and attendants on each
side of the funeral train, all holding
wax candles; it was a kind of
mystical procession, the psalmody
continuing from beginning to end
harmoniously, as is sung in the
hymn-ody of the three boys. It was
a distance of seven or eight stadia
from the monastery to the House
of the Holy Martyrs, where the
bodies of our parents were at rest.
We completed the journey with
difficulty throughout most of the
day, for the accompanying crowd
and those who were always being
added to our number did not allow
us to proceed according to our
estimate. When we were inside the
gate of the House, we first put
down the bier and turned to prayer,
but the prayer was the starting
point of lamentation for the
people. When there was a lull in
the psalm-singing and the maidens
were looking at the holy face, as

ἀποθέμενοι τὴν κλίνην τὰ πρῶτα εἰς
προσευχὴν ἐτρεπόμεθα ἢ δὲ εὐχὴ
θρήνων γίνεται ἀφορμὴ τῶ λαῶ. Τῆς
γὰρ ψαλμωδίας κατασιγασθείσης
ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἱερόν ἐκεῖνο πρόσωπον αἱ
παρθένοι προσέβλεψαν καὶ ἡ σορὸς ἤδη
τῶν γονέων ἀπεκαλύπτετο, ἐν ἧ
καταθέσθαι δεδογμένον ἦν, μιᾶς τινος
ἀτάκτως ἐκβοησάσης, ὅτι [409] οὐκέτι
μετὰ τὴν ὥραν ταύτην τὸ θεοειδὲς
τοῦτο προσβλέψομεν πρόσωπον, ὡς καὶ
αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι τὸ ἴσον μετ' αὐτῆς
ἐξεβόησαν, σύγχυσις ἄτακτος τὴν
εὐτακτον ἐκείνην καὶ ἱεροπρεπῆ
ψαλμωδίαν διέχεε, πάντων πρὸς τὴν
τῶν παρθένων οἰμωγὴν
ἐπικλασθέντων. Μόλις δέ ποτε καὶ
ἡμῶν τὴν σιωπὴν διανευόντων καὶ τοῦ
κήρυκος εἰς εὐχὴν ὑφηγουμένου καὶ τὰς
συνήθεις ἐμβοῶντος τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ
φωνάς, κατέστη πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς
εὐχῆς ὁ λαός.

(35) Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρέπον ἢ προσευχὴ
πέρας ἔλαβε, φόβος μέ τις τῆς θείας
ἐντολῆς εἰσέρχεται τῆς κωλυούσης
πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἀνακαλύπτειν
ἀσχημοσύνην. Καὶ πῶς, ἔφην, ἔξω τοῦ
τοιούτου γενήσομαι κατακρίματος, ἐν

the tomb of our parents was being
opened in which she was to be
placed, one of them cried out
saying that no longer would we
look upon her divine face. The rest
of the maidens joined her in her
outburst and confusion drowned
out the orderly and sacred singing.
Everyone wept in response to the
wailing of the maidens. We nodded
for silence and the leader guided
them to prayer by intoning the
usual prayers of the Church and
the people came to attention. [188]

35. When the proper ceremony was
finished, the fear of the divine
command not to uncover the
shamelessness of father and
mother came upon me. 'How,' I
said, 'shall I ward off such a
judgment if I look upon the

τοῖς τῶν γονέων σώμασι βλέπων τὴν κοινὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀσχημοσύνην, διαπεπτωκότων ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ λελυμένων καὶ εἰς εἰδεχθῆ καὶ δυσάντητον ἀμορφίαν μεταβληθέντων; Ταῦτα δέ μοι λογιζομένῳ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Νῶε κατὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπιτεινούσης τὸν φόβον συμβουλεύει τὸ πρακτέον ἢ ἱστορία τοῦ Νῶε. Ἐπεκαλύφθη γὰρ σινδόνι καθαρᾶ πρὶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν γενέσθαι τὰ σώματα τῆ τοῦ πώματος ἐπάρσει καθ' ἑκάτερον ἄκρον τῆς σινδόνοσ ἀντεισιούσης· καὶ οὕτως ὑποκρυφθέντων τῆ σινδόνι τῶν σωμάτων ἀράμενοι τῆς κλίνης τὸ ἱερόν ἐκεῖνο σῶμα ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὁ μνημονευθεὶς τῶν τόπων ἐπίσκοπος τῆ μητρὶ παρακατεκλίναμεν κοινὴν ἀμφοτέραισ πληροῦντες εὐχὴν· τοῦτο γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν συμφώνως ἀμφοτέραι τὸν θεὸν ἠτοῦντο, ἀνακραθῆναι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ἀλλήλοισ [410] τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐν τῇ ζωῇ κοινωνίαν μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ διαζευχθῆναι.

common shame of human nature in the bodies of our parents, since they have surely fallen apart and disintegrated and been changed into a disgusting and disagreeable formlessness?' As I was considering this, and Noe's anger against his son was rousing fear in me, the story of Noe indicated what ought to be done. Before the bodies came into view when the cover of the tomb was lifted they were covered from one end to the other by a pure linen cloth. When they were covered thus with the linen, the bishop I have mentioned and I lifted that holy body from the bier and placed it beside our mother, fulfilling the common prayer of both of them. For this they had asked from God all through their life, that after death their bodies should be together and that in death they should not be deprived of the comradeship they had had in their lifetime.

(36) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα ἡμῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ κηδεῖᾳ νενομισμένα πεπλήρωτο καὶ ἔδει τῆς

36. When everything was accomplished and it was necessary to go back, I fell upon the tomb

ἐπανόδου γενέσθαι, ἐπιπεσὼν τῷ τάφῳ
καὶ τὴν κόνιν ἀσπασάμενος εἰχόμεν
πάλιν τῆς ὁδοῦ κατηφῆς τε καὶ
δεδακρυμένος, λογιζόμενος ὅσου
ἀγαθοῦ διεζεύχθη ὁ βίος. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν
ὁδὸν ἀνὴρ τις τῶν ἐν στρατείᾳ
λαμπρῶν στρατιωτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν
ἔχων ἐν πολίχνῃ τινὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν
Πόντον, ἣ Σεβαστόπολις ὄνομα, μετὰ
τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐνδαισιώμενος ἀπήντησέ
τε φιλοφρόνως κατ' αὐτὴν γενομένῳ
καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ἀκούσας καὶ
χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκῶν (ἦν γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐκ
γένους ἡμῖν οἰκείων τε καὶ ἐπιτηδείων),
προσέθηκε μοί τι διήγημα τοῦ κατ'
αὐτὴν θαύματος, ὃ δὴ καὶ μόνον
ἐγγράψας τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, καταπαύσω τὴν
συγγραφὴν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπαυσάμεθα
τῶν δακρύων καὶ εἰς ὁμιλίαν
κατέστημεν. Ἄκουε, φησὶ πρὸς με
λέγων ἐκεῖνος, οἷον καὶ ὅσον ἀγαθὸν
τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μετέστη ζωῆς. Καὶ
ταῦτα εἰπὼν οὕτως ἄρχεται τοῦ
διηγήματος.

and kissed the dust and retraced
my steps, downcast and tearful,
thinking of the good of which my
life had been deprived. Along the
way, a certain distinguished military
man in charge of a garrison of
soldiers in a district of Pontus,
called Sebastopolis, met us
graciously when I arrived there
and, hearing of my misfortune, he
was greatly disturbed (for he was
connected with our family through
kinship and association). He told
me the story of a miracle
connected with Macrina and,
adding only this to my story, I shall
come to an end. When I had
stopped crying and we stood
talking, he said to me: 'Hear what a
great and substantial good has been
removed from human life,' and,
speaking thus, he began his tale:

(37) Ἐγένετό τις ἡμῖν ἐπιθυμία ποτὲ τῇ
τε γαμετῇ καὶ ἐμοὶ καταλαβεῖν κατὰ
σπουδὴν τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς φροντιστήριον·
οὕτω γὰρ οἶμαι χρῆναι, φησὶ, τὸν χῶρον

37. 'It happened that my wife and I
were eager to visit the monastery of
virtue (for that is what I think that
place [189] should be called) in
which the blessed soul spent her

ἐκεῖνον κατονομάζεσθαι, ἐν ᾧ τὴν
διαγωγὴν εἶχεν ἡ μακαρία ψυχὴ. Συνῆν
δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ θυγάτριον, ᾧ τις ἐκ
λοιμώδους ἀρρωστίας συνέβη περὶ τὸν
ὀφθαλμὸν συμφορὰ· καὶ ἦν [411] θέαμα
εἰδεχθὲς καὶ ἐλεεινόν, παχυνθέντος τοῦ
περὶ τὴν κόρην χιτῶνος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
πάθους ὑπολευκαίνοντος. Ὡς δὲ ἐντὸς
ἡμεν τῆς θείας ἐκείνης διαγωγῆς,
διελόμενοι κατὰ γένος τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν
τῶν ἐν τόπῳ φιλοσοφούντων ἐγὼ τε καὶ
ἡ ὁμόζυγος, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀνδρῶνι
ἡμῖν, ὧν καθηγεῖτο Πέτρος ὁ σὸς
ἀδελφός, ἡ δὲ τοῦ παρθενῶνος ἐντὸς
γενομένη τῇ ἀγία συνῆν. Συμμέτρου δὲ
διαγενομένου ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ
διαστήματος, καιρὸν εἶναι τοῦ
ἀποχωρεῖν τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς πάλιν
ἐκρίναμεν, καὶ ἤδη πρὸς τοῦτο ἦν ἡμῖν
ἡ ὁρμή, σύμφωνος δὲ παρ' ἐκατέρων ἡ
περὶ ἡμᾶς φιλοφροσύνη ἐγίνετο. Ἐμοί
τε γὰρ ὁ σὸς ἀδελφὸς μένειν
ἐνεκελεύετο καὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς
φιλοσόφου τραπέζης· ἡ τε μακαρία τὴν
ἐμὴν γαμετὴν οὐ μεθίει, ἀλλ' ἐν
κόλποις ἔχουσα τὸ θυγάτριον οὐ
πρότερον ἔλεγεν ἀποδώσειν, πρὶν
τράπεζαν αὐτοῖς παραστήσασθαι, καὶ

life. There was with us our little girl
who was suffering from an eye
ailment resulting from an infectious
sickness. It was a terrible and pitiful
thing to see her as the membrane
around the pupil was swollen and
whitened by the disease. As we
entered the monastery, we
separated, my wife and I, for I
went to the men's quarters where
your brother Peter was Superior,
and she went to the woman's
quarters to be with the holy one.
After an interval of time, we
thought it was the hour for us to
go home. We were getting ready to
leave, but a kindly remonstrance
came to us from both quarters.
Your brother urged me to remain
and share the monastic table. The
blessed one would not let my wife
go, and said she would not give up
my daughter, whom she was
holding in her arms, until she had
given them a meal and offered
them the wealth of philosophy. She
kissed the child as one might
expect and put her lips on her eyes
and, when she noticed the diseased
pupil, she said: "If you do me the
favor of remaining for dinner, I will

τῷ τῆς φιλοσοφίας δεξιώσασθαι
 πλούτῳ· φιλοῦσα δὲ οἶα εἰκὸς τὸ
 παιδίον καὶ προσάγουσα τὸ στόμα τοῖς
 ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὸ περὶ τὴν
 κόρην πάθος, Ἐάν μοι, φησί, δῶτε τὴν
 χάριν καὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἡμῖν
 κοινωνήσητε, ἀντιδώσω μισθὸν ὑμῖν
 τῆς τοιαύτης ὑμῶν τιμῆς οὐκ ἀνάξιον—
 Τίνα τοῦτον; εἰπούσης τῆς τοῦ παιδίου
 μητρὸς, Ἔστι μοι φάρμακον, ἡ μεγάλη
 φησίν, ὃ δυνατῶς ἔχει τὸ κατὰ τὸν
 ὀφθαλμὸν πάθος ἰάσασθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτοις
 δηλώματός μοι παρὰ τῆς
 γυναικωνίτιδος ἤκοντος τοῦ τὴν
 ὑπόσχεσιν ἐκείνην καταμηνύσαντος
 ἄσμενοι παρεμείναμεν, μικρὰ
 φροντίσαντες τῆς ἐπειγούσης ἡμᾶς
 πρὸς τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἀνάγκης. [412]

give you a return in keeping with
 this honor.” When the child’s
 mother asked what it was, the great
 lady replied: “I have some medicine
 which is especially effective in
 curing eye diseases.” When a
 message came to me from the
 women’s quarters about this
 promise, we gladly remained and
 disregarded the urgent necessity of
 starting on our way.

(38) Ὡς δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ εὐωχία καὶ
 πλήρης ἦν ἡμῖν ἡ ψυχὴ, τοῦ μὲν
 μεγάλου Πέτρου ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶν
 εὐωχοῦντος ἡμᾶς καὶ φαιδρύνοντος,
 τῆς δὲ ἁγίας Μακρίνης διὰ πάσης
 εὐπρεποῦς θυμηδίας τὴν ὁμόζυγον
 ἡμῶν ἀνιείσης, οὕτω φαιδροί τε καὶ
 γεγηθότες τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἐπανήειμεν,
 διήγημα τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν
 ἑκάτερος ἐν τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ ποιούμενοι.

38. ‘When the feasting was over
 and grace said (the great Peter,
 having entertained and cheered us
 with special graciousness, and the
 great Macrina, having said goodbye
 to my wife with every courtesy), we
 started the journey home bright
 and happy. Each of us told his own
 story on the way. I spoke of
 everything I had seen and heard in
 the men’s quarters, and she told

Καγὼ μὲν διεξήειν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος
ὅσα τε εἶδον καὶ ὅσα ἤκουσα, ἐκείνη δὲ
τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐκδιηγουμένη καθάπερ
ἐφ' ἱστορίας οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεῖν οὐδὲ τῶν
μικρῶν παραλανθάνειν· ἀκολουθῶς δὲ
πάντα καθάπερ ἐπὶ συγγραφῆς
διεξιούσα ὡς κατὰ τὸ μέρος ἐγεγόνει
ἐκεῖνο, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἦν τῆς τοῦ
ὀφθαλμοῦ θεραπείας, ἐγκόψασα τὴν
διήγησιν Τί τοῦτο, φησί, πεπόνθαμεν;
πῶς τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἡμελήσαμεν, τὸ
ἐπαγγελθὲν ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνο ἐν κολλυρίῳ
φάρμακον; Καμοῦ συνδυσχεραίνοντος
ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμελείᾳ καὶ τινα διὰ τάχους
ἐκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ φάρμακον
ἐγκελευσαμένου βλέπει κατὰ τὸ
συμβὰν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν
ὄν τῆς τιθηνουμένης τὸ νήπιον, καὶ ἡ
μήτηρ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ παιδίου
ἐνατενίσασα Παύου, φησί,
δυσχεραίνων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμελείᾳ, μεγάλη
[413] τοῦτο τῇ φωνῇ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἅμα καὶ
ἐκπλήξεως λέγουσα· Ἴδου γὰρ οὐδὲν
ἐλλέλειπται ἡμῖν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων,
ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἐκείνης φάρμακον τὸ
τῶν παθημάτων ἰατικόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ
ἐκ τῶν εὐχῶν θεραπεία, καὶ ἔδωκε καὶ
ἐνεργὸν ἤδη γέγονε, καὶ ὑπολέλειπται

everything systematically, as in a
history, and did not think it right to
omit the smallest details. She was
telling everything in order, as if
going through a treatise, and when
she came to the point at which the
medicine was promised,
interrupting the narrative she said:
“What have we done? [190] How
did we forget the promise, the
medicine for the eyes?” I was
annoyed at our thoughtlessness and
quickly sent one of my men back
to ask for the medicine, when the
child, who happened to be in her
nurse’s arms, looked at her mother,
and the mother fixing her gaze on
the child’s eyes, said: “Stop being
upset by our carelessness.” She said
this in a loud voice, joyfully and
fearfully. “Nothing of what was
promised to us has been omitted,
but the true medicine that heals
diseases, the cure that comes from
prayer, this she has given us, and it
has already worked; nothing at all is
left of the disease of the eyes.” As
she said this, she took our child
and put her in my arms and I, also,
then comprehended the miracles in
the gospel which I had not believed

τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀρρωστίας οὐδ’
ὄτιοῦν, τῷ θείῳ ἐκείνῳ φαρμάκῳ
κεκαθαρμένον. Καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα
διεξιούσα αὐτὴ τε τὸ παιδίον
ἐνηγκαλίζετο καὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐνετίθει
χερσί. Καὶ γὰρ τότε τὰ ἀπιστούμενα κατὰ
τὸ εὐαγγέλιον θαύματα τῇ διανοίᾳ
λάβων Τί μέγα, εἶπον, διὰ χειρὸς θεοῦ
τυφλοῖς τὰς ὄψεις ἀποκαθίστασθαι,
ὅποτε νῦν ἡ δούλη αὐτοῦ τὰς ἰάσεις
ἐκεῖνας κατορθοῦσα τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν πίστει
πρᾶγμα κατεῖργασται οὐ πολὺ τῶν
θαυμάτων ἐκείνων ἀπολειπόμενον;
Ταῦτα λέγων μεταξὺ λυγμῶ τὴν φωνὴν
ἐνεκόπτετο, τῶν δακρῶν ἐπιρρυσθέντων
τῷ διηγήματι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῦ
στρατιώτου ταῦτα.

(39) Ὅσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν
συνεζηκότων αὐτῇ καὶ δι’ ἀκριβείας τὰ
κατ’ αὐτὴν ἐπισταμένων ἠκούσαμεν,
οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οἶμαι προσθεῖναι τῷ
διηγήματι. Οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῶν μέτρα τὸ
πιστὸν ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις κρίνουσι, τὸ
δὲ ὑπερβαῖνον τὴν τοῦ ἀκούοντος
δύναμιν ὡς ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας ταῖς τοῦ
ψεύδους ὑπονοίαις ὑβρίζουσι. Διὸ
παρήμι τὴν ἀπιστον ἐκείνην ἐν τῷ

before and I said: “What a great
thing it is for sight to be restored to
the blind by the hand of God, if
now His handmaiden makes such
cures and has done such a thing
through faith in Him, a fact no less
impressive than these miracles.” ’
This was what he told me, and
tears fell as he spoke and his voice
was choked with emotion. This is
the story of the soldier.

39. I do not think it is wise to add
to my story all the other details we
heard from those who lived with
her and knew her life accurately,
for most men judge the credibility
of what they hear according to the
measure of their own experience,
and what is beyond the power of
the hearer they insult with the
suspicion of falsehood as outside
of the truth. Therefore, I pass over
that incredible farming
phenomenon at the time of the

λιμῶ γεωργίαν, πῶς ἐκβαλλόμενος ὁ
πρὸς τὴν χρείαν σῖτος οὐδεμίαν
αἴσθησιν ἐποίει τῆς ὑφαιρέσεως, [414]
ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ διαμένων ὄγκῳ καὶ πρὶν
διαδοθῆναι ταῖς τῶν αἰτούντων χρεῖαις
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, καὶ ἄλλα τούτων
παραδοξότερα, παθῶν ἰάσεις καὶ
δαιμόνων καθάρσεις καὶ ἀψευδεῖς
προρρήσεις τῶν ἐκβησομένων· ἅ πάντα
τοῖς μὲν δι' ἀκριβείας ἐγνωκόσιν ἀληθῆ
εἶναι πιστεύεται, κἂν ὑπὲρ πίστιν ἦ, ἐπὶ
δὲ τῶν σαρκωδεστέρων ἔξω τοῦ
ἐνδεχομένου νομίζεται, οἱ οὐκ ἴσασιν
ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως
καὶ ἢ τῶν χαρισμάτων διανομὴ
παραγίνεται, μικρὰ μὲν τοῖς
ὀλιγοπιστοῦσι, μεγάλη δὲ τοῖς πολλὴν
ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν τῆς
πίστεως. Ὡς ἂν οὖν μὴ βλαβεῖεν οἱ
ἀπιστότεροι ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεαῖς
ἀπιστοῦντες, τούτου ἕνεκεν καθεξῆς
ἱστορεῖν περὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων
θαυμάτων παρητησάμην, ἀρκεῖν
ἡγούμενος τοῖς εἰρημένοις περιγράψαι
τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἱστορίαν.

famine when, as the grain was
given out in proportion to the
need, the amount did not seem to
grow smaller, but remained the
same as it was before it was given
to those asking for it. And after
this, there were other events more
surprising than these; the healing of
disease, the casting out of devils,
true prophecies of future events, all
of which are believed to be true by
those who knew the details
accurately, amazing although they
are. But for the material-minded,
they are beyond what can be
accepted. They do not [191] know
that the distribution of graces is in
proportion to one's faith, meager
for those of little faith, great for
those who have within themselves
great room for faith. So, in order
not to do harm to those who have
no faith in the gifts of God, I have
decided against enumerating the
greater miracles, judging it
sufficient to end my work about
Macrina with what I have already
related.

Appendix II. Sources on Eustathius of Sebastea

Socrates Scholasticus

Εὐστάθιος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ
Σεβαστείας οὔτε εἰς ἀπολογία
ἐδέχθη, διότι ὑπὸ Εὐλαλίου τοῦ ἰδίου
πατρὸς καὶ ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας
τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἤδη πρότερον
καθήρητο, ἐπειδὴ ἀνάρμοστον τῇ
ἱερωσύνῃ στολὴν ἠμφίεστο. Ἰστέον
δὲ ὅτι εἰς τόπον Εὐσταθίου Μελέτιος
κατέστη ἐπίσκοπος, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν
ὔστερον ἐροῦμεν. Εὐστάθιος μέντοι
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δι' αὐτὸν
γενομένῃ ἐν Γάγγραις τῆς
Παφλαγονίας συνόδῳ κατεκρίθη,
διότι μετὰ τὸ καθαιρεθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν
τῇ κατὰ Καισάρειαν συνόδῳ πολλὰ
παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς τύπους
ἔπραττεν. Γαμεῖν γὰρ ἐκώλυεν καὶ
βρωμάτων ἀπέχεσθαι ἐδογματίζεν,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς μὲν
γεγαμηκότας τοῦ συνοικεσίου
ἐχώριζεν, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας
ἐκτρεπομένους ἐπ' οἰκίας τὴν
κοινωνίαν ποιεῖσθαι ἀνέπειθεν,
δούλους τε προσχήματι θεοσεβείας
τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀφίστα. Αὐτὸς τε

Eustathius bishop of Sebastia in
Armenia was not even permitted to
make his defense; because he had
been long before deposed by Eulalius,
his own father, who was bishop of
Cæsarea in Cappadocia, for dressing in
a style unbecoming the sacerdotal
office. Let it be noted that Meletius
was appointed his successor, of whom
we shall hereafter speak. Eustathius
indeed was subsequently condemned
by a Synod convened on his account
at Gangra in Paphlagonia; he having,
after his deposition by the council at
Cæsarea, done many things repugnant
to the ecclesiastical canons. For he
had 'forbidden marriage,' and
maintained that meats were to be
abstained from: he even separated
many from their wives, and persuaded
those who disliked to assemble in the
churches to commune at home.
Under the pretext of piety, he also
seduced servants from their masters.
He himself wore the habit of a
philosopher, and induced his
followers to adopt a new and
extraordinary garb, directing that the

φιλοσόφου σχῆμα φορῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ ξένη στολῆ χρῆσθαι ἐποίει, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας κείρεσθαι παρεσκεύαζεν. Καὶ τὰς μὲν ὠρισμένας νηστείας ἐκτρέπεσθαι, τὰς κυριακὰς δὲ νηστεύειν ἐδίδασκεν, ἐν οἴκοις τε γεγαμηκότων εὐχὰς γενέσθαι ἐκώλυε, καὶ πρεσβυτέρου γυναῖκα ἔχοντος, ἦν νόμῳ λαϊκὸς ὢν ἠγάγετο, τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὡς μῦσος ἐκκλίνειν ἐκέλευεν. Καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα παραπλήσια τούτοις ποιοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκοντος σύνοδος, ὡς ἔφην, ἐν Γάγγραις τῆς Παφλαγονίας συναχθεῖσα αὐτόν τε καθεῖλεν καὶ τὰ δόγματα αὐτοῦ ἀνεθεμάτισεν. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

Sozomen

Εὐσταθίου δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ἠνίκα πρεσβύτερος ἦν προκατεγνώκει αὐτοῦ Εὐλάλιος ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν ἀφώρισεν, ἐπίσκοπος ὢν τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκκλησίας Καισαρείας, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐν

hair of women should be cropped. He permitted the prescribed fasts to be neglected, but recommended fasting on Sundays. In short, he forbade prayers to be offered in the houses of married persons: and declared that both the benediction and the communion of a presbyter who continued to live with a wife whom he might have lawfully married, while still a layman, ought to be shunned as an abomination. For doing and teaching these things and many others of a similar nature, a Synod convened, as we have said, at Gangra in Paphlagonia deposed him, and anathematized his opinions. This, however, was done afterwards.⁶¹⁰

Eustathius, they said, was deposed because, when a presbyter, he had been condemned, and put away from the communion of prayers by Eulalius, his own father, who was bishop of the church of Caesarea, in Cappadocia; and also because he had been

⁶¹⁰ Socrates Scholasticus, HE II 43, 1-6, GCS NF 1, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 72-73.

Νεοκαισαρεία τοῦ Πόντου ὑπὸ
συνόδου ἀκοινώνητος ἐγένετο καὶ
ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου
καθηρέθη ἐπὶ διοικήσεσιν τισιν αἷς
ἐπετράπη καταγνωσθεῖς, ἔπειτα δὲ
ὡς οὐ δέον διδάσκων τε καὶ
πράττων καὶ φρονῶν ἀφηρέθη τῆς
ἐπισκοπῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Γάγγραις
συνεληλυθότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν
Ἀντιοχείᾳ συνόδου ἐπιτοκίας ἦλθε
καὶ ὅτι ἀνατρέπειν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὰ
δόξαντα τοῖς ἐν Μελιτινῇ
συνελθοῦσι καὶ πλείστοις
ἐγκλήμασιν ἔνοχος ὧν δικαστῆς
ἡξίου εἶναι καὶ ἕτεροδόξους τοὺς
ἄλλους ἀπεκάλει.

excommunicated by a council held at
Neocæsarea, a city of Pontus, and
deposed by Eusebius, bishop of
Constantinople, for unfaithfulness in
the discharge of certain duties that had
devolved upon him. He had also been
deprived of his bishopric by those who
were convened in Gangræ, on account
of his having taught, acted, and
thought contrary to sound doctrine. He
had been convicted of perjury by the
council of Antioch. He had likewise
endeavored to reverse the decrees of
those convened at Melitina; and,
although he was guilty of many crimes,
he had the assurance to aspire to be
judge over the others, and to stigmatize
them as heretics.⁶¹¹

Basil

Ἔστι τοίνυν εἷς τῶν πολλῶν ἡμῖν
κατασκευαζόντων λύπην, Εὐστάθιος
ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν
μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν, ὃς πάλαι
μαθητευθεὶς τῷ Ἀρείῳ, καὶ ὅτε
ἤκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τὰς
πονηρὰς κατὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς
συνθεῖς βλασφημίας ἀκολουθῶν

Now one of those who causes us
much sorrow is Eustathius of Sebaste
in Lesser Armenia, who, taught of old
by Arius at the time when Arius
flourished at Alexandria, as the author
of those wicked blasphemies against
the Only-begotten, following him and
being numbered among his most
faithful disciples, on returning to his

⁶¹¹ Sozomen, HE IV 24, 9, GCS 50, 180, transl. NPNF II 2, 320.

ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς γνησιωτάτοις αὐτοῦ
τῶν μαθητῶν ἐναριθμούμενος,
ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τῷ
μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἑρμογένει
τῷ Καισαρείας κρίνοντι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ
κακοδοξίᾳ ὁμολογίαν ἔδωκε πίστεως
ὑγιοῦς. Καὶ οὕτω τὴν χειροτονίαν ὑπ’
αὐτοῦ δεξάμενος Εὐστάθιος μετὰ
τὴν ἐκείνου κοίμησιν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν
ἐπὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
Εὐσέβιον ἔδραμεν, οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον
καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ δυσσεβὲς δόγμα τοῦ
Ἀρείου πρὸςβέοντα. Εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν δι’
ἃς δὴποτε αἰτίας ἀπελαθεὶς ἐλθὼν
τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπελογήσατο
πάλιν· τὸ μὲν δυσσεβὲς
ἐπικρυπτόμενος φρόνημα, ῥημάτων
δέ τινα ὀρθότητα προβαλλόμενος.
Καὶ τυχὼν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν,
εὐθὺς φαίνεται γράψας
ἀναθεματισμὸν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου ἐν τῷ
κατὰ Ἀγκύραν γενομένῳ αὐτοῖς
συλλόγῳ. Καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν
Σελεύκειαν ἐλθὼν ἔγραψε μετὰ τῶν
ἑαυτοῦ ὁμοδόξων ἃ πάντες ἴσασι.
Ἐν δὲ τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει
συνέθετο πάλιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
αἰρετικῶν προταθεῖσι. Καὶ οὕτως

own country, gave a confession of
sound faith to the most blessed
bishop Hermogenes of Caesarea, who
was judging him on the charge of false
doctrine. And having thus received
ordination at his hands, after the
decease of the latter, he ran to
Eusebius of Constantinople, a man
who himself less than no one
sponsored the impious doctrine of
Arius. Then after being driven for
some cause or other from that place,
he returned and made a defence again
before the people of his own country,
concealing his impious sentiments and
screening himself behind a kind of
orthodoxy of words. And when he
somehow obtained the bishopric, he
seems immediately to have written an
anathema of consubstantiation at their
synod convened at Ancyra. And going
thence into Seleucia, in conjunction
with those who held the same
opinions as himself, he did what all
know. And at Constantinople he again
agreed with the proposals of the
heretics. And when he had
accordingly been expelled from his
episcopacy on account of his former
deposition at Melitine, he conceived
of the visit to you as a means of

ἀπελαθεὶς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς διὰ τὸ ἐν
τῇ Μελιτηνῇ προκαθηρῆσθαι ὁδὸν
ἑαυτῷ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως
ἐπενόησε τὴν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἄφιξιν. Καὶ
τίνα μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ προετάθη αὐτῷ
παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἐπισκόπου
Λιβερίου, τίνα δὲ ἃ αὐτὸς συνέθετο
ἀγνοοῦμεν, πλὴν ὅτι ἐπιστολὴν
ἐκόμισεν ἀποκαθιστῶσαν αὐτόν, ἣν
ἐπιδείξας τῇ κατὰ Τύαναν συνόδῳ
ἀποκατέστη τῷ τόπῳ. Οὗτος νῦν
πορθεῖ τὴν πίστιν ἐκείνην ἐφ' ἣ
ἐδέχθη καὶ τοῖς ἀναθεματίζουσι τὸ
ὁμοούσιον σύνεστι καὶ πρωτοστάτης
ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν Πνευματομάχων
αἰρέσεως.

restoring himself. And what it was
that was proposed to him by the most
blessed bishop Liberius, and what it
was that he himself agreed to, we
know not, except that he brought
back a letter restoring him, by
displaying which at the synod of
Tyana he was restored to his place.
This man now tries to destroy that
creed on the basis of which he was
received, and he associates with those
who anathematize consubstantiation,
and is the leader of the heresy of the
pneumatomachi.⁶¹²

Ἀρείῳ κατηκολούθουν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς
μετέθεντο πρὸς Ἑρμογένην τὸν κατὰ
διάμετρον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τῆς Ἀρείου
κακοδοξίας, ὡς δηλοῖ αὐτὴ ἡ πίστις ἣ
κατὰ Νίκαιαν παρ' ἐκείνου τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς ἐκφωνηθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς.
Ἐκοιμήθη Ἑρμογένης, καὶ πάλιν
μετέστησαν πρὸς Εὐσέβιον, ἄνδρα
κορυφαῖον τοῦ κατὰ Ἀρειοὺν κύκλου,

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 Nicaea 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

⁶¹² Basil, *Letter* 263, 3; ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 123-124, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 4, 93-97.

ὡς οἱ πειραθέντες φασίν. Ἐκεῖθεν
ἐκπεσόντες, δι' ἃς δήποτε αἰτίας,
πάλιν ἀνέδραμον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ
πάλιν τὸ Ἀρειανὸν ὑπέκρυπτον
φρόνημα. Παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν
ἐπισκοπὴν, ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ
παραλείπω, ὅσας ἐξέθεντο πίστεις;
Ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας ἄλλην, ἑτέραν ἐν
Σελευκείᾳ, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει,
τὴν πολυθύλητον, ἐν Λαμψάκῳ
ἑτέραν, μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐν Νίκῃ τῆς
Θράκης, νῦν πάλιν τὴν ἀπὸ Κυζίκου,
ἧς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι,
τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀκούω ὅτι τὸ ὁμοούσιον
κατασιγάσαντες, τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν
ὅμοιον νῦν περιφέρουσι καὶ τὰς εἰς
τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα βλασφημίας μετ'
Εὐνομίου συγγράφουσι.

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 Ancyra one,
another at Seleucia, another at
Constantinople, the celebrated one, at
Lampsacus another, after this the one
at Nice in Thrace, now again the one
at Cyzicus. 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.⁶¹³

⁶¹³ Basil, *Letter* 244, 9; ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 3, 82-83, transl. R.J. Deferrari, vol. 3, 471.

Appendix III. The Council of Gangra

The synodical letter

The synodical letter, ed. P.P. Joannou, 85-89, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, in: *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity. A sourcebook*, ed. V.L. Wimbush, Minneapolis 1990, 449-451.

Συνοδική ἐπιστολή	The synodical letter
Κυρίοις τιμιωτάτοις ἐν Ἀρμενία συλλειτουργοῖς Εὐσέβιος, Αἰλιανός, Εὐγένιος, Ὀλύμπιος, Βιθυνικός, Γρηγόριος, Φιλητός, Πάππος, Εὐλάλιος, Ὑπάτιος, Προαιρέσιος, Βασίλειος, Βάσσος, οἱ συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν κατὰ Γάγγραν ἁγίαν σύνοδον, ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.	Eusebius, Aelian, Eugenius, Olympius, Bithynius, Gregory, Philetus, Pappus, Eulalius, Hypatius, Proaeresius, Basil, and Bassus, convened in [450] holy synod at Gangra: to their most honored lords and fellow ministers in Armenia, greetings in the Lord.
Ἐπειδὴ συνελθοῦσα ἡ ἁγιοτάτη σύνοδος τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ κατὰ Γάγγραν ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τινὰς [86] ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας, ζητουμένων καὶ τῶν κατ' Εὐστάθιον, εὗρισκε πολλὰ ἀθέσμως γινόμενα ὑπὸ τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον, ἀναγκαίως ὥρισε καὶ πᾶσι φανερόν ποιῆσαι ἐσπούδασεν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς γινομένων·	Inasmuch as the most holy synod of bishops, having convened in the church at Gangra on account of certain pressing matters of ecclesiastical business, when the affairs concerning Eustathius were also investigated, discovered that many things were being done unlawfully by Eustathius's followers, it has out of necessity established guidelines [concerning these things] and has hastened to make [them] known to all in order to put an end to the things being done evilly by him.

καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ καταμέμφεσθαι
αὐτούς τὸν γάμον καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι,
ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν γάμῳ ὄντων ἐλπίδα
παρὰ θεῶ ἔχει, πολλαὶ γυναῖκες
ὑπανδροὶ ἀπατηθεῖσαι τῶν ἑαυτῶν
ἀνδρῶν ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ ἄνδρες τῶν
ιδίῳν γυναικῶν, εἴτα ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ
μὴ δυνηθεῖσαι ἐγκρατεῖν
ἐμοιχεύθησαν, καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην
ὑπόθεσιν ὠνειδίσθησαν· εὐρίσκοντο
δὲ καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις ἐκ τῶν οἴκων τοῦ
θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ποιούμενοι,
καταφρονητικῶς διακείμενοι κατὰ
τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ συνάξεις
ποιούμενοι καὶ ἐκκλησιάσεις καὶ
διδασκαλίας ἑτέρας, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐν
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· [87] ξένα ἀμφιάσματα
ἐπὶ καταπτώσει κοινότητος τῶν
ἀμφιασμάτων συνάγοντες·
καρποφορίας τε τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς
τὰς ἀνέκαθεν διδομένας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀγίοις
τὰς διαδόσεις ποιούμενοι· καὶ δοῦλοι
δεσποτῶν ἀναχωροῦντες καὶ διὰ τοῦ
ξένου ἀμφιάσματος καταφρόνησιν
κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ποιούμενοι· καὶ

For as a result of their condemnation
of marriage and their enjoining that
no one who is married has hope
before God, many married women,
being deceived, have withdrawn from
their own husbands, and men from
their own wives. Then afterwards, not
being able to control themselves, the
women have committed adultery. And
for this reason, they have fallen into
reproach. Moreover, they were found
to be promoting withdrawal from the
houses of God and the church, [and]
disposed contemptuously against the
church and the things [done] in the
church, have established their own
assemblies, churches, different
teachings, and other things in
opposition to the churches and the
things [done] in the church. They wear
strange dress to the downfall of the
common mode of dress; ecclesiastical
funds that have always been given to
the church they distribute to
themselves and their followers, as if
[they were making distributions] to
saints; slaves withdraw from their
masters and, because of their strange
dress, despise their masters; contrary
to custom, women put on male dress
in place of women's, thinking they are

γυναῖκες παρὰ τὸ σὺνηθες ἀντὶ
ἀμφιασμάτων γυναικείων ἀνδρικὰ
ἀμφιάσματα ἀναλαμβάνουσαι καὶ
ἐκ τούτων οἰόμεναι δικαιουῖσθαι·
πολλὰ δὲ ἀποκείρονται προφάσει
θεοσεβείας τὴν φύσιν τῆς κόμης τῆς
γυναικείας· νηστείας τε ἐν κυριακῇ
ποιούμενοι καὶ τῆς ἀγιότητος τῆς
ἐλευθέρου ἡμέρας καταφρονοῦντες
καὶ τῶν νηστειῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς
ἐκκλησίαις τεταγμένων
ὑπερφρονοῦντες καὶ ἐσθίοντες, καὶ
τινες αὐτῶν μεταλήψεις κρεῶν
βδελυττόμενοι· καὶ ἐν οἴκοις
γεγαμηκότων εὐχὰς ποιῆσθαι μὴ
βουλόμενοι καὶ [88] γινομένων
εὐχῶν καταφρονοῦντες καὶ
πολλάκις προσφορῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς
οἰκίαις τῶν γεγαμηκότων γινομένων
μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντες· καὶ
πρεσβυτέρων γεγαμηκότων
ὑπερφρονοῦντες καὶ τῶν
λειτουργιῶν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν
γινομένων μὴ ἀπτόμενοι· καὶ τὰς
συνάξεις τῶν μαρτύρων καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ
συνερχομένων καὶ λειτουργούντων
καταγινώσκοντες· καὶ πλουσίων δὲ
τῶν μὴ πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων

justified by this; and many [women],
under pretext of piety, cut off the
natural growth of feminine hair; they
observe fasts on the Lord's day and
despise the holiness of the free day
and, condemning the fasts ordained in
the churches, they eat [during these
fasts]; some of them loathe the eating
of meat; they do not wish to make
prayers in the homes of married
persons and despise such prayers
when they are made; frequently they
do not participate in the oblations
taking place in the very houses of
married persons; they condemn
married presbyters; they do not
engage in the liturgies when
performed by married presbyters; they
deplore the assembly of the martyrs
and those who gather and conduct
services there. For each of [451] them,
upon leaving the rule of the church,
became, as it were, a law unto himself.
For there is not a common opinion
among the whole lot of them, but
each puts forward whatever he thinks,
to the slander of the church and to his
own harm.

ἀναχωρούντων ὡς ἐλπίδα παρὰ θεῶ
μὴ ἔχόντων· καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα ἅ
ἀριθμῆσαι οὐδεὶς ἂν δυνηθείη·
ἕκαστος γὰρ αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ
κανόνος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ
ἐξῆλθεν, ὡσπερ νόμους ἰδιάζοντας
ἔσχεν οὔτε γὰρ κοινὴ γνώμη αὐτῶν
ἀπάντων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ὅπερ
ἂν ἐνεθυμήθη, τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ἐπὶ
διαβολῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἑαυτοῦ
βλάβη.

Διὰ οὖν ταῦτα ἠναγκάσθη ἡ
παραγενομένη ἐν Γάγγραις ἁγία
σύνοδος καταψηφίσασθαι αὐτῶν καὶ
ὄρους ἐκθέσθαι, ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦς εἶναι
τῆς [89] ἐκκλησίας· εἰ δὲ μεταγνοῖεν
καὶ ἀναθεματίζοιεν ἕκαστον τούτων
τῶν κακῶς λεχθέντων, δεκτοὺς
αὐτοῦς γίνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
ἐξέθετο ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἕκαστον, ὃ
ὀφείλουσιν ἀναθεματίσαντες
δεχθῆναι. Εἰ δέ τις μὴ πεισθείη τοῖς
λεχθεῖσιν, ὡς αἰρετικὸν αὐτὸν
ἀναθεματισθῆναι καὶ εἶναι
ἀκοινωνήτον καὶ κεχωρισμένον τῆς
ἐκκλησίας· καὶ δεήσει τοὺς
ἐπισκόπους ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν

Because of these things, the holy synod convened in Gangra was compelled to vote in condemnation of them and to set forth definitions, to the effect that they are outside the church. But if they repent and anathematize each of the things recounted as evil, they will be acceptable. And to this end the holy synod has set forth everything they must anathematize in order to be received. But if anyone should not comply with the things listed [herein], such a one is anathematized as a heretic and will be excommunicated and separated from the church. And it will be necessary for the bishops to be on guard against such behavior in all things discovered among them.

εύρισκομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτον
παραφυλάζασθαι.

Canons

Canons, ed. P.P. Joannou, 89-99, transl. O.L. Yarbrough, in: *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity. A sourcebook*, ed. V.L. Wimbush, Minneapolis 1990, 451-454.

A. Περί τῶν βδελυσομένων τῶν
νόμιμον γάμον.

Εἴ τις τὸν γάμον μέμφοιτο, καὶ τὴν
καθεύδουσιν μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
αὐτῆς, οὕσαν πιστὴν καὶ εὐλαβῆ,
βδελύσσοιτο ἢ μέμφοιτο, ὡς ἂν μὴ
δυναμένους εἰς βασιλείαν εἰσελθεῖν,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [90]

Canon I.

If anyone censures marriage, and loathes or censures the faithful and pious woman who sleeps with her husband, claiming she is not able to enter the kingdom, let such a one be anathema.

B. Περί τῶν βδελυσομένων τὴν
κρεωφαγίαν.

Εἴ τις ἐσθίοντα κρέατα, χωρὶς
αἵματος καὶ εἰδωλοθύτου καὶ
πνικτοῦ, μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ
πίστεως, κατακρίνοι, ὡς ἂν διὰ τὸ
μεταλαμβάνειν ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντα
σωτηρίας, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Canon II.

If anyone condemns those who with reverence and faith eat meat that is without blood, has not been sacrificed to idols, and is not strangled, claiming that because of their partaking they are without hope, let such a one be anathema.

Γ. Περί δούλων τῶν ἐν
χριστιανισμοῦ προφάσει τῶν
οἰκείων δεσποτῶν ἀφηνιώντων.

Εἴ τις δοῦλον προφάσει θεοσεβείας
διδάσκοι καταφρονεῖν δεσπότης καὶ

Canon III.

If, under pretext of piety, anyone teaches a slave to despise his master and to withdraw from service and not

<p>ἀναχωρεῖν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, καὶ μὴ μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ πάσης τιμῆς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότη ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [91]</p>	<p>to serve his master to the utmost with good will and all honor, let such a one be anathema.</p>
<p>Δ. Περὶ τῶν διακρινομένων ἀπὸ γεγαμηκότων κοινωνῆσαι πρεσβυτέρων. Εἴ τις διακρίνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὡς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσφορᾶς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon IV. If anyone separates himself from a married presbyter, claiming that it is not necessary to partake of the offering when he is celebrating, let such a one be anathema. [452]</p>
<p>Ε. Περὶ τῶν τὰς ἐν ἐκκλησίαις συνάξεις εὐτελιζόντων. Εἴ τις διδάσκει τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συνάξεις, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon V. If anyone teaches that the house of God and the assemblies held in it are readily despised, let such a one be anathema.</p>
<p>ς. Περὶ τῶν τὰς λειτουργίας ἔξω τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιουμένων. Εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησιάζοι, καταφρονῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας [92] ἐθέλοι πράττειν, μὴ συνόντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon VI. If anyone assembles outside the church on his or her own initiative and, despising the church, desires to perform church functions in the absence of a presbyter who conforms to the judgment of the bishop, let such a one be anathema.</p>
<p>Ζ. Περὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καρποφοριῶν τῶν παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.</p>	<p>Canon VII.</p>

<p>Εἴ τις καρποφορίας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἐθέλοι ἔξωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαμβάνειν ἢ διδόναι παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἢ τοῦ ἐγκεχειρισμένου τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ μὴ μετὰ γνώμης αὐτοῦ ἐθέλοι πράττειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>If anyone wishes to receive or give church funds outside the church, contrary to the will of the bishop or the one entrusted with such matters, and wishes to act without his consent, let such a one be anathema.</p>
<p>Η. Περί τῶν εἰς πτωχοὺς καρποφοριῶν δίχα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γινομένων. Εἴ τις διδοῖ ἢ λαμβάνει καρποφορίαν παρὲκ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἢ τοῦ ἐπιτεταγμένου εἰς οἰκονομίαν εὐποιΐας, καὶ ὁ διδοὺς καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [93]</p>	<p>Canon VIII. If anyone, except the bishop or the one commissioned with the stewardship of alms, gives or receives funds, let the one giving and the one receiving be anathema.</p>
<p>Θ. Περί τῶν παρθενεύοντων ὡς βδελυσομένων τὸν γάμον. Εἴ τις παρθενεύοι ἢ ἐγκρατεύοι, ὡς βδελυκτῶν ὄντων τῶν γάμων ἀναχωρήσας καὶ μὴ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν τῆς παρθενίας ὄνομα, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon IX. If anyone practices virginity or self-control, withdrawing from marriage as if it were a loathsome thing and not because of the inherent beauty and sanctity of virginity, let such a one be anathema.</p>
<p>Ι. Περί τῶν ἐν παρθενίᾳ ἐπαιρομένων. Εἴ τις τῶν παρθενεύοντων διὰ τὸν κύριον κατεπαίρετο τῶν γεγαμηκότων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon X. If any of those who practice virginity for the Lord's sake acts arrogantly toward those who are married, let such a one be anathema.</p>

<p>ΙΑ. Περί τῶν τὰς ἐπὶ πτωχῶν ἀγάπας ἐν γέλωτι θεμένων.</p> <p>Εἴ τις καταφρονοίη τῶν ἐκ πίστεως ἀγάπας ποιούντων καὶ διὰ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κυρίου συγκαλούντων τοὺς [94] ἀδελφούς, καὶ μὴ θέλοι κοινωνεῖν ταῖς κλήσεσι διὰ τὸ ἐξευτελίζειν τὸ γινόμενον, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon XI.</p> <p>If anyone despises those who hold love feasts out of faith and invite the brothers out of honor for the Lord, and does not wish to accept invitations out of disdain for what is done, let such a one be anathema.</p>
<p>ΙΒ. Περί τῶν περιβολαίῳ χρωμένων καὶ καταφρονούντων τῶν βήρους φορούντων.</p> <p>Εἴ τις διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν περιβολαίῳ χρῆται, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ τούτου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔχων καταψηφίζοιτο τῶν μετ' εὐλαβείας τὰς βήρους φορούντων καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κοινῇ καὶ ἐν συνηθείᾳ οὐσῇ ἐσθῆτι κεχημένων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon XII.</p> <p>If, because of presumed asceticism, any man wear the periboleum and, claiming that one has righteousness because of this, pronounces [453] judgment against those who with reverence wear the berus and make use of other common and customary clothing, let him be anathema.</p>
<p>ΙΓ. Περί γυναικῶν τῶν ἀμφιάσμασιν ἀνδρῶν κεχημένων.</p> <p>Εἴ τις γυνὴ διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν μεταβάλλοι τὸ ἀμφιάσμα καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰωθότος γυναικείου ἀμφιάσματος [95] ἀνδρεῖον ἀναλάβοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon XIII.</p> <p>If, because of presumed asceticism, any woman change her clothing, and in place of the clothing customary for women adopt that of men, let her be anathema.</p>
<p>ΙΔ. Περί γυναικῶν τῶν τοὺς ἰδίους ἀνδρας καταλιμπανουσῶν.</p>	<p>Canon XIV.</p>

<p>Εἴ τις γυνὴ καταλιμπάνοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοῦ ἐθέλοι, βδελυσομένη τὸν γάμον, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>If any woman abandons her husband and wishes to withdraw from marriage because she loathes it, let her be anathema.</p>
<p>ΙΕ. Περὶ τῶν ἐν προφάσει εὐλαβείας περιορῶντων τὰ τέκνα. Εἴ τις καταλιμπάνοι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τέκνα καὶ μὴ τεκνοτροφοίη καὶ τὸ ὅσον ἐπ’ αὐτῶ πρὸς θεοσεβείαν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀνάγοι, ἀλλὰ προφάσει τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀμελοίη, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [96]</p>	<p>Canon XV. If anyone abandons his or her own children and does not provide for them and, as far as possible, rear them in accordance with the proper piety, but under pretext of asceticism neglects them, let such a one be anathema.</p>
<p>Ις. Περὶ τῶν ἐν προφάσει εὐλαβείας περιορῶντων γονέας. Εἴ τινα τέκνα γονέων, μάλιστα πιστῶν, ἀναχωροίη προφάσει θεοσεβείας καὶ μὴ τὴν καθήκουσαν τιμὴν τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀπονέμοι, προτιμωμένης δηλονότι παρ’ αὐτῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon XVI. If, under pretext of asceticism, any children abandon their parents, especially [if the parents are] believers, and do not bestow on them the honor that is their due, that is to say, shall prefer piety to them, let them be anathema.</p>
<p>ΙΖ. Περὶ γυναικῶν προφάσει εὐλαβείας ἀποκειρομένων. Εἴ τις τῶν γυναικῶν διὰ νομιζομένην θεοσεβείαν ἀποκεῖροιτο τὴν κόμην, ἣν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ὑποταγῆς, ὡς ἂν παραλύουσα τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς ὑποταγῆς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon XVII. If, because of presumed asceticism, any woman cuts her hair, which God gave as a reminder of [her] subjection, under the impression that this annuls the ordinance of subjection, let her be anathema.</p>

<p>ΙΗ. Περί τῶν ἐν κυριακαῖς νηστευόντων. Εἴ τις διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ νηστεύοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [97]</p>	<p>Canon XVIII. If, because of presumed asceticism, anyone fasts on the Lord's day, let such a one be anathema.</p>
<p>ΙΘ. Περί τῶν τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικάς νηστευόντων νηστείας. Εἴ τις τῶν ἀσκούντων χωρὶς σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης ὑπερηφανεύοιτο καὶ τὰς παραδεδομένας νηστείας εἰς τὸ κοινὸν καὶ φυλαττομένας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραλύοι, ἐπικυροῦντος ἐν αὐτῷ τελείου λογισμοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.</p>	<p>Canon XIX. If any of those practicing asceticism without bodily necessity behaves arrogantly and sets aside the traditional fasts commonly kept by the church, claiming that one's perfect power of reasoning undermines the validity of these fasts, let such a one be anathema. [454]</p>
<p>Κ. Περί τῶν τὰς μαρτύρων βδελυσομένων συνάξεις. Εἴ τις αἰτιᾶται ὑπερηφάνῳ διαθέσει κεχρημένος καὶ βδελυσσόμενος τὰς συνάξεις τῶν μαρτύρων ἢ τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς γινομένας λειτουργίας καὶ τὰς μνήμας αὐτῶν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. [98]</p>	<p>Canon XX. If, assuming an arrogant disposition and loathing, anyone condemns the assemblies [in honor?] of the martyrs or the services held in them [martyria?] and in memory of [the martyrs], let such a one be anathema.</p>
<p>Ἐπίλογος Ταῦτα δὲ γράφομεν οὐκ ἐκκόπτοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς ἀσκειῖσθαι βουλομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς</p>	<p>Epilogue. We write these things not to cut off those in the church of God who wish to practice asceticism according to the Scriptures but [to cut off] those who undertake the practice of asceticism to</p>

λαμβάνοντας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς
ἀσκήσεως εἰς ὑπερηφάνειαν καὶ
κατὰ τῶν ἀφελεστέρως βιούντων
ἐπαιρομένους τε καὶ παρὰ τὰς
γραφὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς
κανόνας καινισμοὺς εἰσάγοντας.
Ἡμεῖς τοιγαροῦν καὶ παρθενίαν
μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης
θαυμάζομεν, καὶ ἐγκράτειαν μετὰ
σεμνότητος καὶ θεοσεβείας
γινομένην ἀποδεχόμεθα, καὶ
ἀναχώρησιν τῶν κοσμικῶν
πραγμάτων μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης
ἀποδεχόμεθα, καὶ γάμου
συνοίκησιν σεμνήν τιμῶμεν, καὶ
πλοῦτον μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ
εὐποιΐας οὐκ ἐξουθενούμεν· καὶ
λιτότητα καὶ εὐτέλειαν
ἀμφιασμάτων δι' ἐπιμέλειαν μόνον
τοῦ σώματος ἀπερίεργον [99]
ἐπαινοῦμεν, τὰς δὲ ἐκλύτους καὶ
τεθρυμμένας ἐν τῇ ἐσθῆτι προόδους
οὐκ ἀποδεχόμεθα· καὶ τοὺς οἴκους
τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῶμεν, καὶ τὰς συνόδους
τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀγίας καὶ
ἐπωλεῖς ἀποδεχόμεθα, οὐ
συγκλείοντες τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐν τοῖς
οἴκοις, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πάντα τόπον τὸν

the point of arrogance, both by exalting
themselves over those who lead a
simpler life and by introducing novel
ideas that are not found in the
Scriptures or in the writings approved
by the church.

For this reason we admire virginity
[when practiced] with humility and we
approve of self-control [when
practiced] with dignity and piety; we
also approve of withdrawal from
worldly affairs [when it is done] with
humility; and we honor the noble
union of marriage; we do not disdain
wealth [when used] with righteousness
and [the giving of] alms; we praise
plainness and frugality of dress, with
simple concern only for the body; but
we do not approve of going about in
lascivious and effeminate dress; we
honor the house of God and we
approve of the meetings held in them
as holy and beneficial, not limiting
reverence to the houses but honoring
every place built in the name of God;
and we approve the communal meeting
in the church of God for the benefit of
the community; and we bless the
brothers' abundant good works on
behalf of the poor, because they are
performed in accordance with the

ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ οἰκοδομηθέντα
τιμῶμεν, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ σύνοδον κοινὴν
εἰς ὠφέλειαν τοῦ κοινοῦ
ἀποδεχόμεθα· καὶ τὰς καθ’
ὑπερβολὴν εὐποιΐας τῶν ἀδελφῶν
τὰς κατὰ τὰς παραδόσεις διὰ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς
γινομένας μακαρίζομεν, καὶ πάντα,
συνελόντα εἰπεῖν, τὰ παραδοθέντα
ὑπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν καὶ τῶν
ἀποστολικῶν παραδόσεων ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεσθαι εὐχόμεθα.

traditions [established] by the church;
and, to sum up, we pray that the things
transmitted by the divine Scriptures
and the apostolic traditions be done in
the church.

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List of Abbreviations

CCL – Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, Turnhout, since 1954.

CSCO – Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Louvain and Washington D.C, since 1903.

CSEL – Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Wien, since 1866.

GCS – Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, Leipzig, since 1987.

GNO – Gregorii Nysseni Opera, ed. W. Jaeger, Leiden, since 1958.

HE – Historia Ecclesiastica.

NPNF – A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Series I, vol. 1-14, ed. Ph. Schaff; Series II, vol. 1-14, ed. Ph. Schaff, T. Wace, Edinburgh, New York 1886-1900.

PG – Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, vol. 1-161, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris 1857-1866.

PL – Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina, vol. 1-222, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris 1878-1890.

SC – Sources Chrétiennes, Paris, since 1942.

Streszczenie

Wielu badaczy uważa Makrynę Młodszą za założycielkę pierwszych wspólnot monastycznych w Poncie, ascetkę i nauczycielkę swoich młodszych braci, w tym Bazylego Wielkiego i Grzegorza z Nyssy. Zainteresowanie Makryną znacznie wzrosło w ostatnich latach, głównie za sprawą przedstawicielek teologii feministycznej, poszukujących znaczących postaci kobiecych w starożytności. Problem w tym, że jedyne źródła, jakie o niej wspominają, to trzy pisma Grzegorza z Nyssy (*Żywot świętej Makryny*, list 19 oraz dialog *O duszy i zmartwychwstaniu*) oraz jeden wiersz Grzegorza z Nazjanzu. Uczni głowią się od lat, dlaczego o tak wzniosłej siostrze słowem nie wspomina Bazyl Wielki, który mizoginem przecież nie był; wielokrotnie wypowiadał się w samych superlatywach o swojej babce Makrynie Starszej i swojej matce Emmeli. Makryna nie pojawia się także w innych źródłach, w których moglibyśmy się jej spodziewać: ani w *Historiach Kościelnych* dotyczących IV wieku, a napisanych w pierwszej połowie V wieku, ani w listach Grzegorza z Nazjanzu.

Badacze zwykle traktują dzieła dotyczące Makryny Młodszej jako skarbnicę informacji na temat historycznych wydarzeń i osób. Jednak każde z tych czterech pism zostało napisane zgodnie z zasadami gatunków literackich, których celem nie było i nie miało być opisywanie historii, ale które miały zupełnie inne zadania takie jak zachęta moralna, polemika czy uhonorowanie kogoś.

Żywot świętej Makryny jest najobszerniejszym dziełem Grzegorza z Nyssy na temat Makryny. Pytanie o jego gatunek literacki jest sprawą absolutnie kluczową, a mimo to najczęściej jest pomijane lub traktowane jako mało istotne. Tymczasem od odpowiedzi na to pytanie zależy, czy będziemy traktować podane w tym dziele informacje jako fakty, czy nie. *Żywot świętej Makryny* nie jest ani kroniką rodzinną, ani biografią filozoficzną, lecz jest hagiografią. Charakterystyczne cechy hagiografii to kontekst religijny oraz cel, którym jest pokazanie modelu życia i podbudowanie czytelników. Opisywane osoby i zdarzenia nie muszą ani nie mają ambicji być autentyczne/historyczne, ale parenetyczne czyli mają służyć ukazaniu pewnego wzorca do naśladowania.

List 19 również nie jest relacją historyczną, ale popisem retorycznym. Opowiadanie o Makrynie jest tak rażąco nierealne, że nawet nie udaje

charakterystyki rzeczywistej osoby. Większa część Grzegorzowego „opisu” to cytaty z Pisma świętego, określenia, które w Biblii odnoszą się do samego Boga lub do apostoła Pawła. Jasne jest, że jest to model do naśladowania, a nie spis cech konkretnego człowieka.

O duszy i zmartwychwstaniu stanowi dialog między Grzegorzem a jego siostrą Makryną. Choć wielu sławnych uczonych upiera się, że jest to zapis ostatniej rozmowy między Grzegorzem a Makryną, wspomnianej w *Żywocie świętej Makryny*, w swojej pracy wykazują jednak, że jest to nie tylko nieprawdopodobne, ale wręcz niemożliwe. Z drugiej strony, termin „dialog” oznacza nie tylko zapis rozmowy, ale już na długo przed Grzegorzem stanowił uznany gatunek literacki. Jego szczególnym rodzajem był dialog filozoficzny, kojarzony przede wszystkim z Platonem. Nie da się zharmonizować Sokratesa opisanego przez Platona z Sokratesem, którego znamy z pism Ksenofonta czy Arystofanesa; przyjmuje się więc, że Platon włożył w usta Sokratesa swoje własne poglądy. To samo dotyczy dzieła literackiego stworzonego przez Grzegorza z Nyssy, napisanego zgodnie z zasadami gatunku – dialogu filozoficznego, wzorowanego na *Fedonie* Platona. Makryna niewątpliwie wypowiada w nim poglądy samego Grzegorza. Jest to więc dzieło apologetyczne/polemiczne, a nie zapis realnej rozmowy.

Epitafium 120 Grzegorza z Nazjanzu jest jedyną wzmianką o Makrynie poza pismami samego Grzegorza z Nyssy. Epitafium z definicji nie ma za zadanie opowiadać o rzeczywistych wydarzeniach, ale ma na celu uhonorowanie kogoś.

Pierwszą część niniejszej pracy poświęciłam analizie gatunków literackich wyżej wymienionych dzieł oraz konfrontacji informacji zawartych w pismach o Makrynie z innymi źródłami. Efektem tych badań było postawienie tezy, że Makryna opisana przez Grzegorza z Nyssy i Grzegorza z Nazjanzu została przez nich wymyślona, by zastąpić prawdziwego inspiratora życia ascetycznego w Poncie – Eustacjusza z Sebasty. Druga część pracy dotyczy właśnie Eustacjusza z Sebasty: zaczyna się od analizy źródeł, które o nim mówią, a następnie przedstawia moją rekonstrukcję jego życiorysu. Przy okazji datowania życia Eustacjusza ustaliłam między innymi inną od powszechnie przyjętej datę synodu w Gangrach.

W trzeciej części zbadalam relację Eustacjusza z Sebasty i Bazylego Wielkiego, spróbowałam też rozwikłać najważniejsze kontrowersje z nią związane,

przede wszystkim czy i na ile Bazyl był uczniem Eustacjusza, czy wpływ ten ograniczał się do kwestii ascetycznych, czy też dotyczył także zagadnień doktrynalnych. Zajęłam się ponadto szukaniem przyczyn konfliktu między Bazylim i Eustacjuszem; doszłam do wniosku, że powodem zmiany ich przyjaźni w nienawiść była najprawdopodobniej walka o władzę, a konkretnie o ordynowanie biskupów w Armenii Mniejszej. Kościelna struktura podporządkowania biskupów metropoliom była płynna w tym czasie, wiele zależało od indywidualnej przebojowości sprawujących urzędy, a ich osobiste aspiracje prowadziły do konfliktów. Jestem skłonna twierdzić, że konflikt doktrynalny Bazylego i Eustacjusza był jedynie przykrywką dla konfliktu administracyjnego.

W epilogu podjęłam próbę odpowiedzi na pytanie, po co Makryna została wymyślona. Analiza dzieł Bazylego i Grzegorza z Nazjanzu doprowadziła mnie do przekonania, że ich przyjaźń była raczej wytworem literackim niż rzeczywistą relacją. Dwaj biskupi mieli nie tylko różne koncepcje ascezy, ale także prowadzenia polityki kościelnej. Wydaje mi się, że Grzegorz z Nyssy był mentalnie o wiele bliżej Grzegorza z Nazjanzu niż Bazylego. Wymyślona przez nich po śmierci Bazylego Makryna Młodsza miała zastąpić Eustacjusza z Sebasty, prawdziwego inspiratora życia monastycznego w Poncie, podobnie jak Paweł Pustelnik miał zastąpić Antoniego – pierwszego pustelnika. Hieronim chciał stworzyć alternatywny do Antoniego ideał ascezy i podobne funkcje mogła pełnić Makryna. W opozycji do ascezy Eustacjusza i Bazylego Makryna stanowi wzór ascezy, która była zanurzona w rodzinie, podlegała hierarchii kościelnej, podkreślała znaczenie małżeństwa, nawet jeśli wybrała dziewictwo.