SPIRITUAL TERMINOLOGY
IN THE LATIN TRANSLATIONS
OF THE VITA ANTONII

with reference to
fourth and fifth century monastic literature

by

L. TH. A. LORIÉ

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DEKKER & VAN DE VEGT, N.V.

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**SPIRITUAL TERMINOLOGY
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Promotor: PROF. DR CHR. A. E. M. MOHRMANN

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ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT
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DOOR

LUDOVICUS THEODORUS ANTONIUS LORIÉ
geboren te 's Gravenhage

DRUKKERIJ VERWEIJ - WAGENINGEN

*Ad te nunc ergo mihi sermo dirigitur,
quisquis abrenuntians propriis voluntatibus,
Domino Christo vero Regi militaturus,
oboedientiae fortissima atque praeclara arma sumis.
Reg. Ben. Prol.*

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MACARIUS MAGNUS,

Epistula ad filios. A. WILMART, *La lettre spirituelle de l'abbé Macaire*. RAM 1, 1920, 58ff.

Peregrinatio EGERIAE,

Sanctae Silviae quae fertur peregrinatio ad loca sancta. CSEL 39, 37ff.

ABBREVIATIONS

(A)	The greek text of the <i>Vita Antonii</i> by Athanasius.
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum.</i>
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie.</i>
DSAM	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité d'ascétique et de mystique.</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique.</i>
(E)	The latin translation of the <i>Vita Antonii</i> by Evagrius.
EL	<i>Ephemerides liturgicae.</i>
HEFM	<i>Histoire de l'Eglise.</i> FLICHE-MARTIN.
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen.</i>
LCP	<i>Latinitas christianorum primaeva.</i>
MG	MIGNE, <i>Patrologia graeca.</i>
ML	MIGNE, <i>Patrologia latina.</i>
(M 9)	MEYER, The life of saint Antony, p. 9.
OCP	<i>Orientalia christiana periodica.</i>
RAM	<i>Revue d'ascétique et de mystique.</i>
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine.</i>
RSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse.</i>
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae latinae.</i>
TW	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> (KITTEL).
(V)	The anonymous latin translation of the <i>Vita Antonii</i> (GARITTE).
VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae.</i>
WNT	<i>Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> (BAUER).

CHAPTER I

THE LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF VITA ANTONII, THE OLDEST EVIDENCE OF WESTERN MONASTICISM

The interest which the *Vita Antonii* roused on its first appearance and which it continued to enjoy long after appears from the fact that to-day there are some seventy extant copies of the greek original¹⁾, to which are to be added translations into coptic, armenian, syriac, arabic, ethiopian, georgian and latin²⁾.

The two extant latin texts, which represent different translations and which are the occasion of the present study, are by two writers who greatly differ in character and environment, but in their work keep pretty close to the text of St Athanasius.

It must have been one of these two translations — unless we have to admit the presence of the original — which according to Augustine's testimony some dignitaries of the imperial court on a walk in the neighbourhood of Trier happened to find in a hermitage. On reading it one of them was so struck by its contents that he gave up his career at the imperial court to become a hermit and invited his companion to follow his example: 'ego iam abrupti me ab illa spe nostra et Deo servire statui et hoc ex hac hora in hoc loco aggredior. Te si piget imitari, noli adversari. Respondit ille adhaerere se socium tantae mercedis tantaeque militiae'³⁾.

We appreciate Augustine's anecdote by which he allows us a glimpse of one of the very oldest centres of monasticism in these

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1) The latest edition of the greek text is to be found in MG 26, 833ff. Cf. GARITTE, *Histoire du texte*.

2) The great credit enjoyed by the *Vita Antonii* may be inferred from the fact that in later days a great number of lives of saints were modelled on the *Vita*. Cf. MERTEL, *Die biographische Form*. The historical value of the *Vita Antonii* is no longer a matter of doubt. Cf. HEUSSI, *Der Ursprung*, 78ff., 87ff., LIST, *Das Antoniusleben*; DORRIES, *Die Vita Antonii*.

3) Conf. 8.6.15, Cf. COURCELLE: *Les convertis de Trèves ne sont-ils pas Jérôme et Bonose? Recherches*, 181ff.

western lands, where evidently the *Vita Antonii* passed from hand to hand giving guidance to this new and strange form of asceticism and gaining fresh recruits to its observance. We should have been still more grateful to Augustine if he had told us which precisely was the translation that was circulating in Gaul. Was it the one by Evagrius?

We have it on the authority of Jerome that Evagrius, bishop of Antioch (c. 388—393), translated the *Vita Antonii* into Latin *cum adhuc esset presbyter*¹⁾. This translation was dedicated to one Innocent, who was a friend both of Jerome²⁾ and Evagrius. Since Innocent died in 374/375³⁾ this translation by Evagrius must have been completed before that date, within twenty years, therefore, after the death of Anthony (d. 356).

The interest created by Evagrius' translation⁴⁾ must have been so overwhelming, that a probably older translation sank into oblivion, and has only been preserved in a 10th/11th century MS, which is still among the Archives of the Chapter of St Peter's in Rome⁵⁾. It was Dom WILMART who as late as 1914 first drew attention to this MS⁶⁾ and it was not till 1939 that the whole of this text was made public by GÉRARD GARITTE⁷⁾.

In contrast to Evagrius' graceful and aesthetically well-composed translation the older translation is remarkable for its scrupulous almost word-for-word rendering of the original Greek: 'littérale jusqu'au barbarisme' is GARITTE's qualification⁸⁾. It would seem that Evagrius is criticizing this older translation when in his short prologue to the *Vita Antonii* he addresses Innocent: 'vitam beati Antonii te petente ita transposui, ut nihil desit ex sensu, cum aliquid desit ex verbis. Alii syllabas aucupentur et litteras, tu quaere sententiam'⁹⁾. The last words unmistakably suggest that he has an

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1) Cf. *De script. eccl.* 125.

2) Cf. JEROME, *Epist.* 3.3.

3) Cf. CAVALLERA, *Saint Jérôme*, I.28; II.153.

4) *Editio princeps*: H. ROSWEYDUS. *Vitae patrum, de vita et verbis seniorum libri X.* Antwerpiae, 1615. The foregoing editions are all of them mentioned by ROSWEYDUS. The latest editions are ML 73, 125ff. and MG 26, 833ff. in the greek text at the foot of the page.

5) *Codex A* 2 ff69r—72v, 57r—64v, 97r—111v.

6) Cf. WILMART, *Une version latine*, RB 31, 1914, 163ff.

7) Cf. GARITTE, *Un témoin*.

8) Cf. GARITTE, *Un témoin*, 2.

9) Cf. MG 26, 834. As regards the various methods of translation at that time see: BLATT, *Remarques*, *Class. Med.* 1, 1938, 217.

existing translation in his mind, and it would not seem arbitrary to suppose that it is the anonymous translation discovered by Dom WILMART. This would thus be one of the arguments that plead for this second translation as the rightful claimant of seniority.

But independently of this claim the present text, precisely on account of its habit of 'syllabas aucupari et litteras' is a source of information and a check when we try to fix the original greek text, and it is for this very reason that GARITTE deemed a critical edition of it of the greatest importance ¹⁾).

There are, however, other benefits to be reaped from an edition such as this, as the editor himself does not fail to remark ²⁾). For this translation does not only bear testimony to the greek text, but also to the development of christian Latin in the fourth century, and it is moreover a contemporary witness of and contribution to an incipient development of monastic terminology, a monastic Latin within the orbit of early-christian Latin ³⁾).

To return for a moment to the story of Augustine, we would once more pose the question: was it Evagrius' rendering or the anonymous older translation of the *Vita*, whose presence he signaled in the neighbourhood of Trier? We regret that the answer to this question must be deemed off for good. Should it ever be found, it might perhaps mean a slight refinement of our knowledge of the oldest monachism in the territories round Trier. But in spite of Augustine's silence it is possible that the two translations speak for themselves and though they supply no information about the local situation in a far corner of Gaul, they may have something to tell us about monasticism in the West, which surely is a thing of greater importance.

Hence the terms concerning the monastic life occurring in the two translations will be mutually compared and will be tested for their value on the one hand on the monastic data of the greek text and on the other on their further development in writings of a later date. We shall thus obtain the complex set of terms which in a concrete way expound western monasticism both in its outward material form and its interior spiritual life, and which thus place

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1) Cf. GARITTE, *Un témoin*, 9f.

2) Cf. GARITTE, *Un témoin*, 10.n3.

3) Cf. GARITTE, *Un témoin*, 4.

it either parallel to or over against the older eastern form of monachism.

However valuable such a result may be, the present study would have to be deemed incomplete both from a linguistic standpoint and as a contribution to social history. To complete it we shall check the various monastic terms on common latin usage and on specifically christian Latin in order that the monastic set of terms in their relation to their surroundings may be brought out in full relief.

Our investigation will therefore be governed by a twofold principle; on one hand we shall try to find out the monastic value of every term, on the other we shall try to settle the place which this term occupies in the process of development of the latin language. It goes without saying that these can never be separated from each other completely. For each of the coming chapters the following method of treatment seems to commend itself most. First of all there will be a discussion of the monastic data of the greek text either by themselves or in systematic coherence, and, when desired, set and seen in their greek spiritual and social surroundings. Then follows the discussion of such terms as are monastically tinged in either of the two translations, seen in their relation to the monastic data of the greek original and in their earlier history in common or christian Latin. Finally the further semantic development and use of these terms in the monastic writings of Jerome, Macarius Magnus, Evagrius Ponticus, Cassian and the *Peregrinatio Egeriae ad loca sancta*, which in great part or entirely reflect the monastic attitude of the eastern world. To these we shall add Augustine as representative of the West. The study of these authors is not meant to be an independant inquiry, but a sort of rounding off to find out if the terms of the *Vita Antonii* which we have studied so far, have had any further linguistic life. Finally we shall be concerned with the *Regula Benedicti* in so far as it gives an outlook on the Middle Ages. It would be an injustice towards the patriarch of the West to see in him merely the crowning glory of an ancient world. He is something more; he is even something else. He is a forerunner and founder of a new time, a new world, the world of the new western Europe.

What we will be trying to do in the following chapters is, therefore, to sketch a nascent monastic terminology, a monastic

Latin. We might likewise call it 'a terminology of the christian spiritual life' or 'Latin of the christian spiritual life'. These terms are in a way even preferable in so far as they clearly take us beyond the narrow limits of monastery walls and are clearly reminiscent of the fact that the spiritual life of the desert-fathers and of the monks is in fact of an age with christianity based as it is on the practical exercise of the evangelical counsels.

Yet on the other hand the term 'monastic' is full of sense, since it characterizes the direction in which christian spiritual life developed after the age of the *martyres* and *confessores* and emphasizes the nursery ground from which it drew vigour and vitality to fecundate christian culture throughout the West. 'Monastic Latin' is moreover somewhat easier to handle than the phrase 'Latin of the spiritual life'.

I. EARLY-CHRISTIAN LATIN IN (V) ¹).

The case of early-christian Latin has already been amply and ably discussed more than once ²), so that we consider ourselves exempt from this task. Before we enter on the subject of 'monastic Latin', however, a sketch of the general christian elements of the latinity of (V) would not seem out of place on the three points of vocabulary, semasiology and syntax.

1. VOCABULARY.

Both in the matter of direct and indirect 'christianisms' ³) (V) presents a number of neologisms and loanwords from the Greek. Among the direct 'christianisms' the following latin neologisms may be mentioned: *clarificare*, to glorify, 39 (51.18) ⁴); 64 (70.4); 94 (93.1); *confessor*, one who has borne witness to his faith during persecution, but has not suffered martyrdom, 46 (56.23); 58 (66.7); *dilectio*, supernatural love, 4 (19.27); 14 (30.24); 44 (55.3); 74 (77.20); 80 (82.1); *dominicum*, church-building, 1 (17.20); 2 (18.4); 3 (18.17); *iustificare*, justify, 55 (64.8); *longanimitas*, long-

1) (V) is the anonymous latin translation of the *Vita Antonii* edited by GARITTE; (A) is the greek text of ATHANASIUS; (E) is the latin translation of EVAGRIUS; (G) is the reading of GARITTE with which we disagree, preferring the MS reading.

2) Cf. LCP If.

3) Cf. SCHRIJNEN, *Charakteristik* (LCP I), 13ff.

4) 39 (51.18) = GARITTE, *Un témoin*, ch.39, p.51, l.18.

suffering, 4 (19.26); *longanimiter*, patiently, 56 (65.11); *resurrectio*, resurrection, 75 (78.7); *resurrectio mortuorum*, resurrection of the dead, 91 (91.8); *salvator*, saviour, 2 (18.1); 7 (22.13); 26 (41.4); 28 (42.13); *sanctificatio*, sanctification, 7 (22.14); *scripturae*, Holy Writ, 26 (41.3); 39 (51.12); 46 (57.13); *seductor*, seducer, 94 (93.11); *timoratus*, God-fearing, 60 (67.30). The borrowings from Greek are more numerous: *agape*, love, 40 (52.8); *anathema fieri*, to be excluded from the church, 70 (74.28); *angelus*, angel, 28 (43.13); 35 (48.23); *apostolus*, apostle, *passim*; *canon*, hierarchy, 67 (72.19); *clericus*, cleric, 67 (72.19); *diabolus*, devil, *passim*; *diaconus*, deacon, 67 (72.22); *ecclesia*, church, as an institution, 46 (56.16); 86 (86.11); 82 (83.17); as a separate community, 79 (81.4); *energumenus*, one possessed, 48 (58.17); *episcopus*, bishop, 47 (57.19); *evangelium*, gospel, 3 (18.17); *haeresis*, heresy, 68 (74.2); *haereticus*, heretic, 68 (73.24); *martyr*, martyr, 90 (89.12); *martyrium dicere*, to bear witness to one's faith by dying for it, 46 (57.11); 47 (57.18); 90 (89.15); *patriarcha*, patriarch, 90 (89.19); *propheta*, prophet, *passim*; *psalmus*, psalm, 52 (61.12); *scandalum*, stumbling-block, occasion of sin of any kind, not only against faith, 23 (37.23); *schismaticus*, schismatic, 68 (73.22); borrowed from Hebrew is *satanas*, 41 (52.19).

As regards indirect 'christianisms' there are a large number of latin neologisms: *animatio*, vivacity, fervour, 50 (59.26); *apparentia*, apparition, 43 (54.13); *auxiliator*, helper, 10 (26.27); *contemnibilis*, contemptible, 6 (22.6); *cooperari*, to cooperate, 5 (21.10); *cooperarius*, cooperator, 19 (34.11); 34 (47.16); *fornicatio*, unchastity, 6 (21.24); 55 (64.23); *incorporatio*, corporeality, the state of having a body, abstract for 'body', 31 (45.4); *indisciplinatus*, lawless, 36 (48.28); *interpretator*, interpreter, 72 (75.26); *intimidare*, to intimidate, 24 (38.19); *operabilis*, efficient, 78 (80.3); *opitulatio*, help, support, 10 (26.22); *pigritari*, to delay, 28 (41.28); *reprehensibilis*, blamable, 55 (64.1); *subintrare*, to steal into a place, 35 (48.19); *tristificare*, to distress, 42 (53.12); *transitorie*, in passing, 28 (41.27); *voluntarie*, voluntarily, 71 (75.14).

In contrast with the fairly large number of neologisms there are very few indirect 'christianisms' borrowed from the Greek: *abyssus*, abyss, 24 (38.24); *allegorizare*, to speak in allegory, 76 (78.25); *grabatus*, bed, 90 (89.13); *thesaurizare*, to hoard, 19 (34.22).

It goes without saying that in the selection of these words we have purposely passed over such words as the literal biblical quotations had to offer, since this study is not concerned with bible translations but (V)'s own personal Latin. We have also omitted such terms as bore already a monastic tinge, because these will find their proper place in later chapters. Be it said in passing that these latter terms are mainly to be classed among the semantic changes.

From the lexicological material mentioned above, which is only a selection from what (V) offers in the way of 'christianisms', it is evident that we have to do with christian terms of everyday occurrence and of general usage.

Among the borrowings from the Greek it is especially the names of christian institutions and concrete realities which together with the new preaching gained easy acceptance in the West. Among the neologisms there are many vulgarisms: new verbs of the first conjugation, with special preference for the ending *-ficare*, *nomina agentis* ending in *-tor*, *nomina actionis* in *-tio*, adjectives in *-bilis*. Since these things have found ample treatment elsewhere ¹⁾, a brief catalogue of them is sufficient to show that in (V) we have to do with a type of Latin that is thoroughly christianized.

As already noted such terms as are monastically tinged lie especially in the section of semantic changes, but a large number of general christian terms are also met with here. Some of the most notable are: *adsumere*, to take up to heaven, 60 (67.11); 60 (68.16); *adventus*, the coming of God through the incarnation, 74 (77.18); *ambulare*, to order one's conduct, 7 (22.15); *apparere*, to manifest oneself (said of God in the incarnation), 74 (77.12); *benedicere*, to praise God, 71 (75.18); *caro*, human nature, 5 (21.9,10); 7 (22.14); *credere*, to have supernatural faith, 80 (81.27) ²⁾; *dormire*, to die, 60 (68.15); *dormitio*, demise, 88 (88.8); *fidelis*, faithful, believer, 30 (44.21); *fides*, faith, belief, 9 (26.14); *ignis*, hell, 24 (39.22); *inimicus*, devil, *passim*; *iudicium*, God's judgment, 19 (35.2); *mensa*, altar, 82 (83.27); *orare*, to pray, 10 (26.28); *oratio*, prayer, 14 (30.16); *paganus*, pagan, 20 (35.15); 37 (49.23); *proximus*, neighbour, 26 (40.15); *revelare*, to make known on

¹⁾ Cf. MOHRMANN, *Les éléments vulgaires*. VC 2, 1948, 89ff., 163ff.; RÖNSCH, *Itala und Vulgata*, 55, 69, 109, 175, 483ff.

²⁾ As regards the construction of 'credere' see p. 10.

behalf of God, 59 (66.29); *sacramentum*, mystery of the faith, 78 (79.29); *seducere*, to seduce, 5 (21.2); *signare*, to make the sign of the cross, 13 (29.7); *signum*, miracle, 80 (81.26); *spes*, the supernatural virtue of hope, 23 (38.12); *spiritalis*, spiritual, 45 (55.23).

Here also it is enough to note that all these are familiar words used in all walks of life and therefore scattered throughout the christian language.

2. SYNTAX.

Also on the point of syntax many deviations from common usage are found. Generally a process of vulgarization was at work, in which process Greek and Hebrew often exerted a stimulating influence through biblical translations. Pure grecisms and hebrewisms are comparatively rare. We again restrict ourselves to a general outline of the most striking peculiarities, in the first place of those cases, which resort under syntax, to which will be added some deviations, which are more a matter of style.

a. Use of the singular and the plural.

The *singulare collectivum* which is so characteristic of the special languages¹⁾, is found occasionally, e.g.: *nec omnino sciebat monachus longa et deserta loca*, 3 (18.24); *nihil potest daemon adversus christianum*, 42 (53.28). The plural is found a few times to imply a large quantity or number²⁾: *cupiditas pecuniarum*, 5 (20.13); 30 (44.17). A genuine hebrewism is the frequently occurring *caeli*.

b. Cases with or without a preposition.

The *genitivus definitivus* is of frequent occurrence³⁾: *cum impetu voluntatis et fervore religionis*, 11 (27.8); *martyrium conscientiae*, 45 (57.21); *de arboribus palmarum*, 50 (59.28); than an occasional use of the *genitivus inhaerentiae*⁴⁾: *labor operis*, 53 (61.26). A few times an adjective is replaced by the genitive of a noun. Such a case is: *carbones ardoris*, 5 (21.4), where the noun is used instead

1) Cf. LÖFSTEDT, *Philologischer Kommentar*, 178; *Syntactica* I, 16; SCHRIJNEN—MOHRMANN, *Studien zur Syntax* (LCP V, VI) I, 46. Further literature on the subject may be found there.

2) Cf. SCHRIJNEN—MOHRMANN, *o.c.* I, 56ff.

3) Cf. STOLZ—SCHMALZ, *Lateinische Grammatik*, 394.

4) Cf. STOLZ—SCHMALZ, *o.c.* 395.

of the adjective derived from it. This usage was already known to older writers of profane Latin. In three other cases however: *obsessionem astutiae*, 7 (22.23); *aequalitatis animo*, 14 (30.16); *lenitatis voluntatem*, (G): *lenitatem voluptatis*, 5 (21.5), the noun is a derivative of the adjective. This latter mannerism is a peculiarity of christian writers, who were stimulated in this direction by the Hebrew of the Bible ¹⁾).

Adjectives instead of the genitive of a noun are less varied and more sporadic in (V) than one would expect ²⁾: *canonem ecclesiasticum*, 67 (72.19); *lectionem evangelicam*, 2 (18.5); *basilicam dominicam*, 8 (24.25); *studium dominicum*, 9 (25.11). 'Caelestis' on the other hand is fairly often found: *professi sunt caelestem conversationem*, 14 (31.4); *a mente caelesti*, 22 (37.4); *ab ascensu caelesti*, 22 (37.7); *caelestes mansiones*, 45 (55.18); *de abside caelesti*, 74 (77.14). Here the adjective by turns replaces the *genitivus obiectivus*, *definitivus* or *subiectivus*.

The *genitivus partitivus* is occasionally replaced by the preposition 'de' or 'ex': *ut veniat ad me unus ex monachis de his qui solent assidue ad illum ire*, P (16.4); *de opera ipsa partem habebat ad panem*, 3 (19.12).

The *dativus sympatheticus* of pronouns is occasionally met with ³⁾: *bonum certamen constituistis vobis contra monachos qui sunt in Aegypto*, P (15.3).

The replacement of the dative after *verba dicendi* by 'ad' with the accusative of the person addressed is a regular practice: *ego dicebam ad eos*, 39 (51.3); *et dixi ad eum*, 41 (52.28). This is generally taken to be an effect of the biblical translations ⁴⁾.

The *ablativus originis* is generally replaced by 'de' ⁵⁾: *natus de parentibus nobilibus*, 1 (17.1); the *ablativus comparationis* is invariably accompanied by 'a(b)' ⁶⁾: *ut sentiret ampliorem se habere virtutem in corpore ab ea quam antea habuit*, 10 (27.2). The *instrumentalis* with 'in' is often found. It is easy from the context to distinguish the instrumental use of 'in', which derives from

1) Cf. SCHRIJNEN—MOHRMANN, *o.c.* I, 85ff.

2) Cf. LÖFSTEDT, *Phil. Komm.*, 76ff.; MOHRMANN, *L'adjectif et le génitif adnominal*, *Mél. Marouzeau*, 437ff.

3) Cf. HAVERS, *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax*, 317ff.

4) Cf. SCHRIJNEN—MOHRMANN, *o.c.* I, 105ff.

5) Cf. SCHRIJNEN—MOHRMANN, *o.c.* I, 108f.

6) Cf. SÜSS, *Studien zur lateinischen Bibel*, I, 85.

colloquial Latin, from those expressions which owe their origin to biblical translations¹): *in armis suis fidens*, 5 (20.21); *corripit eos in huiusmodi vocibus*, 37 (50.3); *munitos in his omnibus*, 42 (53.30); by the side of: *in nomine Christi*, 40 (51.25); *in Domino gaudentes*, 42 (53.25); *exhortare in fide*, (G): *exhortari*, 16 (31.19).

Among the verbs demanding a special construction it is especially 'credere', to believe as a christian, that is variously construed²): 'credere' with a dative: *si autem credis Christo, vade et quomodo credis Deo ora et erit tibi*, 48 (58.12); 'credere' with 'in' and the accusative: *credentibus in ipsum*, 83 (84.23); 'credere' with 'in' and the ablative: *praeceptum dabat eis credere in Christo*, (G): *Christum*, 55 (63.14).

c. Pronouns.

Once the reflexive pronoun is used instead of the personal: *si enim hoc est, honorem architecti domui a se factae habemus apponere*, 76 (79.3). But the reverse is frequently found, while a successive interchange of a reflexive and a personal pronoun often seems due to a mere craving for some variety in the same situation³): *anima Elisaei videbat virtutes quae circa illam (= se) erant custodientes eam (= se)*, 34 (47.22); *praecepit uni noto sibi per dies multos afferre illi (= sibi) panem*, 8 (24.13).

Occasionally a demonstrative pronoun takes over the part of a definite article in the greek text: *inimicos enim habemus horrendos et astutos, hos nequissimos daemones*, τοὺς πονηροὺς δαίμονας, 21 (36.17).

'Ille' and 'ipse' occur very frequently, often meaning no more than 'is'. What is more striking is the use of 'hoc est' instead of the more vulgar 'id est'⁴): *contra quos pugno in monte, hoc est, daemones*, 70 (75.9); *appellabant illum theophilum, hoc est, qui Deum amat*, 4 (20.5). In both cases it would seem that the writer wants to give his words a more solemn accent than the common 'id est' would have done.

1) Cf. SCHRIJNEN—MOHRMANN, *o.c.* I, 113ff.

2) Cf. MOHRMANN, *Credere in Deum. Mél. Ghellinck* I, 277ff. The phrase 'credere in' was soon reserved for the act of faith. 'Credere' with a dative means to have faith in, to trust, this construction was at first also used to express the act of faith, but in this sense soon superseded by 'credere in'.

3) Cf. SCHRIJNEN—MOHRMANN, *o.c.* I, 154.

4) Cf. LOFSTEDT, *Phil. Komm.*, 91f.

d. *The verb.*

In several places the third person singular of the verb is used as an *indefinitum*; in one or two places the second person also ¹⁾: *quid tibi et deserto?* *non potest ferre nostras insidias*, (G): *non potes*, 13 (28.24); *pulsavit aliquando in deserto ubi eram ostium cellae*, 41 (52.16); *sciebat enim cui clamanti debeas respondere*, 66 (71.25).

The *futurum II* occurs very often, especially in conditional sentences, where in the greek text the *generalis* is used. As an indication of future time it has the same value as the *futurum I* as indeed it had in early Latin ²⁾. This equal partnership, which had always been maintained in the language of the people is also shown here: *cum ergo venerint ad vos nocte et voluerint dicere vobis futura aut dixerint: nos sumus angeli, nolite attendere illis*, 35 (47.24); *cogitationes incipiunt permanere, sic ut anima videat praesentes qui et apparuerint*, 35 (48.16).

The future time is variously periphrased: by a form of 'habere', 'coepisse' or 'incipere' together with the infinitive of the head-verb ³⁾: *admirare habebitis*, (G): *admirari*, P (15.7); *revelare habetur*, 17 (32.19); *fieri habent*, 23 (38.8); *coeperimus dormire*, 19 (34.17); *incipiunt plorare*, 26 (41.12); *incipies infirmari*, 40 (52.2); by means of the periphrastic conjugation: *dicturus sum*, 39 (50.27); by 'futurus' with the gerundive of the head-verb: *futurus ad manducandum*, 65 (70.12).

There are some clear cases where the present tense indicates future time ⁴⁾: *at pro annis centum saecula saeculorum regnamus*, 16 (32.12); *ista enim possidentes invenimus illa ante nos ibi facientia nobis hospitium in terra mitium*, 17 (33.18).

Occasionally the *modus potentialis* is periphrased by a form of 'posse' ⁵⁾: *et non pro hoc potest quis aestimare quia ut divini dixerint*, (G): *dixerunt*, 33 (47.2) ἂν τις εἴποι; *quomodo ergo videntibus aliis fornicationem facientes nos non possumus committere*, (G): {*facientes nos*} ⁶⁾, 55 (64.23) οὐκ ἂν πορεύομαι.

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1) Cf. LÖFSTEDT, *Phil. Komm.*, 43ff.

2) Cf. STOLZ—SCHMALZ, *o.c.* 563.

3) Cf. LÖFSTEDT, *Phil. Komm.*, 51, 209ff.

4) Cf. STOLZ—SCHMALZ, *o.c.* 553.

5) Cf. GRANDGENT, *An introduction to vulgar Latin*, 53.

6) [...] = *deleatur*.

e. *Object-clauses.*

The variety of infinitive constructions and clauses beginning with 'quia' is remarkable. Sometimes the accusative with the infinitive is found where classical Latin would have another construction e.g. the final conjunction 'ut', thus after 'permittere' and 'praecipere': *neminem nostrum christianorum permittebant vivere*, 28 (42.25); *iudex praecepit neminem monachorum accedere*, 46 (57.1). But final 'ut' as well as the infinitive of the object is also used after these verbs. After *verba sentiendi* and *declarandi* the accusative with infinitive varies freely with a *quia*-clause¹); 'quod' and 'quoniam' are entirely wanting: *edoctus quia oportet orare*, 3 (19.13); *edoctus multas esse astutias inimici*, 7 (22.19).

In connection with the freer use of the infinitive attention may be drawn to the final infinitive after verbs of motion. This usage dates from early Latin and was widely spread, partly perhaps through greek influence, in vulgar and christian Latin: *nuntius currens indicare... antecessit nuntiare*, 32 (64.4); *venimus allucere tibi*, 39 (51.10); *concurrerant videre*, 70 (74.29). The infinitive is also found after the so-called causative verbs such as *annuo*, *rogo*, *praecipio*, and after the auxiliaries implying an effort or a will to do e.g. *curo*, *festino*, *satago*²).

As regards 'quia' we should add that 'quia', like the greek *ὅτι*, sometimes introduces a direct oration³): *at ille dixit illis talia lingua Aegyptiorum quia: scripturae quidem idoneae sunt ad doctrinam*, 16 (31.18).

Oblique questions often retain the indicative mood. The most curious thing, however, is that in several cases the indicative and conjunctive alternate arbitrarily, a feature which may also be noted in other latin translations⁴): *orabat scire quid est hoc aut quis sit qui assumebatur*, 60 (67.14). Occasionally they are also introduced with 'si': *in his unusquisque habet iudicium si fidem servavit, si mandata custodivit*, (G): (et)⁵ *si mandata*, 33 (47.11). Here the influence of the greek *εἰ* is unmistakable⁶).

1) Cf. STOLZ—SCHMALZ, *o.c.* 726.

2) Cf. STOLZ—SCHMALZ, *o.c.* 580f.

3) Cf. SÜSS, *o.c.* 44f.

4) E.g. *Clemens latinus*. As regards the latinity of this text see: MOHRMANN, *Les origines de la latinité chrétienne à Rome*, VC 3, 1949, 67ff.

5) (...) = *addatur*.

6) Cf. STOLZ—SCHMALZ, *o.c.* 650.

3. STYLE.

In some of the preceding paragraphs we were already to some extent discussing a matter of style. For it is clear that the free use of the accusative with the infinitive and of the *quia*-clauses as well as the mood of the indirect question there spoken of cannot be judged by syntactic considerations only.

We shall now group together some syntactic peculiarities, which can even more justly claim a right to be classed among stylistic qualities and which, though varying among themselves, yet can be seen as a stylistic phenomenon of the same kind.

a. 'Slow thinking' (*Denkträgheit*).

Allen Umgangssprachen eigen ist eine typische Denkträgheit, die jeder Anstrengung, klare und scharfe, der jeweiligen Situation entsprechende Ausdrücke zu finden, aus dem Wege geht und sich mit einer indifferenten, für alle möglichen Verhältnisse passenden und erst durch den ganzen Zusammenhang näher präzisierten Bezeichnung begnügt¹⁾.

In (V) this 'slow thinking' betrays itself clearly first of all in the many periphrases of the verb by means of 'facere' or 'habere' together with various nouns²⁾: *memoriam faciam*, P (15.16); *concupiscentiam habuit*, 1 (17.8); *habens curam*, 2 (17.20); *habebat consuetudinem*, 4 (20.4).

An effect of this 'slow thinking' we may consider the many 'unrelated nominatives' which are found in (V). To HAVERS the cause of this phenomenon is emphasis as an emotional utterance; hence his designation: 'isoliert emphatischer Nominativ'³⁾. MOHRMANN has pointed out that if this phenomenon is to be fully accounted for, more than one factor should be taken into account, the first and foremost of which is no doubt slovenliness in sentence construction as a result of 'slow thinking'⁴⁾: *nemo mittens manum suam super aratrum et attendens retro, rectum est ei regnum caelorum*, 20 (35.8); *et monachi qui ad eum ingrediebantur, assidue*

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1) Cf. HOFMANN, *Lateinische Umgangssprache*, 163.

2) Cf. HOFMANN, *o.c.* 165.

3) Cf. HAVERS, *Der sog. Nominativus pendens*, IF 43, 1926, 207ff.; *Zur Syntax des Nominativs*, *Glotta* 16, 1928, 94ff.

4) Cf. MOHRMANN, *Die psychologischen Bedingungen der konstruktionslosen Nominativi im Lateinischen*, *Glotta* 21, 1933, 27.

hoc praeceptum dabat eis, 55 (63.13)¹). MOHRMANN argues that under such an 'unrelated nominative' there is always some prolepsis in hiding, that is to say that an idea which is going to dominate the coming sentence is put down straight off at the beginning. Such anticipations are frequent in (V) and at times influence the word-order in a remarkable way: *et conversatio est et huius rei indicium nostra quae talis est adversus eum*, 24 (39.11). The sentence is in fact quite complete with 'indicium'; the subsequent '*nostra quae talis est adversus eum*' is a return on the anticipated 'conversatio'. Too late the writer finds out there is still something to say about *conversatio*, and he says it not without detriment of the word-order. In another case it is easy to see how the habit of using a word-order, demanded by such prolepses, finally results in an 'unrelated nominative': *nam et medici experimentum infirmitatum habentes, si viderint eam aegritudinem in aliis esse quae in aliis aliquando constituta mortem aut alium casum operata est, extimantes de consuetudine futura praedicunt et fit saepius secundum dictum eorum. Et gubernatores iterum et agricolae de consuetudine videntes statum aeris praedicunt futuram tempestatem et non pro hoc potest quis extimare quia ut divini dixerint sed consuetudine experimento. Unde et daemones, si extimantes aliquid tale praedixerint, nemo miretur de ipsis nec attendat eis*, (G): *eam* (dem) *aegritudinem* (τὴν αὐτὴν), *aestimantes*, *aestimare*, (de) *consuetudine* (et) *experimento*, *dixerunt*, 33 (46.19—47.6).

'Slow thinking' also promotes repetitions of all sort, either by repeating the same word or slipping into a synonym: *si fide et signo crucis si quis se muniat*, (G): {*si*} *quis*, 23 (38.5); *in omnibus se sine onere conservare eum volebat*, (G): {*eum*}, 50 (60.10); *oportet ergo quomodo pisces festinant ad mare, sic et nos debemus festinare ad montem*, (G): {*debemus*}, 85 (86.4).

The foregoing repetitions are due to 'slow thinking' with regard to sentence-construction and should not be confused with 'slow thinking' as regards the choice of words. Repetitions of this latter kind also often occur: *et hoc enim habuit magnum cum studio deifico, quia habuit et discretionem spirituum et habens donum ut praedixi instantiam insidiarum sciebat*, 88 (87.26).

Finally we are inclined to interpret the complete dominance of

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1) Cf. 31 (45.15); 48 (58.5); 46 (56.26)?; 66 (71.7); 67 (72.22); 87 (87.20).

parataxis as a result of the 'slow thinking' that is characteristic of all spoken language. The asyndeton¹⁾ occurs frequently: *sed tamen parentibus subiectus erat lectionibus intentus magnum ex ipsis lucrum sibi conservabat*, (G): (*et*) *lectionibus*, 1 (17.12). We prefer the reading of the MS to the one proposed in such cases by GARITTE here and elsewhere²⁾.

b. *Abstract nouns.*

Quite remarkable in christian Latin is the use of an abstract noun to indicate a concrete object. The cause of this phenomenon may be found in the popular character of christian Latin. It will also partly be due to the semitic preference for this mode of expression, which manifests itself in the biblical translations. Abstract words to indicate concrete things are often found in (V). The semantic shift is generally indicated by the use of the plural. But there are also cases in which the abstract noun even in its singular form indicates a concrete thing:

'Admiratio', θαῦμα, sign, miracle: *facta est itaque haec admiratio et invenerunt puellam sanam*, 58 (66.19).

'Cura' and 'curatio', miraculous cure: *non enim haec cura virtus mea est, sed Salvatoris est haec cura*, 58 (66.13); *neque ipsius neque alicuius hominis esset curatio, sed Domini*, 56 (65.12)³⁾.

'Consolatio', food: *gaudentes offerebant illi panes; habebat quoque de arboribus palmarum paucam et infirmam consolationem*, 50 (59.29)⁴⁾.

'Incorporatio', body: *teneriora corpora habentes daemones incorporatione hominum*, 31 (45.4).

'Passio', sickness, complaint: *unus itaque passionem habebat pessimam*, 57 (65.17)⁵⁾.

'Virtus', sign, miracle: *haec scientia qualem virtutem operatur?* 33 (47.7).

These shiftings from the abstract to the concrete are to be considered vulgarisms⁶⁾, or as in the case of 'virtus' semitic fashions

1) Cf. 2 (18.10); 9 (25.6); 33 (47.11); 39 (50.27); 46 (56.23); 78 (80.12); 79 (80.23); 80 (81.22); 80 (81.27); LÖFSTEDT, *Phil. Komm.*, 305f.

2) Cf. 56 (65.13).

3) Cf. 'curationes facere', 38 (50.5).

4) Cf. 50 (60.13). Elsewhere 'consolatio' means: support, help, 52 (61.14); 66 (72.16); 88 (88.9).

5) Cf. 57 (65.25); 58 (65.29); 58 (66.10); 58 (66.18).

6) Cf. LÖFSTEDT, *Phil. Komm.*, 110ff.; *Vermischte Studien*, 211ff.

which found their way into christian Latin through biblical translations.

c. 'Constitutus'.

A curious trait of early-christian Latin is the frequent occurrence of 'constitutus' ¹⁾. A connection has been surmised between the Latin of the jurists and early-christian Latin, more especially the Latin of the Curia. In (V) very many instances are to be noted: *qui parentes christiani constituti*, 1 (17.3); *annorum decem et octo constitutus*, 2 (17.20); *in initiis constitutus*, 3 (19.6) ²⁾. In the frequent use of 'constitutus' we see another symptom of the christian trend of the Latin of (V).

d. Hebrewisms.

Several times we have had occasion to refer to the hebrew influence on early-christian Latin. The frequent use of the copulative 'et', which is so characteristic in primitive story-telling, is another sign of this influence ³⁾: *ipse vero ad diligentes et in sanctissimos christianos se artabat, iens ad illos et legitime se illis subiacebat, et apud se singulorum amplitudinem studii religionis considerabat, et videbat unius quidem gratiam alterius autem instantiam ad orationes, et alium videbat nimium humanum esse, vigilantem et legenti attendebat, de ieiunante autem et in terra dormiente mirabatur, et alterius lenitatem et longanimitatem observabat, omnium vero piam culturam in Christum et dilectionem in invicem notabat sibi, et sic plenus revertebatur ad proprium sui studii locum*, 4 (19.19).

A rich illustration both of co-ordinative construction and of hebrew influence is to be found in the following sentence which consists of a fourfold parallelism of thought ⁴⁾:

*si autem in Domino gaudentes nos invenerint
et cogitantes nos de bonis futuris
et habentes in mente ea quae sunt Domini //*

¹⁾ Cf. SCHRIJNEN—MOHRMANN, o.c. I, 6.

²⁾ Cf. 6 (22.7); 11 (27.5); 16 (31.22); 20 (35.5); 20 (35.13); 28 (42.10); 32 (46.2); 33 (46.21); 34 (47.19); 42 (53.24); 42 (53.16); 42 (54.1); 51 (61.6); 54 (62.18); 62 (69.9); 64 (70.7); 67 (73.13); 69 (74.18); 73 (76.7); 73 (76.14); 75 (78.14); 79 (80.27); 82 (83.13); 93 (92.3).

³⁾ Cf. VERHEIJEN, *Eloquentia pedisequa* (LCP X), 113ff.; BIELER, *Libri epistolarum S. Patricii* II. *Class. Med.* 12, 1951, 130. Cf. MOHRMANN, VC 7, 1953, 57.

⁴⁾ Cf. Süss, o.c. 108.

*et considerantes quia omnia Domini sunt
et in manibus ipsius sunt //*
*et quia nihil potest daemon adversus christianum
et omnino nullam habet potestatem adversus aliquem //*
*et cum viderint nos munitos in his omnibus
et animam in talibus cogitationibus constitutam //*
revertuntur confusi. 42 (53.25).

Typical of the hebrew influence on christian Latin is the pleonastic 'dicens' or 'dixit', 'dicit' after *verba dicendi*¹⁾. The frequency of this manner of writing lends a typically biblical colour to (V)'s Latin: *apostoli sancti dictum ubi dicit*, 7 (23.16); *apostoli dictum quod dixit*, 19 (34.14); *deprecabatur dicens*, 10 (26.23).

As a summary conclusion from what precedes it may be stated that (V)'s Latin manifests itself as decidedly christian on the points of vocabulary and semasiology, syntax and style. It remains to examine (V) as a translation of a greek text, that we may be enabled to make some estimate of the influence of the greek original on the Latin of the translator.

II. GREEK INFLUENCE ON (V).

GARITTE's characterization of (V)'s text has already been mentioned: 'littérale jusqu'au barbarisme'²⁾. He enlarges on his standpoint where he says: 'tandisqu'Évagre a usé largement de la liberté que S. Jérôme réclamait pour les traducteurs³⁾, l'autre interprète manquait de talent, ou de hardiesse, ou des deux à la fois, pour en faire autant; aussi sa traduction est-elle d'un littéralisme poussé à l'extrême; ne s'embarrassant d'aucun souci de style ni même de correction grammaticale, il s'est appliqué à rendre scrupuleusement les mots, le plus souvent dans l'ordre et parfois même avec la construction de l'original grec'⁴⁾.

Phrases like 'littéralisme poussé à l'extrême', 'littérale jusqu'au barbarisme' and elsewhere 'littéralisme servile'⁵⁾ naturally prompt the question: how is this 'littéralisme' manifested? Are the terms

1) Cf. SÜSS, *o.c.* 116ff.

2) Cf. GARITTE, *Un témoin*, 2.

3) Cf. BLATT, *o.c.* 221.

4) Cf. GARITTE, *Un témoin*, 7.

5) Cf. GARITTE, *Un témoin*, 9.

'servile', 'poussé à l'extrême', 'jusqu'au barbarisme' to be interpreted as implying a complete giving up by the translator of his own personal way of writing and a replacing of the original by a blind mechanical word-for-word translation of the Greek? Can it be said therefore that the greek text is fully dominant and has settled the case for the kind of Latin to be used by (V)? Will it be safe then to fill up a lacuna or restore a corrupt reading literally after the original on the plea that the anonymous translator must have done the same? These three questions naturally suggest themselves and are very closely related, but a full discussion of them lies outside the scope of the present study. The few remarks we shall devote to them are only meant to bring out the peculiar christian character of the Latin used by (V).

The fact must be acknowledged that the translator really tried to produce a translation as literal i.e. as accurate as possible. His own testimony is there to prove it when in the epilogue he apologizes for his impotence to express the full value of the greek text in Latin. Though he has done his very best, he is only too well aware *quantas infirmitates sustinuit graecus sermo translatus in latinitatem*.

This much being premised we ask how far the Greek of the original has been the determining factor of the latin rendering as regards the choice of words, syntax and style.

There are in fact a fairly great number of words which are direct borrowings from Greek. By far the large majority of these, however, are the current 'christianisms' of which we have already spoken. Nearly the whole of the rest are also found in profane Latin. On this ground therefore the translator can hardly be censured for servile adherence to the Greek. The use of these words was already known to him whether from general usage or from purely christian Latin.

Yet it is quite possible that the use of a word in a given greek passage was to the translator the last ounce to tip the scale in favour of the greek word, which was already current among the Latins. Thus we may perhaps surmise a certain dependence on the greek original as regards 'agape' in: *nihil me separabit ab agape Christi*, 40 (52.8). At first 'agape' was used both for the abstract idea of love and the concrete thing: 'meal'. On the earliest christian epitaphs the word often refers to the 'heavenly love-

feast' ¹⁾, the life in the world to come. In Tertullian and Cyprian the abstract meaning is the only one in which the word occurs ²⁾. Quite soon however in its abstract sense 'agape' was ousted and replaced by 'dilectio' and 'caritas'. It only continued to be used in its concrete meaning ³⁾. It may be presumed therefore that in the fourth century it meant 'meal', and nothing else. In (V) *l.c.* it turns up again in its abstract sense, and it is quite possible that it is precisely the greek word of the original that suggested this translation.

Even so such rare cases as these do not justify the reproach of servile adherence to his original in the translator. It may even be argued and the following chapters will furnish plenty of evidence that precisely in the matter of the choice of words the translator goes to a good deal of trouble to find the suitable latin equivalent he wants. GARITTE has already pointed this out with regard to the translations of *μοναστήριον* ⁴⁾. From the foregoing it may be concluded that in his choice of words the translator is sufficiently independent and does not use greek borrowings, which have not long since gained a berth in latin circles.

As regards syntax we note a somewhat greater dependence on the greek original: a remarkable instance is the transplanting into Latin of a comparative genitive: *nihil proponere dilectionis Christi; μηδὲν προκρίνειν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν ἀγάπης*, 14 (30.22). Quite characteristic also of the influence of the greek original is the rendering of ὥς, ὥστε with the infinitive by the latin 'ut' also with an infinitive: *idoneus erat lucrare omnes ut (ὥς) multos militantes et divites propter sermones ipsius deposuisse (ἀποτίθεσθαι) sarcinas et pondus huius vitae et secedere et esse cum monachis (γίνεσθαι μοναχούς)*, 87 (87.10) ⁵⁾. However clearly the greek influence is to be discerned in the instance cited, account should also be taken of the fact that in the latin popular language there is a trend to extend the use of the infinitive ⁶⁾.

1) Cf. KAUFMANN, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*, 139f.; DIEHL, *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres*, 2723ff.

2) Cf. JANSSEN, *Kultur und Sprache*, (LCP VIII) 201, 206; MOHRMANN, *Altchristliche Sondersprache*, (LCP III) 74ff.

3) Cf. PÉTRÉ, *Caritas*, 67f., 349; MOHRMANN, *Les emprunts grecs*, VC 4, 1950, 206.

4) Cf. GARITTE, *Un témoin*, 4.

5) As regards ὥστε with the infinitive see 7 (23.2).

6) Cf. STOLZ-SCHMALZ, *o.c.* 760; LÖFSTEDT, *Phil. Komm.*, 250; RÖNSCH, *o.c.* 445.

We have already drawn attention to the seemingly arbitrary variation of accusative-with-infinitive constructions and *quia*-clauses. A comparison with the Greek tells us that in very many cases this variation is elucidated by a like construction in Greek: another illustration of the influence of the greek text on the translation. On the other hand, however, the translator proves himself to be possessed of sufficient independence with regard to the accusative-with-infinitive and $\delta\tau\iota$ in the Greek by choosing the first where the Greek has $\delta\tau\iota$ or 'quia' where the Greek has the accusative-with-infinitive¹).

This sensitiveness to the greek original on the one hand and this independence with regard to it on the other can also be traced in the varying use of the indicative and conjunctive in indirect questions. These instances can be augmented with many others scattered throughout the field of syntax. What has been adduced so far, however, may be deemed sufficient to clear the translator of the reproach of being merely a servile copyist and of blindly transferring syntactic constructions from Greek into Latin.

Finally there is a characteristic order of words in (V), which accords the first place in a sentence to those words which bear a stronger stress²). But precisely those cases in which this style of writing is most conspicuous, find little support in the word-order of the greek text. We quoted above: *et conversatio est et huius rei indicium nostra quae talis est adversus eum*; καὶ τοῦτον γνώρισμα, τὸ νῦν ἡμᾶς πολιτεύεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ, 24 (39.11). It is difficult to find any cause for the prolepsis of 'conversatio' except the fact that the writer writes a style of his own, independent of the Greek. This would also appear from an earlier quotation from ch. 33. This passage does indeed give proof of a certain attachment to the Greek, the effect of the intention to be a faithful translator. But it also reveals a personal style which breaks away from the greek sentence-scheme, when the translator expressly accentuates the climax which seems to be suggested by the greek text. He does

1) The same variation is found in *Codex Bobiensis*. Cf. HOOGTERP, *Étude sur le latin du Codex Bobiensis des Évangiles*, 406, 362; MOHRMANN: 'on trouve cette construction dans toutes les anciennes versions de la bible et dans les textes traduits en général'. *Les origines*, VC 3, 1949, 85.

2) The same device, which seems to be a favourite trick of style with orators, is also found e.g. in *De Sacramentis* by AMBROSE. Cf. MOHRMANN, *Le style oral du De Sacramentis*, VC 6, 1952, 175f.

so by means of a prolepsis which in the further course of the sentence takes the form of an 'unrelated nominative': *nam et medici* (καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἰατροὶ) *futura praedicunt et fit saepius secundum dictum eorum. Et gubernatores iterum et agricolae* (καὶ κυβερνήται δὲ καὶ γεωργοὶ πάλιν) *praedicunt futuram tempestatem et non pro hoc potest quis extimare quia ut divini dixerunt. Unde et daemones, si* (ὅθεν εἰ καὶ οἱ δαίμονες) *praedixerint, nemo miretur de ipsis.* 'Daemones' is clearly taken out of the conditional sentence in contrast with the greek δαίμονες. Thus an 'unrelated nominative' gives point of view the writer's own style and his independence as regards the Greek ¹).

We think that the peculiar character of (V)'s style as compared with the Greek is thus sufficiently vindicated. There are indeed passages where the latin text has a striking resemblance to the greek, but at moments of intenser emotion and emphasis the personal style of the translator will regularly burst forth.

At the outset of this discussion we raised the question as to whether the anonymous translator had entirely discarded his personal turn of writing and whether it can therefore be maintained that the greek text has been the sole determinant factor for the sort of Latin (V) wrote. The answer must be negative to both question. As the result of our enquiry we are entitled to say that the greek text has indeed been closely followed by the latin translator but has not influenced the latinity of the translation to any considerable extent. These answers furnish the solution of the third problem posed above *viz.* whether it is right to correct mistakes or what are considered to be such 'literally in accordance with the original text' and take these emendations to be identical with what the translator himself wrote originally.

The answer is both positive and negative. Of course it is right to mend errors or fill up gaps 'literally in accordance with the original', as has been admirably done by GARITTE in several instances ²), with this proviso that the reading in question may

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1) Cf. 55 (63.13). We note however that in some other cases the 'unrelated nominative' seems rather to be due to some inadvertence on the part of the translator. Because the greek sentence opens with a nominative, the translator starts his latin sentence straight off with a nominative without troubling much whether he will not get stuck in the rest of the sentence. Cf. 20 (35.8) and 87 (87.20).

2) Cf. GARITTE, *Un témoin*, 10; 12 (28.3); 14 (31.1); 22 (37.1); 32 (46.11); 36 (49.5); 42 (54.4) etc.

after all not be an error of the translator, but merely a subtle or clumsy device of vulgar or christian Latin unknown to us but quite familiar to the translator.

On this account it would seem that some of GARITTE's emendations are not all that could be desired. Thus we doubt whether it was wise to get rid of some pleonasms and repetitions here and there. The asyndeton is a figure of speech much fancied in (V). Is it wise to work this away on the strength of the *καί* in the original Greek and slip an 'et' into the latin text? In (V) there is also an evident confusion as regards the active and deponent forms of the verb and the endings of the tenses. Is it wise also to straighten all these and normalize them into the straight-jacket of classical usage¹⁾?

To illustrate the danger of GARITTE's 'corrections' we conclude this chapter with a reproduction of such a 'corrected' passage from the prologue together with the original Greek and the latin MS text: *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπητήσατε καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀντωνίου, μαθεῖν θέλοντες ὅπως τε ἤρξατο τῆς ἀσκήσεως, καὶ τίς ἦν πρὸ ταύτης, καὶ ὅποιον ἔσχε τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος, καὶ εἰ ἀληθῆ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενά ἐστιν, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου ζῆλον ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάγητε μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ἐδεξάμην το παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπίταγμα. Κάμοι γὰρ μέγα κέρδος ὠφελείας ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ μόνον Ἀντωνίου μνημονεύειν.*

MS 'corrected' by GARITTE: *sed quia et a me exigere voluistis ut (conscriberem) conversationem sanctae memoriae Antonii, scire volentes quomodo coepit studere in cultura Dei, et quis erat ante hoc studium, et qualem consummationem vitae habuit, et (si vera) sunt quae dicuntur de eo ut et vos audientes, excitati zelo ipsius, educ(e)tis vos ad similitudinem eius, inde prompta voluntate et magnum suscepi praeceptum vestrum. Magnum enim mihi est (lucrum) ex hoc et si tantum memoriam faciam Antonii.* P (15.8—16).

The conjectural readings 'conscriberem', 'si vera', 'lucrum ex', which derive no support whatever from the MS, appear uncalled

1) It would seem to the writer that GARITTE has not taken full account of the many important studies of scholars such as SCHUCHARDT, WÖLFFLIN, WACKER-NAGEL, MEYER—LÜBKE, BONNET, GOELZER, MEILLET, LÖFSTEDT, SVENNING, NORBERG, SCHRIJNEN and others. Cf. MOHRMANN: *'études qui ont élargi nos vues en nous libérant d'un classicisme étroit, héritage d'une pensée humaniste toujours prête à taxer de décadence et de décomposition tout ce qui s'écarte des règles du Latin classique'*, *La latinité de saint Benoît*, RB 62, 1952, 110.

for, if in consonance with the MS punctuation the text is read as follows: *sed quia et a me exigere voluistis, ut*¹⁾ *conversationem sanctae memoriae Antonii scire volentes, quomodo coepit studere in cultura Dei, et quis erat ante hoc studium, et qualem consummationem vitae habuit; et sunt quae dicuntur de eo ut et vos audientes excitati zelo ipsius educ(e)tis vos ad similitudinem eius(;) inde prompta voluntate et magnum suscepi praeceptum vestrum; magnum enim mihi est, et hoc, et si tantum memoriam faciam Antonii.*

It is true that this reading deviates from the Greek, as indeed does the reading proposed by GARITTE, but as against this it may be urged that the text is now of simple but limp and vivid style in full harmony with the Latin of (V) as we have described it in earlier pages. There are a good many other passages, where GARITTE's 'corrections' damage the characteristic features of (V)'s Latin.

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1) 'Ut' with the participle, cf. STOLZ—SCHMALZ, *o.c.* 603.

CHAPTER II

THE MONK AND HIS DWELLING

To complete the general sketch of the christian situation in which the author of (V) lived and wrote it is the specific monastic elements appearing at the time, that call for notice and comment. It will not always be easy to detach these monastic elements sharply from what is common christianity, any more than it was easy, at the time of incipient monachism, to see the men and women who followed this way of life otherwise than as fervent christians ¹⁾. So we shall first try to find out by what name or names a monk was known and distinguished from general society, and then proceed to discover the names of his house or dwelling-place.

MONACHUS.

In the following passages (A), (V) and (E) agree in the use of *μοναχός* and 'monachus' respectively: P ²⁾ (15.3); P (16.4); 23 (37.21); 25 (40.3); 40 (51.27); 41 (52.27); 44 (55.10); 46 (57.1); 50 (60.3); 54 (62.11); 55 (63.13); 58 (66.2); 58 (66.8); 59 (66.25); 59 (66.29); 60 (67.15); 60 (68.12); 65

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1) Cf.: 'then if he heard of a zealous soul (*τινὰ σπουδαῖον*) anywhere, like a wise bee he left to search him out, nor did he return home before he had seen him; and only when he had received from him, as it were, provisions for his journey to virtue, did he go back', ch. 3 (Meyer, *The life of saint Antony*, p. 20) = (M 20); '...he in turn, subjected himself in all sincerity to the pious men (*τοῖς σπουδαίοις*) whom he visited and made it his endeavour to learn for his own benefit just how each was superior to him in zeal and ascetic practice', ch. 4 (M 21); LABRIOLLE: 'toutefois la conception d'une vie plus parfaite, plus mortifiée, un peu à l'écart de la 'res saecularis', n'avait jamais cessé d'être en honneur au sein du christianisme primitif. Elle se rattache d'ailleurs à certaines paroles évangéliques, et elle a trouvé dans le monachisme, non pas sa réalisation initiale, mais son suprême épanouissement'. *Les débuts du monachisme*, HEFM III, 302.

2) P = prologue; P (15.3) in (V) = P in (A) and (E); 23 (37.21) in (V) = ch. 23 in (A) and (E) etc.

(70.10); 65 (70.21); 67 (73.3); 81 (82.12); 86 (86.20); 87 (87.19); 91 (89.30); 94 (92.26).

In two places (A) and (E) have *μοναχός* and 'monachus', where (V) has no corresponding word, but the MS is corrupt (cc 41; 85).

(A) and (V) have *μοναχός* and 'monachus', where (E) has 'frater': 15 (31.11); 16 (31.16); 45 (55.22); 81 (82.16); 89 (88.14). Only (A) and (V) have *μοναχός* and 'monachus': P (15.18); 3 (18.24); 14 (31.3); 54 (63.8); 87 (87.12).

(V) and (E) have 'monachus', where (A) has *μοναστήρια*: 54 (63.2). Only (V) and (E) have 'monachus': 58 (66.8); 86 (86.13). Only (A) and (E) write *μοναχός* and 'monachus': P (15.6); 63 (69.12). (V) uses 'monachus', but (A) has *μοναστήρια*: P (15.6); 3 (18.23); 14 (31.3); 44 (54.26); 54 (63.2); 63 (69.10).

Only (V) has 'monachus': 58 (66.4); 58 (66.19); 59 (66.21); 63 (69.11); 82 (83.1); 91 (91.2). (E) has 'monachus', whereas (A) uses *ἀσκητής* or *ἀσκησις*: cc. 36; 46.

Even a cursory reading of the above data makes it clear:

1. that as a rule the word 'monachus' is taken to be an equivalent of the original *μοναχός*; there is no case in which (A) uses *μοναχός* without any corresponding 'monachus' in either (V) or (E);
2. that (E) uses 'monachus' twice to render *ἀσκητής* or *ἀσκησις*;
3. that (E) finds it easier than (V) to write 'frater' for 'monachus';
4. that (V) seems to be unacquainted with 'monasterium' seeing he prefers a circumlocution with the help of 'monachus'.

Of the above points the last two will be reserved for consideration under the headings 'frater' and 'monasterium'.

Μοναχός in (A).

The original meaning of *μοναχός*¹⁾ is a monk living in solitude, which meaning is still clearly preserved in the English 'a solitary' as it is in the German 'Einsiedler'. As monachism developed more and more from eremitic into cenobitic life, the word *μοναχός* gradually widened its meaning and came to designate any monk whether he lived in hermitage or a monastery. Quite naturally this wider meaning of the word manifested itself at an earlier date in

1) *Μοναχός* as a noun is not found in non-christian literature. In christian writings it occurs as early as c. 180 A.D. Cf. HEUSI: 'Da das Wort schon um 180 nachweisbar ist, ist es vielmehr wahrscheinlich, dass es schon im Laufe des 3 Jahrhunderts technische Bedeutung gewonnen hat'. Der Ursprung des Monachismus, 58, 39; KOCH, Quellen zur Geschichte der Askese und des Mönchtums, 38.

its derived and latinized form 'monachus' for two reasons: first of all because with the eastern christians the original *μοναχός* would never fail to evoke an idea of solitariness which its latin equivalent would never call forth in those of the West, and secondly because the eremitic life never thrived in the West so deeply and so abundantly as it did in the East¹).

Athanasius wrote the life of Anthony very probably in 357, when he had been driven out of Alexandria and lived with the cenobite monks of Pachomius in the Thebaid²). Hence it is not surprising that in his writings there should be traces affecting the use and meaning of *μοναχός* or hints that *μοναχός* is on its way to a wider meaning, the more so since his biography should be read and judged rather as the picture of an ideal with an historical background than as a purely historical record³).

On studying (A) there appear expressions that are clearly meant to bring into relief the fundamental meaning of *μοναχός*. The life of Anthony is typified as *μονήρης βίος*⁴); mention is made of *καταμόνας ἀσκηῖσθαι*⁵), *καταμόνας καθῆσθαι*⁶); lastly there are several such statements as *μόνος ἔμενε*, *μόνος ἦν*⁷). On the strength of these phrases it is safe to conclude that in (A) *μοναχός* is used in its original sense.

On the other hand the very explicitness of such statements may perhaps be interpreted as a hint that the word *μοναχός* is being affected by a change and that Athanasius is aware of this. The monks of Pachomius among whom Athanasius was staying at the time of writing were not monks in the strict original sense any more than were the monks *ἐν τῇ ξένῃ*, whom he had got to know during his stay in Gaul and Italy and for whose benefit he wrote the life⁸). It strikes one moreover that in the biography proper there

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1) Cf. LABRIOLLE: 'la vie érémitique proprement dite n'a jamais pris en Gaule, non plus qu'en Occident, un développement qui soit le moins du monde comparable à celui qu'elle avait reçu en Orient'. *Les débuts*, 352.

2) Cf. LABRIOLLE, *Les débuts*, 306; BARDY, *Antoine*, DSAM I, 702; BOUYER, *La vie de saint Antoine*, 15ff.

3) Cf. DORRIES, *Die Vita Antonii*, 387.

4) Cf. cc. 3; 14; 15.

5) Cf. ch. 3.

6) Cf. ch. 66.

7) Cf. cc. 8; 12; 50 and cc. 9; 51.

8) Athanasius lived at Trier in 336 and at Rome in 341. 'H ξένῃ, which he uses three times (MG 25, 252, 272, 345) appears to indicate either Gaul or Italy. Cf. BOUYER, *o.c.* 31ff.

are numerous passages which seem to be a sort of foreshadowing of the new way of life in monachism. Several times Anthony is described giving guidance to other hermits, he has his meals with them and is invited to take part in their common prayer; similarly his sister acts as a guide to other sacred virgins¹⁾.

In fact there is a change brewing and in the biography of Anthony the signs are discernible. It would be an error, however, to view cenobitic life as a form of monachism which stood in antagonism to the old eremitic way of life. Rather the contrary is true. For a long space of time a cenobium was considered to be a training-school for the perfect hermit²⁾; and it is in this light that the biography of Anthony should be read and interpreted. When Anthony has dealings with other hermits who come to see him in great numbers, he stands forth as the teacher of the perfect eremitic life and supports his teaching by his example when again and again he withdraws into solitude, when he complains now and then that the great concourse of visitors prevents him from being really solitary, and then on divine inspiration goes into hiding miles away in the desert³⁾.

From all this it may be safely inferred that *μοναχός* in (A) still stands for the hermit or at least for the monk who aspires to be one.

‘Monachus’ in (V).

When the three texts are compared it appears that in every case where (A) has *μοναχός*, (V) has ‘monachus’. There are only two exceptions: in P (15.6) (V) writes ‘ipsorum’ and in 63 (69.12) ‘illos’; in both cases the absence of ‘monachus’ is easily accounted for, the translation preferring a pronoun to the repetition of a noun in immediate neighbourhood.

The adherence of (V) to his greek text might incline one to think that ‘monachus’ covers the emotional as well as the semantic content of *μοναχός*, but the argument is not cogent. Dutiful fidelity in a translator might prompt him to transliterate the word without bothering much about the fundamental meaning.

There are, however, a few other passages in which the translator

1) Cf. cc. 16—44; 45; 54; 63; 81.

2) Cf. BOUYER, *o.c.* 59ff.; LABRIOLLE, *o.c.* 340; CRISTIANI, *Cassien*, I, 154; CHADWICK, *John Cassian*, 49; BRÉHIER, *La vie chrétienne en Orient*, HEFM IV, 545.

3) Cf. cc. 45; 55; 85; 49.

of (A) uses 'monachus' quite independently. Thus he speaks of *mansio monachorum. locum monachorum* or simply *monachi* where the original has *μοναστήριον*¹⁾. Moreover *μοναστήριον* is elsewhere periphrased as *singularem vitam habentium mansio, singularis locus, singularis mansio*²⁾, while *μονήρης βίος* is rendered by *singularis, solitaria vita*³⁾, from which it is apparent that to the translator 'monachus' is equivalent to 'singularem vitam habens'.

On the strength of the above circumstantial evidence it is safe to say that 'monachus' in (V) means 'a monk living in solitude' quite as much as does *μοναχός* in (A).

'Monachus' in (E).

On the whole the translator in (E) allows himself a freer handling of 'monachus', though there are symptoms that the original meaning of the word has not quite vanished. This is apparent from the association of 'monachus' and 'eremus' in the following instances: ... *solus contendit ad montem et eremi adhuc m o n a c h i s ignotae rupto metu. viam conatus est pandere*, ch. 11; ... *εὐθύς αὐτὸς ὤρμησεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος; ... et habitandae eremi istud exordium fuit*, ch. 4; ... *καὶ ἡ ἔρημος ἐπολίσθη ὑπὸ μοναχῶν*.

Both the expanding of the first quotation and the omission of the redundant 'monachus' in the second seem to suggest that the idea of *μοναχός* and 'monachus' being equivalent is still very much alive. Without anticipating the discussion on 'monasterium' it may here be added that this word is repeatedly used quite clearly in the sense of 'dwelling-place of a hermit'.

On the other hand it is also clear that 'monachus' is repeatedly used in (E) in a far wider sense. Thus *φιλόκαλοι, σπονδαῖοι* and *ἀσκηταί* are all called *monachi* and *ἀσκησις* is rendered by *institutum monachorum*⁴⁾. (E) is not consistent in rendering those words in that way, but this does not do away with the fact that in the cases cited he uses the word 'monachus', whereas the greek original is couched in more general terms.

Finally, there are a number of passages, in which (A) and (V) use *μοναχός*, 'monachus' and (E) writes 'frater'. Thus: ... *multos magisterio suo fratres confirmavit*, ch. 15; ... *cum a congregatis*

1) Cf. P (15.6); 3 (18.23); 14 (31.3); 44 (54.26); 54 (63.2); 63 (69.10).

2) Cf. 15 (31.14); 45 (55.16); 15 (31.9); 47 (57.20).

3) Cf. 14 (31.1); 25 (40.12); 3 (18.27).

4) Cf. cc. 4; 7; 36; 46.

fratribus rogaretur, ch. 16; ...*frequenter cum fratribus sedens*, ch. 45; ...*rogatus ab universis fratribus*, ch. 81; ...*ad visendos fratres venit*, ch. 89.

The fact that (E) for no ostensible reason replaces *μοναχός* by 'frater' finds a plausible explanation confirmed by the later development, if it is admitted that by this time the semantic content of 'monachus' has found a wider application and that the original meaning has become less prominent.

If (A), (V) and (E) are tested on the word *μοναχός*, 'monachus' and mutually compared, (E) presents a later stage of semantic development than (A) or (V). When 'monachus' first appears in Latin, it does so as fully monastic term, up to that time unknown in common speech and in early-Christian Latin. Hence it is a loan-word, a direct borrowing from the Greek.

'Monachus' in later writers.

Monasticism in the East and the West did not travel the same road and in the course of time considerable differences arose. Hence in the assessment of a writer it should be first ascertained to which of the two worlds of thought he belongs. St Jerome gives his impressions of the monastic life in Palestine and in his translations of the rules of Pachomius he introduces his readers to the ways and practices of the Egyptian monks.

Macarius Magnus, Evagrius Ponticus and Cassian likewise chiefly describe the monasticism of Egypt, while the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* relates the impressions of a journey through Palestine, Syria and Arabia.

As regards the West the data that can be gathered from St Augustine and from the Rule of St Benedict will suffice ¹⁾.

Jerome.

The lives of Paul and of Hilarion make it clear that 'monachus'

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¹⁾ It is not the object of the present inquiry to make an exhaustive study of the said authors. Our only concern is to trace the continuance and development of the Latin terms occurring in *Vita Antonii*. Hence it has been deemed advisable to limit the inquiry to authors of repute. Consequently no account has been taken of the *Historia monachorum* or the translation of the Rule of Basil, both by RUFINUS, and *a fortiori* of such confused and obscure work as the *Vita Martini*. Cf. LABRIOLLE, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, II, 570ff. The *Regula Magistri* is purposely left out of account, because this is a still much debated question.

still retains its original meaning: ...igitur adamato habitaculo omnem ibidem in orationibus et solitudine duxit aetatem. Quod ne cui impossibile videatur, Iesum testor et sanctos angelos eius in ea eremi parte, quae iuxta Syriam Saracenis iungitur, et vidisse me monachos et videre, e quibus unus per triginta annos clausus hordeaceo pane et lutulenta aqua vixit, alter in cisterna veteri quinque caricis per singulos dies sustentabatur, Vita Pauli 6.

In Epist. 14 ad Heliodorum monachum he interprets the word etymologically: ...interpretare vocabulum monachi, hoc est nomen tuum: quid facis in turba qui solus es? Epist. 14.6.1.

In Epist. 22 ad Eustochium, however, he writes of the egyptian monks: ...tria sunt in Aegypto genera monachorum: coenobium, quod ille 'sauhes' gentili lingua vocant, nos 'in commune viventes' possumus appellare; anachoretæ, qui soli habitant per deserta et ab eo quod procul ab hominibus recesserint nuncupantur; tertium genus est quod dicitur 'remnuoth' deterrimum atque neglectum, Epist. 22.34.1. In this letter, therefore, written in 384, he clearly distinguishes between hermits and cenobites, while applying 'monachus' to both. Twenty years later he translates the Rule of Pachomius and writes in the preface: ...nostrique fratres aegyptiorum, hoc est, tabennensium monachorum exempla sequerentur, qui habent per singula monasteria patres et dispensatores et hebdomadarios ac ministros et singularum domuum praepositos, ita ut una domus quadraginta plus minusve fratres habeat, qui oboediant praeposito, Reg. Pach. praef. 1.2. (5.8).

Peregrinatio Egeriae.

The word 'monachus' is of frequent occurrence and the original meaning is felt to be still very much alive, as appears from the repeated use of 'monasterium' in the sense 'dwelling-place of a hermit': ...ubi sanctus monachus nunc monasterium sibi fecisset, 59.1; ...vidimus monasterium cuiusdam fratris nunc, id est, monachi, 58.31. 'Eremita' and 'anachoreta' are wanting; but the word 'ascitis' which is meant to designate the monks who enjoy a special reputation on account of their way of life occurs six times: ...senex integer et monachus a prima vita et ut hic dicunt ascitis, 40.1; ...maiores qui in solitudine sedebant, quos hic ascites vocant, 65.28. The cenobitic life, however, is not unknown to the writer, as may be inferred from

the fact that 'monasterium' here and there clearly indicates a monastery.

Cassian.

Collatio 19 de fine coenobiotae et eremitae is entirely devoted to a comparative study of the two methods of sanctification a monk may follow: ... *finis quidem coenobiotae est omnes suas mortificare et crucifigere voluntates ac secundum evangelicae perfectionis salutare mandatum nihil de crastino cogitare. Eremitae vero perfectio est exutam mentem a cunctis habere terrenis eamque, quantum humana imbecillitas valet sic unire cum Christo*, Coll. 19.8.3,4. The abbot John, who discourses in this conference, explains why he has given up the life of a hermit to join a cenobium: ... *anachoreticam disciplinam, quam me deseruisse miramini, non solum non respuo nec refuto, sed tota potius veneratione complector atque suscipio, sed recurrere ad coenobium commodius visum est; melius est enim devotum in minoribus quam indevotum in maioribus promissionibus inveniri*, Coll. 19.3.1,2. The word 'monachus' meanwhile goes on being applied also to cenobites: ... *infinita de aliis quoque coenobiis monachorum turba confluxerat*, Coll. 19.1.1. Through the abbot Piamun Cassian tells us: ... *coenobiotarum disciplina a tempore praedicationis apostolicae sumpsit exordium, nam talis extitit in Hierosolymis omnis illa credentium multitudo, quae in Actibus Apostolorum ita describitur*, Coll. 18.5.1. But when the first zeal and fervour had died down, there were those who: ... *ea, quae ab Apostolis per universum corpus Ecclesiae generaliter meminerant instituta, privatim ac peculiariter exercere coeperunt; atque ita coaluit ista quam diximus discipulorum qui se ab illorum contagio sequestraverant disciplina, qui paulatim tempore procedente segregati a credentium turbis ab eo, quod a coniugiis abstinerent et a parentum se consortio mundique istius conversatione secernerent, monachi sive μονάζοντες a singularis ac solitariae vitae districtione nominati sunt. Unde consequens fuit, ut ex communione consortii coenobiotae, cellaeque ac diversoria eorum coenobia vocarentur. Istud ergo solummodo fuit antiquissimum monachorum genus, quod non solum tempore sed etiam gratia primum est quodque per annos plurimos inviolabile usque ad abbatis Pauli vel Antonii duravit aetatem; cuius etiam nunc adhuc in districtis coenobiis*

cernimus residere vestigia, Coll. 18.5.3,4. Cassian would seem to mean that Paul and Anthony were first cenobites, and became *μοναχοί*, thus returning to a life of strict observance ¹⁾).

The passage is interesting, because on the one hand it contains the word 'monachus' in its original sense, on the other it also employs the word in its wider meaning: *antiquissimum monachorum genus*. It is interesting also as showing that the monks were keen on being considered upholders of a tradition from the first christians.

Augustine.

Who peruses what Augustine has to say of monastic life, soon becomes aware that to him monks are those who live in community. He is acquainted, at least by hearsay, with the lives of hermits: *... qui secretissimi penitus ab omni hominum conspectu, pane solo et aqua contenti desertissimas terras incolunt*, Mor. eccl. 1.31.66. He knows that there are those who criticize their way of living: *... videntur enim nonnullis res humanas plus quam oporteret deseruisse, non intellegendis quantum nobis eorum anima in orationibus prosit et vita ad exemplum, quorum corpora videre non sinimur*, Ibid. It is difficult to get away from the impression that Augustine in his inmost heart quite agrees with that *plus quam oporteret*.

What strikes the reader is the complete absence of the word 'monachus' in this discussion, the first in which Augustine treats of the monastic life; in a general way only he refers to *homines, viri, sancti*. It is even absent from the *Confessiones*, in which the word 'frater' finds technical usage. When about the turn of the century 'monachus' makes its appearance in Augustine's writings, it is completely shorn of its original meaning, and a pseudo-etymological derivation is even called in to invest it with an almost contrary sense. A *monachus* is not one on account of being alone; he is one on account of his intimate association with others: *... μόνος enim unus dicitur: et non unus quomodocumque; nam et in turba est unus, sed una cum multis unus dici potest, μόνος non potest, id est, solus: μόνος enim unus solus est. Qui ergo sic vivunt in unum, ut unum hominem faciant, ut sit illis vere*

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¹⁾ Cf. CRISTIANI, o.c. I, 154ff.

quod scriptum est, una anima et unum cor; multa corpora, sed non multae animae; multa corpora, sed non multa corda; recte dicitur μόνος, id est, unus solus. Merito insultant nomini unitatis, qui se ab unitate praeciderunt; merito illis displicet nomen monachorum, quia illi nolunt habitare in unum cum fratribus; sed sequentes Donatum, Christum dimiserunt, In psalm. 132.6.

It may be urged that Augustine knows better and that he only chooses this line, because it supplies him with an argument against Donatus. But even so the passage makes it clear that the fundamental meaning of 'monachus' has passed into oblivion.

Benedict.

In the first chapter of the *Regula* he makes mention of various forms of monasticism: ... *primum (genus est) coenobitarum, hoc est, monasteriale; secundum genus est anachoretarum, id est, eremitarum, horum qui non conversionis fervore novitio, sed monasterii probatione diuturna didicerunt contra diabolum, multorum solatio iam docti, pugnare et bene instructi fraterna ex acie ad singularem pugnam eremi securi iam sine consolatione alterius, sola manu vel brachio contra vitia carnis vel cogitationum Deo auxiliante sufficiunt pugnare, Reg. Ben. 1.* He does not go beyond this mention of hermits and cenobites, and in the rest of the *Regula* he only concerns himself with *monachi* who lead a common life and inhabit the monasteries. The original meaning of the word seems to lie so far beyond Benedict's horizon that he does not trouble to mention it, even when he speaks of the *genus anachoretarum, id est, eremitarum*. Yet he cannot but have read about it in Cassian's works, so it must have dropped from his mind or not have been deemed worthy of even a passing mention.

Résumé.

To sum up the results of this inquiry: *μοναχός* in (A) and 'monachus' in (V) and in the *Peregrinatio* are used in the strict original sense; in (E) 'monachus' finds a wider application, though the old fundamental meaning has not disappeared. Jerome at first applies the word in its old and strict sense, in a later period he has been carried along by the current and freely uses the wider meaning. With Cassian this new use is even dominant and the original meaning is referred to as a fact of history. As to the West,

Augustine and Benedict know and use the word only in its wider sense.

FRATER.

In general latin 'frater' is used in the following senses: 1. brother in the usual sense; 2. cousin; 3. *fratres*: fellow-citizens¹⁾; as a title of honour for the most faithful allies of the Roman people²⁾. In the latin of the philosophers 'frater' carries no special connotation, though the general idea of the kinship and fellowship of all mankind and of the mutual social ties based thereon was very much alive. Among the followers of the cult of Mithras on the other hand 'frater' was used as an endearing form of address and as an expression of fellow-feeling, which however, was not rooted in any sense of duty towards one's neighbour.

It was left to Christianity to link up the word 'frater' with the universal duty of man to love his neighbour. From the earliest days of Christianity 'frater' was used in the sense of *frater in Christo* i.e. fellow-christian or simply christian³⁾. This usage evidently derives from a jewish religious *milieu*⁴⁾. It is of very frequent occurrence in the New Testament. At a later date the word was given a monastic content and 'frater' became synonymous with 'monachus'. The word together with its greek original ἀδελφός naturally occurs repeatedly in the texts we are examining, and the question arises how it is to be understood in its various contexts.

Ἀδελφός 'frater' is found in (A), (V) and (E) in: 4 (20.6); 15 (31.6); 31 (44.28); 45 (56.1); 49 (58.25); 50 (59.29); 51 (60.21); 60 (68.13); 69 (74.11); 90 (89.7); 94 (92.25). In 59 (66.21) (A) has ἀδελφός, (V) 'monachus', (E) 'frater'; in ch. 82 (A) has ἀδελφός, (V) no equivalent, (E) 'frater'; in 89 (88.16) (A) has ἀδελφός, (V) 'frater', (E) no equivalent.

Taking account of the whole of the texts (A) has ἀδελφός 14 times; (V) writes 'frater' 12 times, translates it by 'monachus' once, and once also leaves it without any equivalent. (E) on the

1) Cf. HORACE, *Carm.*, 1.35.34.

2) Cf. CAESAR, *Gall.*, 1.32.2.

3) A detailed statement concerning the use of 'frater' in common and in early-christian Latin is to be found in PÉTRÉ, *Caritas*, 103ff. The authoress however is insufficiently aware of the jewish element in the christian 'frater', nor does she take account of the word in its monastic sense.

4) Cf. VON SODEN, Ἀδελφός, TW I, 144ff.

other hand uses 'frater' 41 times: 13 times it is the equivalent of ἀδελφός; 6 times of μοναχός once of συνασκητής, γνώριμος or ἄνθρωπος and 19 times it is used without any equivalent.

These first data would seem to suggest a certain contrast between (V) and (E) based on the fact that (V) replaces a monastically coloured ἀδελφός by 'monachus' and (E) repeatedly replaces μοναχός by a monastically tinged 'frater'. Whether these surmises are well founded will have to be settled by further inquiry.

Ἀδελφός in (A).

The word is evidently synonymous with μοναχός in the following passages:

1. ...often when about to partake of food with many other monks (μοναχῶν), the thought of spiritual food came upon him and he would beg to be excused and went a long way from them, thinking that he should be ashamed to be seen eating by others. He did eat, of course, by himself because his body needed it; and frequently, too, with the brethren (ἀδελφῶν) embarrassed because of them, ch. 45 (M 58).

2. ...the brethren (ἀδελφοί) saw to it that bread was sent to him. Anthony, however, seeing that the bread was causing some of them to trouble themselves to the extent of enduring hardship, and meaning to show consideration for the monks (μοναχῶν) in this also ... ch. 50 (M 62).

3. ...now the monks (μοναχοί) to whom Anthony had spoken of Amoun's death made a note of the day; and when the brethren (ἀδελφῶν) arrived they learned that Amoun had fallen asleep that same day and hour when Anthony saw his soul borne on high, ch. 60 (M 71).

4. ...as was his wont, he happened to be visiting the monks (μοναχοίς). Receiving a premonition of his death, he spoke to the brethren (ἀδελφοῖς), saying ... ch. 89 (M 93).

5. ...now, then, read this to the other brethren (ἀδελφοῖς), that they learn what the life of monks (μοναχῶν) should be like, ch. 94 (M 98).

In quotation 1, 2 and 4 the same persons are called μοναχοί and ἀδελφοί. In 3 ἀδελφῶν would be best translated by 'their co-religious' or 'confrères'. In 5 Athanasius tells the monks for whom he writes the life of Anthony that they should also read it to the

other monks in order that they may learn from it what a monk's life should be like¹).

Less evidently but still very probably ἀδελφός in all other cases has the sense of μοναχός except in two, viz. in ch. 4 and in ch. 69: in the first the word is used in a comparative sense, in the second it is synonymous with 'christian': ... they were fond of him as a brother (ἀδελφόν), ch. 4 (M 22); ... answering the appeal of both the bishops and all the brethren (τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάντων), he came down from the mountain, and entering Alexandria, he denounced the arians (τοὺς Ἀρειανούς), ch. 69 (M 78).

The very words τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάντων embrace the whole christian congregation and ἀδελφός therefore means christian. If confirmation were needed it would be supplied by the contrast τοὺς Ἀρειανούς.

It is true that ὁ λαός, οἱ λαοί and λαικοί are also used by Athanasius for the ordinary faithful, but this is beside the question²). The only point that concerns us is the meaning of ἀδελφός, and this is clearly *frater in Christo* or *christianus* in ch. 69. Elsewhere it is always *monachus*, except the passage of ch. 4 cited above.

'Frater' in (V).

With but two exceptions ἀδελφός is always rendered by 'frater'. In (A) the context in cc. 45, 50, 60, 89 and 94 clearly demands for ἀδελφός the meaning μοναχός; the similar context in (V) demands a similar conclusion for 'frater', viz. *monachus*. As was the case with ἀδελφός in ch. 69, 'frater' once means *christianus*. For all the rest the most obvious meaning of 'frater' that presents itself is *monachus* except the passage in ch. 4.

The two exceptions referred to above are as follows: ... *et ipse quidem postmodum aut post horam sequentia* †³) *verat loqui* † *loquebatur non excidens proposito*, 82 (83.2); ... καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν μεθ' ὧρας ὥμιλει τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς συνοῦσιν ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῷ. ch. 82; ... *et ingredientibus aliquando duobus monachis*... 59 (66.21); ... εἰσερχομένων δὲ δύο ἀδελφῶν τωνων... ch. 59. The latin text of the first passage is hopelessly corrupt and is outside the range of comment. As regards the second it was remarked that the trans-

1) Cf. πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ξένῃ μοναχοὺς, Prologue.

2) Cf. cc. 69; 70; 90.

3) †...† = *lectio corrupta*.

lation ἀδελφός — 'monachus' might suggest that (V) deems the acceptance of 'frater' for *monachus* of doubtful soundness. In view of the fact, however, that 'frater' in the sense of *monachus* occurs several times, and this very clearly, in the story, this suggestion must be discarded. The translation ἀδελφός — 'monachus' therefore will have to be taken here as a case of 'slow thinking' (*Denk-trägheit*). In ch. 58 (A) uses μοναχός twice, while (V) has 'monachus' five times. It is not quite surprising that the translator under the spell of 'monachus' also in the first sentence of ch. 59 translates ἀδελφός by 'monachus'. The use of 'frater' in (V) therefore differs in no way from that of ἀδελφός in (A).

'Frater' in (E).

Six times μοναχός has 'frater' as its equivalent, among which the following passage from the preface is the most striking: *Athanasius episcopus ad peregrinos fratres*; ... πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ξένῃ μοναχοὺς¹⁾). There are moreover other places where from the context 'frater' clearly means *monachus*: ... optimum, fratres, iniistis certamen, aut aequare Aegypti monachos, aut superare nitentes virtutis instantia, P; ... multos magisterio suo fratres confirmavit, ita ut brevi tempore plurima fierent monasteria, novos antiquosque monachos pro aetate vel tempore, paterno moderabatur affectu, ch. 15; tantarum victoriarum homo fratrum precibus vincitur; a monachis enim rogatus ut eos dignaretur invisere una cum his profectus est, ch. 54²⁾).

In two passages *frater* is the same as *christianus*: ... his rebus ita peractis cum persecutio impiissima Maximini furore vesano vastaret Ecclesiam, sanctisque martyribus Alexandriam perductis, relicto et ipse monasterio secutus est futuras Christi victimas, dicens: pergamus ad gloriosos fratrum triumphos, ch. 46; ... mentientibus autem Arianis aliquando Antonium ita ut se credere, admiratus eorum audaciam et iusti doloris ira commotus, rogatusque ab episcopis atque universis fratribus, Alexandriam descendit ibique Ariomanitas publico sermone condemnavit, ch. 69. In the last-quoted passage 'frater' is used for *frater in Christo* or *christianus* in contrast to the arians. In the same sense it stands in ch. 46 in opposition to the pagan persecutor.

1) Cf. cc. 15; 16; 45; 81; 89.

2) Cf. cc. 16; 50; 55; 60; 82; 90; 91; 93; 94.

On comparing results as between (V) and (E) we cannot but conclude that (E) is far more easy-going in the use of 'frater' for *monachus* than (V). In the first place it is used as a customary term in the very superscription of the book; then, it occurs more frequently as a free variant of 'monachus'; and lastly, six times it is the direct equivalent of a *μοναχός* in the original.

'Frater' in later writers.

Jerome.

In his *Vitae* 'frater' frequently occurs in the sense of *monachus*; 'frater'—*christianus* on the other hand is entirely absent: ... *mulier oblata ei a fratribus — iam enim multi cum eo monachi erant — omnem se substantiam expendisse ait in medicos, Vita Hil. 15.* According to H. Pétré Jerome's *Epistulae* use 'frater' only in the meaning of *christianus*¹). In a sense this is true, that is to say he never applies it to non-christians and he uses it freely where he is concerned with New-Testament situations or assumes a New-Testament style of writing: ... *Paulus retinentibus fratribus ne Hierosolymam pergeret, Epist. 14.3.5.*

Cases such as these stand quite apart from those in which Jerome speaks of his contemporaries as *fratres*. In such writings 'frater' is used a few times for persons who are probably not monks. Thus Evagrius of Antioch is styled *presbyter* several times²). He is probably not a monk, yet once he is spoken of as *frater*: ... *nam postquam sancto Evagrio transmittente... et licet supradictus frater saepe me visitet, Epist. 7.1.2.*

As a rule, however, 'frater' clearly stands for *monachus*; it is of frequent occurrence especially in letters addressed to monks: ... *Heliodori fratris a te adiuta necessitas mutorum potest etiam ora laxare, Epist. 4.1.2; ... et quia frater Rufinus mihi germanitatis caritate conexus est, Epist. 4.2.1; ... Martinianum fratrem iuncto salutamus obsequio, Ibid; ... Rufinus autem frater ut scribis necdum venit, Epist. 5.2.1; ... scripsit mihi et quidam de patria supradicti fratris Rufini Paulus senex, Ibid; ... sanctus frater Heliodorus hic adfuit, Epist. 6.2.1.*

To judge from the repeated use of 'frater' as a mode of address

1) Cf. PÉTRÉ, *o.c.* 133.

2) Cf. *Epist.* 4.2; 6.3; 16.5.

and from its being bracketed so frequently with a man's christian name e.g. *frater Rufinus*, *frater Heliodorus*, *frater Martinianus* it is safe to say that 'frater' as the designation of a monk was in current use and had come to stay.

As regards the *Regula Pachomii* it may suffice to state that 'frater' is very often used for *monachus* and that 'frater' in the sense of *christianus* is totally absent: ... *si frater dormierit omnis eum fraternitas prosequatur*, *Reg. Pach. Praec.* 127 (47.3).

Peregrinatio Egeriae.

According to W. v. Oorde's lexicon 'frater' in the *Peregrinatio* has three meanings: 1. *proprie*: 66.28; 48.16; 2. *monachus*: 39.1; 51.6; 58.2; 58.30; 3. *christianus*: 99.23. The *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, however, takes 'frater' in 99.23 to mean *monachus*: ... *sane quicumque hic latini sunt, id est qui nec siriste nec graece noverunt, ne contristentur, et ipsis exponitur eis quia sunt alii fratres et sorores graecolatini qui latine exponunt*, 99.23.

It seems somewhat arbitrary to suppose that the authoress just for this once makes 'fratres et sorores' the designation of the common faithful; on the other hand it is quite admissible, even probable, that the monks — and with them the sisters of the convents — give their active assistance in the care of the Holy Places.

To suit the reader we may add what W. v. Oorde has to say about the use of 'soror' in the *Peregrinatio*: 'soror' means: 1. *quae ex iisdem parentibus natae sunt*: 82.7; 82.10; 2. *monacha*: 40.28; 65.21; 97.10; 98.4; 3. *christiana*: 99.24. This makes it clear that 'soror', when used metaphorically, regularly means *monacha*; which supplies another argument against the admission of 'soror' in the sense of *christiana*. So the two, 'frater' and 'soror', can be buried in a common grave.

Cassian.

In the *Instituta* and the *Collationes* 'frater' and 'monachus' regularly occur as mutual equivalents; 'frater' in the sense of *christianus* is not found: ... *post dies admodum paucos maioris doctrinae desiderio pertrahente rursus ad abbatis Pauli coenobium summa alacritate perreximus. Ubi licet plus quam ducentorum fratrum numerus moraretur, in honorem tamen sollemnitatis, quae idem*

temporis agebatur, infinita de aliis quoque coenobiis monachorum turba confluxerat; cuius conventus idcirco fecimus mentionem ut patientiam cuiusdam fratris leviter perstringamus, Coll. 19.1.1.

Augustine.

Being a bishop he has entrusted to his charge a whole community of christians of every station and calling, among whom the monks naturally form a special group. His attitude to the whole of this assembly is often reflected in the term 'fratres', in which he embraces all his christians without any distinction; at times, however, it is especially the monks who find themselves thus addressed.

The first mode of address is especially found in the *Sermones ad populum*: ...*videte enim, fratres, dilectionem ipsius Capitis nostri, Sermon. 137.2; ...videte, fratres, si uxor amet maritum quia dives est, non est casta, Ibid. 9; ...fratres mei, numquid non ascendit aliquando aut presbyter aut episcopus, Ibid. 13; ...nam aliquando invenimus illud, fratres mei, Ibid.; ...testes sunt omnes qui recordantur quod dico, quoties sunt a nobis correpti fratres peccantes, et vehementer correpti, Ibid. 14; ...nos ergo, fratres, damus; veniet ille qui exigit, Ibid. 15.*

As regards the second usage, 'frater' in the sense of *monachus*, the word is of fairly frequent occurrence in his writings to or about monks. But in such passages it is often hard to make out whether in the writer's mind the word merely voices the habitual sentiment of christian brotherhood or carries a monastic overtone: ...*vos autem, fratres exhortamur in Domino ut propositum vestrum custodiat et usque in finem perseveretis, Epist. 48.2; ...Domini Dei nostri misericordia vos adversus omnes insidias inimici in sua pace custodiat, dilectissimi fratres, Epist. 78.9.*

In the two foregoing quotations it would seem to the commentator that there is no essential difference between the usage and the emotional value of the word as used here, and those of the same word as used in the *Sermones*, but elsewhere 'frater' clearly means *monachus*: ...*inde sermo eius devolutus est ad monasteriorum greges et mores suaveolentiae tuae et ubera deserta eremi quorum nos nihil sciebamur. Et erat monasterium Mediolanii plenum bonis fratribus, extra urbis moenia sub Ambrosio*

nutritore et non noveramus, *Conf.* 8.6.15; ...*sic et in illa vita communi fratrum, quae est in monasterio*, *In psalm.* 99.12; ...*admitti ad societatem fratrum*, *Epist.* 83.3. In the last three quotations 'frater' would seem to be simply an equivalent of 'monachus', in other words 'frater' seems to have broadened its semantic content leaving its emotional value quite untouched and at the writer's disposal whenever wanted.

It will be noticed that 'monasterium' is not used in Augustine's first description of monasticism in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*. We now note that in this same treatise 'monachus' is entirely wanting. Augustine refers to monks as *viri*, *homines*, *sancti*, and once as *fratres*. Speaking of the *feminae Deo sollicite servientes* he says: ...*lanificio namque corpus exercent atque sustentant, vestesque ipsas fratribus tradunt ab iis invicem quod victui opus est resumentes*, *Mor. eccl.* 1.31.68.

There can be no doubt that 'frater' here means men leading a community life, but the fact that it is only once so used in the whole treatise can only lead to the conclusion that in Italy the word had not obtained general currency by the year 388. It would seem from Augustine's handling that 'frater' gained general currency before 'monachus' did. In the *Confessiones* 'monachus' is wanting, but 'frater' appears to have become a term in general use¹). It is very probable that Augustine at first took the new religious communities to be some sort of philosophical clubs the members of which devoted themselves to meditation and contemplation about the *Beata Vita* as he and his friends had done at Cassiciacum.

Benedict.

In the *Regula* 'frater' is a regular variant of 'monachus', while 'frater' in the sense of *christianus* is wanting.

Résumé.

(A) has ἀδελφός in the sense of μοναχός, but where a whole christian community is concerned ἀδελφός is still χριστιανός. In complete agreement with its original (V) has 'frater'—*monachus* and 'frater'—*christianus*. (E) deviates from (A) and (V) in this respect that 'frater' is treated as a well-known and generally accepted

1) Cf. *Conf.* 8.6.15.

term for *monachus*, though 'frater'—*christianus* is used where christendom is seen as a closed fellowship in contrast to heretics or pagans. In the writings of Jerome, in *Peregrinatio Egeriae* and in Cassian 'frater'—*monachus* has almost entirely replaced 'frater'—*christianus*.

In the West Augustine uses 'frater'—*christianus* as freely as he does 'frater'—*monachus*, all depending on the group of hearers he is addressing. Through it all one clearly feels in many border-cases the development of the second meaning from the first. Moreover it would seem that Augustine accepted 'frater' as a current term before he accepted 'monachus' as such, so that in his case it would be more accurate to say that 'monachus' means *frater* than the reverse. It is possible that he avoids 'monachus' because of its affinity to the Greek.

Benedict finally uses 'frater' only in the sense of monk. It thus appears that there are two words, 'monachus' and 'frater' to designate a monk, which words by the way only touch the outward character of his way of life and betray nothing of his inward intent. The first is a loan-word from the Greek. Such loan-words as a rule relate to concrete things and barring a few rare exceptions this concrete sense conditions their definite adoption into the new language¹). Early-christian Latin supplies many instances of this practice: 'angelus', 'apostolus' etc. are obvious examples. 'Monachus' is another case in point. The *μοναχός* carries his name along with him into the countries of the West.

By the side of 'monachus' we find the word 'frater'. In early-christian Latin it had already developed a semantic change that was soon definitely adopted into the christian language of every day; thus 'frater' became also *frater in Christo*. With the rise of monachism the word had once more its meaning differentiated and took on the special meaning of 'monk' in monastic *entourage*. Now this second enlargement should be taken as a further development of the christianized *frater* rather than as a fresh shoot of the primitive *frater*. The cause of it is obvious and is clearly suggested by the texts in which it occurs. The desire of the earliest monks is to lead lives that are in full accordance with the primitive spirit of the gospel²). It is thus also that the monks are seen by their

1) Cf. MOHRMANN, *Les emprunts grecs*, VC 4, 1950, 197.

2) Cf. CASSIAN, *Coll.* 18.5; *Vita Antonii*, cc. 2 and 3.

contemporaries. Hence also the christian 'frater' is endowed with a fresh and unwonted vigour, when applied to the monks, the earliest revivalists of the ideal christian way of living: monks are *fratres in Christo par excellence*.

From the passages quoted above it appears that the first and second semantic developments of the word *viz. frater in Christo* and *monachus* are found side by side in the same writer, but especially in writers on subjects which are not purely monastic. The monastic 'frater', however, seems endowed with a keener and warmer overtone than the christian 'frater'. The latter has entirely lost its inner meaning, which called forth the gibes of pagan writers ¹⁾ such as Celsus and Porphyry and by the time of Augustine it seems to have dwindled down into a mere conventional formula. In monastic surroundings on the other hand the word 'frater' appears to be used as with a new and re-born expressiveness.

MONASTERIUM.

In (V) *μοναστήριον* is never translated by 'monasterium'; the translations are: 'monachi', P (15.6); 'mansiones monachorum', 3 (18.23); 'singularem vitam habentium mansiones', 15 (31.14); 'mansionem', 39 (51.14); 'cellae', 41 (52.17); 'mansiones monachorum', 44 (54.26); 'mansionem', 46 (56.19); 'in singularem illam mansionem', 47 (57.20); 'extra domum ipsius', 48 (58.18); 'in monte in quo habitabat', 54 (62.15); 'ad monachos', 63 (69.10); 'mansiones monachorum', 14 (31.2); 'singularem mansionem', 15 (31.9); 'omnia loca ipsa', 44 (55.9); 'in singulari loco', 45 (55.16); 'ad locum monachorum', 54 (63.2).

In (E) the translation of *μοναστήριον* is 'monasterium' everywhere except in the last five of the above passages, where four times it is left untranslated, while in the last passage the rendering is: 'ad monachos qui invitaverant'. (E) moreover has twice an independent 'monasterium' in cc. 48 and 52.

Μοναστήριον in (A).

The meaning of *μοναστήριον* ²⁾ is most evident in those passages

¹⁾ Cf. PÉTRÉ, *o.c.* 118.

²⁾ Already in the ascetic writings of PHILO *μοναστήριον* is technical term. Cf. *Vita contempl.* 3; KOCH, *Quellen*, 19.

in which it indicates Anthony's cottage situated in absolute solitude: ...Anthony himself went back (καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀναχωρῶν) as usual to his own cell (μοναστήριον) and intensified his ascetic practices, ch. 45 (M 57); ... he, too, left his cell (μοναστήριον) and followed, ch. 46 (M 59); ... he left and went back to his solitary cell (μοναστήριον), ch. 47 (M 60); ... for many sufferers simply slept outside his cell (μοναστηρίου) since he would not open his door to them, ch. 48 (M 61); ... there is no drinking water at all except in the one mountain from which they had drawn it, there where his cell (μοναστήριον) is, ch. 54 (M 65).

In the above passages μοναστήριον clearly indicates the dwelling-place of a μοναχός. There are also passages which do not refer to Anthony's dwelling, but still are clearly applied to the cottage of one monk living in solitude: ... οὕτω γὰρ ἦν οὕτως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συνεκῇ μοναστήρια, οὐδ' ὅλως, ἦδει μοναχὸς τὴν μακρὰν ἔρημον, ch. 3; ... ἔπεισε πολλοὺς αἰρῆσασθαι τὸν μονήρη βίον καὶ οὕτω λοιπὸν γέγονε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι μοναστήρια, ch. 14. The correlation in these two quotations μοναστήριον - μοναχός and μοναστήριον - μονήρης βίος is clearly brought out.

The above passages quite safely establish the meaning: dwelling of a solitary monk. On the other hand as was the case with μοναχός so also with μοναστήριον an incipient cenobitism may be traced. Μοναστήριον can certainly not be said to be used here and there in the sense of κοινόβιον, the abode of several monks; but there can be no doubt that (A) occasionally refers to a certain relation or communication existing between different μοναστήρια.

The best evidence for this relation is to be found in ch. 44: ... so, then, their solitary cells (μοναστήρια) in the hills were like tents filled with divine choirs singing psalms, studying, fasting, praying, rejoicing in the hope of the life to come, and laboring in order to give alms and preserving love and harmony among themselves. And truly it was like seeing a land apart, a land of piety and justice. For there was neither wrongdoer nor sufferer of wrong, nor was there reproof of the tax-collector; but a multitude of ascetics, all with one set purpose: virtue. Thus, if one saw these solitary cells (μοναστήρια) again and the fine disposition of the monks, he could lift up his voice and say: ... ch. 44 (M 57).

From this passage especially it is quite clear that (A) witnesses to the existence of a certain interrelation between μοναστήρια,

the dwellings of solitary monks¹). In the light of this same passage it is quite understandable that Athanasius in the *προοίμιον* can say to the monks of the West: ... καὶ γὰρ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν λοιπὸν μοναστήρια καὶ τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν ὄνομα πολιτεύεται.

For the right understanding of this last sentence it is not necessary to suppose that eremitic life in Gaul and Italy was of the same strict observance which was cultivated in Egypt and Palestine. It is quite sufficient if μοναστήριον is here understood to refer to a solitary's cottage whether or not there was any communication with other μοναστήρια. Very likely Athanasius was writing here with a view to monastic life as he had seen it practised with his own eyes in Gaul and Italy during the years 336—346.

The equivalents of 'monasterium' in (V).

(V) does not transliterate the word, but in rendering the plural μοναστήρια he regularly calls in the help of 'monachus' or 'singularis': 'monachi', 'mansiones monachorum', 'locus monachorum', 'singularem vitam habentium mansiones'²). In one instance the translator drops this habit in 44 (55.9): 'omnia loca ipsa', but only seemingly so, for the sentence continues: *omnia loca ipsa et tantum ordinem monachorum*.

From all these translations but especially from 'singularem vitam habentium mansiones' it is clear that (V) is fully aware of the meaning of μοναστήριον. The absence of 'monasterium' would suggest that this word, if it was used at all, was unknown to him.

The above remarks refer to the translation of the plural μοναστήρια. As regards the singular μοναστήριον the word 'singularis' is sometimes called in as a make-shift; but 'monachi' is never added for the simple reason that it is always Anthony's own cottage that is being spoken of, and this is referred to by some word from the current vocabulary as 'mansio' or 'domus' or 'mons in quo habitabat'. From the fact that (V) is evidently hunting for a proper designation and that he uses the word 'cella' once, it cannot be inferred that 'cella' already expresses what at a later date was to be its current meaning *viz.* a hermit's cell. In common latin speech 'cella' has the following meanings: 1. pantry; 2. room, apartment,

¹) Cf. cc. 15; 54; 63.

²) Cf. P (15.6); 3 (18.23); 14 (31.2); 15 (31.14); 44 (54.26); 54 (63.2); 63 (69.10).

cottage; 3. the central place, recess in a temple containing the image of the god; 4. cell of a bee-hive. In (V) 'cella' has the second meaning. The fact that 'cella' is used may suggest the supposition that the translator may have heard the name 'cella' applied to a hermitage. But it would seem better not to overestimate this solitary designation.

'Monasterium' and its equivalents in (E).

'Monasterium' is not used at all in common or christian parlance. It occurs for the first time in old monastic texts as a new loanword from the Greek. Where (A) has *μοναστήριον* (E) has 'monasterium'. But in ch. 54, where (A) writes: ... *ὥς δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ἔξω μοναστήρια πάντες ὥς πατέρα βλέποντες κατησπάζοντο*, (E) translates: ... *tandem confecto itinere ad monachos qui invitaverant pervenit*, which savours more of a free rendering of the original than of a deliberate avoidance of 'monasterium'.

On the other hand in cc. 48 and 54 'monasterium' is used in (E), where (A) does not necessarily call for it. In both cases it concerns Anthony's dwelling, so that the use of 'monasterium' here implies that the word itself designates a hermit's cottage.

'Cella', which occurs once in (V), is not found at all in (E), but 'habitaculum' is used four times. A comparison of (A), (V) and (E) is subjoined: ... *εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον ἀνέκαμπεν* (V): ... *revertetur ad suum locum*, (E): ... *ad habitaculum suum*, 3 (19.4); ... *καὶ ἀποφέρειν εἰς τὰ μνήματα* (V): ... *et reducere faceret ad monumentum*, (E): ... *ad pristinum se referret habitaculum*, 8 (25.2); ... *ἀπόστα τῶν ἡμετέρων· τι σοὶ καὶ τῇ ἐρήμῳ;* (V): ... *recede a loco nostro, quid tibi et deserto?*, (E): ... *quid te nostris ingeris habitaculis; quid tibi et deserto?*, 13 (18.24); ... *καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ ἔνδον ὄρος* (V): ... *ingressus est in montem interiorum*, (E): ... *ad amicum virtutis habitaculum repedavit*, 91 (90.1).

The last two of these passages seem to call for special notice, because at first sight they seem to be somewhat contradictory. On closer scrutiny, however, the meaning of 'habitaculum' seems in both cases to have acquired a monastic tinge. This appears to be clearly suggested in the concluding phrase *amicum virtutis habitaculum*.

But the phrase in ch. 13, where 'habitaculum' refers to an abode

for devils, would seem to indicate an unholy place. In this connection it should be remembered that in the world of thought of the 'fathers of the desert' the desert is the place of residence of the devils, which is to be conquered by the hermits. As the world is being won over to Christianity, the devil is being pushed back to the solitudes and is attacked by the hermits in his last place of retreat¹). As the devil is being forcibly driven out of the *ἐρημος* by the hermits, so also he is compelled to leave his *habitacula* there one by one, and the *habitaculum diaboli* becomes *amicum virtutis habitaculum*. It would thus appear that also in this passage precisely on account of its being bracketed with *ἐρημος* i.e. *desertum* the word 'habitaculum' acquires a monastic tinge.

'Habitaculum' is first used in post-classical Latin as synonymous with 'habitatio', 'domicilium', by Gellius, Palladius, Solinus and Ammianus Marcellinus. In christian Latin it is met with in the same sense in several Vetus Latina texts and in Hermas *latinus*, Tertullian, Lactantius and Arnobius.

'Monasterium' and its equivalents in later writers.

Jerome.

In Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis* 'monasterium' is still found a few times to mean a hermit's cottage: ... *quod postquam frater ille parvus audivit erubuit; et annitentibus cunctis vix ab invito intravit, ut suum quoque monasterium in mansionum ordinem poneret*, *Ibid.* 26. But the same *Vita* also has: ... *igitur sexagesimo tertio vitae anno cernens grande monasterium et multitudinem fratrum secum habitantium flebat quotidie et incredibili desiderio conversationis antiquae recordabatur*, *Ibid.* 29. In his *Vita Malchi* 'monasterium' already indicates the place of abode of several monks: ... *coepi taedere captivitatis et monasterii cellulas quaerere*, *Ibid.* 7. The original meaning is still found in ch. 3. In the *Epistulae*, however, 'monasterium' seldom occurs.

In the *Epistula 39 ad Paulam* written in 384 'monasterium' has the abstract meaning of religious life: ... *et ita deinceps vixerit ut calcato mundo semper monasterium cogitarit*, *Epist.* 39.3.4. In the letter of Epiphanius translated by Jerome in 394 'monasterium' consistently means abode of monks i.e. monastery:

1) Cf. HEUSSI, *Der Ursprung*, 111.

...post haec scripsimus ad sanctos presbyteros monasterii et ceteris fratribus, Epist. 51.1.7.

Lastly in the *Regula Pachomii* of 404 'monasterium' is always applied to a monastery: ...habent per singula monasteria patres et dispensatores et hebdomadarios et ministros, Reg. Pach. praef. 2 (5.11).

Peregrinatio Egeriae.

In this narrative 'monasterium' generally indicates a hermit's cottage, while in a few instances a monastery is meant: ...in ipsa valle vidimus monasterium cuiusdam fratris, 58.30; ...a pisinno in monasterio nutritus est, 49.23.

Cassian.

'Monasterium' is a monastery: ...velut incipiens atque novitius in illo in quo nos degebamus monasterii receptus habitaculo in nostra cellula ab abbate praeceptus est commanere, sed nec illic quidem diu virtutes eius ac merita latere potuerunt, nam simili prodizione detectus atque ad monasterium suum cum ingenti honorificentia ac laude revocatus est, Coll. 20.1.5. A hermit's cottage is generally indicated by 'cella' or 'cellula'. But Cassian is aware of the original meaning of 'monasterium' and this meaning is explicitly discussed in the conference of abbot Piamun: ...Germanus: Estne aliqua inter coenobium monasteriumque distantia an utroque nomine res una censetur? Piamun: Licet a nonnullis soleant indifferenter monasteria pro coenobiis appellari, tamen hoc interest, quod 'monasterium' nomen est diversorii, nihil amplius quam locum, id est, habitaculum significans monachorum, 'coenobium' vero etiam professionis ipsius qualitatem disciplinamque designat; et 'monasterium' potest etiam unius monachi habitatio nominari, 'coenobium'. nisi ubi plurimorum cohabitantium deget unita communio, non potest appellari, Coll. 18.9.10. We have found, however, no passage in Cassian's writings in which 'monasterium' clearly implies the meaning *unius monachi habitatio*.

Augustine.

As 'monachus' never occurs in Augustine in the meaning of a solitary, so 'monasterium' is never found to indicate a solitary's

dwelling: 'monasterium' is a monastery. When he is writing *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* about 388, the word 'monasterium' is evidently not in his vocabulary, for there are plenty of opportunities and invitations to use it, if it is available. Of course it is just possible that he fights shy of both 'monachus' and 'monasterium'; in his early days he was no friend to greek infiltrations.

When Augustine records what he first saw of monastic life, the reader is at once reminded of the cenobitism of Pachomius, as described by Jerome in his *Epistula ad Eustochium* of 384. The likeness is especially striking where the monastic hierarchy is described, both Augustine and Jerome mentioning *patres* and *decani*. 'Coenobium' is used by Jerome and explained as *in commune viventes*; Augustine avoids the word and qualifies the monks as *in communem vitam congregati*. The private rooms of the monks are referred to as *habitacula* for which Jerome uses *cellulae*: ... *conveniunt autem diei tempore extremo de suis quisque habitaculis*, *Mor. eccl.* 1.31.67; ... *haec est etiam vita feminarum Deo sollicitè casteque servientium, quae habitaculis segregatae ac remotae a viris quam longissime decet, pia tantum illis caritate iunguntur et imitatione virtutis*, *Ibid.* 1.33.70.

He also mentions monasteries at Rome and Milan¹), to which the term 'diversorium sanctorum' is applied: ... *vidi ego diversorium sanctorum Mediolanii, non paucorum hominum, quibus unus presbyter praeerat, vir optimus et doctissimus; Romae etiam plura cognovi*, *Ibid.* When finally Augustine makes up his mind to use 'monasterium', it is always in the sense of monastery. The same monastic community of which he spoke in the last-quoted passage seems to be referred to again in the *Confessiones*. The *presbyter vir optimus et doctissimus* is now mentioned by name: ... *et erat monasterium Mediolanii plenum bonis fratribus, extra urbis moenia, sub Ambrosio nutritore*, *Conf.* 8.6.15. That 'monasterium' is now definitely adopted into the cenobitic vocabulary appears beyond doubt from the following quotation: ... *sic et in illa vita communi fratrum quae est in monasterio*, *In psalm.* 99.12.

Benedict.

As to Augustine so to Benedict 'monasterium' is monastery. The

1) Cf. BARRY, *The vocabulary of the moral-ascetical works of S. Ambrose*, 189.

word is tied up with cenobitism as appears from the *Regula*, where it says: ... *primum (genus est) coenobitarum hoc est, monasteriale, Reg. Ben. 1*. As regards 'cella', he mostly uses it for an abode of several monks: *cella novitiorum, cella infirmorum*; once it stands for monastery: ... *per diversorum cellas hospitantur, Reg. Ben. 1*.

Résumé.

In (A) *μοναστήριον* is a hermitage; in (V) it is variously translated; once by 'cella'. (E) always translates: 'monasterium'—hermitage. 'Cella' is unknown, but 'habitaculum' is used independently of the original Greek.

It should be remembered that Evagrius writes his translation for the benefit of the christians in Italy, but he comes from Antioch and therefore represents the East. Other representatives of this field are Jerome, the authoress of the *Peregrinatio* and Cassian.

With Jerome 'monasterium' first indicates a hermitage but after 390 a monastery. He also uses 'coenobium' but far less frequently. 'Cella' is fairly often the equivalent of 'hermitage', and 'habitaculum' occasionally.

In *Peregrinatio* — c. 400 — 'monasterium' sometimes means monastery, but mostly hermitage. 'Coenobium', 'cella', 'habitaculum' are entirely absent. If a guess is permitted concerning the cause, it may perhaps be supposed that on her journey in the East Egeria had already come across *μοναστήριον* in its double meaning of hermitage and monastery, that in her home country in the West she had not yet met the words 'coenobium', 'cella', 'habitaculum' as established monastic terms. Hence perhaps that she calls every monastic dwelling-place 'monasterium' careless of nicer differences.

When Cassian writes his *Conferences* about 425, he uses 'monasterium' for a monastery, but shows himself aware of its original meaning. 'Coenobium' and 'cella' come easily from his pen, with an occasional 'habitaculum' especially in a monastic context.

In 388 Augustine is unacquainted with 'monasterium', but ten years later he uses 'monasterium' for a monastery. A hermitage to him is a 'habitaculum', while it is twice called a 'casa' in the *Confessiones*. As a matter of fact 'monasterium' does not acquire a definite status in the West, till its meaning is monastery and nothing else. 'Coenobium' and 'cella' are not used by Augustine.

Lastly to Benedict 'monasterium' is a monastery. 'Cella' once

stands for monastery but for the rest refers to a part or a ward of a monastery assigned to certain monks.

Viewing the evidence concerning 'monasterium', 'cella', 'habitatulum' from a linguistic standpoint we find for 'monasterium' that it is a greek loan-word and that it shifted its meaning from hermitage to monastery. As regards 'habitatulum', this word went through a period in which it meant hermitage, which without doubt is a semantic narrowing of monastic origin of the common 'habitatulum' in biblical translations and christian writers. Its gradual fading away may be due to the decline of eremitic life in the West. 'Cella' furnishes an instance of a non-christian latin word affected by a semantic change under monastic influence. Perhaps we may surmise a link between this monastic 'cella' and the 'cella' of the popular stoic philosophy of life, in which *cella*, *cella pauperis* was the hut or cottage which many a wealthy man of idealistic temperament erected near his home there to give free rein to his aspirations for poverty and want, which were deemed to be an integrating part of a stoic's life¹). However this may be, it is clear that semantic changes of monastic origin are not necessarily a further differentiation of a christianized word.

EREMUS.

After the words indicating the monastic abode proper we may now cite those that signify those lonesome barren tracts which were the favourite resorts of the pioneers of monasticism: 'eremus', and its equivalents: 'desertum', 'solitudo'.

As a noun the greek *ἐρημος*²) is of fairly frequent occurrence in (A); it is translated in (V) either by 'eremus' or by 'desertum', while (E) also has 'solitudo'. In common latin usage 'eremus' is unknown. It was through the ancient biblical translations that 'eremus' made its way into early-christian Latin and maintained itself in Jerome's Vulgate.

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1) Cf. MARTIALIS, 3.48; SENECA, *Epist.* 18.7; 100.6.

2) Already in the ascetic writings of the greek philosophers *ἐρημος* and *ἐρημία* are technical terms, and are used for example by DIO CHRYSOSTOMUS, PHILO and PLOTINUS. In christian asceticism they are met with in ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS of Caesarea. Cf. KOCH, *Quellen*, 4; 5; 8; 18; 19; 30; 37.

*Ερημος in (A).

1. ... οὕτω γὰρ ἦν οὕτως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συνεχῇ μοναστήρια, οὐδ' ὅλως ἦδει μοναχὸς τὴν μακρὰν ἔρημον, ch. 3;

2. ... ἔνθα δὴ μὴ φέροντες ὁ ἐχθρὸς, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ φοβούμενος, μὴ κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐμπλήσῃ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ... ch. 8;

3. ... καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς τὸν γέροντα τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνον, ἠξίου τὴν ἔρημον οἰκῆσαι σὺν αὐτῷ. Τοῦ δὲ παραιτησαμένου διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδέπω εἶναι τοιαύτην συνήθειαν ... ch. 11;

4. ... καὶ ἡ ἔρημος ἐπολίσθη ὑπὸ μοναχῶν, ch. 14;

5. ... λοιπὸν καὶ ἡ ἔρημος πεπλήρωται μοναχῶν, ch. 41.

From each of these passages it is apparent that *μοναχός* and *ἐρημος* are specially related; in each of them also, but especially in 1 and 3, the novelty of this relation is disclosed.

'Eremus' and 'desertum' in (V).

Those texts in (A) that are most strongly suggestive of the relation *μοναχός* - *ἐρημος* are translated as follows: 1. ... *nondum enim sic continuo erant mansiones monachorum in Aegypto ut sunt modo, nec omnino sciebat monachus longa et deserta loca*, 3 (18.24); 2. ... *hoc non sustinens inimicus, sed magis timens ne paulatim desertum redderet civitatem studio religionis*, 8 (24.16); 3. ... *et ivit ad senem illum antiquum et rogavit eum ut habit(ar)et cum eo in eremo. Ille autem excusavit se propter aetatem et quia adhuc non erat talis consuetudo*, 11 (27.6); 4. ... *et desertum repletum est monachorum*, 14 (31.3); 5. ... *et deserta loca repleta sunt monachis*, 41 (52.27).

If the translator had been aware of any monastic bias whatever in the word 'eremus', he would no doubt have used it in preference to 'desertum' and 'deserta loca' in all these passages. In the following two cases where he does use 'eremus' there is likewise no hint whatever that the word has any special relation to monachism: ... *quotiens in eremo phantasiam auri ostendit mihi ut tangerem vel viderem*, 40 (52.4); ... *et aliquando iterum sedens in monte, respiciens in eremum vidit unum et assumi*, 60 (67.11).

In other words the translator uses the word 'eremus', because he finds it thus used in the biblical translations; to him it has no monastic value.

As regards 'desertum', 'deserta loca', the data are as follows:

1. ... *nec omnino sciebat monachus longa et deserta loca*,

3 (18.24); 2. ...*inimicus, timens ne paulatim desertum redderet civitatem studio religionis*, 8 (24.16); 3. ...*unde in deserto vasculum?* 11 (27.14); 4. ...*quid tibi et deserto?* 13 (28.24); 5. ...*et desertum repletum est monachorum*, 14 (31.3); 6. ...*et deserta loca repleta sunt monachis*, 41 (52.26); 7. ...*si autem vere secedere vis et in silentio esse vade nunc in desertum interiorem*, 49 (59.10); 8. ...*rogans eos introire cum ipsis in desertum*, 49 (59.14); 9. ...*solus in tali deserto constitutus, nec daemonum tumultu turbabatur*, 51 (61.6); 10. ...*prope omnes beluae quae erant in ipso deserto*, 52 (61.17); 11. ...*omnia enim festinabant facere ut deponerent eum de deserto et non valuerunt*, 53 (62.9).

Except 3 and 10 all these passages imply a certain relation between monks — generally Anthony himself — and *desertum*. It is especially 1, 2, 5 and 6 that invite attention, because in those quotations monks are referred to in a more general way than is the case in the others. The variation 'desertum', 'deserta loca' shows that to the translator 'desertum' is not a technical term. Later development shows that it for a time obtained a place in the technical terminology of monasticism.

'Eremus', 'desertum' and 'solitudo' in (E).

'Eremus' is used as follows: 1. ...*metuens ergo diabolus ne accessu temporis eremum quoque habitari faceret*, ch. 8; 2. ...*causante illo senile aevum et rei novitatem, solus contendit ad montem et eremi adhuc monachis ignotae viam conatus est pandere*, ch. 11; 3. ...*rursusque ad eremum venientibus turbis*, ch. 13; 4. ...*et habitandae eremi istud exordium fuit*, ch. 14; 5. ...*ut omnes eremi beluas circum se adspiceret*, ch. 52; 6. ...*camelus errans per eremum*, ch. 54; 7. ...*exinde quasi diu abesset ab eremo rursum festinavit ad montem*, ch. 54. In 1, 2, 4 and 7 the monastic connotation of 'eremus' stands out quite clearly; its novelty moreover appears from 1, 2 and 4.

'Desertum' is of fairly frequent occurrence: 1. ...*vadens ad supradictum senem precabatur ut in deserto habitarent pariter*, ch. 11; 2. ...*unde hic in deserto discus?* ch. 11; 3. ...*quid tibi et deserto?* ch. 13; 4. ...*auri quoque decipulam mihi in deserto frequenter tetendit*, ch. 40; 5. ...*latrones, qui deserta obtinent loca*, ch. 42; 6. ...*si autem vere quiescere cupis, vade*

nunc ad interius desertum, ch. 49; 7. ...*rogavit ut se pariter abducerent in desertum*, ch. 49; 8. ...*sine cuiusquam molestia ex propriis manibus viveret in deserto*, ch. 50; 9. ...*sic Antonio, deserti interiora captanti, vix precibus extorserunt ut dignaretur accipere*, ch. 51; 10. ...*Antonium a deserto deducere non valuerunt*, ch. 53. These quotations seem to imply some relation between the monk Anthony and *desertum* except 2 and 5.

'Solitudo' also is used frequently: 1. ...*necdum autem tam crebra erant in Aegypto monasteria: neque omnino quisquam aviam solitudinem noverat*, ch. 3; 2. ...*sed qui perdiderat reversus, ob solitudinem*¹⁾ *locorum, invenisset profecto quod ruerat*, ch. 11; 3. ...*castellum desertum plenum, ob tempus et solitudinem, venenatorum animalium*, ch. 12; 4. ...*nihil in illo indecens solitudo contulerat*, ch. 14; 5. ...*solitudines ipsae monachorum stipantur choris*, ch. 41; 6. ...*haec illi multitudo venientium, desideratam solitudinem auferens, taedio fuit*, ch. 49; 7. ...*in tam immani solitudine*, ch. 51; 8. ...*laetabatur quia ad desideratam solitudinem remeabat*, ch. 71; 9. ...*inter medios sermones carae sibi solitudinis recordabatur*, ch. 84; 10. ...*inter tantas positum solitudines*, ch. 93.

Quotations 1 and 5 typically accentuate the connection between the *solitudo* and the *monachi* in general; while in 6, 8 and 9 an even more intimate connection of *solitudo* and monastic life is suggested by the addition of 'desiderata' and 'cara'. It is evident that by this time 'solitudo' has acquired a truly monastic connotation. This will be confirmed in the further development. Already in strictly classical times 'solitudo' was used in the sense of a restful seclusion deliberately sought: *mihi solitudo et recessus provincia est, Cicero, Att. 12.26.2.*

'Eremus', 'desertum' and 'solitudo' in later writers.

Jerome.

Inter multos saepe dubitatum est a quo potissimum monachorum eremus habitari coepta sit, Vita Pauli 1; ... visitatisque fratribus, qui in vicina eremo erant, Vita Hil. 30; ... igitur reversus ad

¹⁾ It serves no purpose here to distinguish between 'solitudo' in its concrete and its abstract sense, because this does not affect its use as a monastic term.

Aphroditon, duobus secum tantum retentis fratribus, in vicina eremo moratus est, Ibid. 32; ...quanto studio et amore contenderim ut pariter in eremo moraremur conscium mutuae caritatis pectus agnoscit, Epist. 14.1.1; ...quoniam igitur et tu ipse abiens postularas ut tibi, postquam ad deserta migrassem, invitatoriam a me scriptam transmitterem, et ego facturum receperam, invito, iam propera. Nolo pristinarum necessitatum recorderis — nudos amat eremus — nolo te antiquae peregrinationis terreat difficultas, Ibid. 1.2; ...o desertum Christi floribus vernans! O solitudo in qua illi nascuntur lapides de quibus in Apocalypsi civitas magni regis extruitur! O eremus familiari Deo gaudens! Ibid. 10.2; ...O, quotiens in eremo constitutus et in illa vasta solitudine quae exusta solis ardoribus horridum praestat monachis habitaculum, putavi me romanis interesse deliciis, Epist. 22.7.1; ...anachoretæ qui soli habitant per deserta, Ibid. 34.1; ...viginti et duos iam in solitudine habebat annos, Vita Hil. 13; ...cognito autem quod esset quidam monachus in vicina solitudine, Ibid. 14; ...at ille nihil aliud nisi solitudinem meditabatur, Ibid. 30.

When compared with 'eremus' and 'solitudo', 'desertum' is little used; all three of them clearly have a monastic tinge.

Peregrinatio Egeriae.

Qui sanctus monachus necesse habuit post tot annos quibus sedebat in eremum movere se, 59.17; ...petierunt eremum et unusquisque eorum monasteria sua, 66.16; ...qui in solitudine sedebant quos ascites vocant, 65.28. As against 'eremus', 'desertum' and 'deserta loca' are not used except in the usual local sense.

Cassian.

Una cum sancto abbate Germano, cum quo mihi ab ipso tirocinio ac rudimentis militiae spiritalis ita individuum deinceps contubernium tam in coenobio quam in eremo fuit, Coll. 1.1; ...ob quem nos ieiuniorum inedia non fatigat, vigiliarum lassitudo delectat, lectio ac meditatio scripturarum continuata non satiat, labor etiam incessabilis nuditasque et omnium rerum privatio, horror quoque huius vastissimae solitudinis non deterret, Coll. 1.2.3; ...recolite senem Heronem quem quinquaginta annis in

hac eremo commoratum singulari districtione rigorem continentiae tenuisse meminimus et solitudinis secreta ultra omnes hic commorantes miro fervore sectatum, Coll. 2.5.1; ... cunctos in hac eremo constitutos luctuoso dolore percussit; siquidem tanto rigore immutabilem ieiunii continentiam semper exercuit et solitudinis cellaeque ita iugiter secreta sectatus est, Ibid. 5.2; ... quamobrem pro meritis laborum tantorum et annorum numerositate qua in eremo perduravit, Ibid. 5.5; ... quid dicam de illis duobus fratribus qui cum ultra illam eremum Thebaidos, euntes per extentam solitudinis vastitatem ... cumque errantes eos per desertum ... Ibid. 6.1; ... siquidem relictam eremo rursus ad inanem philosophiam mundi huius ac vanitatem saeculi devolutus, Ibid. 24.2.

Both 'eremus' and 'solitudo' are found in their monastic technical sense; 'desertum' on the other hand remained unaffected.

Augustine.

Nihil de iis dicam quos paulo ante commemoravi, qui secretissimi penitus ab omni hominum conspectu desertissimas terras incolunt, Mor. eccl. 1.31.66; ... inde sermo eius devolutus est ad monasteriorum greges et ad mores suaveolentiae tuae et ubera deserta eremi quorum nos nihil sciebamur, Conf. 8.6.15; ... in milibus servorum Dei qui per eremum sancta societate vivunt perfectionem praecepti evangelici studentes tenere, Un. eccl. 16.41; ... multi usque adeo Dei amore flagrant, ut eos in summa continentia atque mundi huius incredibili contemptu etiam solitudo delectat, Mor. eccl. 1.30.64; ... sive in ista frequentia hominum, sive in solitudine monachorum, Gest. Pelag. 30.55.

Again 'eremus' and 'solitudo' are used as terminology current with monks. As to 'eremus' it should be noted that in the above quotations Augustine is speaking of eastern monasticism; in other passages he uses 'eremus' in quite a different sense: ... *sed restat eremi solitudo, restant hostes insidiantes in via: sic et post baptismum restat vita christiana in tentationibus, In psalm. 72.5.* This is the 'eremus' furnished by the ancient biblical translations. Augustine's latin is the normal christian Latin of his time and it is only here and there where the special situation calls for it that he has recourse to the new monastic vocabulary that is being formed.

Benedict.

In the first chapter of the *Regula* 'eremus' still occurs; 'solitudo' and 'desertum' are both wanting.

Résumé.

In (A) ἔρημος has already a monastic tinge; (V) uses 'desertum' with a monastic tinge, but 'eremus' in the usual sense unflavoured by monasticism. In (E) both 'eremus' and 'solitudo' have a clearly monastic connotation. This development of 'eremus' and 'solitudo' continues and becomes even more manifest in the writings of Jerome, who also has 'desertum', in *Peregrinatio Egeriae* and the writings of Cassian.

In Augustine 'eremus' and 'solitudo' are found with the special monastic connotation, though they seem to be used less frequently and less pointedly than is the case in the writings of the eastern monastic world¹).

In French there are *hermite*, *solitude* and *solitaire*, in Italian *eremita*, *solitudine*, *solitario*, which still carry the mark of the monastic connotation of 'eremus' and 'solitudo'. As a monastic term 'desertum' remained an outsider in the West and failed to leave its mark except in the phrase that has maintained itself throughout the centuries: *les pères du désert* and in many Irish place-names as: Disertmartin, Disert in Westmeath, Killadysert etc., because it was the fashion to call the place where a monastery stood a 'desert'²).

'Eremus' presents the case of a loan-word which through biblical translations secured itself a regular place in early-Christian Latin, and subsequently through semantic differentiation gained technical usage in monastic language. 'Solitudo' on the other hand became

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1) 'Eremus' has developed two derivatives 'eremita' and 'eremiticus'. Cf. CASSIAN, *Coll.* 19. 6 and 7. Together with 'solitudo' also 'solitarius' developed a monastic technical meaning. Cf. CASSIAN, *Coll.* 19. 10, 12 and 13. In AUGUSTINE 'eremita' and the noun 'solitarius' fail to appear. 'Solitarius' has always retained its original meaning; its sense has not been softened down and adapted to new circumstances as 'monachus' has been for the simple reason that to the Latins the original meaning of solitary spoke too strongly to both eye and ear. This is also the reason why 'solitarius' as a noun is but occasionally met with in the West. As an adjective 'solitarius' is found in (V), 3 (18.28), and in (E), cc. 3; 12; 14.

2) Cf. O'LEARY, *The Coptic church and Egyptian monasticism* (Legacy of Egypt), 325. This persistence of desertum is probably to be considered as a typical example of Irish monastic conservatism. In this respect the Irish are close to the eastern monks. Cf. VILLER—RAHNER: *Die irischen Monchsregeln haben gewisse Ähnlichkeiten mit den orientalischen Regeln. Es fehlt ihnen an Mäßigung, sie sind von barbarischer Härte, Askese und Mystik in der Vaterzeit*, 206.

a monastic term without any intermediate phase in early-christian Latin.

Together with its eremitic system 'eremus' disappeared from the West, while 'solitudo' grew more and more prominent by its ascetic connotation.

Since the words indicating the monk and his abode have been discussed, if not adequately, at least sufficiently for our present purpose, this chapter might fitly be concluded but for some more words and phrases which are at least indirectly connected with the subject in hand; we will take them in the same order as before, first the men, then the places.

'Pater (noster)', 'patres (nostri)'.

In common speech 'pater', 'patres', is used in two senses, literal and figurative. In the first sense 'pater' is father, head of the family or of the whole clan; 'patres' are the forefathers. In the second sense 'pater' is a title of honour, nearly always with a concomitant idea of origin, source, supreme authority: *divum pater*, *pater Olympi*, *pater lemnus*, *pater patriae*. Both meanings seem more or less to coalesce in *pater Aeneas*, in *patres* i.e. *patricii*, and in *patres conscripti*. 'Pater' is also used to honour the founders of schools of philosophy or certain branches of science: *Zeno pater stoicorum*, *Herodotus pater historiae*; as an archaic and hallowed term it is used in *pater patratus*, the fetial priest and in *pater patrum*, *pater sacrorum*, *pater nomimus*, the high-priest of the Mithra cult.

In early-christian Latin 'Pater' is above all God, *pater caelestis*; in trinitarian doctrine: the Father of the Son; in the doctrine of creation and salvation: the Father of the human race as redeemed by the Son.

In the ecclesiastical hierarchy bishops are styled 'patres', and are thus addressed by priests and faithful, their dependents. The phrase 'patres nostri' is reserved for our fathers in the faith¹). This usage evidently derives from a Jewish religious milieu: 'That is what thou shalt tell the sons of Israel, that the God of their fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob has sent thee to them'²).

At present the words 'pater' and 'patres' are also applied to the

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1) 'Fathers'. Cf. SMULDERS, *Le mot et le concept de tradition chez les Pères grecs*, RSR 40, 1952, 56ff.

2) *Exodus*, 3.15.

relations within the monastic world. In (A), (V) and (E) the interrelation between Anthony and the hermits of his neighbourhood is often typified by the words *πάτηρ* — 'pater': *τέκνον* — 'filius'. From the fact that the two words are used as clearly correlated or are preceded by *ὡς*, 'quasi', 'ut', it may be inferred that they are used in a metaphorical sense, and that *πάτηρ* — 'pater' had not yet acquired the formal sense of head of a religious community, which it was to acquire later. This was not the case till Jerome translated the *Regula Pachomii*: ... *rationem operum suorum ad patrem monasterii referunt*, *Reg. Pach. praef.* 6 (8.5). Jerome also uses it thus in his letter to Eustochium: ... *medius quem patrem vocant incipit disputare*, *Epist.* 22.35.2. Augustine also mentions this usage in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, 1.31.67.

'Pater monasterii', however, soon had to clear the field for 'abbas', which is already used by Jerome in his *Vita Malchi* 3. Cassian and Benedict regularly style the religious superior *abbas*.

'Pater (noster)', 'patres (nostri)', however, remained the regular style for the founder of monasticism and his first followers: ... *instituta monasteriorum nobis a patribus tradita*, Cassian, *Inst. Praef.* 3; ... *quod quidem et pater noster indesinenter nobis solebat inculcare*, *Doctr. Ors.* 13 (117.12).

'Secedere'.

To retire into solitude and seclusion¹⁾ is expressed by *ἀναχωρεῖν* in (A) and by 'secedere' in (V), (E) and Cassian. *Ἀναχωρεῖν* and *ἀναχώρησις*²⁾ are used throughout the narrative in the monastic sense, except in cc. 72 and 82. The literal meaning in these two is so much to the fore that the word can be applied both to the *φιλόσοφοι Ἕλληνες* and the *ἀσέβεια*. The monastic sense is most apparent in ch. 87, where the word is used metaphorically: ... his talks with them made them forthwith forget their litigation and deem those happy who withdraw from life in the world (*τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας*) (M 92).

In all other passages the word has its literal meaning, even where a monastic connotation is suggested by the context.

1) Cf. HEUSSI, *Der Ursprung*, 53ff.; 69; 108ff.

2) *Ἀναχωρεῖν* and *ἀναχώρησις* are already used as technical terms by the stoics in their philosophy of life. In christian asceticism they are met with in ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS of Caesarea. Cf. KOCH, *Quellen*, 4; 7; 30; 37.

In (V) 'secedere' seems to have got a somewhat monastic association: ...*advenientes ad se sic alloquebatur ut beatos dicant secedentes de hac vita*, 87 (87.6); ...*Dominus et Salvator noster hic absconsos et festinantes secedere, manifestos et praedicabiles propter virtutem ipsorum deificam facit*, 94 (93.1).

'Secedere' occurs only once in (E): ...*ad sepulcra haud longe a villa constituta secessit*, ch. 8, ἀπήχθετο. It is never used to render ἀναχωρεῖν, which has various translations: 'regredi', ch. 7; 'se amovere', ch. 48; 'abscedere', ch. 72; 'reverti', ch. 82, in which passages ἀναχωρεῖν always has its original literal meaning.

'Secedere' together with its derivatives is only met with in Cassian: ...*ab omni inquietudine et confusione turbarum similiter secedamus*, Coll. 10.6.4; ...*ita ergo processit ex illa qua diximus disciplina aliud perfectionis genus, cuius sectatores anachoretæ, id est, secessores merito nuncupantur*, Coll. 18.6.2; ...*cum ipse fons sanctitatis secessionis adiutorio ac solitudinis beneficio extrinsecus non egeret*, Coll. 10.6.4. As technical terms he prefers 'anachoreta' and 'anachoresis' to 'secessor' and 'secessio'. Jerome seems to use 'secedere' only once or twice as he does 'anachoreta'.

'Secedere' together with 'anachoreta' and 'anachoresis' belongs to the eastern world of monks. The way in which ἀναχωρεῖν and 'secedere' are used in (A) and (V) shows that the original literal meaning of going away, retiring, was strongly felt even where the word had monastic sense of forsaking life in the world. Now with the exception of Martin of Tours and his followers, the West in its earlier period was not at all partial to the eremitic life; hence it is not surprising that 'secedere' went out of use. Its stray occurrence in (E) is a prelude to its final disappearance. In common speech 'secedere' meant already to retire. When in monastic surroundings it began to mean 'to retire for the purpose of practising asceticism', we have a semantic change of monastic origin.

'Mundus', 'saeculum'.

In ch. 20 (A) has the phrase κοσμικὰ φρονεῖν, which is translated: 'sapere mundialia', (V) and: 'mundanis desiderii obligari', (E). So 'mundialis' and 'mundanus' are equivalents of worldly.

In early-christian Latin 'mundus' indicates the pagan world as contrasted in a general way with the christian community. But in

the course of time there began to arise men who not only wanted to profess the principles of the gospel but to live them in their fullest application to human conduct. Monks were men of this sort, and now *mundus* began to mean that pagan world which the monks held in abhorrence. The ordinary christian with wife and family could not but live in constant contact with the pagan world, but the monk broke with it completely, he even broke away from it. Thus the words 'mundialis', 'mundanus' progressively assumed the meaning: 'non-christian', 'non-religious', 'unbecoming a monk'. In the above quotation 'mundialis' has already this meaning; it is the only instance of this use to be found in (V). 'Mundus' or 'mundanus' in this sense are not used by this translator. In (E) 'mundanus' is 'non-religious' in ch. 44; 'non-christian' in ch. 93. In cc. 73 and 78 'mundus' stands for the pagan world.

A like development appears in the use of 'saeculum' and 'saecularis' in (E): ... *omnibus saeculi vinculis liber asperum atque arduum arripuit institutum*, ch. 3; ... *diabolus immittebat ei fluxam saeculi gloriam*, ch. 5; ... *ut oblita saeculi dignitate remotioris vitae beatitudinem appeterent*, ch. 87; ... *monachos cum saecularibus retardantes*, ch. 85; ... *tertio venerunt viri ad eum omnis saecularis prudentiae nube caecati, atque universis philosophiae studiis artium, suorum aestimatione doctissimi*, ch. 74; ... *confugite ad Crucifixi legem, et nulla saecularis imprudentiae argumenta quaeratis*, ch. 80.

In every instance there is a contrast with monasticism and the context must be our guide to make out whether the other side is the world in general (non-religious) or the pagan world (non-christian).

Later writers use 'saeculum' and 'mundus' in the sense indicated above. We submit a selection from Jerome, Cassian and Augustine: ... *quid agis, frater, in saeculo qui maior es mundo*, Hier. Epist. 14.10.2; ... *apud ipsos velut novitius ac de saeculo nuper egressus habetur*, Cass. Inst. 4.30.5; ... *quid ergo prodest servo Dei quod prioribus actibus quos in saeculo habebat relictis ad hanc spiritalem vitam militiamque convertitur?* Aug. Op. monach. 25.32.

The monastic sense of the two words in question is in clear evidence. Side by side with this usage 'saeculum' continues to appear in its general early-christian acceptation especially in Augustine.

'Saeculum' thus furnishes clear instance of a word of polysemic character sometimes meaning the world of pagans, sometimes that of those who are not monks.

Among the meanings attached to 'mundus' and 'saeculum' in ordinary language were: man, mankind for the first word and: people of a certain period, the spirit of the times for the second. After the semantic differentiation which both words underwent in early-christian Latin, they were again differentiated and became standard terms in monastic Latin. In this development we see a repetition of what we observed with regard to 'frater'. The monastic meaning of 'mundus' and 'saeculum' should be taken as a further development of the early-christian one rather than as a fresh shoot of the primitive 'mundus' and 'saeculum'.

If the romance languages are taken as a guide it would seem that the contrast christians—monks has more strongly asserted itself in *saeculum*, *saecularis*. *séculier* as against *régulier* and the contrast between christians and non-christians more in *mundus*, *mundanus*, *mondain*.

CHAPTER III

THE ASCETIC LIFE

In the preceding chapter it was noted that the designation 'frater' in some measure reveals the monk as one whose ideal it is not only to profess christianity but to live it with that full surrender with which it was lived by the first followers of the gospel: the monk wants to be an out and out christian, that is all ¹⁾. To reach this ideal or at least to endeavour steadfastly to reach it is the task which he sets himself to with the exclusion of all other aims: his appearance and place in the new christian society can only be explained and understood on the ground of this inward vision that animates him. We call this the inner or spiritual life of the monk, his ascetic life or asceticism. It is our task here to find out in what terms the oldest latin monastic writings express these ascetic strivings.

Asceticism ²⁾ is generally understood to signify the training of oneself in self-denial and mortification. Taken in a wider and more positive sense it is the striving for moral perfection, to which endeavour the training in self-denial and mortification is made subservient.

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1) What we mean is that monasticism deliberately wanted a revival of christianity as it was in its earliest days. The monk felt an urge to live up to the principles of christianity with that radical simplicity which characterized the first christian communities. The passage of Cassian that we discussed on p. 31, clearly testifies to this frame of mind. Hence monasticism especially in its initial stage was charged with that eschatological spirit which was also active in the christian communities of St Paul. The ascetic strivings were strongly bent on freeing the monk from all, even the most natural and elementary necessities of this life in order thus to anticipate in some way the everlasting life of the world to come. Cf. AMAND, *o.c.* 103ff.

2) The facts of the above account have been furnished by the following authors: AMAND, *L'ascèse monastique de S. Basile*, 31ff, DRESSLER, *The usage of 'Ασκήσις*; GUIBERT—OLPHE-GALLIARD—VILLER, *La notion d'ascèse, d'ascétisme, Histoire du mot, L'ascèse païenne, L'ascèse chrétienne*, DSAM I, 936ff, KOCH, *Quellen*, PFISTER, *Ασκησις*, Festg. Deussmann, 76ff, STRATHMANN—KESELING, *Askese*, RAC I 749ff., WINDISCH, *Ἀσκήσις*, TW I 492ff.

The definition is purposely left somewhat vague, for it disregards the question whether moral perfection should be viewed as an end in itself or as a means to a higher end. But it will do for the purpose of the present inquiry, which tries to ascertain what Athanasius understood by *ἀσκησις* and how the translators of *Vita Antonii* interpreted this word and expressed their interpretation in Latin. This can only be found by a mutual comparison of (A), (V) and (E).

In the greek and hellenistic world all sorts of ascetic practices were exercised within the pale of religion, but they were of a purely ritual character without any moral aspect; in philosophy, however, they were meant to further moral perfection. By *ἀσκησις* they generally intended to express a training for the attainment of some special ideal: this might be the well-trained body of the athlete or the soldier, or the well-trained mind which the sophists were the first to develop in their disciples, or moral perfection. This last was the special point envisaged by the stoics, among whom Epictetus ranked foremost.

The stoic holds that man's highest good is life according to nature, that is to say, according to his highest faculty, governing intelligence, i.e. reason. He whose life is governed by this principle has every virtue and is man fully free. *Ἀσκησις* is the constant discipline of endurance, which a man undertakes with the object of meeting the hardships and accidents of life; for this same purpose he may add freely chosen practices to contribute towards the same end. Reason is the only guide, and, in theory at least, religious motives play no part.

This *ἀσκησις* is purely intellectual starting as it does from the assumption that wisdom and virtue are identical: it is individualistic because in order to live according to his reason man holds himself aloof from the world and its petty events round about him, which are ever threatening to disturb the equanimity of his inward life; it is a-religious, or at least pretends to be so, for human reason is the supreme guide.

Neoplatonism also has its asceticism, called *κάθαρσις*. Initially this is a purifying process in which a man frees himself of the vexations and worries of the things about him and of the discord and disruption of his inner self. By the practice of virtue, especially the nobler virtues, the soul becomes spiritual and takes on a greater

likeness to the supreme Good, till by contemplation it makes an ecstatic approach to the 'One', with whom it becomes united in unspeakable bliss.

This neoplatonic asceticism, *κάθαρσις*, is intellectual quite as much as is the *ἀσκησις* of the stoics, but it is an intellectualism of a spiritual and religious nature. It remains humanistic, since the neoplatonist tenet holds that this ecstatic union with the 'One' can be achieved by the natural powers of the soul.

In the philosophy of Philo the ascetic tendencies of the Jews mingle with those of the Hellenists and the *ἀσκησις* of the stoics is given a religious bent. This *ἀσκησις* leads the soul to moral perfection and prepares it for the vision of the Deity.

In the LXX the words *ἀσκεῖν* and *ἀσκησις* are not found except in Macc. 2.15.4 and 4.13.22, where there is question of keeping the sabbath and observing the law. In the New Testament *ἀσκεῖν* occurs only once, Act. 24.16, in a speech of St Paul's in a hellenistic *milieu*.

Clement of Alexandria and Origen were the first to borrow such words as *ἀσκησις* and its like in their ethical and religious acceptation from Philo's writings and the greek fathers of the Church generally followed their example.

ΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ

ΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ AND ITS RENDERINGS IN THE VITA ANTONII.

*Ασκησις in (A).

From the way in which *ἀσκησις* is used in (A) it appears that:

1. *Ασκησις in the monastic world means the practice of virtue and mortification: ... for monks the life of Anthony is an ideal pattern of the ascetical life (*πρὸς ἀσκήσιν*) P (M 17); ... the rivalry you have entered on with the monks in Egypt is excellent, determined as you are to equal or even to surpass them in your practice of the ascetic life (*τῇ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀσκήσει*) P (M 17); ... he observed the graciousness of one, the earnestness at prayer in another; studied the even temper of one and the kindheartedness of another; fixed his attention on the vigils kept by one and on the studies pursued by another; admired one for his patient endurance, another for his fasting and sleeping on the ground; watched closely this man's meekness and the forbearance shown

by another; and in one and all alike he marked especially devotion to Christ and the love they had for one another. Having thus taken his fill, he would return to his own place of asceticism (τὸν ἴδιον τοῦ ἀσκητηρίου τόπον), ch. 4 (M 21).

2. This *ἀσκησις* implies unceasing exertion and labour¹): ... then he himself devoted all his time to ascetic living, intent on himself and living a life of self-denial (ἐσχόλαζε λουπὸν τῇ ἀσκήσει), ch. 3 (M 20); ... he spent the time of his initiation and made good his determination to devote all his affections and all his energy to the continued practice of the ascetic life (ὅπως ὅλον δὲ τὸν πόθον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σπουδὴν ἔχη περὶ τὸν νόνον τῆς ἀσκήσεως). *Ibid.*²).

3. This *ἀσκησις* is entirely religious in the object it seeks to attain: to serve and please God, which is synonymous with serving Christ: ... hence it behooves us not to give ourselves to the toil of asceticism for the sake of knowing the future, but that we may please God by living well, ch. 34 (M 49); ... molding ourselves in this way, we shall be able to please the Lord, ch. 55 (M 68); ... let a man persuade himself that he must not grow careless, and that all the more as he considers that he is a servant of the Lord and bound to serve his Master, ch. 18 (M 35); ... Anthony said: I am Christ's servant, ch. 53 (M 65); ... he worked hard each day to make of himself such as one should be to appear before God, pure of heart and ready to follow His will and none other, ch. 7 (M 26).

This *ἀσκησις* is sometimes called *θεοσέβεια*: ... he went out, inspired with an even greater zeal for the service of God, ch. 11 (M 29); ... Anthony gained renown solely for his service of God, ch. 93 (M 97).

Like *θεοσέβεια* so also *εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν εὐσέβεια*³) is characteristic of the ascetic. He draws his strength from the contemplation of God and the meditation of the life of Christ: ... if we wish to despise the Enemy, let us always keep our thoughts upon the things of the Lord, ch. 42 (M 56); ... he filled his thoughts with Christ and thus quenched the glowing coal of temptation, ch. 5 (M 23).

God is always at his side to help him to attain the final object of his self-discipline, which lies beyond the reach of man's natural

1) Cf. HEUSSI, *Der Ursprung*, 218ff.

2) Cf. also: cc. 7; 40; 46; 91.

3) Cf. cc. 4; 30.

powers: ... verily, the Lord worked with this man and gave to his body victory over the Devil. Thus all who fight in earnest can say: Not I, but the grace of God with me, ch. 5 (M 23); ... this was Anthony's first victory over the Devil; rather, let me say that this singular success in Anthony was the Saviour's, ch. 7 (M 24); ... for in this also we have the Lord with us to help us, ch. 19 (M 36).

The final object of *ἄσκησις*, union with God, can be attained in some degree even in this life: ... Anthony came forth as one initiated into sacred mysteries and filled with the spirit of God, ch. 14 (M 32). Hence Anthony is called a 'man of God': ... we would like to see the man of God, for so they all called him, ch. 70 (M 79) ¹⁾.

Summarizing the above it may be said that the object which *ἄσκησις*, as described in (A), seeks to attain is moral perfection; not indeed perfection for its own sake but for the sake of God; i.e. as a service to God; which with God's help will conduce the soul to the highest possible likeness to God and to union with Him ²⁾.

4. The fruits of this union with God attained through *ἄσκησις* are: man gets a clearer knowledge of the supra-sensible world, and with it a fuller discernment of spirits and he is more open to divine communications: ... hence, too, the necessity of much prayer and ascetic discipline that one may receive through the Holy Spirit the gift of discerning spirits and may be able to know about them, ch. 22 (M 39); ... this was also unique in Anthony's practice of asceticism that he had the gift of discerning spirits, ch. 88 (M 92); ... and we should pray, that the Lord may be our fellow-worker in achieving victory over the Devil. But if we care some day to know the future, let us be pure in mind. For I feel confident that if the soul is pure through and through and is in its natural state, it becomes clear-sighted and sees more and farther than the demons. It then has the Lord to reveal things to it, ch. 34 (M 49); ... they would learn of the good fruit that the ascetic life brings and that often visions are granted as a compensation for its hardships, ch. 66 (M 76); ... Anthony had to do only with prayer and the practice of asceticism for the sake of which he lived his mountain life, happy in the contemplation of the divine, ch. 84 (M 90).

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¹⁾ Cf. also: cc. 71; 93.

²⁾ Cf. HEUSSI, *Der Ursprung*, 266ff.

The *ἄσκησις*, therefore, which is so copiously described and illustrated in (A) is a special task set to monks, which 1. demands the practice of all sorts of virtues and mortifications; 2. it requires continual exertion and labour; 3. its aim is moral perfection not for its own sake but for God's sake. The unceasing striving after this end, therefore, is a service to God; it is wholly directed towards Him and finally leads to likeness to God and union with Him; 4. the fruit of this likeness is knowledge of the supra-sensible world through the discernment of spirits and the reception of divine communications. Since we are concerned here with the *ἄσκησις* itself, this last aspect of it will not be considered further in this chapter.

If the word *ἄσκησις* is closely scrutinized in all the instances in which it is used in (A), the conclusion can only be that invariably it means arduous moral self-discipline. All other aspects of *ἄσκησις*, the characteristic nature of the different ascetic practices and exercises, the end in view, can only be derived from consulting and analyzing the context. It is especially the religious character of christian asceticism that is not signified by the mere word *ἄσκησις*. This should be considered a matter of course, since the old meaning of *ἄσκησις* was still fully alive in the pagan stoic world. The author of (A) is aware of this and feels compelled to bring out clearly the character of the new *ἄσκησις*, which was christian and religious. He does this in various ways: thus he calls attention to the fact that the ascetic is *δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and that asceticism is a *θεοσέβεια*. This last phrase is peculiarly striking where it is used to account for the world-wide fame of Anthony: *διὰ δὲ μόνην θεοσέβειαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐγνωρίσθη*, ch. 93. The reader had been led to expect: ... *διὰ δὲ μόνην ἄσκησιν*, in view of the fact that the whole story is a sustained panegyric on Anthony as a devotee of *ἄσκησις*. One can only conclude that to Athanasius the only true *ἄσκησις* is that which has God for its final object.

Other passages in (A) seem to point to the same conclusion. However frequently *ἄσκησις* is used in the course of the book, Athanasius is not satisfied that the word adequately covers his idea of christian asceticism. *Ἄσκησις* by itself, therefore, stands for arduous training and self-discipline to reach moral perfection, no more. It is precisely this meaning of unremitting self-discipline which

in some passages is very emphatically brought out: ... ἐσχολάζε-
την ἀσκήσει, προσέχων ἑαυτῷ καὶ καρτερικῶς ἑαυτὸν ἄγων, ch. 3.

The Renderings of Ἀσκησις in (V).

Ἀσκησις has no direct equivalent in Latin. The translator in (V) while searching for a translation fixes his mind on the word 'studium', which he uses consistently throughout the narrative except in 61 (68.25), where 'abstinentia' is used. 'Studium', however, falls short of the full meaning of ἀσκησις, which implies a special *studium*, viz. a striving after moral perfection, while plain 'studium' leaves the object which the striving tries to attain quite undetermined. Hence the translator adds various adjuncts or amplifications to define the object of this special *studium*, which in (A) is called ἀσκησις. These qualifications vary a good deal depending as they do on the special aspect of the ἀσκησις that is prominent here and now; but however varied they allow themselves to be grouped in three well-defined classes:

I. the practice of virtue and mortification: 'studium virtutum', P (15.5); 'studere in bono', 36 (49.3); 'abstinentia', 61 (68.25);

II. continual exertion and labour: 'studium sustinentiae', 7 (23.14); 'studium laboris nostri', 34 (47.15);

III. the other-worldly character of christian asceticism; the service of God: a) 'studium christianismi', 16 (32.10); 'studium christianissimum', 3 (18.28); 'studere in cultura Dei', P (15.10); 'studium religionis', 3 (18.21); 3 (19.10); 4 (19.21); 7 (23.24); 8 (24.16); 18 (34.2); 22 (37.8); 24 (39.14); 25 (40.10); 30 (44.12) and 'studere religioni', 16 (31.26); b) 'studium Christi', 7 (24.8); 'studium secundum Dominum', 91 (90.7); 'studere secundum Dominum', 30 (44.14); 91 (90.4); 'studium dominicum', 9 (25.11); c) 'studere secundum Deum', 44 (55.8); 'studium deificum', 3 (18.26); 7 (22.21); 14 (29.20); 15 (31.13); 19 (34.10); 38 (50.8); 40 (52.12); 45 (55.16); 46 (57.13); 51 (60.21); 55 (64.29); 60 (67.17); 66 (72.16); 82 (82.28); 84 (85.2); 88 (87.26); 89 (88.22); 93 (91.27); 93 (91.30).

It is clear that the last group, which has a more mystic element in it, far outweighs the other two. Some of the translations quoted call for a fuller discussion.

In common speech 'studium' stands for a fancy or liking for something, an intellectual interest, steady application. Actual

practice is expressed by 'exercitatio'. Hence the phrases: 'studium philosophiae, scientiae, iuris' etc.; but 'exercitatio iuris civilis, linguae, rhetoricae, virtutis'. Apart then from further epithets that may qualify 'studium' and serve to translate the word *ἄσκησις* the mere use of 'studium' instead of 'exercitatio' is something that deserves attention.

I. The practice of virtue and mortification.

'Abstinencia'.

Dolebat ei stomachus vehementer et latus a nimia abstinencia et erat toto corpore infirma, 61 (68.25), ... ἀπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ἀσκήσεως.

The translator evidently wants to avoid casting a slur on the *studium deificum* and substitutes 'abstinencia' to describe a material and inferior aspect of *ἄσκησις*; 'abstinencia' therefore is not an adequate translation of *ἄσκησις*; it merely stresses the practice of fasting and abstinence. In common speech 'abstinencia' expresses precisely the same thing.

II. The continual exertion and labour.

1. 'Studium sustinentiae'.

'Sustinentia' is only found in early-christian Latin and occurs in the *Vetus Latina*, the Vulgate and the oldest christian writers¹⁾.

Magis decet iuniori ex voluntate habere studium sustinentiae et non quaerere ea quae relaxant corpus, 7 (23.14), ... ἐκ προθυμίας ἔχειν τὴν ἀσκήσιν; ... *prompta vero voluntas multum temporis manens in eo ingenio, bonam sustinentiam in eo fuerat operata, ut sibi aliquam occasionem virtutis deificae ab aliis accepisse multam et in haec contulisse et ostendisse instantiam*, 7 (23.2), ... ἔξιν ἀγαθὴν ἐνεργάζετο ἐν αὐτῷ.

Ἐξίς is a habit acquired by regular training. 'Sustinentia' stresses the unflinching tenacity of purpose demanded of the ascetic.

2. 'Studium laboris'.

'Labor', which in general latin speech means just plain labour or effort, is repeatedly used in (V) in the sense of ascetic labour

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1) Cf. RÖNSCH, *Itala und Vulgata*, 50.

or exertion e.g.: ...unde non oportet satagere, studere et laborare ut praescientiam habeamus, sed ut Deo bene placeamus; et orationes habeamus ad Dominum non ut praescientiam nobis det, neque studii laboris nostri promercedem hanc petamus, 34 (47.15), ... οὐδὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἀσχεῖσθαι καὶ πονεῖν ... οὐδὲ τοῦτον τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀπαιτεῖν μισθόν; ... et ad summum suggerebat illi virtutis aspredinem et quia multus est labor ipsius, 5 (20.15), ... ὁ πόνος; ... multos quidem seduxi et plurimos deieci et multa alia feci et nunc quomodo in alios et in te et in laboribus tuis infirmus factus sum, 6 (21.21), ... τοῖς σοῖς πόνοις; ... maiorem laborem ad profectum habebat, 7 (23.25), ... πόνον; ... appositio enim visionum et intellectus multum relegabat illum a laboribus, 13 (29.12), ... τῶν πονῶν ἀνάπανταν παρείχετο; ... sanctos et iuvenales sustinebat labores, 15 (31.11), ... πονῶν.

Alongside of this 'labor' continues in use apart from asceticism; ... desertae viae laborem, 50 (60.13); ... καμάτου.

III. The other-worldly character of christian asceticism.

1. 'Studere in cultura Dei'.

Scire volentes quomodo coepit studere in cultura Dei, P (15.10), ... ὅπως τε ἤρξατο τῆς ἀσκήσεως. 'Cultura' here has a subjective meaning and signifies worship, piety, as it does in a few more instances, where (A) has θεοσέβεια, εὐσέβεια εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν and θεοσεβεῖν¹). In the dialogue with the pagan philosophers 'cultura' has its objective meaning: system of worship, cult: ... aut irrationabilibus debet quis simulare Dominum, ut colat quadrupedia et repentia et imagines humanas? Ista enim culturae sunt vestrae, 74 (77.10), ... τὰ σεβάσματα; ... nos Deum non posse colere nisi per sermonum probationem probaverimus culturam nostram. 77 (79.13), ... θεοσεβεῖν; ... daemonum culturam, 78 (80.11), ... δεισιδαιμονίαν; ... vestra cultura numquam persecutionem passa est, 70 (80.23); ... vestra cultura corrumpitur, 70 (80.27), ... τὰ ὑμέτερα. In all other instances 'cultura' is almost exclusively reserved for the objective idea: a system of worship or cult; the subjective meaning i.e. worship, piety, is expressed mostly by 'religio', which is of frequent occurrence.

¹) Cf. 11 (27.4); 28 (43.1); 44 (55.5); 80 (81.8); 4 (19.27); 30 (44.20); 28 (42.19).

In common speech 'cultura' means tending and cultivating the soil; figuratively it expresses good breeding, civilized life. Only Horace has it in the sense of honouring, paying respect: *cultura potentis amici*¹⁾. In early-christian Latin 'cultura' is a common word for worship, divine worship²⁾.

2. 'Studium religionis'.

Outside the phrases 'studium religionis' (ἄσκησις) and 'studere religioni' (ἀσκειῖσθαι) the word 'religio' occurs eight times:

a) as amode of address: ... *scribere festinavi ad religionem vestram*, P (16.11), ... τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ.

b) in the phrase 'virtus religionis' (ἀρετή): ... *quare ergo nos non derelinquamus ea propter virtutem religionis*, 17 (33.11); ... *ergo virtutem religionis velle nostrum opus est, quia in nobis est et ex nobis constituitur*, 20 (35.20); ... *si enim permanserimus ut facti sumus, in virtute sumus religionis*, 20 (36.4); ... *via quae ducit ad virtutem religionis*, 26 (40.17). In every one of these four cases 'virtus religionis' would seem to stand for 'virtus religiosa' i.e. virtue or practice of virtue based on religion.

c) ... *commemorantur sermonem scripturarum, excitant ad orationem, transfigurant se in habitum monachorum et quasi religiosi et timorati videntur loqui. Sed non oportet attendere illis; non enim propter religionem aut propter veritatem hoc faciunt*, 25 (40.8), ... δι' εὐλάβειαν. Both the context and the greek word in (A) εὐλάβεια would seem to suggest that 'religio' is not meant here in its objective sense of system of worship, but subjectively i.e. piety, in the same way as 'veritas' does not precisely envisage truth itself but love of truth.

d) ... *sed propter deificam religionem donatam sibi notus erat*, 93 (92.15), ... διὰ δὲ μὴν θεοσέβειαν. Here too 'religio' is the equivalent of piety. In no instance therefore is 'religio' used in the sense of what we now call religion or cult. This is in keeping with the fact that when Anthony in his disputation with the pagan philosophers contrasts the religion of the christians with that of the pagans, 'cultura' is regularly used and 'religio' is steadily avoided³⁾.

1) Cf. *Epist.* 1.18.86.

2) Cf. RÖNSCH, *o.c.* 311.

3) Cf. 74 (77.10); 77 (79.13); 79 (80.23,27); 80 (81.8).

Thus (V) displays a tendency to reserve 'religio' for statements of a monastic character: monastic piety, the soul looking to God; in other words it is the otherworldly aspect of *ἀσκησις* which is typified in the word 'religio'.

'Religiosus' occurs three times in the sense of pious: ... *quasi religiosi et timorati videntur loqui*, 25 (40.4), ... *εὐλαβεῖς; fidem religiosam*, 82 (84.9), ... *εὐσεβῇ πίστιν; religiose credunt*, 94 (93.9), ... *εὐσεβῶς πιστεύοντες*.

Also in common speech 'religio' and 'religiosus' sometimes mean piety and pious. When the two words are traced through their later development it will appear that 'religio' reached its definite monastic stage before 'religiosus' did.

From the use of 'religio' in the above quotations it would seem that also in the phrases 'studium religionis' and 'studere religioni' the special aspect of asceticism that is signified, is the lifting up of the soul to God.

3. 'Studium deificum'.

'Studium deificum' occurs in the narrative *passim*. 'Virtus deifica' is found 3 (19.5); 7 (23.3); 7 (23.22); 20 (35.5); 38 (50.13); 44 (54.21); 44 (55.9); 93 (92.12). Each of these translations corresponds to a plain *ἀρετή* in the original, except 7 (23.3). Other combinations are 'religio deifica', 93 (92.15), *θεοσέβεια*; 'sermo deificus', 54 (63.5), *λόγος*; and 'lucrum deificum', Epilogue.

The curious thing is that up to date 'deificus' has only been recorded as being used by Tertullian, Cyprian, Caelius Aurelianus and Marius Victorinus, all of them Africans, though the last-mentioned spent almost the whole of his life working and teaching in Rome; it is moreover found in the *Didaskalia Apostolorum*, Ps. Tertullian, Ps. Hilarius, Ps. Origen, Ps. Augustine and the *Vetus Latina* as found in *Codex Vindobonensis*¹⁾.

Another remarkable fact is that in (A) there is not the slightest hint to suggest a translation such as 'deificus'; there is of course the wider meaning of 'studium' which not only suggests but demands some sort of qualification of its object; there is also the insistence of the original on the transcendental character of the monastic *ἀσκησις*, which may have urged the mind of the translator into choosing some such word as 'deificus'. In Tertullian's

1) Cf. TLL s.v.; RÖNSCH, o.c. 224; *Vetus Latina* I 20.165.

Apologeticum 'deificus' is 'divinum faciens'¹⁾); in other places it is generally synonymous with 'divinus' or 'sanctus'.

To judge from the various contexts 'deificus' in (V) would seem to mean 'divinum faciens' rather than 'divinus' or 'sanctus'. In very many passages the reader is clearly given to understand that through *studium deificum* Anthony is made more God-like, that God works in him: ...*hoc primum est certamen Antonii adversus diabolum, immo Salvatoris qui hoc in Antonio perfecit, illius qui peccatum in carne condemnavit ut sanctificatio legis adimpleretur in nobis, Antonius vero sine intermissione habebat studium deificum*, 7 (22.12-21); ...*viginti itaque prope annos sic transivit solus studio deifico vacans. Postea autem processit sacramentis et divinitate divinis plenus*, 14 (29.20-30.5); ...*adhaereamus ergo, filii, studio deifico. Habemus enim in hoc Dominum cooperarium*, 19 (34.10); ...*et hoc est initium studii ipsius deifici. Et licet pauca sint ista adversus virtutem ipsius in christianismo, sed et vos ex ipsis considerate qualis erat homo Dei Antonius, qui a pueritia sua usque ad talem aetatem et tantam aequalem custodivit in studio deifico promptam voluntatem*, 93 (91.24-92.1).

The rest of the *ἀσκησις*-translations of this group require no further comment. It is characteristic that 90 % of the *ἀσκησις*-translations in (V) underline its religious aspect. The translator thus faithfully follows the mind of his author, who never ceases from bringing out this aspect in strong relief.

The Renderings of *Ἀσκησις* in (E).

In contrast with (V), (E) uses various phrases to render the original *ἀσκησις*. While (V) fixes on 'studium' as a stereotype rendering of the central idea of effort or exercise, (E) prefers variety and uses 'propositum', 'institutum', 'studium', 'conversatio'. Among these 'studium' takes a special place: it is indeed not frequently used, but three times it is embodied in phrases in which the final object of *ἀσκησις* is typically marked.

As was the case in (V) the renderings in (E) may be gathered under three heads; to these we shall add a fourth point:

I. the practice of virtue and mortification: a) 'virtus', 'sanctitas', 'merita'; b) 'abstinens', 'ieiunia', 'vigiliae', 'rigor';

¹⁾ Cf. *Apolog.* 11; cf. also BÄCKLUND, *Die lateinischen Bildungen auf -fex und -ficus*.

- II. the continual exertion and labour: 'instantia', labor';
- III. the other-worldly character of christian asceticism: 'studium servitutis in Dei opere', 'studium religiosum', 'studium beatae vitae';
- IV. more generally: the way of life: 'propositum', 'institutum', 'conversatio'.

I. a) The practice of virtue.

1. 'Via ad virtutem', 'via virtutis'.

Perfecta siquidem est ad virtutem via, Antonium scire quis fuerit, P, ... εἶναι γὰρ μοναχοῖς ἱκανὸς χαρακτὴρ πρὸς ἀσκήσιν; ... necnon dicebat magnam esse ad virtutem viam, si singuli vel observarent quid agerent vel universas mentium cogitationes fratribus referrent, ch. 55; ... haec agamus, hac virtutis gradiamur via et corpora mentibus subiugantes perniciosas diaboli conteramus insidias, Ibid.

The last two passages offer no matter for comparison, because in the original the word ἀσκήσις is wanting, but there can hardly be any doubt that the translator writes 'via virtutis', 'via ad virtutem' with an eye on the exercise of virtue. The ἀσκήσις meant here is viewed as a means to moral perfection.

Plain 'virtus' also seems to be used occasionally in the sense of exercise of virtue, asceticism: ... *postremo virtutis arduum finem suggerebat, ch. 5, ... τὸ τραχὺ τῆς ἀρετῆς; ... lassitudo virtutis, ch. 36, ... ὀλιγωρία πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν.*

Also in common speech 'virtus' was used in the sense of exercise of virtue.

2. 'Sanctitas'.

Erat autem Ammon vir grandaevus, qui perseveranter a pueritia usque ad senectutem in sanctitate vixerat, ch. 60, ... ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἕως γήρως ἀσκητὴς διαμείνας; ... legatarius autem Antonii benedicti, qui tritum pallium cum melote imperio eius meruerat accipere Antonium in Antonii muneribus amplectitur; et tamquam magna haereditate ditatus, laetanter per vestimentum recordatur imaginem sanctitatis, ch. 92.

In the first passage 'sanctitas' indicates the moral perfection which is the fruit of ἀσκήσις. For the last passage (A) offers no point of comparison. In current Latin 'sanctitas' and 'sanctus' refer

to the unimpeachable privilege or venerableness of things, or may concern the uprightness and venerableness of persons. In ch. 89 the word 'sanctus' appears in the context to be about the equivalent of the perfect christian: ...*praecipiebat desidiā instituto non debere subrepere; sed tamquam quotidie morituros, ut ante praedixerat a sordidis cogitationibus animam custodire, et omnem aemulationem ad sanctos quosque convertere; ad Meletianos vero schismaticos ne prope quidem accedere*, ch. 89. Originally 'sanctus' in christian usage¹⁾ was synonymous with 'fidelis'. In the third and fourth centuries it came to designate martyrs, *sancti*. This seems also to be the case in ch. 6: ...*multos seduxi, plurimos decepi; nunc autem ut a ceteris sanctis ita et tuo sum labore superatus*, ch. 6. The passage is interesting, because the ascetic Anthony is put on a level with the *sancti*, and thus introduces a new phase in the use of 'sanctus'.

3. 'Merita'.

Hic Antonii vitae terminus fuit, ista principia meritorum, ch. 93. 'Merita' expresses — as it does in common speech — merits or meritorious acts, a life full of merit. The word occurs repeatedly in (E) e.g. in the following passages: ...*non aequalia sim eius meritis narraturus*, P, ... μόγῃς ἐπαξίως ἢ περὶ ἐκεῖνον γένηται διήγησις; ...*nec rursum meritis eius inferiora*, Ibid., ... ἐλάττωνα τοῦ δέοντος; ...*nec laborum merita pensabat*, ch. 7; ...*cum voluntati promptae merita religiosa succrescerent*, ch. 11, ... μᾶλλον προθυμότερος εἰς τὴν θεοσεβείαν; ...*testimonium virtutis et meriti*, ch. 38, ... τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ βίου; ...*et ob vitae eius merita, cuncta Dominus largiebatur*, ch. 84; ...*ex vitae meritis discretionem spirituum agnoscens*, ch. 88, ... τοῦτο ἦν μέγα τῆς ἀσκήσεως χάρισμα διακρίσεως πνευμάτων; ...*contra iura naturae, meritorum gratia custodivit*, ch. 93; ...*ut et ipsi fruantur laude meritorum et ceteri eorum provocentur exemplis*, ch. 94.

I. b) The practice of mortification.

1. 'Abstinent'.

Multitudo abstinentium, ch. 44, ... πληθος ἀσκητῶν.

1) Cf. SCHRIJNEN, *Uit het leven der oude Kerk*, 63ff.

*Abstine*ns is he who abstains from something, who mortifies himself. 'Abstinerere' or 'abstinentia' occur nowhere else in (E).

2. 'Ieiunia vigiliaeque'.

Acrioribus se ieiuniis vigiliisque conficiens, ch. 47, ... ἀσκήσει πολλή καὶ συντονωτέρα ἐκέχρητο; ... *ieiuniis nimis vigiliisque*, ch. 61, ... ἀπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ἀσκήσεως.

There are other places where 'ieiunia' and 'vigiliae' are combined in one phrase; thus in ch. 44, where (A) has only *νηστεύοντων*, (E) has: ... *tantumque ieiunandi et vigiliarum ardorem*. Both the plural noun 'ieiunia', fasting, and the verb 'ieiunare' are found in common speech. 'Vigiliae' as a watching at religious festivals, nightly vigils is mentioned by Plautus¹), but seems to have no place in classical usage. In early-christian Latin it is met with again as a set term for the nocturnal devotions together with fasting, preparatory to the celebration of great christian feasts.

3. 'Rigor'.

Ad rigorem solitum regressus est, ch. 82, ... τῆς συνήθους ἀσκήσεως εἶχετο; ... *tenendus est continuus instituti rigor*, ch. 19, ἐχώμεθα τῆς ἀσκήσεως. 'Rigor' does not occur elsewhere. 'Abstinens', 'ieiunia', 'vigiliae', 'rigor' only reflect the austerity and the hardships of ἀσκησις, the aspect of mortification and self-denial. It is not till we come to post-classical authors that we find 'rigor' used to indicate a stern way of living e.g.: *rigor disciplinae veteris*, Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.83.

II. The continual exertion and labour.

1. 'Instantia'.

Virtutis instantia, P, ... τῇ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀσκήσει; ... *cum omnes infatigabilem adolescentis mirarentur instantiam*, ch. 7. 'Instantia' stresses the constant energy in the practice of virtue and mortification. In common speech 'instantia' signifies immediate proximity, presence; figuratively it denotes unremitting diligence, perseverance, insistence in argument and in pleading²). In the last

¹) Cf. *Aul. prol.* 36; 4.10.65.

²) Cf. PLINY, 3.5.18; 5.8.10; TERTULLIAN, *Spect.* 19; *Anima*, 57.

of the above meanings 'instantia' seems to be a regular term in forensic Latin ¹⁾).

2. 'Labor'.

Ne tanti temporis laborem repente perdati, ch. 91, ... τὴν πολυχρόνιον ὑμῶν ἄσκησιν μὴ ἀπολέσῃτε. This is the only instance where plain 'labor' unmistakably appears as an equivalent of ἄσκησις. 'Labor' serves to stress the painstaking exertion demanded by ἄσκησις.

In other passages 'labor' is found linked up with some other phrase or is used under pressure of the combination ἄσκησις - πόνος in (A): ... *sollerti propositum labore servabat*, ch. 7, ... συντόνως ἐπέχρητο τῇ ἀσκήσει; ... *laborantes in Dei opere vixerimus*, ch. 16, ... διαμείνωμεν ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει; ... *signorum relatio et amorem ministraret proposito et fructum laboris ostenderet*, ch. 66, ... τῆς ἀσκήσεως εἶναι καρπὸν ἀγαθὸν τῶν τε πόνων πολλάκις παραμύθιον γίνεσθαι τὰς ὁπτασίας.

'Labor', πόνος, in the sense of ascetic effort or exertion turns up repeatedly in the course of the translation: ... *nunc autem ut a ceteris sanctis ita et tuo sum labore superatus*, ch. 6; ... *sanctum toleranter ferebat laborem*, ch. 7; ... *nec laborum merita pensabat*, *Ibid.*; ... *in pristinis laboribus perseverans*, ch. 15; ... *non in vitae laboribus, sed in prodigiis exsultabunt*, ch. 38, μὴ ἐν ἀρετῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν σημείοις; ... *labor paululum quiescat ne aegritudo subrepat*, ch. 40; ... *ad beatae vitae imitationem ex fructu laboris optimus quisque impellatur*, ch. 93.

III. The other-worldly character of christian asceticism.

'Studium servitutis in Dei opere'.

Impossibile durumque hoc studium praedicant, ch. 25, ... ἀνωφελῆ τὴν ἄσκησιν εἶπωσι; ... *solent laudare studium*, ch. 35, ... ἐπαινώσι τὴν ἄσκησιν ὑμῶν. In the above passages 'studium' is a direct translation of ἄσκησις; but it also occurs several times in the sense of ἄσκησις, where this word is not used in the original; in these cases 'studium' is attended by qualifications which are sometimes very typical: ... *cum omnes infatigabilem adolescentis*

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1) Cf. *Dig.* 32.1.32.

mirarentur instantiam, sanctum toleranter ferebat laborem, quia voluntariae servitutis longum in Dei opere studium consuetudine in naturam verterat, ch. 7. This is no doubt the nearest and fullest definition of ἀσκησις that is to be found in (E) ¹⁾.

Be it noted that 'opus Dei' in the passage cited means something quite different from Benedict's 'opus Dei', the divine office. The best translation of 'opus Dei' in the above quotation would be *opus divinum*, the service of God, which being the work of God's grace also makes man more God-like ²⁾. This 'studium in Dei opere' therefore includes what in (V) is called 'studium religionis', 'studium deificum'.

'Dei opus' is only found in cc. 7 and 16. But there are plenty of texts in which the ascetic life is seen as a service to God: ... *quicumque in servitute Christi sibimet prodesse cupiebat, haud procul a sua villula separatus instituebatur*, ch. 3; ... *adiuvabat enim servum suum Dominus*, ch. 5; ... *non oblitus Iesus collocationis servi sui*, ch. 10; ... *consideremus Domini esse nos famulos et servitute debere ei a quo creati sumus*, ch. 18; ... *nullus nostrum hanc arripuit vitam ut habeat praescientiam futurorum; sed ut praeceptis Domini oboediens, amicus esse incipiet de servo*, ch. 33; ... *credo animam Deo servientem plus scire posse quam daemones*, ch. 34; ... *Christum cui deservio*, ch. 48; ... *Christi servus sum*, ch. 58; ... *Christus servientibus sibimet etiam hic in ipsis montium secretis latere cupientibus famae tribuit nobilitatem*, ch. 94.

'Famulus' too is frequently used to the same effect as 'servus': ... *oportere Dei famulum ex instituto magni Eliae exemplum capere*, ch. 8; ... *Christi famulus sum*, ch. 52; ... *nemo sapientum sanitatum admirationem adscribat Antonio, sed Domino Iesu qui solitam benevolentiam nunc quoque per electum famulum suum exercuit*, ch. 84; ... *dux dicens: Vere istum esse Dei famulum*, ch. 85; ... *Creatoris benignitas, qui famulos suos licet nolentes, nobilitare consuevit ut virtus possibilis sanctorum doceatur exemplis*, ch. 93.

In 'servitutis in Dei opere studium' both 'servitus' and 'Dei opus' look to God as the highest aim of ἀσκησις. It cannot be maintained,

1) Cf.: ... *laborantes in Dei opere*, ch. 16, ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει.

2) Cf.: ... *hoc est opus Dei ut credatis*, Jo. 6.29.

however, that 'servus Dei', 'famulus Dei' are technical terms for 'monachus' and one may reasonably submit that in some passages 'servus Dei', 'famulus Dei' should be given a wider meaning and be understood to mean any christian; the more so since both words are sometimes used in express contrast to 'the pagans': ... *Christus per servos suos ista miracula facit; credite et vos, et videbitis quia devota Deo fides, non eloquentiae vanus tumor talia signa mereatur, confugite ad Crucifixi legem, nosque eius imitamini famulos et hac scientia, hac fide contenti nulla deinceps saecularis imprudentiae argumenta quaeratis*, ch. 80.

The use of 'servus', 'famulus' and their derivatives in connection with religion is quite alien to common Latin, in which they speak of 'colere deos', 'cultus deorum'. The idea of 'serving God' derives from the Bible and phrases like 'servus Dei', 'servire Deo' mark semantic changes of christian origin.

As regards the further use of 'studium' the following passages invite attention: ... *nec peregrinum vobis aut procul positum videatur hoc studium*, ch. 20; ... *dum haec ita gererentur quibus in dies beatae vitae studium cresceret*, ch. 45; ... *talibus sermonum hortamentis et venientes ad se monachos incitabat ad studium*, ch. 56; ... *hodie vos religiosum studium arripuisse arbitramini*, ch. 91. Both 'beatae vitae studium' and 'religiosum studium' give utterance to the idea that the object of the ascetic life lies in the world to come and is found in God and the kingdom of God.

IV. The way of life.

1. 'Propositum'.

Quemadmodum coeperit quive fuerit ante sanctum propositum, P, ... *ὅπως τε ἤρξατο τῆς ἀσκήσεως καὶ τίς ἦν πρὸ ταύτης; ... propositum imitari cupientium*, ch. 14, ... *ποθούντων τὴν ἀσκησιν ζηλῶσαι; ... ut propositum vestrum nec aliqua lassitudo dissolveret*, ch. 40, ... *ἵνα μάθῃτε μὴ ἐκκακεῖν ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει; ... aequalitatem propositi*, ch. 93, ... *ἵσσην προθυμίαν τῆς ἀσκήσεως*.

'Propositum' is in common speech a proposed line of conduct; here it is a way of life according to ascetic principles. 'Propositum' therefore views asceticism as a way of life and a rule of conduct.

In this sense the word occurs several times without having *ἄσκησις* as a corresponding original, e.g.: ...*et vos scio eius propositum cupere sectari*, P, ... *πρόθεσιν*; ...*adversarius impedire eius propositum volens*, ch. 11, ... *σπουδὴν*; ...*in arrepti propositi fervore facessere*, ch. 16; ...*proposito ferventi gaudet Antonius*, ch. 54, ... *προθυμίαν*; ...*ne aliqua propositi succedat oblivio*, ch. 85, ... *μὴ ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῶν ἔνδον*. Since 'propositum' singles out a certain aspect of *ἄσκησις*; it is occasionally combined with 'labor' which is more apt to bring out the exertion demanded by *ἄσκησις*; it would seem that the translator is aware he is not giving *ἄσκησις* its full due, so he combines two aspects by using the two words 'propositum' and 'labor': ...*sollerti propositum labore servabat*, ch. 7, ... *συντόνως ἐκέχρητο τῇ ἀσκήσει*; ...*ad finem propositi omni labore tendamus*, ch. 20; ...*signorum relatio et amorem ministraret proposito et fructum laboris ostenderet*, ch. 66, ... *τῆς ἀσκήσεως καρπὸν ἀγαθόν, τῶν τε πόνων παραμύθιον τὰς δειπασίας*.

2. 'Institutum', 'institutio'.

Ipse iam omnibus saeculi vinculis liber asperum atque arduum arripuit institutum, ch. 3, ... *ἐσχολάζε λοιπὸν τῇ ἀσκήσει προσέχων ἑαυτῷ καὶ καρτερικῶς ἑαυτὸν ἄγων*; ...*ab arrepto instituto detrachere*, ch. 5, ... *ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσκήσεως καταγαγεῖν*; ...*tenendus est continuus instituti rigor*, ch. 19, ... *ἐχώμεθα τῆς ἀσκήσεως*; ...*instituti boni mercedem*, ch. 34, ... *τῆς ἀσκήσεως μισθόν*; ...*ut institutum monachorum non solum oratione eius sed et conspectibus firmaretur*, ch. 46, ... *ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει πολλοῖς διδάσκαλος γένηται*; ...*praecipiebat desidiam instituto non debere subrepere*, ch. 89, ... *παρήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴδὲ ἐκκακεῖν ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει*; ...*separatus instituebatur*, ch. 3, ... *καταμόνας ἡσκέτο*; ...*duobus fratribus quos ibidem ante quindecim annos modico intervallo seiunctos instituebat*, ch. 91, ... *δύο δὲ ἦσαν, δέκα καὶ πέντε ἔτη ἀσκούμενοι*.

Semantically 'institutum' differs but little from 'propositum', and like it signifies here a way of life governed and regulated by ascetic principles. Beside the above direct translations in which 'institutum' stands for *ἄσκησις* and 'institutui' for *ἀσκεῖσθαι*, the words 'institutum', 'institutui', 'institutio', and 'institutorius' also occur without any dependence on those originals, but always in the meaning given

above: ...*oportere Dei famulum ex instituto magni Eliae exemplum capere*, ch. 8, ... ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας, (A): ch. 7; ...*ut ad eius aemulationem et exemplum vos instituere possitis*, P, ...ἐαντοὺς ἀγάγητε; ...*tali ibidem institutus exordio*, ch. 3, ...τὰς ἀρχὰς διατρέβων; ...*separatus a fratribus instituebatur*, ch. 45; ...*cum rogaretur ut eis institutoria largiretur praecepta*, ch. 16; ...*utilitatem praeceptorum vitae institutione servabat*, ch. 1.

3. 'Conversatio'.

Conversationem magis scrutamini singulorum, ch. 38, ἐκάστου δὲ τὴν ἀσκησιν καταμανθάνετω τις; ...*ut vobis scriberem de conversatione beati Antonii*, P, ... πολιτείας; ...*regionem quamdam et oppidum a mundana conversatione seiunctum*, ch. 44, ...καθ' ἐαυτὴν οὖσαν. 'Conversatio' means 1. life or behaviour in its moral aspect; as the translation of πολιτεία it is a sort of technical term in early-christian Latin ¹⁾; 2. it means social intercourse and in this it is of post-classical origin. The last of the above quotations illustrates that meaning.

Seeing that 'conversatio', as a translation of πολιτεία, views life in its moral aspect, it is not surprising that the word should be used in ch. 38 as a translation of ἀσκησις to express the ascetic way of life.

Résumé.

We gathered from (A) that the author did not find the current term ἀσκησις quite satisfactory and that he cast about to give it a christian bent by associating with it christian phrases and qualifying adjuncts. The translator of (V) showed himself of the same mind as his original and gave a religious turn to most of his ἀσκησις-translations. (E) likewise is clearly aware of the religious aspect of christian asceticism seeing that in some of his translations he deliberately outlines the true meaning of the christian ἀσκησις, its other-worldly aim: *Deus, beata vita, religio*, from which the christian ἀσκησις derives its true worth.

1) RÖNSCH, *o.c.* 310, only mentions ἀναστροφή. But 'conversatio' is also found as a translation of πολιτεία and πολίτευμα, where these words indicate a certain way of living resulting from the membership of a given community. In early-christian Latin 'conversatio' mostly corresponds to πολιτεία. Cf. TLL *v.*; MOHRMANN, *La langue de S. Benoît* (SCHMITZ, *S. Bened. Reg. monach.*), 34f.

In (V) such phrases as 'studium religionis' and 'studium deificum' repeatedly occur, and it is almost a disappointment to find phrases such as these so rarely used in (E). This apparent contrast between the two is due in no small degree to the fact that (V) is bent on translating *ἀσκησις* consistently according to a preconceived pattern *viz.* 'studium' followed as a rule by some qualification that is meant to express the whole idea with greater fulness. The effect of this method, of this mannerism if you like, is, that in most cases these formalized renderings make the religious aspect very prominent but also that these translations, all cast in the same mould, make a very abstract impression, the more surprising since the whole translation is written in a simple and popular style. This abstractedness however is not the kind that results from a highly developed power of abstract thinking, but that is owing to a very primitive and mechanical method of translation.

This mechanical way of proceeding can be illustrated from the fact that the eleven *religio*-translations are all found in the first thirty chapters, while in the sixty-four later chapters the renderings with 'deificus' occur fourteen times; in the first thirty 'deificus' is only used five times.

In contrast with (V) the translation of *ἀσκησις* in (E) but rarely covers the whole content of the idea. The translator always aims at bringing out the special aspect under which *ἀσκησις* is viewed at the moment. This is in full accordance with the translator's general system of translation, which aims rather at giving the whole story in Latin than at rendering several words. The effect is that his renderings of *ἀσκησις* are more varied and more concrete. But whenever he sets about to give a fuller description of *ἀσκησις* he is as positive as (V) in asserting the religious bent of the christian asceticism. In this respect, then, the *ἀσκησις* of (A), (V) and (E) differs fundamentally from the self-contained humanistic *ἀσκησις* of the stoics that it has an other-worldly end in view.

Another similarity between (E) and (V) consists in this: 'abstinens', 'labor' and 'religiosus' in the former correspond with 'abstinentia', 'labor' and 'religio' in the latter. Other terms used by (E) *viz.* 'conversatio', 'instantia', 'propositum', 'sanctus' and 'servus' are also found in (V), though not as a translation of *ἀσκησις*, *ἀσκητής*. These terms in (V) will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

'Conversatio', 'instantia', 'propositum', 'sanctus', 'servus' in (V).

1. 'Conversatio'.

Exigere voluistis ut (conscriberem) conversationem sanctae memoriae Antonii, P (15.9), ... τῆς πολιτείας; ... *digne illius vitae et conversationis fiat narratio*, P (16.2); ... *ibi ergo in initiis constitutus conversationem habens talem*, 3 (19.6); ... *oportet qui studium Christi habet ex conversatione magni illius Eliae considerare ut in speculo vitam suam*, 7 (24.9), ... πολιτείας; ... *professi sunt caelestem conversationem*, 14 (31.4), ... τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς πολιτείαν; ... *sic autem conversationem habentes*, 21 (36.15), ... πολιτεύομενοι; ... *et conversatio nostra quae talis est adversus eum*, 24 (39.11), ... πολιτεύεσθαι; ... *habere conversationem suam adversus daemones*, 25 (40.13), ... τοὺς πολιτευομένους; ... *magis contraria est illis conversatio nostra*, 28 (42.15), ... πολιτενόμεθα; ... *ordinem tantum conversationis videntes zelare festinabant*, 46 (57.14), ... τῆς πολιτείας; ... *quaestio de animi conversatione in hoc mundo*, 66 (71.22), ... τῆς διαγωγῆς; ... *nomen ipsorum apud vos conversatur*, P (15.6), ... πολιτεύεται; ... *ibi autem dum conversatur*, 51 (60.24), ... ἀναστρεφόμενος.

The connection *πολιτεία-conversatio* is plain to see; *πολιτεία* is a citizen's life in the state; *πολιτεύεσθαι* is to carry out one's civil duties. The moral import of these words was determined by the classical idea of citizenship: the citizen was wholly incorporated in the state and to him the state was the highest court of appeal in the things of this world. To the christian however, the highest authority in the things that concern his moral life is on another plane: ... ἡμῶν γὰρ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει, Phil. 3.20; ... *nostra autem conversatio in caelis est*. He is a citizen of the kingdom of Heaven and consequently his 'civic' duties relate to the other world. So the early-christian 'conversatio' as a translation of *πολίτευμα-πολιτεία* has already in the New Testament the moral value of these greek terms.

When 'vita' and 'conversatio' are mutually compared, the former expresses the biological phenomenon or a course of historical events, while 'conversatio' views life in its moral bearing: human conduct. Apart from this, however, 'conversatio' and 'conversari' retain the original post-classical meaning: fellowship or social intercourse, to

stay somewhere or to mix with people, without the moral stress that goes along with *πολιτεία - πολιτεύεσθαι*. In (V) 'conversatio' always has the christian sense except in 66 (71.22), where the word has its profane meaning as 'conversari' has in P (15.6) and 51 (60.24). Whoever leads the life of a christian has something of the ascetic in him. This ascetic element is felt to be present in 24 (39.11), 25 (40.13) and 28 (42.15) quoted above, where the *conversatio* is said to be in conflict with the devil.

There is clearly a reminiscence of Phil. 3.20 in 14 (31.4): *professi sunt caelestem conversationem — nostra conversatio in caelis*. Both 'caelestis' and 'in caelis' recall the other-worldly aim. So we have here an interesting instance of hermits having applied to them what St Paul applies to christians in general.

It is worth noting that in ancient MSS 'conversatio' is often interchanged with 'conversio'. But the one extant MS of (V) invariably has 'conversatio' and 'conversari' without any erasure or correction. 'Converti' does occur, but must be taken, so it seems in a literal sense: ... *itaque incipientes et iam in via constituti virtutis deificae, superextendamus nos magis ut perveniamus et nemo retro convertatur ut uxor Lot, maxime quia Dominus dixit: Nemo mittens manum suam super aratrum et attendens retro, rectum est ei regnum caelorum. Converti autem retro nihil aliud est nisi ut paeniteat tantum quemquam et iterum conversus sapiat denuo mundialia*, 20 (35.5-11).

Neither 'converti' nor 'paenitere' are used here in their technical sense for the christian ideas of being converted or of being repentant. It is just possible to see in 'iterum conversus' a sly allusion to the christian 'conversus', which in the nascent monastic vocabulary is beginning to be applied to those who have been 'converted' to lead a monk's life. If so, the absence of a greek technical term in (A) would seem to have tempted the painfully accurate translator to allow himself some elbow-room and indulge in a moment's play upon words. Phrases like these leave open the possibility that 'converti' already means turning monk. The rest of (V) offers no further evidence on this point.

2. 'Instantia'.

Totam instantiam in propositum sibi studium religionis, 3 (19.9), ... *τὴν σπουδὴν*; ... *instantiam ad orationes*, 4 (19.22),

... τὸ σύντονον; ... *multam et in haec contulisse et ostendisse instantiam*, 7 (23.4), ... τὴν σπουδὴν; ... *inimicus videns instantiam ipsius et volens illam impedire*, 11 (27.9), ... τὴν σπουδὴν; ... *sit omnibus nobis communis instantia haec: non relaxare post quod coepimus*, 16 (31.24), ... αὕτη σπουδὴ; ... *iudex videns ipsius instantiam*, 46 (56.29), ... τὸ ἄφοβον.

The translator seems to be somewhat partial to 'instantia' as expressing unremitting diligence and exertion towards spiritual aims. The adverb 'instante' is likewise used in similar contexts¹). Twice however the diligence of the devil in promoting his aims is also characterized as 'instantia'; he and his henchmen are described as 'instantissimi ad nocendum'²). In (E) 'instantia' served once or twice as a rendering of ἀσκήσις.

3. 'Propositum'.

Hoc ergo propositum vestrum iuste quis forsitan laudabit et orantibus vobis Deus perficiet, P (15.7), ... τὴν πρόθεσιν; ... *zelare ipsius propositum*, P (15.17), ... τὴν πρόθεσιν; ... *diabolus videns in iuvene tale propositum*, 5 (20.8), ... πρόθεσιν; ... *cum vidisset se infirmari circa propositum Antonii*, 5 (20.19), ... πρόθεσιν; ... *magis extendens propositum suum*, 12 (28.8), ... τὴν πρόθεσιν; ... *proposito autem studii nostri attendamus*, 27 (41.22), ... τῇ δὲ προθέσει τῆς ἀσκήσεως; ... *postmodum sequentia loquebatur non excidens proposito*, 82 (83.4); ... *licet contra nostrum propositum hoc fecerimus*, E (93.16).

In the four first passages 'propositum' expresses manner of life, way of living. In 12 (28.8) it is resolve or intention; in 27 (41.22) object or aim; in 82 (83.4) subject under discussion; in E (93.16) intention. Keeping in mind that in (E) 'propositum' is found used in many other places, that it nearly always refers to the way of living, and that four times it is the direct translation of ἀσκήσις, the conclusion is warranted that the ascetic nuance of the word is far more pronounced in (E) than it is in (V).

4. 'Sanctus'.

'Sanctus' is frequently met with as an adjective e.g. *sancti chris-*

1) Cf. 55 (64.14); 91 (90.9).

2) Cf. 22 (37.12); 88 (87.28); 28 (42.18).

tiani, 4 (19.9); *sancti labores*, 15 (31.10); *sanctus apostolus Paulus*, *passim*; *sanctus Spiritus*, 30 (44.13); *sanctus David*, 32 (45.27); *sancti Angeli*, 35 (48.10); *sancti martyres*, 90 (89.12); *sanctum corpus Domini*, 90 (89.25); *sanctus Antonius*, 45 (55.15).

As a noun its use is far less frequent¹⁾. The word is hardly ever applied to the living. There are exceptions: ...*praecipiebat eis habere diligentiam s a n c t o r u m*, *et nolite accedere ad Meletianos*, 89 (88.24), ...*τὸν ζῆλον ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους, μὴ ἐγγίξειν δὲ Μελετιανοῖς*. The *sancti* here meant are probably the fervent orthodox christians i.e. the ascetics. In the oldest christian usage *sanctus* was applied to every christian believer who had not been cut off from the Church. In (V) it is almost exclusively applied to saintly persons after their death and only rarely to persons who are dedicated to the ascetic life. What was first appreciated as a christian epithet of general application is in such cases especially applied to the ascetics. Of this usage, however, only the beginnings can be traced in (V) and (E).

5. 'Servus'.

Itaque ex his unusquisque persuadeat sibi non deficere maxime si consideret se servum esse Domini, ex debito servire Domino, 18 (33.21); ...*si autem credis Christo cui servio, vade et quomodo credis Deo ora, et erit tibi. Continuo ille credens et invocans Christum abiit habens purgatam a daemone filiam suam. Multa et alia per servum suum Dominus fecit*, 48 (58.12, 15); ...*Christi enim servus sum*, 52 (61.22); ...*Antonius dixit: Christi servus sum*, 53 (62.5); ...*comes dixit: Vere hic servus Dei est*, 85 (86.8); ...*Christus servientes illi usque ad finem prae(di)cabiles propter virtutem ipsorum deificam facit*, 94 (93.2).

'Servus' in (V) corresponds to *δοῦλος* in (A). In both versions it is used in phrases as 'servus Dei, Christi, Domini', as an appellation applied to the ascetic. (E) even goes beyond this in one instance by using 'servitus' in a translation of *ἄσκησις*: 'voluntariae servitutis longum in Dei opere studium'. (E) moreover makes a freer use of 'servus' and 'famulus'.

The foregoing warrants the conclusion that in (V) 'conversatio', 'instantia', 'propositum', 'sanctus', 'servus' have taken on a certain

¹⁾ Cf. 2 (18.9); 27 (41.15,16); 43 (54.12,13); 45 (55.19); 55 (63.21); 89 (88.24); 91 (90.19).

degree of ascetic colouring. The differences between (V) and (E) are mainly due to the widely divergent methods of translating.

THE RENDERINGS OF ΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ IN LATER WRITERS

Most of the words discussed so far also turn up in later writers. No term is to be found among them that was universally adopted as an adequate rendering of ἀσκησις. Every translator of the word is satisfied with rendering a partial aspect of ἀσκησις, or seeing his shortcoming he bundles two or three such aspects together to get nearer to his original. A definite attempt at latinization seems to have been made in the *Peregrinatio Egeriae*, where 'ascitis' is used six times. Evidently Egeria wrote down this word from hearsay in Greek where at this time 'η' was pronounced 'i': ... *ecce et occurrit presbyter veniens de monasterio suo, qui ipsi ecclesiae deputabatur, senex integer et monachus a prima vita et ut hic dicunt, ascitis*, 40.1. The writer also uses it as an adjective¹). But in neither function was it generally adopted. Leaving the abortive attempt in the *Peregrinatio* for what it is, later writers found no proper word and use various terms to express the content of ἀσκησις.

We shall only discuss such terms as had already been used in (V) and (E); they will be arranged in the same order of sequence in which they were discussed above:

- I. a) The practice of virtue; b) mortification.
- II. The continual exertion and labour.
- III. The other-worldly character of christian asceticism.
- IV. The way of life.

I. a) The practice of virtue.

1. 'Sanctus', 'sanctitas'.

Jerome: ... *unaquaeque villa vicinis monachis ad susceptionem sanctorum gaudens cibos offerebat*, Vita Hil. 25; ... *antequam domum sanctae Paulae nossem, totius in me Urbis studia consonabant. Omnium paene iudicio dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar; dicebar sanctus, dicebar humilis et disertus; postquam eam pro suae merito sanctitatis venerari, colere, suspicere coepi, omnes me ilico deseruere virtutes*, Epist. 45.3.1; *tam crassae*

¹) Cf. v. OORDE, *Lexicon Aethertianum*, s.v.

rusticitatis quam illi solam pro sanctitate habent, piscatorum se discipulos asserentes, quasi idcirco iusti sint si nihil scierint, Epist. 27.1.2.

'Sanctus' and 'sanctitas' are applied to living persons in the sense of virtuous, striving after perfection.

Peregrinatio Egeriae: 'sanctus' is very frequently used to indicate monks and clerics: ...*in eo ergo itinere sancti qui nobiscum erant, hoc est, clerici vel monachi*, 7.2; ...*faciens iter cum sanctis, id est, presbytero et diaconibus de Ierusalima et fratribus aliquantibus, id est, monachis*, 10.3¹).

Cassian: ...*Theodorum summa sanctitate et scientia praeditum*, *Inst.* 5.33. Here the stress is more on the high degree of perfection already reached than on the actual striving: 'praeditus sanctitate'.

Augustine: ...*vidi ego diversorium sanctorum Mediolanii, Mor. eccl.* 1.33.70; ...*conferre se in societatem sanctorum, in communem illam vitam ubi non dicit aliquis aliquid proprium, sed sunt illis omnia communia*, *In psalm.* 83.4; ...*ergo professus est sanctitatem, professus est communiter vivendi societatem, Serm.* 355.6; ...*qui sunt in proposito sanctitatis*, *Serm.* 356.3. Here 'sanctitas' indicates a station in life in which it is incumbent on a man to strive after perfection.

'Sanctitas vestra' remains alive as a form of address to the whole congregation. In this phrase 'sanctitas' according to early-christian usage means *sancti, fideles*.

A comparison of later writers with (V) and (E) shows that the use of 'sanctus', 'sanctitas' in the ascetic sense has greatly increased. Both words now often find technical usage. In (E) and especially in (V) this usage is hardly met with.

2. 'Virtus', 'merita'.

Neither of these words, when they occur in later writers, is of special relevance in respect of monastic life; hence they do not call for any special discussion.

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1) 'Sanctus' is often found in company with 'homo Dei' but almost exclusively in the *Peregrinatio*: ...*vidi etiam mox episcopum loci ipsius vere sanctum et hominem Dei*, 20.21; ...*sanctos et vere homines Dei monachos mesopotamenos*. 20.6. Cf. also: ...*Deus ubique suos homines notos facit*, (V) 93 (92.19), τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ ἀνθρώπους; AUGUSTINE: ...*ubi mihi homo tuus Simplicianus ista narravit*, *Conf.* 8.5.10.

I. b) The practice of mortification.

1. 'Abstinentia'.

Jerome: ... *in vicina eremo moratus est; tanta abstinentia et silentio, ut tunc primum se coepisse Christo servire diceret, Vita Hil. 32.*

Evagrius Ponticus: ... *non spernas sororem manducantem et in tua abstinentia non extollaris, Sent. virg. 74.*

Cassian: ... *abstinentia ciborum sola non sufficit, Inst. 5.10.*

Augustine: ... *abstinentia ab amore rerum temporalium, Serm. 252.11.*

Benedict: 'Abstinentia' means abstaining from food. So like (V) and (E) later writers use 'abstinentia' for abstinence¹). Sometimes, however, 'abstinentia' has the more general meaning of abstaining from worldly pleasures. There is no evidence whatever that 'abstinentia' related in any special way to the lives of the monks; the word merely expressed general christian practice.

2. 'Ieiunia', 'vigiliae', 'rigor'.

These words too concern the general practices of christian life, also in later writers, and need no further comment.

II. The continual exertion and labour.

1. 'Instantia'.

Macarius Magnus: ... *Deus donat illi afflictionem corporis in ieiuniis et vigiliis et orationis instantiam, Epist. fil. 9; ... et orationis instantiam necnon et afflictionem corporis et vigiliarum frequentiam, Ibid. 109.*

Augustine: ... *orationibus in state horis et temporibus constitutis, Epist. 211.7.*

As in the above examples so also in later writers 'instare' and 'instantia' are used in connection with the persistent effort as regards prayer. Attention has already been drawn to what we read in (V): 'instantiam ad orationes'²). It would seem therefore that in the

1) 'Continentia' is seldom used in this sense, which is but natural. From an early date it was the current term for continence. Once or twice, however, it occurs in the sense of abstinence: ... *sublime genus continentiae si herba sale condita aqua diluta ad refectionem fratribus apponatur, CASS, Inst. 4.11.* Cf. also: RUFINUS, *Reg. S. Basilii*, ML 103, 499ff.

2) Cf. 4 (19.22).

course of time 'instantia' modified to some extent its more general meaning of effort and exertion in the monastic life, which it used to denote in (V) and (E). In juridical Latin its meaning was persistent questioning and pleading. This may have furthered the combination of the two above-mentioned meanings.

2. 'Labor'.

Jerome: ... *orans frequenter et psallens et rastro humum fodiens ut ieiuniorum laborem labor operis duplicaret*, Vita Hil. 5; ... *paupertatem times? Sed beatos pauperes Christus appellat. Labore terreris? Sed nemo athleta sine sudoribus coronatur*, Epist. 14.10.3; ... *veniet illa dies qua corruptivum hoc et mortale incorruptionem induat et immortalitatem. Ut haec tibi, frater, dicere, ut his interesse contingat, qui nunc labor durus est?* Ibid. 11.1, 2.

Macarius: ... *virtutum vero laborem*, Epist. fil. 59; ... *quanto temporis spatio hunc laborem sufferre poteris? et: quia ardui laboris sit ut mereatur quis inhabitatorem habere Deum*, Ibid. 27.

Cassian: ... *qui ad similem puritatis statum per laborem longum et industriam integritate mentis et corporis pervenerunt*, Inst. 6.4.1; ... *donec agnoscat nec labore vel studio proprio victoriam obtinere se posse*, Ibid. 5.

Benedict: ... *oboedientiae labor*, Reg. Ben. Prol.

'Labor' is used by all writers to express the exertion demanded by the ascetic life. Beside this it retains fully its profane meaning, notably with regard to the manual labour of the monks. This is especially the case in the *Regula Benedicti*. When its use is compared with such statements as 'studium laboris nostri' in (V) and 'sanctum toleranter ferebat laborem' in (E) it cannot be denied that in the end 'labor' has lost some of its ascetic colouring.

III. The other-worldly character of christian asceticism.

1. 'Dei opus'.

Jerome: ... *itaque, fratres carissimi, qui coenobiorum vitam et praecepta sectamini, state in arrepto semel proposito et implete opus Dei, ut pater qui primus instituit coenobia gaudens pro nobis loquatur ad Dominum*, Lib. Ors. 12 (116.16). 'Opus Dei' means about the same as it did in (E): 'opus divinum'; it indicates both the serving of God by men and the divine work of God in

men; only it is here applied within the limits of the ascetic life. It is in this as it is in greek ascetic literature, where τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ is only used with reference to the ascetic life of the monks¹⁾.

In the above meaning 'opus Dei' does not seem to occur further either in Jerome or in Cassian. The phrase is indeed found in both authors, but in the sense of work of charity: *Paula retenta est non in refectionem ut ille arbitrabatur sed in opus Dei ut rebus probatum est. Namque omnia illius regionis lustrans monasteria frigera sumptuum fratribus dereliquit, Hier. Epist. 108.7.2,3; ... eorum quae intulerant quaeque in Dei opere fuerant dispensata redhibitionem poscere tentaverunt, Cass. Inst. 4.4.*

Benedict calls the divine office 'opus Dei'. But the relation 'servitus' — 'opus Dei' seems also to be present to Benedict's mind, for three times he calls the divine office 'servitus' or 'servitium': *... quia nimis iners devotionis suae servitium ostendunt monachi, qui minus a psalterio, cum canticis consuetudinariis per septimanae circulum psallunt, Reg. Ben. 18; ... septies in die laudem dixi tibi. Qui septenarius sacratus numerus a nobis sic implebitur, si Matutino, Primae, Tertiae, Sextae, Nonae, Vesperae, Completoriiue tempore nostrae servitutis officia persolvamus, Ibid. 16; ... similiter qui in itinere directi sunt, non eos praetereant horae constitutae: sed ut possunt agant sibi, et servitutis pensum non neglegant reddere, Ibid. 50.*

The very peculiar appellation of *opus Dei* as applied to the divine office is not originally due to Benedict. Even before Caesarius of Arles and Benedict it is found in the latin translation which Pelagius (d in 560) made of the *Verba Seniorum* 4.57; 10.97; 5.22²⁾. Elsewhere in the *Vitae Patrum* it still refers to the ascetic life in general³⁾.

So the semantic development 'opus Dei' passes through three phases: 1. the service of God in the life of every christian: so used in John 6.29 and in (E); 2. the ascetic life: Jerome and *Vitae Patrum*; 3. restricted to the divine office: *Verba Seniorum*, Caesarius of Arles and Benedict.

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1) Cf. HAUSHERR, *Opus Dei*, OCP 13, 1947, 195 (cf. PALADINI, EL 62, 1948, 363).

2) Cf. *De vitis patrum* V, ML 73.

3) Cf. *De vitis patrum* III 32.7; V 10.2.

2. 'Religio', 'religiosus'.

Jerome: ... *itaque mi Eustochia, filia, domina, conserva, germana — aliud enim aetatis, aliud meriti, illud religionis, hoc caritatis est nomen, Epist. 22.26.1*. From its association with 'conserva' it appears that 'religio' has a manifest ascetic colouring viz. the ascetic life.

In the following quotation 'religiosus' evidently stands for pious or godly: ... *vidi nuper — nomina taceo, ne saturam putes — nobilissimam mulierum romanarum in basilica Petri semiviris antecedentibus, propria manu, quo religiosior putaretur singulos nummos dispartire pauperibus, Epist. 22.32.2*.

Cassian: ... *quanto magis religionis nostrae disciplina atque professio, quae ad contemplanda invisibilium sacramentorum arcana tendit certo ordine ac ratione subsistit, Coll. 14.1.3*. 'Religio' here is the ascetic life.

Augustine: While 'religiosus' is but another word for pious, 'religio' in the specific ascetic sense is altogether absent. One could hardly expect otherwise from the Bishop Augustine; to him 'religio' is religion in our current sense. In the phrase 'studium religionis' of (V) 'religio' no doubt means no more than piety or saintliness, but in Jerome and Cassian 'religio' has reached its definite monastic meaning: ascetic way of life. 'Religio' thus becomes the technical term for the ascetic life and is meant to express more especially the final object of asceticism.

3. 'Servus'.

Jerome: ... *credo in Deum meum, quod olim conservum quem mihi promisit ostendet. Quanam in parte hic servus Dei habitat? Vita Pauli 7; ... precor ut et diligentem te diligas et conservo sermonem conservus impertias, Epist. 12.4*. 'Servus Dei' is a monk or an ascetic, and his station in life is called 'servitus Domini'. 'Famulus Dei' on the other hand he seems to apply to any christian: ... *Paulus Christi famulos ducebat ad concilium, Epist. 16.1.2*.

Cassian: ... *servitium Christi, Inst. 4.32*; the ascetic life. A monk has frequently the word 'famulus', not 'servus', applied to him: ... *dum creditur ab omnibus sanctus et velut Dei famulus colitur, Coll. 4.19.6*.

Augustine: ... *in ea vita vivere in qua servi Dei monachi*

vivunt, Epist. 220.3; ... *quid ergo impedit servum Dei manibus operantem in lege Domini meditari*, Op. monach. 17.20; ... *servorum Dei qui celsiorem sanctitatis gradum in Ecclesia tenere voluerunt, ut spei saecularis vincula cuncta praeciderent*, Ibid. 16.19; ... *nunc autem veniunt plerique ad hanc professionem servitutis Dei*, Ibid. 22.25; ... *Daniel elegit in caelibatu servire Deo. Ergo in nomine Danielis significantur servi Dei*, In psalm. 132.5.

As in Jerome so in Augustine 'famulus Christi' often seems to indicate any christian: ... *tolerare Christi famuli iubentur sive sint reges sive principes*, Civ. 2.19.

Benedict: ... *sub uno Domino aequalem servitutis militiam baiulamus*, Reg. Ben. 2; ... *nostrae servitutis officia*, Ibid. 16; ... *propter sanctum servitium quod professi sunt*, Ibid. 5. 'Servitus', 'servitium' is the ascetic life. Apart from biblical quotations 'servus' and 'servire' generally appear in their profane sense.

It is quite striking how Jerome and Augustine, like (V) and (E), are extremely consistent in using 'servus Dei' as synonymous with 'monachus'. Cassian is exceptional in his use of 'famulus Dei'. By Benedict's time 'servus Dei' seems to have gone out of use, though 'servitus' and 'servitium' in a monastic sense are retained.

IV. The way of life.

1. 'Conversatio' and 'conversio'.

Jerome: ... *porro mihi tanti ac talis viri conversatio vitaeque dicenda est*, Vita Hil. 1; ... *ille fundator et eruditor huius conversationis et studii in hac provincia fuit*, Ibid. 14; ... *quando praepositi domorum fratres de conversatione sanctae vitae docebunt, absque gravissima necessitate nullus aberit*, Reg. Pach. praec. leg. 12 (73.10). The 'conversatio sanctae vitae' is the striving after a holy manner of living.

Cassian: ... *ad sanctum Theodorum singularem in conversatione actuali perreximus virum*, Coll. 6.1.2, i.e. in the ascetic way of life. In the teaching of Evagrius Ponticus and of Cassian βίος πρακτικός or *vita actualis* is the first stage of the ascetic life. In this phase the exercitant is chiefly engaged in acquiring virtue and combating vice, till he has attained a certain degree of perfection: ἀπάθεια in Evagrius' phrase, or *tranquillitas*, *puritas*, as Cassian calls it. Only when this point has been reached can he

successfully attempt a higher spiritual life, the life of contemplation. *Actualis* therefore means ascetic with respect to the practice of virtue ¹).

For all this 'conversatio' retains its neutral meaning of way of living, manner of life ²), though in many cases the epithet ascetic is understood: ... *tot annorum circulis ab eorum (sc.: monachorum) consortio et imitatione conversationis abstracti*, *Inst. praef.* 4; ... *ab omni conversatione terrena mortificatos*, *Inst.* 1.4; ... *arram caelestis illius conversationis et gloriae incipiat praegustare*, *Coll.* 10.7.3.

Augustine: to Augustine's mind 'conversatio' and 'conversari' seem to be specially concerned with intercourse with others: ... *curemus, fratres, non tantum bene vivere, sed etiam coram hominibus bene conversari*, *Serm.* 47.14; ... *conscientia tua coram Deo est, conversatio tua coram fratre tuo*, *Ibid.* 11.

Jerome: ... *et tamen conversi Achab ad paenitentiam poena differtur in posteros*, *Epist.* 122.3.6. 'Converti' is to be converted, 'conversio' is conversion in the general christian sense.

Macarius Magnus: ... *si autem conversum fuerit cor eius et obtinuerit praecepta Spiritus sancti protectio Dei fiet super eum*, *Epist. fil.* 118. 'Converti' is to be converted to higher perfection; this sense is very close to the general christian phrase 'converti ad paenitentiam'; it is a 'conversio cordis'.

Cassian: ... *condiciones quibus hi qui ad Deum converti cupiunt recipiantur in coenobiis*, *Inst.* 4.1. 'Converti' is to be converted to higher perfection.

'Conversio' is of frequent occurrence. Since it is interchanged with 'conversatio' a broader discussion is desirable.

Prusquam verba collationis huiusce habitae cum summo viro abbate Theona incipiamus evolvere, necessarium reor ut initium conversionis eius brevi sermone perstringam, *Coll.* 21.1.1. Cassian then proceeds to narrate how Theonas after marrying under pressure from his parents comes in contact with the abbot John and learns the meaning and scope of the christian perfection. He regrets his marriage and goes home: ... *ac de sua voluntate et*

1) Cf. CHADWICK, *o.c.* 77ff.

2) In this respect therefore Jerome and Cassian agree fairly well with (V) and (E).

definitione non dubius erga salutem coniugis omnem mentis sollicitudinem curamque convertit, eamque ad desiderium quo fuerat ipse succensus exhortatione coepit simili provocare et ut Deo pariter in sanctimonia et castitate servirent diurnis nocturnisque fletibus monere, dicens *conversionem* melioris vitae nequaquam esse lentandam... As his wife does not fancy his suggestions he leaves her and Cassian concludes: ... *nemo autem existimet nos haec ad provocanda coniugiorum divortia texuisse, qui non solum nuptias minime condemnamus, verum etiam apostolicum sequentes sententiam dicimus: honorabile coniugium in omnibus et torus immaculatus, sed ut lectori initium conversionis quo tantus ille vir Deo dicatus est fideliter panderemus*, Coll. 21. 8-10. The meaning of the triple repetition of 'conversio' in these passages is quite clear; 'conversio' is the change to a life of greater perfection.

The phrase 'initium conversionis' is repeated in various places: ... *principium nostrae salutis eiusdemque custodia timor Domini est. Per hunc enim et initium conversionis et vitiorum purgatio et virtutum custodia his qui imbuuntur ad viam perfectionis acquiritur*, Inst. 4.39.1¹) ... *ac perinde sicut illis nihil obfuit quod non suo videntur arbitrio sed necessitatis compulsionem conversi, ita etiam istis omnino nil profuit sublimiora conversionis habuisse principia*, Coll. 3.5.1.; ... *totum ergo in fine consistit, in quo potest quis et optimae conversionis initiis dedicatus inferior per negligentiam repperiri*, Coll. 3.5.4; ... *hic quoque et initium conversionis ac fidei nostrae et passionum tolerantiam donari nobis a Domino declaravit*, Coll. 3.15.2; ... *simplicem substantiam mundi huius primae conversionis fervore contemnens*, Coll. 3.7.11; ... *parum est enim renuntiassse monachum semel, id est, in primordio conversionis suae*, Coll. 24.2.5.

'Conversio' appears to have become a real technical term to signify a conversion to monastic life.

Augustine: ... *diaconus Faustinus de militia saeculi ad monasterium conversus est*, Serm. 356.4; ... *nam cum quisque ad monasterium convertitur, si veraci corde convertitur*

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¹) In Inst. 4.39 and elsewhere Dom CHAPMAN adopts the variant 'conversatio'. There can be no doubt that in all the cases the reading 'conversio' is to be preferred. Cf. CHAPMAN, S. Benedict and the sixth century, 207ff. and MCCANN, S. Benedict, 147ff.

illud non cogitat, maxime admonitus quantum malum sit, Epist. 83.3.

Though in the above passages from Augustine *converti* expresses the passage from a secular to a monastic life, it mostly signifies the turning away from sin and going to God ¹⁾.

2. 'Institutum', 'institutio'.

Jerome: ... *coenobiorum fundamenta iecerunt iuxta praeceptum Dei et angeli qui a Deo sub hanc ipsam institutionem missus fuerat, Reg. Pach. praef. 1 (4.11); ... ut in hac quam arripuimus vita proficere valeamus et cursum institutionis nostrae Deo placitum perficere mereamur, Mon. Pach. (151.5); ... contemptis institutionibus patris nostri subrepat oblivio, Lib. Ors. 30 (131.1); ... nec obliviscamur institutionis qua nos erudit pater noster dum adhuc esset in corpore, Ibid. 47 (140.1).* Texts in which 'institutio' means establishment, instruction, teaching of an ascetic kind are comparatively rare in Jerome.

Cassian: ... *poscis praecipisque ut instituta monasteriorum quae per Aegyptum ac Palaestinam custodiri conspeximus ita ut ibi nobis a patribus tradita sunt quamvis imperito digeram stilo, Inst. Praef. 3; ... hi libelli quos in praesenti cudere Domino adiuvante disponimus ad exterioris hominis observantiam et institutionem coenobiorum competentius aptabuntur, Inst. 2.9.3; ... ad institutionem eius qui renuntiat huic mundo, narrationis nos ordine provocante transimus, Inst. 4.1; ... institutio humilitatis ac patientiae, Inst. 4.7; ... ut illorum quoque patrum praeceptis optet institui, Coll. pars II. Praef. 1.*

Augustine: ... *proinde rursus istos alio sublimiore gradu iustitiae superabunt, qui se ita instituerint ut quotidie in agros tamquam in pastum pergant et quo tempore invenerint carpant ac sopita fame revertantur, Op. monach. 23.28; ... praesunt singulae gravissimae probatissimaeque non tantum in instituendis componendisque moribus sed etiam instruendis mentibus peritae ac paratae, Mor. eccl. 1.33.70; ... hos mores, hanc vitam, hunc ordinem, hoc institutum si laudare velim, neque digne valeo, Mor. eccl. 1.31.68.*

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¹⁾ This is not the place to enter into a full discussion of the much debated point of 'conversatio'—'conversio' in the *Regula Benedicti*, and we merely refer to SCHMITZ, *Conversatio*, DSAM II 2206ff. and to the *Regula*, ed. SCHMITZ.

Benedict: ...*necnon et collationes Patrum et instituta et vitas eorum*, Reg. Ben. 73; ...*constituenda est ergo nobis dominici schola servitii in qua institutione nihil asperum nos constituturos speramus*, Ibid. Prol.

The use of 'institutum' is in agreement with the usage found in (E), it is the established rule of life of the ascetic. 'Institutio' is ascetic instruction or teaching; 'instituere' is to instruct, to mould the ascetic character.

3. 'Propositum'.

Jerome: ...*alii autem asserunt Antonium huius propositi caput*, Vita Pauli 1; ...*si quae ancillae sunt comites propositi tui, ne erigaris adversus eas, ne infleris ut domina. Unum sponsum habere coepistis, simul psallitis Christo, simul corpus accipitis, cur mensa diversa sit?* Epist. 22.29.3.

Cassian: ...*ut studentibus sublimiora sectari non solum incitamentum ex his vitae perfectae, sed etiam propositi forma procedat*, Inst. 4.23; ...*ad perfectionem propositi huius, id est, coenobialis vitae diligentius quis unius imbuatur ac formatur exemplo*, Inst. 4.40.

Augustine: ...*et paucorum hominum molestia irritatus dum non perseveraverit implere quod vovit fit desertor tam sancti propositi et reus voti non redditi*. In psalm. 99.12; ...*si autem divisi fuerint (agelli) eos cupit Ecclesiae conferre, ut inde alantur qui sunt in proposito sanctitatis quousque in hac vita degunt*, Serm. 356.3; ...*miseremini ergo et compatimini et ostendite hominibus non vos in otio facilem victum, sed per angustam et arctam viam huius propositi regnum Dei quaerere*, Op. monach. 28.36.

'Propositum' is frequently associated with monastic life this being the ascetic life one has chosen. Its meaning sometimes approaches closely to that of 'institutum', the codified rule of life of the ascetic. When compared with (V) the use of 'propositum' in this more technical ascetic sense has evidently spread. This was already the case in (E).

4. 'Studium'.

Jerome: ...*ille fundator et eruditor huius conversationis et studii in hac provincia fuit*, Vita Hil. 14; ...*si infirmum viderint, consolantur; si in Dei amore ferventem cohortantur ad studium*, Epist. 22.35.5.

'Studium' in no way expresses a way of life as 'conversatio', 'institutum' and 'propositum' do. If it is classed with them notwithstanding, it is because of the quite general character of its meaning, which is very prominent in Jerome. 'Studium' is striving, exercise or perhaps more concretely employment or pursuit. In *Epistula* 22 it stands clearly for practice of the ascetic life.

Cassian: ...*ut nullum magis sit tempus, quo sentiamus nos a spiritalibus studiis avocari quam quo descendere ad necessariam corporis curam eius fragilitate compellimur*, *Inst.* 5.14.3; ...*anima nec meditatione divina et spiritalibus studiis occupata, nequaquam ad integritatis fastigium poterimus ascendere*, *Inst.* 6.2; ...*ut non operam vestram erga correctionem vestram seu virtutum studia, sed ad detractationes fratrum velitis impendere*, *Inst.* 10.7.4.

'Spiritalia studia', 'virtutum studia', 'salutaria studia' always have an eye to the *ἀσκησις* in one of its aspects. Augustine occasionally uses 'exercitatio' instead of 'studium': 'exercitatio in continentia', 'exercitatio patientiae'. The use of 'studium' has more or less maintained its level throughout. The lavish use of it in (V) was due to a mannerism of the translator. In (E) this method was in a great measure relinquished. Cassian's plural suggests that he thought of concrete things and that he had in view a series of exercises rather than the more general idea of exercising oneself.

Résumé.

Christian asceticism as described in (A) comprises three things:

1. the practice of virtue and mortification;
2. continual effort and exertion;
3. the look to God as its final aim.

These three aspects are each and all expressed in the various renderings of *ἀσκησις* found in (V). The great variety of these translations betray the impotence of the translator to state the full content of *ἀσκησις* in one categorical latin term. And if the repeated use of 'studium' enabled (V) to create a certain homogeneity among the variety of terms, the lack of this unifying factor in (E) on the other hand was cause that the three above-mentioned aspects came to be seen in clearer relief. A new element was introduced by the *ἀσκησις*-translations in (E), in which the words 'conversatio', 'institutum' and 'propositum' as direct translations of *ἀσκησις* fixed the

attention on another aspect *viz.* the regular way of life based on ascetic principles. A renewed examination of (V) brought to light that there, too, 'conversatio' and 'propositum' appeared already to have something of the meaning they have in (E), though neither of them is actually used in (V) as a direct translation of *ἀσκησις*.

All those special terms used in (V) and (E) turn up again in later writers. On scrutinizing these it is found that several of them, which in (V) and (E) served as a direct translation of *ἀσκησις* now only indicate limited aspects of the ascetic life:

abstinentia: abstinence from food, from worldly pleasures;

ieiunium, ieiunia: fasting;

instantia: diligence, urgent prayer;

labor: ascetic effort;

merita: merits of the ascetic life;

opus Dei: appears once or twice as an equivalent of *ἀσκησις* and means the ascetic God-seeking life of the monk.

At an early date the phrase was restricted to indicate the divine office;

rigor: the austerity of the ascetic life;

vigiliae: nocturnal devotions;

virtus: practice of virtue, perfect virtue.

The ascetic life as a whole is indicated by 'conversatio', 'institutum', 'propositum', 'religio', 'sanctitas' and 'studium'. As regards these words the following should be noted:

Conversatio is still on the way to its meaning: ascetic way of life (Jerome, Cassian). This course of development starts already in (V) but is especially furthered in (E), where *ἀσκησις* is once rendered by 'conversatio'.

Institutum is the ascetic way of life formally and objectively expressed in a rule of life (Augustine, Cassian, Benedict). This is not yet found in (V), but (E) has it.

Propositum is the ascetic way of life as chosen by and for one self; but just occasionally it is a definite rule of life, the same therefore as *institutum* (Jerome, Augustine, Cassian). It is used in (E), less so in (V).

Religio is the monastic condition. The God-seeking aspect of the ascetic life is clearly expressed (Jerome, Cassian). The seed of this semantic development was present in the 'studium religionis' of (V) and the 'studium religiosum' of (E).

Sanctitas is a state of perfection, the ripe fruit of the ascetic life (Jerome, Cassian, Augustine); but in a more concrete sense it also expresses the station in life in which a man strives to attain perfection (Augustine). In (E) 'sanctitas' is used once as an equivalent of *ἁγιότης*.

Studium indicates some specific ascetic exercise. Hence it is mostly found in the plural 'studia' (Cassian). In (V) and (E) 'studium' is only used in a more general and abstract sense.

It is remarkable that among the later writers Jerome is the only one to use 'propositum', 'religio', 'studium' occasionally in some general undefined sense. They all manifest a preference for the said terms in concrete instances. Their interest is centred not so much on asceticism in some general way as on some set system of rules and laws according to which asceticism can be practised. It is precisely the cult of such rules and laws, the *regula*, the basic constitution of monastic life, that characterizes western monasticism. This also counts for the fact that those words 'institutum', 'propositum' are so frequently met with in ascetic writings of the fourth and fifth centuries: they are expressive of the order or system embodied in the *regula*. Western man does not feel safe without a fixed rule. A remnant of this typical trait of the old monachism still survives in such phrases as regular clergy, canons regular.

Something like it happens to be the case with 'religio', 'religiosus', only the survivals are more numerous. The prime concern of the old monks was to raise their minds to God and to dedicate to Him their whole lives, and this aspect of *religio* is still very much alive: we still speak of a man who has entered religion or who is in religion, and we know that he is one who is bound by religious vows; he is a member of a religious order and lives in a religious house, where he forms part of a religious community.

The word *ἁσκησις*, therefore has never found an adequate equivalent in Latin. Apart from the solitary case of 'ascitis' in the *Peregrinatio* the man who leads a monk's life is indicated as *servus Dei* (Jerome, Augustine) or *famulus Dei* (Cassian); but in (V) and (E) both words are still applied to christians in general; both of them, therefore, underwent a semantic change, and are thus in the same class with 'frater', which also developed a monastic meaning.

In some similar way 'sanctus' was at first a distinctive applied to any christian, but by the time with which we are now concerned it

had come to be a special designation of ascetics and monks (Jerome, Cassian, *Peregrinatio*, Augustine). In (V) and (E) tendencies in this direction seem to be already traceable. In fact it may be said that the later development of all the words of which we have spoken is already present in (V) and (E) in some embryonic way.

The object of the foregoing somewhat detailed description of ascetic terminology has been to furnish a sketch of what was going on in the mental lives of western monasticism. The sketch will gain in completeness, if we conclude this chapter by a further consideration of this monachism as a *militia Christi* and as a *martyrium*.

MILITIA CHRISTI

The lives of ascetics and monks are a struggle. This stands out very clearly in the biography of Anthony, but when it comes to putting this idea into words, there is some difference between (A) and (V) on the one hand and (E) on the other. In (A) — and consequently in (V) — the struggle is chiefly expressed in terms of wrestling and the idea of soldiering is entirely absent¹).

The mere fact that *ἀγωνίζεσθαι* is fairly regularly used and *μάχεσθαι* only occasionally should not be unduly stressed, since *ἀγωνίζεσθαι* is often used in later Greek with the general meaning of 'to fight' without any suggestion of a competition. This usage is found in (A): ... καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγωνισάμενοι, οὐκ ἐν γῇ κληρονομοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἔχομεν τὰς ἐπαγγελίας. ch. 16. Especially as a translation of *ἀγωνίζεσθαι*, 'certare', 'certamen habere', are of frequent occurrence in (V). Ἀθλον and ἀθλησις are likewise often rendered by 'certamen'²); the solitary 'athleta' in 12 (28.3) is based on a conjectural reading, which for the rest is quite plausible. Since the case of 'certare' is identical with that of *ἀγωνίζεσθαι* the word by itself cannot be taken as a safe guide. That both of them are in fact to be taken in the sense of competing and competition is made clear from the context, not from the word itself.

'Colluctatio' is used twice³), each time, so it would seem, under the influence of the concomitantly cited text of St Paul Eph. 6.12,

1) Cf. cc. 5—12.

2) Cf. 7 (22.12); 47 (57.21); 10 (26.17).

3) Cf. 21 (36.18); 51 (60.24).

while the only other use ¹⁾ of 'colluctatio' seems to be a sort of echo of the same text, though the passage is continued with a quotation from another paragraph of St Paul's ²⁾).

In (E) the vocabulary is more varied: 'certare', 'colluctari', 'con-gredi', 'dimicare', 'praeliari'; and it should be noted that among the repeated references to the contest between Anthony and the devil there now and then clearly emerges the idea of a *militia Christi*: ... *cum hoc Christi miles audisset, gratias agens Deo et largiore adversus inimicum confortatus audacia, ait...* ch. 6; ... *ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος εὐχαριστήσας τῷ Κυρίῳ; ... ut possimus adversus disparem pugnam unum Dominicae crucis elevare vexillum,* ch. 22; ... *ἵνα τις γνῶναι δυνήθῃ τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦς; ... a diabolo qui suum deserens ordinem, sacrum Christi temeravit imperium,* ch. 26; ... *τοῦ μὴ τηρήσαντος τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ἔτετρα ἀνθ' ἐτέρων προησαντος* ³⁾).

Three times (E) refers to a *militia Christi*, when there is nothing in (A) to suggest the phrase.

The idea of the life of a christian being a spiritual warfare is of New Testament origin and is a commonplace in the epistles of St Paul. The phrase 'miles Christi' is found in 2 Tim. 2.3: *labora sicut bonus miles Christi Iesu*, and the elaborate comparison of Eph. 6.10-18 is often cited by later christian writers, as it is in *Vita Antonii* ⁴⁾. To St Paul and the earliest christian authors every christian was a *miles Christi*. Tertullian however reserves this designation chiefly for the *martyres* and the *confessores*, while Origen does the same for the ascetics ⁵⁾.

(E) applies the phrase 'miles Christi' to Anthony, which (A) and

1) Cf. 65 (71.3).

2) Eph. 2.2.

3) In connection with the fact that in St Paul's epistles 'militia Christi' seems to have 'service' as its chief meaning, it is worthy of note that in this passage the devil is represented as a desorter, which is an indirect reminder of the loyal service of the true *miles Christi*.

4) As regards the *militia Christi* it is worthy of note that in 2 Tim. 2.3 the *miles Christi* is represented as the devoted follower of the leader whom he has undertaken to serve: ... *ἵνα τῷ στρατολογήσαντι ἀρῶσθῃ*. The epistle to the Ephesians on the other hand speaks of the fight with the powers of evil. That at the time of persecution the idea of a fight came to the fore and drove that of service to the background is easy to understand. In the same way there is nothing surprising in the fact that to the oldest monks the world was overrun by the powers of darkness, which they undertook to combat after the example of the martyrs.

5) HAFNACK, *Militia Christi*, 1ff., 93ff.; VÖLKER, *Das Vollkommenheitsideal des Origenes*, 36ff.

(V) do not, and from some other passages it is clear that he is familiar with the idea of taking a monk's life to be a *militia Christi*.

Jerome: ... *quid ageret miles Christi nesciebat*, *Vita Pauli* 3; ... *militibus suis Christus duplicavit annonam*, *Ibid.* 10; ... *ne lucra saeculi in Christi quaeras militia*, *Epist.* 52.5.3. In the first quotation a martyr is called *miles Christi*; in the second the hermits Paul and Anthony are meant.

Cassian: ... *monachum ut militem Christi oportet incedere*, *Inst.* 1.1.1; ... *abbate Germano cum quo mihi ab ipso tirocinio ac rudimentis militiae spiritualis ita individuum deinceps contubernium tam in coenobio quam in eremo fuit*, *Coll.* 1.1; ... *quod tunc implebimus cum in carne ambulantes non secundum carnem militare Domino coeperimus*, *Coll.* 3.6.4. Cassian contrasts this *militia Christi*, or *militia spiritualis* with the *militia saeculi*, *militia nequitiae spiritualis*¹⁾.

Augustine: ... *si enim coniugem non haberes dicerem tibi ut in sanctitate continentiae viveres; adderem ut ei vitae vacares in societate sanctorum cui tunc vacare cupiebas ubi in silentio pugnant milites Christi non ut occidant homines, sed ut expugnant principes et potestates et spiritalia nequitiae, id est, diabolum et angelos eius*, *Epist.* 220.12; ... *neque enim illi soli qui ut sint perfecti vendunt vel dimittunt omnia sua et sequuntur Dominum pertinent ad regnum caelorum, sed huic militiae christianae propter quoddam quasi commercium caritatis subiungitur etiam quaedam stipendiaria multitudo, cui dicetur in fine: esurivi et dedistis mihi manducare*, *C. Faust.* 5.9. Augustine regards monks as *milites Christi* in contrast with ordinary christians, who are termed *stipendiaria multitudo* and on the strength of their good works have a certain share in the reward of the *milites Christi*. 'Christo militare' turns up as a regular phrase in Augustine, but in Benedict 'militia', 'militare' is weakened to mere serving²⁾: ... *militans sub regula vel abbate*, *Reg. Ben.* 1; ... *in omni loco uni Domino servitur, uni regi militatur*, *Ibid.* 61; ... *et sub uno Domino aequalem servitutis militiam baiulamus*, *Ibid.* 2.

1) Cf. *Coll.* 4.21; 7.19; 16.1; *Inst.* 2.3 etc.

2) Both in Cassian's and Augustine's writings the central point of *militia* shifts back again towards the idea of service. It is noteworthy that Augustine sometimes uses 'militare' as synonymous with 'servire'. Cf. *Conf.* 8.6.15; MOHRMANN, *La langue de S. Benoît*, 10ff.

The above citations are evidence that Jerome, Cassian and Augustine use the following expressions as standing phrases: *militia Christi* for the life of a monk; *miles Christi* for a monk or an ascetic; *militare Domino* for leading the life of a monk or an ascetic.

MARTYRIUM

It is not always that *ἀγωνίζεσθαι* in (A) is applied to the life of an ascetic; thus in ch. 46 it refers to martyrdom. It was noted above that the phrase 'miles Christi', which was first used for all christians indiscriminately, was reserved by Tertullian chiefly for *martyres* and *confessores* as soldiers *par excellence*. This idea is taken up again in ch. 46, when the persecution under Diocletian and Maximinus is dealt with: ... τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων ἀγομένων εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἠκολούθησε καὶ αὐτὸς, ἀφείς τὸ μοναστήριον, λέγων. Ἀπέλθωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἵνα ἀγωνιζώμεθα κληθέντες, ἢ θεωρήσωμεν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους; (V): ... *et martyribus sanctis ductis Alexandriam secutus est eos sanctus Antonius derelicta mansione dicens: imus et nos propter duas causas: ut si vocati sumus sustineamus certamen; si quominus certantes pro veritate expectabimus*, 46 (56.16). In connection with this the spiritual combat of Anthony is called a *martyrium*: ... *postquam autem sedata est persecutio et martyrium dixit (μεμαρτύρηκεν) beatæ memoriae Petrus episcopus ut iterum et secessit in singularem illam mansionem, et erat ibi cotidie martyrium dicens conscientiae* (μαρτυρῶν τῇ συνειδήσει) *et certans certaminibus fidei*, 47 (57.18); (E): ... *quotidianum fidei ac conscientiae martyrium merebatur*, ch. 47.

The ascetic life of the monk has by this time taken the place of martyrdom, which is something of the past¹). When the period of the martyrs is over, the ascetic and the monk are seen as the *milites Christi*. Martyrdom is a term still sometimes applied to the struggle of the ascetic and thus the connection between martyrdom and combat is maintained, at least for some time²).

1) Cf. MALONE, The monk and the martyr (cf. also: MOHRMANN, VC 6, 1952, 126).

2) VILLER—RAHNER: 'So entstand während der ersten drei Jahrhunderte die Gewohnheit alle Vollkommenheit am Martyrium zu messen... die ersten die von den Mönchen sprechen vergleichen sie mit den Martyrern'. o.c. 39f.; VÖLKER, Der wahre Gnostiker, 559ff.; Das Vollkommenheitsideal, 168ff., 219, 227.

What is thus found in *Vita Antonii* recurs again in Jerome. His *Vita Sancti Pauli primi eremitaе* opens with a direct reference to the combat of the martyrs: ... *voti tunc christianis erat pro Christi nomine gladio percuti*, *Ibid.* 2. That the christian ideal had by his time taken on a different concrete form is made manifest in his life-story of Paul and later in those of Hilarion and Malchus.

In *Epistula 14 ad Heliodorum monachum*, in which a monk's life is strongly characterized as a *militia* Jerome draws a parallel between this ascetic life and martyrdom. One has to renounce even one's parents to follow Christ. Heliodorus may perhaps think that this only holds in the case of martyrdom i.e. when one bears witness to Christ with one's life: ... *sed hoc, in martyrio!* But Jerome replies: ... *erras, frater, erras, si putas umquam christianum persecutionem non pati; et nunc cum maxime oppugnaris, si te oppugnari nescis. Adversarius noster tamquam leo rugiens aliquem devorare quaerens circuit et tu pacem putas?* *Ibid.* 4.1.

Elsewhere the service of God is simply called *martyrium*: ... *secura esto, Eustochium, magna haereditate ditata es. Pars tua Dominus et, quo magis gaudeas, mater tua longo martyrio coronata est. Non solum effusio sanguinis in confessione reputatur, sed devotae quoque mentis servitus quotidianum martyrium est*, *Epist.* 108.31.1. Later writers did not take up this usage. The idea of drawing a parallel between the ascetic life and martyrdom seems to have been born with the rise of monachism but not to have outlived its storm-and-stress period.

CHAPTER IV

MONASTIC PERFECTION AND THE DISCERNMENT OF SPIRITS

The monk wants to be a Christian to the utmost limit of his power. Ultimately his ideal of life in no way differs from that of any christian. It is only the energy displayed in his efforts to attain the object and the single-mindedness with which this purpose is pursued that mark these strivings with a colour of their own, and this to such a degree that the perfection which the monk tries to express in his own daily life takes on quite a special, monkish character.

Now it is precisely the special character of the perfection, such as it is achieved in the monk's life, that entails a manifest limitation, that is to say: it carries with it the unescapable limitation of the system which guides the general tendency to its final object. This limitation, however, is not necessarily a mere drawback, provided the system remains subservient to the broad general tendency towards perfection: in fact it should rather be taken as a help, contributing as it does to the general end in view by reducing to law and order the details of life which otherwise might end in general and vague aspirations. Both the entire absence of all system and the absolute domination of any system would favour the production of caricatures.

It will be the object of this chapter to find out in which latin terms the specific character of monastic perfection is expressed. In this discussion we shall give special attention to the discernment of spirits, which is closely associated with this perfection, for as a matter of fact, the ascetic becomes more conscious of the working of good and evil spirits according as he rises to higher degrees of perfection.

MONASTIC PERFECTION IN THE VITA ANTONII

The perfection of *ἀσκησις* in (A).

It is a noteworthy fact that the terms in which the highest attainable degree of perfection in *ἀσκησις* is expressed are borrowed from contemporary philosophic thought. It was through Clement of Alexandria and Origen that the influence of Stoicism and Neoplatonism first percolated into christian ascetic theology¹⁾, and it was they who were the first to look out for a rational foundation of christian doctrine. From the Stoa they took over the principle that man should live according to his rational nature, which is good, but must be freed from the evil of its passions. There was no system of philosophy which like the Stoa had made such a clean cut between unimpaired nature and evil passions²⁾.

As regards the contemplative life for which *ἀσκησις* prepares the ground, they were imbued with the neoplatonic tenet of *κάθαρσις* through which man while sharing the divine *Νοῦς* gets more and more absorbed in it to be finally united with the 'One'³⁾. Origen tried to effect a synthesis between the data of Neoplatonism and the doctrine of St Paul on the contrasts *ψυχικός* - *πνευματικός*, natural-supernatural⁴⁾. Through asceticism the human *ψυχή* becomes *νοῦς*; it ceases to be *ψυχική* and becomes *πνευματική* through the working of the Holy Ghost⁵⁾.

These theories continued to guide alexandrian theology and the effects are found in the terminology which serves to describe the ideal of ascetic perfection in (A). The following terms are used: *καθαρός*, *καθαρεύειν*, *καθαρότης*⁶⁾ - *κατὰ φύσιν* *εἰσὼς* - *κατάστασις*.

Ἀσκησις purifies the soul, an aspect which is already found in Plotinus, who is fond of speaking of a *κάθαρσις*, which has the effect of rendering man fit for *θεωρία*, contemplation⁷⁾. From the prophet Eliah Anthony has learnt: ... *καθ' ἡμέραν* *ἐαυτὸν*

1) Cf. VILLER—RAHNER, *Ascese und Mystik in der Väterzeit*, 60ff.

2) Cf. VILLER—OLPHE-GALLIARD, *L'ascèse chrétienne*, DSAM I, 965f.; OLPHE-GALLIARD, *L'ascèse païenne*, DSAM I, 953ff.

3) Cf. OLPHE-GALLIARD, *L'ascèse païenne*, DSAM I, 958ff.

4) Cf. 1 Cor. 2.13.

5) Cf. REYPPENS, *La première terminologie mystique chrétienne chez les Grecs*, DSAM I, 346, s.v. *Ame*.

6) On the frequency of *καθαρός* and its derivatives in greek philosophical writers cf.: KOCH, *Quellen*, 1ff.

7) Cf. ARNOU, *Le désir de Dieu dans la philosophie de Plotin*, 199ff.

παριστάνειν τοιοῦτον, οἷον χρὴ φαίνεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ, καθαρὸν τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ ἔτοιμον ὑπακούειν τῷ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ, ch. 7. This purity of mind is mentioned repeatedly. After some twenty years of complete solitude he goes forth again as one who is 'initiated in the mysteries and deified'. People are surprised at his look and presence: ... τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς καθαρὸν τὸ ἦθος ... ὁλος ἦν ἴσος, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου κυβερνώμενος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστῶς, ch. 14. The term κατὰ φύσιν, which is used here as a more philosophical explanation of purity of mind turns up in several places and means 'in unimpaired nature', i.e. when through ascetic exercise nature is wholly freed from the impediment of passion, and so can fully be itself. The influence of the Stoics is clearly perceptible. Κατὰ φύσιν ἐστῶς is the state of a soul which is wholly purged: ἐγὼ γὰρ πιστεύω, ὅτι καθαρεύουσα ψυχὴ πανταχόθεν καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστῶσα, διορατικῇ¹⁾ γενομένη, πλείονα καὶ μακρότερα βλέπει τῶν δαιμόνων, ἔχουσα τὸν ἀποκαλύπτοντα Κύριον αὐτῇ, ch. 34.

It is to this purity acquired by Anthony to an eminent degree that his disciples ascribe his knowledge of events at a great distance²⁾, and those who have never seen him discover him among his brethren by the purity that radiates from his person: ... διέφερε τῶν ἄλλων τῇ τῶν ἡθῶν καταστάσει καὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρότητι. Ἀθορύβου γὰρ οὐσης τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀταράχους εἶχε καὶ τὰς ἔξωθεν αἰσθήσεις. ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ σώματος κινήματων αἰσθῆσθαι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς κατάστασιν, ch. 67.

It thus appears that καθαρότης τῆς ψυχῆς is also described as κατάστασις. In its intransitive sense κατάστασις means standing firm, settled condition. Herodotus already uses it in the sense of 'natural state', sometimes together with φύσις as its synonym³⁾. It is also used by Plotinus⁴⁾. In ch. 36 of *Vita Antonii* the κατάστασις τῆς ψυχῆς is spoken of and the opposite state is called τοῦ ἡθους ἀκαταστασία. From these phrases we may conclude that κατάστασις τῆς ψυχῆς is meant to express the firmness of the soul on the point of morality. The phrases κατάστασις τῆς ψυχῆς, ψυχὴ κατὰ φύσιν

1) The word διορατικός occurs several times in the lives of the monks. Cf. *De viis patrum* V 18, ML 73, 978. The διορατικὸν χάρισμα concerns the knowledge of future things and of what is going on in the mind of others. Cf. LEMAITRE, *Mystique diorétique*, DSAM II, 1856ff.

2) Cf. ch. 60.

3) Cf. *Hist.* 8.83.

4) Cf. *Enn.* 6.9.11.

ἐσιῶσα and καθαρότης τῆς ψυχῆς are therefore to be taken as expressive of the perfect condition of the soul.

With Origen καθαρότης plays an important role it being the indispensable prerequisite to the attainment of θεωρία, contemplation¹⁾. The word κατάστασις is found especially in the writings of Evagrius Ponticus, likewise as a necessary condition for contemplation²⁾. This perfect condition is attributed directly only to the highest and noblest part of the soul, which in (A) is not indicated by νοῦς³⁾, the current term of the alexandrian school, but by τὸ νοερόν τῆς ψυχῆς.

Only a mind purified by ἀσκησις is able to give full scope to its νοερόν. There can be no doubt that to the author of (A) τὸ νοερόν τῆς ψυχῆς or the spiritual part of the soul does not bear that out-and-dried intellectualistic sense which it has to the modern philosophically trained scholar. Hence in trying to grasp the meaning of τὸ νοερόν τῆς ψυχῆς we had better make abstraction of the will as mental faculty rather than see in τὸ νοερόν an express contrast to the will with the purpose of excluding the latter. For this reason we prefer to render it in a more general way: spiritual power. Anthony knows how to rise superior to the sensuous temptations of the devil by concentrating his whole attention on this very highest purely spiritual power: . . . τὸ νοερόν τῆς ψυχῆς λογιζόμενος ἀπεσβέννυε τὸν ἀνθρώπου τῆς ἐκείνου (sc. τοῦ ἐχθροῦ) πλάνης, ch. 5.

The imperative care for the body fills him with a sense of confusion and shame, when he thinks of the spiritual power and need of his soul: . . . καὶ γὰρ μέλλων ἐσθίειν καὶ κοιμᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις τοῦ σώματος ἔρχεσθαι, ἡσχύνετο, τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς λογιζόμενος νοερόν. Πολλάκις γοῦν μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων μοναχῶν μέλλων ἐσθίειν, ἀναμνησθεὶς τῆς πνευματικῆς τροφῆς, παρητήσατο, καὶ μακράν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπηλθίε, ch. 45.

Perfection consists in this that τὸ νοερόν τῆς ψυχῆς is perfectly free to be in accordance with its spiritual nature: . . . οὐκοῦν ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦ θέλειν ἡμῶν μόνου χρεῖαν ἔχει· ἐπειδήπερ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστι, καὶ ἐξ ἡμῶν συνίσταται. Τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς τὸ νοερόν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκούσης, ἡ ἀρετὴ συνίσταται. Κατὰ φύσιν δὲ ἔχει, ὅτ' ἂν ὡς γέγονε μένει, γέγονε δὲ καλῇ

1) Cf. LEMAITRE—ROQUES—VILLER, *Contemplation chez les Grecs et autres orientaux chrétiens*, DSAM II, 1770.

2) Cf. LEMAITRE, *Mystique catastatique*, DSAM II 1830ff.

3) Νοῦς does indeed occur in (A), but it never has the inner meaning of τὸ νοερόν τῆς ψυχῆς. Cf. ch. 6.

καὶ εὐθὺς λίαν... Τὸ γὰρ εὐθεῖαν εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν νοερὸν αὐτῆς ὡς ἐκτίσθη, ch. 20; '...so perfection has only need of the consent of the will, since perfection is within us and arises out of ourselves. For the spiritual power of the soul — when the latter acts freely according to its nature — that is its perfection. Now the spiritual power of the soul acts according to its nature, when it remains as it was made; and it was made very good and upright... The soul's being good and upright, that is precisely: its spiritual power according to its nature, as it was made' ¹⁾. Τὸ κατὰ φύσιν νοερὸν τῆς ψυχῆς therefore is the perfectly pure, natural and spiritual power of the soul. In the author's train of thought this power is raised to a higher order, thus enabling man to enter into true mystic communion with God: ...ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος ἀνείληφε σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον, ἵνα, τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ γενέσει κοινωνήσας ποιήσῃ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κοινωνῆσαι θείας καὶ νοερᾶς φύσεως, ch. 74.

As in the teaching of Plotinus the highest part of the soul shares the divine νοῦς, so also to the mind of (A) it is through τὸ νοερὸν τῆς ψυχῆς, that man partakes of the νοερὰ φύσις of God. The words καθαρότης, κατὰ φύσιν ἐστῶς and κατὰστασις then, characterize the most ideal condition of the soul, of which the first stresses the purity and freedom from all impediment, the second the actual existence according to its nature, the third the firmness and stability of this condition. The man who has acquired this high degree of perfection is safe from the distraction and allurements of this material world and from the wiles of the evil spirits. He can give himself wholly to the contemplation of the divine things. Hence this state may be viewed under two aspects. On the one hand it is as it were the touchstone by which all impressions from the material outer world and all inward emotions may be tested. Everything that permanently perturbs the soul and unsettles or disturbs its spiritual balance and self-command is wrong; everything that tends to promote this state is right. This is the principle underlying the *discretio spirituum*. On the other hand this state of the soul is a preliminary to a more intimate contact of the soul with God through a communication of mystic favours ²⁾. Each of these aspects will come up for ample discussion.

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1) Cf. VILLER—RAHNER, *o.c.* 88.

2) Cf. ch. 5.

The perfection of ἁσκησις in (V) and (E).

1. The renderings of καθαρός, καθαρῶν and καθαρότης.

(V)

(E)

7 (24.6): ...corde eum videre;	:...purum corde.
14 (30.11): ...animi ipsius puros et mundos mores videbant;	:...quae in illo animi puritas fuit.
34 (47.18): ...emundemus men- tem nostram;	:...habeat purum cor.
60 (68.17): ...mirabantur de pu- ritate animi ipsius quomodo vidit quod gestum est in loco qui lon- gius erat ab ipsis mansiones tre- decim;	:...puritatem mentis mirati sunt quomodo rei tam longe gestae statim ad eum fuisset perlata cogni- tio.
66 (72.14): ...conscientia pura a iactatione;	:...pura in Christo anima.
67 (73.8): ...hoc indicabat animi ipsius et stabilitas et puritas; quie- tam enim habens animam sine turbore habebat et sensus visibiles;	:...animae puritatem agnosce- bat ex vultu et per specu- lum corporis gratiam sanc- tae mentis intuebatur: nam semper hilarem faciem gerens liquido ostendebat se de caelestibus cogitare.

Apart from the solitary exception of 'mundus' and 'mundare' in (V), καθαρός is consistently translated by 'purus' and καθαρότης by 'puritas' both in (V) and (E). Classical usage knows already 'purus' in a figurative sense referring to moral conduct¹⁾, but 'puritas' is not found till a later period and then expresses either purity in a literal sense or with reference to language *puritas sermonis*²⁾. Cases in which it is applied within the domain of morals are rare. In the Vulgate it is only found twice: *puritas manuum*³⁾; 'purificare' and 'purificatio' more frequently occur, e.g.: *purificate corda*, Jac. 4.8; *fide purificans corda*, Act. 15.9. In the *Sacramentarium Leonianum* 'purus', 'puritas', 'purificare' and 'purificatio' are

1) Thus e.g. in Cicero, Horace, Seneca. With reference to language: Cicero, Quintilian, Pliny minor.

2) Cf. JEROME, *Epist.* 57.

3) Cf. Ps. 17.21, 25.

often found; 'mundus' on the other hand does not occur¹). In the texts here cited from (V) and (E) *puritas* points to a certain serenity, vigour and constancy of spirit rather than to freedom from sin²).

2. The renderings of κατὰ φύσιν (ἐστῶς).

(V)

(E)

14 (30.16): ...*in aequalitatis animo stabat*;

20 (35.22): ...*anima intellectum suum dum habet secundum proprietatem virtus constituitur*;

20 (35.23): ...*habet proprietatis suae intellectum anima si perman-
serit ut facta est*;

20 (36.1): ...*cum recta fuerit anima apparet facturae ipsius intellectus*;

20 (36.2): ...*cum anima eversa fuerit a proprietate, tunc malitia animae appellatur*;

34 (47.19): ...*anima proprietate sua constituta*;

:...*naturalis animae puritas fons et origo omnium virtutum.*

:...*rectam esse animam cum eius principalis integritas nulla vitiorum labe maculatur.*

:...*si in ea perseveraverit integritate qua nata est.*

When (V) translates κατὰ φύσιν ἐστῶς by 'in aequalitatis animo stabat', he interprets the original as expressive of *aequalitas*, i.e. a state of equipoise. 'Aequalitas' is already met with in classical Latin, but it never expresses an even-tempered and well-balanced mind. In classical usage 'proprietas' means the nature of a thing; it is quite common in Cicero. 'Factura' occurs occasionally in post-classical Latin as 'the making'; in early-christian Latin it means 'the thing made', 'the creature'³). *Apparet facturae ipsius intellectus* should be understood to mean: the intellect shows up as the intellect

1) Cf. BRUYLANTS, *Concordance verbale du Sacramentaire léonien*. On the translation of καθαρὸς and its derivatives in the writings of Macrobe cf. HENRY, *Plotin et l'occident*, 155ff.; 'Mundus' in the works of S. Ambrose, cf. BARRY, *o.c.* 226.

2) Cf. cc. 14; 60; 67.

3) Cf. RÖNSCH, *o.c.* 329.

of a creature, that is to say: the intellect shows up in its original state, as it was created.

The terms 'naturalis', 'principalis' and 'qua nata est' in (E) are all of them translations which are meant to express the even balance which is native to the soul. The influence of the Stoa, which divides sharply the native goodness of the soul from the disorder and misguidance of the passions, speaks clearly from all the translations of (V) and (E). The use of 'naturalis', 'principalis' and 'integritas' fully conforms to classical usage.

3. The renderings of κατάστασις.

(V)

(E)

36 (49.10): ... *animi status in bono* : ... *securitas animae*¹).

67 (73.7): ... *animi ipsius et stabilitas et puritas*;

67 (73.11): ... *intellegebatur animi ipsius stabilitas*.

Both 'status in bono' and 'stabilitas' express stability in what is good. 'Stabilitas' in the sense of firmness, stableness, both literally and figuratively is classical usage, though 'tranquillitas' is generally used when reference is made to a state of mind. 'Stabilitas' on the contrary expresses the firmness of the things of the outer world, on which one can count and rely. In (V), however, it indicates the inward firmness of the soul.

In classical Latin 'securitas' is used together with 'tranquillitas' to express imperturbable peace of mind. Cicero contrasts *perturbatio animi* with *tranquillitas animi et puritas*²).

4. The renderings of τὸ νοερόν τῆς ψυχῆς.

(V)

(E)

5 (21.3): ... *intellectum animae in mente habens* : ... *illaesam animae puritatem*
extinguebat illius carbones ardoris et deductionis; *per tentamenta servabat.*

20 (35.21): ... *anima enim intellectum suum dum habet* : ... *animae puritas.*

1) Cf. 'Securitas', cc. 7; 43; 'securus', ch. 35.

2) Cf. *De officiis*, 1.21.69.

20 (36.1): ... *apparet facturae* : ... *eius integritas.*
ipsius intellectus;
 45 (55.21): ... *cogitans de animae* : ... *quod tantam animae liber-*
suae intellectu; *tatem.*
 74 (77.7): ... *communicare cum* : ... *ut participes naturae cae-*
divina illa et intellegibili proprie- *lestis efficeret.*
tate, ... θείας καὶ νοερᾶς φύσεως.

After the example of (A), (V) takes *intellectus* as the power of the soul to which perfection is directly attributed¹⁾. *Intellectus* as the faculty of knowing is not found till the time of post-classical Latin. 'Intelligibilis' from the context appears to mean reasonable²⁾. The *divina intellegibilis proprietates* of the true God is here compared with the senseless false gods of the pagans. In the above-quoted passages (E) avoids stating any clear difference between *intellectus* and *anima*. The translations: 'puritas', 'integritas', 'libertas', do no more than state the qualities which mark the soul that has attained the perfection of *ἁσκησις*. In ch. 74 (E) leaves *νοερῶς* untranslated, but renders *θείος* by 'caelestis'³⁾. In classical Latin 'caelestis' is already known as a synonym of 'divinus'.

To sum up the results of this inquiry we subjoin a schematic list of the phrases in which (A), (V) and (E) preferably express the highest perfection of *ἁσκησις*.

(A)	(V)	(E)
καθαρότης τῆς ψυχῆς ψυχὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἔστωσα	'puritas animae' 'anima secundum proprietatem'	'puritas animae' 'naturalis animae puritas' 'principalis animae integritas'
κατάστασις τῆς ψυχῆς	'animae status in bono' 'animae stabilitas'	'securitas animae'

From this list it is clear that (E)'s translations are those of an interpreter.

1) *Νοερῶς* — 'intellectualis', cf. HENRY, *o.c.* 129f.

2) Cf. LEUMANN, *Die lateinischen Adjektiva auf -lis*.

3) Cf. HENRY: '*in caelestibus*' est la transposition chrétienne de ἐν τῷ νοητῷ, *o.c.* 133.

THE DISCERNMENT OF SPIRITS IN THE VITA ANTONII

Attention was drawn above to the importance of the perfection of *ἄσκησις* in connection with the discernment of spirits. This point will now be more fully discussed.

The phrase 'discretio spirituum', *διάκρισις πνευμάτων* is derived from the New Testament. St Paul understands by it the infused gift of grace. The early-christian writers likewise understand the *discretio* almost exclusively as a gift of the Holy Ghost. It is similarly understood in *Vita Antonii*: *χάρισμα διακρίσεως πνευμάτων*, cc. 22; 38; 88; (V): *donum, gratia, discretionis spiritus, spirituum*, 22 (37.9); 88 (87.27); 38 (50.19); 44 (54.25); (E): *donum, gratia, spirituum discernendorum*, cc. 22; 38; 44; *discretio spirituum*, cc. 35; 88.

On the other hand an attempt is made to draw up rules by which the working of the various spirits may be discriminated. The principles of the *discretio* are set out at great length in cc. 22—38, but especially in cc. 35 and 36 where the action of the good angels is contrasted with that of the devil.

Ch. 35 (M 49): ...it is quite possible to tell the difference between the good and the bad when God grants it.

(good spirit)

A vision of the holy ones is not turbulent,

[(A): οὐκ ἔστι τεταραγμένη,

(V): *non est turbatus*,

(E): *tranquillus est*.]

for he shall not contend, nor cry out.

[(A): οὐτε κραυγάζει,

(V): *neque clamabit*,

(E): *neque clamabunt*.]

But it comes so quietly that instantly joy and gladness and courage arise in the soul.

(evil spirit)

Ch. 36 (M 50): The appearance of the evil ones is full of confusion,

[(A): τεταραγμένη,

(V): *turbata est*,

(E): no equivalent.]

accompanied by crashing, roaring and shouting.

[(A): μετὰ κτύπου καὶ ἤχου καὶ κραυγῆς,

(V): *cum sono et clamore et turbore*,

(E): *sonitus horridi*.]

This at once begets terror in the soul, disturbance,

[(A): ὡς ἐνθὺς χαρὰν καὶ ἀγαλλία-
σιν καὶ θάρσος ἐγγίνεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ,
(V): *ut continuo appareat gau-
dium et exultatio et fiducia in
animo,*

(E): ... *gaudium, exultationem,
fiduciam pectoribus infundunt.*
And the thoughts of the soul
remain untroubled, unruffled.

[(A): λογισμοὶ ἀτάραχοι, ἀκύναντοι,
(V): *cogitationes sine turbore et
fluctu,*

(E): *mens nostra non turbida
sed lenis et placida.*]

A longing for things divine and
for things of the future life takes
possession of it.

[(A): πόθος τῶν θείων καὶ τῶν
μελλόντων,

(V): *desiderium rerum divina-
rum et futurorum bonorum,*

(E): *caelestium praemiorum avi-
ditate flagrans.*]

Ch. 36 (M 51): ... your joy and
your soul's tranquillity betoken
the holiness of Him who is
present.

[(A): ἡ κατάστασις τῆς ψυχῆς,

(V): *animi status in bono,*

(E): *securitas animae.*]

[(A): ἐξ ὧν ἐνθὺς γίνεται δειλία
ψυχῆς, τάραχος,

(V): *unde statim fit trepidatio
animae, turbor,*

(E): *e quibus confestim timor
animae.*]

and confusion of thoughts,

[(A): ἀταξία λογισμῶν,

(V): *cogitationes sine ordine,*

(E): no equivalent.]

dejection, hatred of ascetics, in-
difference, [(A): ἀκηδία, (V):
acedia, (E): *maeror et taedium.*]
and then a desire for evil,

[(A): ἐπιθυμία κακῶν,

(V): *concupiscentia malorum,*

(E): *cupido nequitiae.*]

and a complete subversion of
character. Ch. 37 (M 51): ... it
is enemies that are present.

[(A): τοῦ ἡθους ἀκαταστασία,

(V): *et morum instabilitas,*

(E): *cordis hebetatio.*]

From the whole structure it is clear that the author endeavours
to set forth his ideas concerning the action of good and bad angels
as systematically as he possibly can. As most characteristic of the
evil spirit this fact is put first and foremost that he creates confusion.
The good angel on the other hand never disturbs, though he may

rouse fear¹). The presence or absence of disorder is once more discussed in connection with the working of the mind. There is a clear antagonism between the desire of evil and the craving for the divine good. Lastly the long and short of the action of the spirits is summed up in these two phrases: *κατάστασις τῆς ψυχῆς - τοῦ ἡθους ἀκαταστασία*, (V): *animi status in bono - morum instabilitas*, (E): *securitas animae - cordis hebetatio*.

For 'status in bono' (A) has *κατάστασις*, which elsewhere in (V) is translated by 'stabilitas': ...*hoc enim indicabat animi ipsius stabilitas et puritas; quietam enim habens animam sine turbore habebat et sensus visibiles, ita ut gaudium animi ipsius in facie et hilaritas appareat et de motu corporis ipsius sentiebatur et intellegebatur animi ipsius stabilitas*, 67 (73.7-11).

From the above passages it is clear that the *status in bono* or *stabilitas* is meant to be a summing up of whatever excellence there is in the soul whether as inborn qualities or as effects produced by the presence of good angels: *quies, gaudium*.

Quite in contrast with these are the emotions which the devil tries to evoke: *trepidatio, turbor, tristitia, timor, accedia*, in a word: *morum instabilitas*.

The acme of *stabilitas* is indicated in 'anima per semetipsam illuminata': ...*cogitationes incipiunt sine turbore et fluctu permanere sic ut anima per semetipsam illuminata videat praesentes qui et apparuerint*, 35 (48.17).

'Stabilitas' and 'instabilitas' do not occur in (E) at all. *Κατάστασις τῆς ψυχῆς* is 'securitas mentis' in ch. 36, 'gratia sanctae mentis' in ch. 67. 'Securitas' and 'securus' are always used in (E) to describe the perfect condition of the soul with regard to the working of either good or evil spirits²). An occasional 'tranquillus' has the same function: ...*immobilem et tranquillam retinens animi firmitatem et daemones fugabat et feras secum pacificabat*, ch. 51³).

It is felt as a want that in rendering the antithesis *κατάστασις - ἀκαταστασία* (E) does not command the clear incisiveness of (V) who speaks of 'stabilitas' - 'instabilitas'. On the other hand after having the highest *κατάστασις*, *stabilitas* expressed in (V) in the words 'anima per semetipsam illuminata', it is quite striking to

1) Cf. VILLER—RAHNER, *o.c.* 87.

2) Cf. cc. 7; 13; 35; 42; 43.

3) Cf. cc. 35; 70.

have its opposite extreme qualified in (E) as 'cordis hebetatio'. It would be hard to suggest a greater contrast than that which exists between *illuminatio* and *hebetatio*, enlightenment and dulling or obscuring the mind.

It thus appears that of those terms in which the descriptions of a soul in perfect condition are couched by (V) and (E), 'stabilitas' and 'securitas' link up the matter with the discernment of spirits and as such imply that the soul is influenced by God or by the good spirits. Similarly by using the term 'morum instabilitas' (V) brands the imperfection in a terse phrase and at the same time sees this state of affairs as the effect of the unchecked working of the evil spirits. The *cordis hebetatio* in (E) is indeed not the moral imperfection as such, but it is an unavoidable effect of this imperfection. As in the case of the *instabilitas* in (V) it is taken to be a proof that evil spirits are at work.

It is not surprising that 'stabilitas', 'instabilitas' and 'securitas' are favourite terms in connection with this subject. For good and evil spirits are spotted according as they help or hinder peaceful trust in God. Hence there is a frequent recurrence of *ταράττω*, *ἀτάραχος*, *τάραχος*, *ταραχή* and *ἀταραξία* in cc. 35, 36. (V) follows (A) by the repeated use of 'turbor' and 'turbare'. (E) on the other hand by his freer method of translation and his partiality for variety in the choice of words greatly mars the clearness of this important passage. Only once we find 'non turbidus' for *ἀτάραχος* and 'tranquillus' for *οὐ τεταραγμένος*.

The terms *καθαρός*, *κατὰ φύσιν* in (A), 'puritas' in (V), and 'puritas', 'integritas' in (E), all of which are used to express perfection acquired through *ἄσκησις*, appear not to stand in any connection with the discernment of spirits.

MONASTIC PERFECTION AND DISCERNMENT OF SPIRITS IN LATER WRITERS

At the beginning of this chapter it was asked in what way the specific and distinctive character of the monastic perfection was formulated. The answer was suggested by some terms occurring for the greater part in contemporary philosophical literature, some of which terms moreover appeared to be of semantic importance

in connection of the discernment of spirits. Thus 'stabilitas' expresses the spiritual perfection of the soul but at the same time touches in a point of the discernment of spirits by bringing out the fact that the soul remains undisturbed under the attacks of evil spirits.

In the same way we might try and find out first of all in what terms the later writers describe the typically monastic perfection, and then continue our examination to see if in these terms any connection with the discernment of spirits is to be found. This however would lead us in so many by-paths and irrelevant discussions that the general line of our inquiry would be blurred. Hence we shall start our discussion with those terms which in the *Vita Antonii* describe the perfect attitude to be taken up with regard to the disturbing activities of the evil spirits and from these enlarge on the monastic perfection itself as the matter in hand seems to demand.

'Discretio spirituum' or simply 'discretio' is a term in general usage. As a rule it is understood to mean the infused charisme of which St Paul speaks ¹⁾).

Jerome: ... *discretionem autem spirituum divinae esse gratiae et Apostolus memorat, In Ier. 29.24.*

Cassian: ... *consecuti etiam discretionem qua roborati possimus adversarios nostros elidere, Inst. 12.17.3; ... videtis ergo non terrenum nec parvum esse discretionis munus, sed divinae gratiae maximum praemium spirituum discretio, Coll. 2.1.4.*

Augustine: ... *discretio sane difficillima est. Hunc discerni non arbitror, nisi dono illo, de quo ait Apostolus, cum de diversis Dei muneribus loqueretur: alii diiudicatio spirituum, Gen. ad litt. 12.13.28 (398).*

A specimen of a rule for the discernment of spirits was found in the *Vita Antonii* ²⁾. Cassian also tries to systematize the *discretio*, and the system he devises may be deemed an advance in so far as he replaces the dichotomy: good spirit - evil spirit, by a trichotomy: good spirit - evil spirit - man himself: ... *illud sane nosse debemus tria cogitationum nostrarum esse principia, id est, ex Deo, ex diabolo et ex nobis. Hanc ergo tripertitam rationem oportet nos iugiter observare et universas cogitationes quae emergunt in corde nostro sagaci discretionem discutere, Coll. 1.19-20.*

1) Cf. 1 Cor. 12.10.

2) Cf. cc. 36; 36.

'Tranquillitas' and 'stabilitas'.

Every writer, in the same way as the author of *Vita Antonii*, testifies to the disorder, which is the result of the influence of the evil spirits on the soul that strives after perfection.

Jerome: ... *magnis inimicorum circumdamur agminibus, hostium plena sunt omnia. Quodsi eorum te multitudo turbaverit et ad singula incitamenta vitiorum coeperis aestuare et dixerit tibi cogitatio tua: quid faciemus? respondebit Heliseus: noli timere, quoniam plures nobiscum sunt quam cum illis*, Epist. 22.3.2-4; ... *vitiorum passiones quas rectius latino sermone perturbationes* possumus dicere quod statum mentis evertant, In Is. 5.22.

Cassian: ... *ne eadem (sc. ratione) occidente perturbationum tenebrae cum auctore suo diabolo universum nostri cordis occupent sensum*, Inst. 8.10; ... *necesse est enim quemque in collocatione positum quamvis frequenter adversarium vincat ac superet et ipsum tamen aliquando turbari*, Ibid. 6.4.2.

Evagrius Ponticus: ... *somnium angelicum laetificat cor, somnium autem daemoniosum conturbat illud*, Sent. mon. 52.

Macarius Magnus: ... *conturbant eum passiones ex impugnatione inimici*, Epist. fil. 115.

Augustine: ... *oportet credere adversum diabolum et angelos eius nos dimicare, qui gaudent perturbationibus nostris*, Agon. 5.5.

Benedict: ... *nemo perturbetur neque contristetur in domo Dei*, Reg. Ben. 31.

All these passages are clearly stating over again what the *Vita Antonii* says of the tactics of the evil spirits. Whenever a writer wants to bring out that notwithstanding the wily tricks of the devil the soul remains restful and undisturbed, 'tranquillitas' is much in favour, while 'stabilitas' and 'securitas' seem unusual. Also in current latin usage *tranquillitas mentis* or *animi* is spoken of as something that stands in contrast with *perturbationes animi*¹⁾.

Jerome: ... *memini me clamantem diem crebro iunxisse cum nocte nec prius a pectoris cessasse verberibus quam Domino rediret increpante tranquillitas*. Ipsam quoque cellulam meam quasi cogitationum consciam pertimescebam et mihi met iratus et rigidus solus deserta penetrabam, Epist. 22.7.3.

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1) Thus especially in Cicero and Seneca.

Augustine: ... *virtus eo mihi mirabilior videtur quo difficilius est eam in multiplici hominum genere et in ista vita turbulentiore servare. Difficillimum est hic tenere optimum vitae modum et animum pacatum atque tranquillum*, Mor. eccl. 1.32.69.

In the liturgical language of the Church 'tranquillitas' and 'tranquillus' have also found a place and at times it is very clear that the predominant meaning of these words is not so much quiet, restful as undisturbed: ... *ut et mundi cursus pacifice nobis tuo ordine dirigatur; et Ecclesia tua tranquilla devotione laetetur*, Miss. Rom. Dom. IV Pent. (Sacrament. Leon. 81.1) ¹).

While 'tranquillitas' is nearly always contrasted with the disorder and unrest caused by evil spirits, this is seldom done with 'stabilitas'. It would seem that 'stabilitas' is only used to express the repose of the soul as a necessary prerequisite and enablement for its communion with God in prayer. It is the condition of spiritual poise and self-command, the spiritual perfection of the soul.

Evagrius Ponticus: ... *concupiscentia deambulandi et desiderium domuum alienarum evertunt stabilitatem animae et corrumpunt propositum eius*, Sent. virg. 40.

Cassian: ... *directionem rursus animae, stabilitatem cogitationum, alacritatem cordis cum ineffabili gaudio et mentis excessu visitatione Sancti Spiritus me sentio consecutum*, Coll. 10.10.12; ... *labores quidem anachoreseos sustinebunt, fructu vero ipsius fraudabuntur qui non nisi quietam mentis stabilitatem conquirunt*, Coll. 19.6.5.

Augustine: ... *sed Iob maxime tentatus est cuius admirabilem stabilitatem in Deo domino suo, cum illi haeretici hostes veteris Testamenti ore sacrilego irridere voluerint, illud prae ceteris ventilant quod Satan petierit eum tentandum*, Serm. dom. 2.9.32; ... *stabili mente et firmissimo corde persistamus*, Epist. 142.1. 'Stabilitas' has become a technical term and expresses: 'to be constant in what is right' and together with this: 'to be directed to God' ²).

Benedict also uses 'stabilis', 'stabilitas', even 'stabilire', but the purely spiritual technical term has acquired an extension. The constancy or stability in what is right has become the stable and

1) Cf. BRUYLANTS, *Concordance verbale*; *Les oraisons du Missel*, I 57; II 53.

2) Cf. *Civ.* 1.16; 9.4; 9.21; 12.6; 13.17; 14.13; 15.26.

permanent association with a monastic community¹): the *votum stabilitatis*: ... *suscipiendus autem in oratorio coram omnibus promittat de stabilitate sua et conversatione morum suorum et oboedientiam coram Deo et sanctis suis*, Reg. Ben. 58; ... *quantum vero genus est monachorum quod nominatur gyrovagum, qui tota vita sua per diversas provincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diversorum cellas hospitantur, semper vagi et numquam stabiles et propriis voluntatibus et gulae illecebris servientes, et per omnia deteriores sarabaitis*, Reg. Ben. 1.

It is here if anywhere that becomes clear what a far reaching influence the *stabilitas* as an ideal ascetic perfection has had on the spirituality of the monks. The practical latin spirit has given the *stabilitas* concrete and tangible form in the vow which binds the monk to the fixed rules and practices of a given monastic community, but at bottom the *votum stabilitatis* is intended to be the equivalent of a vow to try and be a perfect monk, to strive after monastic perfection.

Ἀπάθεια and its latin equivalents.

It was of set purpose that in discussing 'tranquillitas' we did not mention its occurrence in Cassian. Surely we find this term used by him in contrast with the disorder and unrest caused by the evil spirit, but it is of importance to find out more precisely what Cassian means by his 'tranquillitas mentis': ... *omnis monachi finis ad immobilem tranquillitatem mentis ac perpetuam nititur puritatem*, Coll. 9.2.1. Here by 'tranquillitas mentis ac puritas' is understood the *ἀπάθεια* of Evagrius Ponticus, which Cassian likewise holds out as an ideal worth striving after²). Hence it is necessary to discuss the idea of *ἀπάθεια* and to ascertain how the word and its latin equivalents are related to monastic perfection and discernment of spirits.

The idea of *ἀπάθεια* is a point of stoic doctrine³) and expresses essentially absolute apathy, insensibility, because any passion, any emotion, is deemed to be a disturbance of the soul. Among the fathers it is especially Clement of Alexandria and Evagrius Ponticus who adopt this idea and after baptizing it apply it in their teaching

1) Cf. BUTLER, Benedictine monachism, 125ff.

2) Cf. CHADWICK, John Cassian, 91ff.

3) Cf. BARDY, *Apatheta*, DSAM I, 727ff.

of christian perfection. Clement carries ἀπάθεια to extremes and makes it unreal, a quality which is ultimately connected with γνώσις. The gnostic is ἀπαθής as regards all that is human, because he has penetrated into the secrets of what is divine¹⁾.

Origen, in contrast with Clement, avoids the word ἀπάθεια except in *Contra Celsum* 8.8, where it does not bear a philosophic sense. He speaks of νοῦς παθῶν γυμνωθείς, but this is less a reality that can be reached than a ideal that can be striven after²⁾.

To Evagrius Ponticus ἀπάθεια is the aim of the ascetic life and the essential prerequisite to contemplation; he does not preclude every possibility of temptation or attack by evil spirits, though in the face of logic he also supposes that ἀπάθεια renders one immune from all such perturbations. On this point the evagrian ἀπάθεια goes a good deal further than the *tranquillitas* and *stabilitas* of Jerome and other latin writers, which may express a transient state, while ἀπάθεια refers to a permanent state of the soul, a definite phase in the process of growth towards perfection³⁾.

In fact, then, what is ἀπάθεια to Evagrius comes about to the same thing as the κατάστασις νοῦ, of which he and others speak; though again with this difference that the latter expresses positively what is negatively expressed by ἀπάθεια. It is the necessary prerequisite for the κατάστασις νοῦ; ... εἴ τις βούλοιο ἰδεῖν τὴν τοῦ νοῦ κατάστασιν, στερησάτω ἑαυτὸν πάντων τῶν νοημάτων, καὶ τότε ὄψεται ἑαυτὸν σαπφείρω ἢ οὐρανίῳ χρώματι παρεμφερεῖ· τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαι ἄνευ ἀπαθείας, τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστί, *Cent. Suppl.* 2⁴⁾.

Cassian follows Evagrius' doctrine of ἀπάθεια but he retains that sense of reality which in this point is also characteristic of Origen. He is only too well aware how relative is all perfection in this life on earth⁵⁾. For ἀπάθεια the other Latins use 'impassibilitas' and 'imperturbatio'. It is somewhat curious, however, to note that, while they connect all *perturbationes animae* with devilish interference, they do not interpret *impassibilitas* or *imperturbatio* as

1) Cf. VÖLKER, *Der wahre Gnostiker*, 183ff., 524ff.; BARDY, *Apatheia*, DSAM I, 729f.

2) Cf. VÖLKER, *Das Vollkommenheitsideal*, 44ff., ἐν χειρὶ Κυρίου μένων ἀπαθής, 155; CHADWICK, *o.c.* 84; BARDY, *o.c.* DSAM I, 732.

3) Cf. BARDY, *o.c.* DSAM I, 734; CHADWICK, *o.c.* 82ff.

4) Cf. MUYLDERMANS, *Evagriana*, *Le Muséon*, 44, 1931, 51; CHADWICK, *o.c.* 85.

5) Cf. CHADWICK, *o.c.* 91ff.

a sign or mark of the good angel. The reason of this becomes apparent when their pronouncements on *impassibilitas* are compared.

Jerome: ...περὶ ἀπαθείας, *quam nos impassibilitatem vel imperturbationem possumus dicere, quando numquam animus ulla cogitatione et vitio commovetur et — ut simpliciter dicam — vel saxum vel deus est*, Epist. 133.3.5. Though Jerome is mistaken in his interpretation of Evagrius' ἀπάθεια, with which he disagrees¹⁾, the passage makes it sufficiently clear that he deems *impassibilitas* or *imperturbatio* to be a figment of the imagination.

Augustine is of the same mind: ...*quocirca illa quae graece ἀπάθεια dicitur, quae si latine posset, impassibilitas diceretur si ita intellegenda est (in animo quippe, non in corpore accipitur) ut sine his affectionibus vivatur, quae contra rationem accidunt mentemque perturbant, bona plane et maxime optanda est; sed nec ipsa est huius vitae. Non enim qualiumcumque hominum vox est, sed maxime piorum multumque iustorum atque sanctorum. Tunc itaque ἀπάθεια ista erit quando peccatum in homine nullum erit*, Civ. 14.9. About this same time the pelagians admitted *impassibilitas* in the sense of *impeccabilitas*, which renders Jerome's and Augustine's attitude intelligible²⁾.

Cassian keeps clear of 'impassibilitas' on account of the pelagians. Instead he prefers to speak of 'puritas', 'tranquillitas', 'stabilitas'. *Puritas cordis* is the highest degree of ascetic perfection. As a technical term it is used often by Cassian: ...*ieiunia, vigiliae, anachoresis, meditatio scripturarum, propter principalem scopon, id est, puritatem cordis, quod est caritas, nos convenit exercere*, Coll. 1.7.2³⁾.

In Jerome 'puritas' in this sense is hardly met with; Augustine on the other hand prefers to speak of 'mundus', 'munditia': ...*ipsa munditia cordis tui delectabit te et faciet orare: quomodo, si venias ad aliquem locum, silentium est ibi, forte quies est ibi, mundus est locus: oremus hic, dicis; et delectat te compositio loci, et credis quod ibi te exaudiet Deus. Si ergo loci visibilis te delectat munditia, quare te non offendit immunditia cordis tui? Intra, munda omnia, leva oculos tuos ad Deum, et statim te exaudiet*, In psalm. 33.2. 'Puritas', however, has acquired a definite place in ascetic

1) Cf. VILLER—RAHNER, o.c. 107.

2) Cf. BARDY, o.c. DSAM I, 738f.; CHADWICK, o.c. 91.

3) Cf. CHADWICK, o.c. 93.

literature¹⁾ and is found also in Benedict's *Regula*: ...*et non in multiloquio, sed in puritate cordis et compunctione lacrimarum nos exaudiri sciamus. Et ideo brevis debet esse et pura oratio, nisi forte ex affectu inspirationis divinae gratiae protendatur, Ibid. 20²⁾.*

Together with 'puritas', then, 'tranquillitas' and 'stabilitas' in Cassian express the perfection of monastic asceticism in the sense of the evagrian apathy, though it is proposed more as an ideal to be striven after than as a matter capable of full realization. The other Latins on the contrary use 'tranquillitas' over against *perturbationes diaboli*, while 'stabilitas' appears to be reserved for the higher regions of the life of prayer. Only in (V) 'stabilitas' expresses both 'imperturbance' and 'firmness in directing the inward life to God'.

ACEDIA

In the course of this chapter we have been engaged in discussing the monastic perfection to which *ἀσκησις* guides the monk, and found this summed up in the phrases 'stabilitas mentis, cordis, animae' etc. As its opposite part are mentioned *instabilitas mentis, morum*, this being the complete failure of the monk as regards his ideal. This phrase too is of regular occurrence, though it is of less frequency than 'stabilitas', which is but natural, since the ascetic writers are far keener on stimulating the endeavour to reach the highest ideal than giving lengthy descriptions of the lowest point to which a monk can fall away. This last course would be but idle talk in normal monastic situations. No monk is allowed to grow into a completely negative character.

It is, however, of the greatest importance that every monk should be clearly forewarned and therewith forearmed against this possible failure, and be taught to stifle the nascent evil in its birth, by carefully avoiding the most serious threat to the ascetic life. This gravest of faults, which may be called the specifically monastic sin, has been given ample treatment by ascetic authors³⁾.

De acedia nascitur instabilitas mentis et corporis says Cassian,

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1) 'Puritas' occurs also in S. Ambrose, cf. BARRY, *o.c.* 23.

2) Cf. BUTLER, *Benedictine monachism*, 61ff.

3) Cf. BARDY, *Acedia*, DSAM I, 166ff.

when he comes down on *acedia* as the root-cause of a monk's failure to be a monk. Ἀκηδία negligence, indifference, occurs several times in the LXX. Cicero knows ἀκηδία in the same sense¹⁾. In *Pastor Hermae* it means sorrow, boredom²⁾. In early-christian Latin 'ac(c)edia', 'ac(c)idia', 'ac(c)ediari' and 'ac(c)ediosus' or 'ac(c)idiosus' often occur in biblical translations³⁾. In the *Vita Antonii* ἀκηδία - ἀκηδιᾶν 'ac(c)edia', 'ac(c)ediari' is found here and there with a clearly monastic tinge: ...*si igitur relinquit paucas aruras aut domum aut aurum non debet gloriari aut accediari*, 17 (33.2), ... ἀκηδιᾶν; ...*adhaereamus ergo, filii, studio deifico et non acedimur*, 19 (34.10), ... ἀκηδιῶμεν; ...*acedia commemoratione domesticorum*, 36 (49.3), ... ἀκηδία, λύπη, μνήμη τῶν οἰκείων; ...*praecipiebat eis non deficere in laboribus nec in studio deifico accediari*, 89 (88.21), ... ἐκκαθεῖν.

'Acediari' is about synonymous with 'deficere', which is often found in (V). But one cannot get away from the impression that a special kind of *deficere* is meant. It strikes one that three cases are mentioned of a monk having renounced his worldly possessions and that in each case his *acedia* is due to this fact. So the exact meaning of 'acediari' seems to be: 'to lose heart because one doubts if there is any sense in the sacrifice made'.

(E) has neither 'acedia' nor 'acediari', but translates 'taedere', ch. 17; 'taedium', ch. 36; 'maeror', ch. 87; further he has 'taedium', cc. 25; 49; 70. 'Taedium' and 'taedere' are both wanting in (V). It thus appears that (E) here prefers a semantic neologism to a loan-word, which indicates a further development of monastic Latin.

Cassian spends whole treatises on *acedia*. Following in the footsteps of Evagrius Ponticus, who was the first to arrange the deadly sins into a system⁴⁾, he too describes it as one of the most dangerous pitfalls of the monastic life: ...*sextum nobis certamen est quod Graeci ἀκηδιᾶν vocant quam nos taedium sive anxietatem cordis possumus nuncupare, affinis haec tristitiae ac solitariis magis experta et in eremo commorantibus infestior hostis ac frequens, maxime circa horam sextam monachum inquietans ut quaedam febris ingruens; nonnulli senum hunc esse pronuntiant meridianum*

1) Cf. *Ad Att.* 12.45.1.

2) Cf. *Past. Herm.* 3.11.3.

3) Cf. RÖNSCH, *o.c.* 238, 252, 126.

4) Cf. CHADWICK, *o.c.* 84.

daemonem qui in psalmo nonagesimo nuncupatur, Inst. 10.1; ...huius aegritudinis incommoda uno versiculo beatus David eleganter expressit: dormitavit, inquit, anima mea prae taedio. id est, prae a c e d i a, Inst. 10.4.

Acedia is described at great length as a typical ailment of the monk who weary and listless entertains doubts about the sense and use of the state of life that is his, and thinks he had better go elsewhere and find occupations that seem more useful and commendable: ...*qui cum miserabilem obsederit mentem, horrorem loci, fastidium cellae, fratrum quoque, qui cum eo vel eminus commorantur, tamquam negligentium ac minus spiritualium, aspernationem gignit atque contemptum. Ad omne opus quod intra septa sui cubilis est, facit desidem et inertem. Non enim in cella residere nec operam sinit impendere lectioni, nihilque se proficere tanto tempore in eadem commorantem crebrius ingemiscit nec habere se fructum aliquem spiritalem, donec fuerit illi consortio copulatus, conqueritur atque suspirat et ab omni se dolet spiritali quaestu inanem, in locoque vacuum consistere, utpote qui cum posset etiam alios regere ac prodesse plurimis, nullum aedificaverit, nec quemquam institutione sua doctrinaque lucratus sit. Absentia longeque posita magnificat monasteria, loca etiam illa magis ad profectum utilia et saluti congruentiora describit, Inst. 10.2.1.*

Jerome uses neither '*acedia*' nor '*taedium*' for those typically monastic shortcomings of listlessness and discontent. Yet he was well aware of the situation as appears for instance from his description of them in *Vita Malchi*: ...*post multos annos incidit mihi desiderium ut ad patriam pergerem. Et dum adhuc viveret mater — iam enim patrem mortuum audieram — solarer viduitatem eius, et exinde venumdata possessiuncula, partem erogarem pauperibus, partem monasterio constituerem, — quid erubesco confiteri infidelitatem meam? — partem in sumptuum meorum solatia reservarem. Coepit clamare abbas meus diaboli esse tentationem et sub honestae rei occasione latere antiqui hostis insidias. Sic multos monachorum esse deceptos, Ibid. 3.*

Augustine also descants upon *acedia* but calls it *taedium*: ...*quisquis ergo talis est et vicit illas difficultates et probabiliter iam conversatur inter homines sine ulla querela malorum morum, excipitur tentatione tertia, t a e d i i cuiusdam in mora huius vitae, ita ut aliquando eum nec legere nec orare delectet, In psalm. 106.6.*

As for Benedict, he warns: ... *videant ne forte inveniatur frater a c e d i o s u s qui vacat otio aut fabulis et non est intentus lectioni et non solum sibi inutilis est sed etiam alios distollit*, Reg. Ben. 48. He knows that *acedia* is nursed by idleness but checked by regular manual labour and other occupations.

Résumé.

Taking a brief review of the results of our inquiry we have in the first place the text of Athanasius, (A), which in terms of the alexandrian school, ultimately traceable to the philosophy of the Stoa and of Neoplatonism, draws a picture of *ἄσκησις* at its highest point of development: *καθαρότης, κατάστασις, κατὰ φύσιν ἐσιώς* and of its opposite *ἀκαταστασία*. All four of them refer to a durable condition of the soul. *Ἀκαταστασία* is mentioned only once, but *ἀκηδία* is cited several times as the fault which leads to the utter decay of the ascetic life and is chiefly responsible for the final catastrophe. *Κατάστασις, ἀκαταστασία* and *ἀκηδία* also appeared to be in some way connected with the discernment of spirits.

In (V) it is 'puritas' and 'stabilitas', in (E) it is 'puritas' 'securitas', and to a lesser degree 'integritas' and 'libertas', which express the perfection of *ἄσκησις*. The opposite state is called 'instabilitas' by (V) and is dubbed 'hebetatio cordis' by (E) on account of the concomitant effect. 'Stabilitas', 'instabilitas', 'securitas' also have something to do with the discernment of spirits, as has moreover 'tranquillus' in (E).

In later writers 'stabilitas' stresses the perfection of *ἄσκησις* while 'tranquillitas' is more concerned with pointing out the repose of the soul undisturbed by evil spirits. In Cassian on the other hand 'tranquillitas', 'stabilitas' and 'puritas' are used to express the perfection of *ἄσκησις*. It thus appears that in terminology as well as in the world of facts ascetic perfection and discernment of spirits are closely associated.

It has a sobering effect on the student to find that the latin ascetic writers drew freely on the philosophical language of Cicero and Seneca in describing monastic perfection. 'Securitas' and 'tranquillitas' lay ready at hand and 'stabilitas' underwent a semantic change so that it as an equivalent of *κατάστασις* could be applied to the condition of the soul. 'Puritas', rather a late formation, took over the meaning of *καθαρότης* as it had developed among the

neoplatonic thinkers. The fact that 'purus' was already used by Cicero and Seneca to denote purity of soul must have influenced this process.

On first acquaintance with this latin terminology one may experience a shock of disillusionment; one thinks that the incipient monasticism sketched is a deviation from the purely christian idea of perfection; this idea so one might think is entitled to be set out in terms of the gospel rather than in those of Stoicism and Neoplatonism. But it should be kept in mind that we have set out to discover what is the specifically monastic element in the monk's struggle for perfection, and in the early part of this chapter we had occasion to point out that this monastic element would necessarily manifest itself as an effect of striving after perfection in the frame of a given system. It is from the system therefore, which guides the monks to perfection, that arises the specific monastic character with its inevitable human limitations. But some sort of system cannot be dispensed with; a more general striving inspired by idealism is short-lived and demands special circumstances; it is ever in danger of committing follies or withering away into trivialities. The lives of all founders of religious orders are there to bear out this truth. They succeeded because they knew how to give expression to their inspiration in soberly conceived principles and laws. At the same time they showed they were man of their age, since they took account primarily of the theological thought but also of the general cultural level of the people among whom they moved. Those the organisers of early monasticism too were not able to give form to their enthusiasm for the christian perfection and make it understood by their contemporaries except in terms which had already wholly or partly been assimilated by christian theological thought and which ultimately had been borrowed from the mental culture of their contemporaries. Why then should we feel disillusioned when we hear them speak in terms which recall to our minds the writings of Cicero and Seneca ¹⁾?

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1) Cf. CHADWICK: 'Not only has he (Cassian) changed the emphasis at certain important points; in the process of translation a benefit accrued for which he can take no credit whatever but which caused him to be the originator of something new. Many of the greek words carry philosophical associations with a long history. The removal of these associations by the mere act of translation inaugurated the new spirituality, western spirituality, of which Cassian may appropriately be described as the founder. For the first time an opportunity is provided for the development of christian spirituality away from the particular environment of greek philosophical

Something else should be added. *Tranquillitas, stabilitas, puritas* are not meant to be the last words to be said about the christian perfection. These terms give expression to the very highest point that can be reached through *ἀσκησις* i.e. through practice and exercise. What we have discussed so far only touches on that part of the spiritual life where human nature takes an active share. It is true that not even the slightest achievement in this matter can be brought about without the stimulating support of divine grace; but it is equally true that grace adapts itself to the requirements of nature, demands the free active co-operation of the natural powers, and only on rare occasions dispenses with this co-operation for a passing moment.

This level of spiritual life is the proper field of *ἀσκησις*. The oldest writers on monachism are fond of considering this a first phase of the spiritual life: *βίος πρακτικός* (Evagrius Ponticus), *vita actualis* (Cassian), which culminates in: *ἀπάθεια, puritas, tranquillitas*, which is about synonymous with what other Latins call *stabilitas*. To Evagrius Ponticus *ἀπάθεια* is the foundation of *ἀγάπη*, on which the *βίος θεωρητικός*¹⁾, the life of contemplation, is built. Cassian likewise sees the *puritas* and *tranquillitas mentis* as the negative side of the *caritas*. He knows what is perfect asceticism, but after that there comes something greater: contemplation, the second phase of the spiritual life, where grace quite overtops nature, takes the lead, carries nature along into regions which its own natural powers cannot reach. These regions are not the field of asceticism but of mysticism.

The sharp difference such as exists between two successive phases does not correspond to the world of facts. Evagrius too is aware of a transition period between *πρᾶξις* and *θεωρία* in which these two support each other²⁾. But we may consider asceticism as a

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asceticism', *o.c.* 87. It would seem to the writer that Chadwick is rather simplistic in his treatment of the question. The latin terminology of christian asceticism was as shown above essentially related to latin philosophy and through the latter to greek philosophy.

1) Or: *βίος γνωστικός*.

2) Cf. CHADWICK: 'for Evagrius they are rigidly distinct', *o.c.* 83; on the other hand LEMAITRE: 'l'aube de la contemplation se met à poindre dans l'esprit aussitôt que la pureté s'affirme, même partielle dans l'âme. Il y aura donc dès lors une période plus ou moins longue, peut-être toute la vie, où les efforts de la praxis, les combats de la vertu iront de pair ou alterneront avec le jaillissement des pensées pures', *La Θεωρία φναική*, DSAM II, 1808. Cf. EVAGRIUS, *Practicos*, MG 40, 1233; *Epist.*, *ad Anat.* MG 40, 1221.

special training for beginners while mysticism is more the attainment of the spiritual life at its full maturity. On the other hand ascetic practice remains imperative till the final goal is reached while mystic moments will not be lacking altogether even at the beginning.

CHAPTER V

MYSTICISM

Perfect asceticism is a preparation for mysticism. In the discussion on *ἀσκησις* it was repeatedly pointed out that the christian *ἀσκησις* is wholly religious and directed towards God; it leads to conformity and union with God. Christian asceticism culminates in mysticism ¹⁾. This is possible because from the start the ascetic is guided by the contemplation of the divine mysteries.

In Anthony's life contemplation and ascetic practice go constantly hand in hand. From the beginning of his ascetic life Holy Writ is the source of all his thinking, the guide of all his doings: ...he chanced to be on his way to church. As he was walking along, he collected his thoughts and reflected how the Apostles left everything and followed the Saviour; also how the people in Acts sold what they had and laid it at the feet of the Apostles for distribution among the needy; and what great hope is laid up in Heaven for such as these. With these thoughts in his mind he entered the church. And it so happened that the gospel was being read at that moment and he heard the passage in which the Lord says to the rich man: If thou wilt be perfect, go sell all that thou hast, and give it the poor; and come, follow me and thou shalt have treasure in Heaven. As though God had put him in mind of the saints and as though the reading had been directed especially to him, Anthony immediately left the church and gave to the townspeople the property he had.

He sold all the rest, and gave the tidy sum he received to the poor, keeping back only a little for his sister. But once again as he entered the church, he heard the Lord saying in the gospel: Be not solicitous for the morrow. He went out and distributed those

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1) Cf. VÖLKER, *Das Vollkommenheitsideal*, 45.

things also to the poor, cc. 2, 3 (M 19f).

From that moment his interest is centred on God, more especially on the person of Christ: ... he subjected himself in all sincerity to the pious men whom he visited ... and in one and all alike he marked especially devotion to Christ, ch. 4 (M 21); ... he filled his thoughts with Christ ... and thus quenched the glowing coal of temptation, ch. 5 (M 23).

The devil fears ascetics and: ... most of all, their loyalty to Christ, ch. 30 (M 46). Hence Anthony admonishes the other hermits: ... if we wish to despise the Enemy, let us always keep our thoughts upon the things of the Lord, ch. 42 (M 56); and his parting exhortation is: ... let Christ be your life's breath, and place your confidence in Him, ch. 91 (M 95).

Since his whole life was based on his faith in Christ, he is favoured by his Saviour's special protection and encouragement: ... this was Anthony's first victory over the devil; rather let me say that this singular success in Anthony was the Saviour's, ch. 7 (M 24); ... and here again the Lord was not forgetful of Anthony's struggle, but came to help him, ch. 10 (M 28); ... but Anthony was heartened by the Saviour, ch. 52 (M 64).

Contemplation has indeed led Anthony to mystic union with Christ, but if we were to look in this biography for those full and varied descriptions in which the great mystics of later times would tell of their intimate relations with Christ, we should be disappointed. The *Vita Antonii* does indeed speak repeatedly of his love of Christ: ... he exhorted all to prefer nothing in the world to the love of Christ, ch. 14 (M 33); ... nothing shall separate me from the love of Christ, ch. 9 (M 27); but of the personal intercourse between Anthony and Christ we are only told that the latter will always be his helper and make him known everywhere: ... and a voice came to him: Anthony, I was right here, but I waited to see you in action. And now, because you held out and did not surrender, I will ever be your helper and I will make you renowned everywhere, ch. 10 (M 29). For the rest the author does not go beyond general remarks or vague indications: ... they called him God's Friend¹), ch. 4 (M 22); ... Anthony came forth as out of

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1) Cf. (A): ... ἐκαλοῦν θεοφιλῆ, which naturally calls to mind: Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος; the latter phrase however is a good deal more daring. Cf. IGNAT. ANT. *Epistulae*.

a shrine, as one initiated into sacred mysteries and filled with the spirit of God, ch. 14 (M 32).

On the other hand some mystic incidents of a more secondary character are given fairly detailed treatment. By divine revelation he knows the state of health of a sick patient, the danger threatening a monk's life, the death of a saintly ascetic¹). From visions he learns the power and danger of evil spirits and he foretells a persecution by the arians²). He works miracles at a distance, and warns an arianizing magistrate of his approaching death if he does not stop persecuting the christians³).

On the whole these points are strongly reminiscent of what took place among the prophets of the Old Testament. In fact also in other respects the memory of the ancient prophets appears to be quite alive: Daniel, David, Elias, Elisaeus, Ezechiel and Samuel are mentioned by name⁴). But it also strikes one that all the remarkable events that are narrated, are concerned with either supernatural power or knowledge. This is no doubt to be seen in the light of the *γνώσις*, which to the alexandrian theologians was at the centre of their interest. The miracles which are narrated are meant to establish that Anthony's supernatural knowledge is a hard fact, not a pious fancy. Hence the stories of his wonderful knowledge always conclude with a reference to the facts on which they are based.

Indeed even the vision in the first period of his ascetic life, when Christ promises to be his helper and make him known everywhere — this last seems to be something like an idea of Athanasius own — is told not with a view to give us a glimpse of his personal communion with God, but with the purpose of suggesting the guarantee given at the end of the *Vita* in these words: ...for whence was it that this man who lived hidden in a mountain was heard of in Spain and Gaul, in Rome and in Africa, if it was not God who everywhere makes known His own⁵), who had told this to Anthony at the very beginning? ch. 93 (M 97).

In other words: the mention of the mystic phenomena in the

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1) Cf. cc. 58; 59; 60.

2) Cf. cc. 65; 66; 82.

3) Cf. cc. 61; 86.

4) Cf. cc. 7; 32; 34; 43; 52; 67; 82.

5) Cf. (A): ... τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνθρώπους; AUGUSTINE: *homo tuus*, *Conf.* 8.5.10; (V): *homo Dei*, 70 (74.31).

Vita is made subservient to the apologetic purpose of the author; hence his concluding words: . . . and if the occasion presents itself, read it also to the pagans, that at least in this way they may learn that our Lord Jesus Christ is not only God and the Son of God, but that the christians by their faithful service to Him and their orthodox faith in Him prove that the demons whom the Greeks consider gods are no gods; that, moreover, they trample them under foot and drive them out for what they are: deceivers and corrupters of men, ch. 94 (M 98).

Athanasius therefore draws an imperfect sketch of the mystic side of Anthony's life, because he only makes mention of those things which serve his apologetic purpose. These few things, however, together with the strongly christo-centric leaven of Anthony's asceticism warrant the conclusion that the saint's life must have been one of abounding mystic graces¹). It may be doubted if Athanasius was the right man to interpret such favours, since in those events which he does describe he is only led by the traditional biblical forms. In such cases it is easy to point out the biblical events that serve as his model. Mystic theology has not yet hammered out a terminology of its own. Apart from a few exceptions where the influence of Neoplatonism is felt, it is entirely biblical.

MYSTIC PHENOMENA

MYSTIC PHENOMENA IN THE VITA ANTONII

1. **Ἐκστασις, ἐξίστασθαι - ἀρπάζεσθαι, ἁπενεοῦσθαι* in (A).

Ἐξίστασθαι occurs fairly frequently in classical Greek and in its earliest usage means no more than to be strongly affected by some thing. It is used absolutely or qualified by *φρενῶν*, *γνώμης*, *φύσεως* or a reflexive pronoun. The philosopher who is strongly affected by the *μανία ἐρωτική* is described by Plato as *ἐξιστάμενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπουδασμάτων* i.e. bereft of the ordinary human in-

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1) VILLER—RAHNER: 'eine genauere Untersuchung seiner Briefe dürfte wohl seine Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Mystik im frühen Mönchtum deutlicher hervortreten lassen', o.c. 89.

clinations. 'Εξίστασθαι is also used with reference to one who is out of his mind, because he is possessed by a god or a demon. 'Εξίστασθαι found earlier usage than ἔκστασις¹⁾).

At first the more pejorative sense of ἔκστασις 'being beside oneself at the cost of one's intellectual faculties' seems to have prevailed; as examples may be cited ἔκστασις φρενῶν and such-like. The more flattering meaning, in which the intellect rises above its natural powers, has established itself slowly by the way of semantic development²⁾. 'Being beside oneself' as the effect of union with the deity is called by Plato *θεία μανία*, which Philo and Plotinus express by ἔκστασις.

Philo has four meanings of ἔκστασις³⁾: 1. lunacy, madness as a mental disease; 2. violent fear or emotion; 3. complete rest, quiescence of the mind during sleep. In Genesis 2.21. the LXX has ἔκστασις, which is explained by Philo as follows: ... εὖ δὲ τὸ φάναι ὅτι ἐξίσταται, τοῦτο δὲ, ὅτι τρέπεται, οὐ παρ' εαυτόν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα καὶ ἐπιφέροντα καὶ ἐπιτέμποντα τὴν τροπὴν θεόν, *Leg. All.* 2.9; 4. ἔκστασις *par excellence*, the divine rapture and inspiration of the prophets⁴⁾. Even this last and highest form of ecstasy does not imply seeing God; it is confined to prophecy, a revelation of the future.

In Plotinus ἔκστασις is entirely concerned with knowledge of the deity and expresses a state of union with the 'one': ἔνωσις, ἀπλωσις⁵⁾).

In the LXX ἔκστασις once expresses madness and twice complete numbness sent by Jahwe⁶⁾. Moreover it stands for dread, dismay whether from natural or from supernatural causes⁷⁾.

In the New Testament ἔκστασις expresses either fright, dread, intense surprise or rapture⁸⁾. In the latter case it refers to the strictly prophetic visions in which Peter and Paul are given a commission among the gentiles. With but few exceptions ἐξίστασθαι

1) Cf. PFISTER, *Ekstasis, Pisciculi*, 178ff.

2) Cf. ARISTOTLE: ἔκστασις μανικὴ, madness, *Categ.* 10a: ... ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐκστατικῶν προορᾶν, *De divin. in somn.* 2, 464a.

3) Cf. HERRIOT, *Philon le Juif*, 194ff.

4) Cf. *Quis rerum divinarum haeres*, 51.249.

5) Cf. "Ἐκστασις, *Enn.* 6.9.11; ARNOU, *Le désir de Dieu*, 231ff.

6) Cf. *Deut.* 28.28; *Gen.* 2.21; 15.12; cf. ОЕРКЕ, "Ἐκστασις, *TW* II, 447ff.

7) Cf. *Gen.* 27.33; 1 *Kings* 14.15a; *Ps.* 30.23; 115.2; *Zach.* 12.4; 14.13; *Jer.* 5.30; *Ez.* 26.16; 27.35; 32.10; *Dan.* 7.28; 10.7; 1 *Kings* 11.7; 14.15b; 2 *Chron.* 14.4; 15.5; 17.10; 20.29.

8) Cf. *Lc.* 5.26; *Mc.* 5.42; 16.8; *Act.* 3.10; 10.10; 11.5; 22.17.

means to wonder greatly¹⁾. In 2 Cor. 5.13 it probably expresses to be enraptured, but the meaning 'to be beside oneself' is also advocated²⁾.

As regards the greek fathers, to prevent misunderstandings it should be borne in mind that our idea of ecstasy widely differs from what they understand by *ἐκστασις*. In their mystic theology the Greeks move in two directions³⁾: there is the mysticism of *κατάστασις*, also called the mysticism of light, and the mysticism of *ἐκστασις* or of darkness. The terminology of *κατάστασις* and *ἐκστασις* is taken from Evagrius Ponticus and Pseudo-Dionysius respectively, each of whom is considered to be the most characteristic representative of his school⁴⁾. The mysticism of *κατάστασις* is based on the idea that by *ἀσκησις* the human mind purifies itself more and more and finally reaches a state of perfect purity according to its nature, *νοῦ κατάστασις*, so that the mind is wholly liberated and capable of knowing God in itself, because the mind is the image of God (Clement, Origen), the temple or abode of God (Evagrius Ponticus). So there is no need for the mind, which is created after God's image, to go out of itself in an *ἐκστασις*⁵⁾. The advocates of this system do indeed speak of an ecstasy with regard to the sensuous organs, but they never indicate this phenomenon by the term *ἐκστασις*. The montanists and their pseudo-prophets had brought this term into disrepute. Hence in the vocabulary of the orthodox fathers *ἐκστασις* is always madness, hallucination or dread, perplexity. This doctrine finds its chief exponents in Clement, Origen and Evagrius.

The mysticism of the *ἐκστασις* on the other hand understands by *ἐκστασις* the going out of itself and rising above itself of the mind, this being the necessary prerequisite for the contemplation of God. The intellect going out of itself enters as into a darkness, *γνόφος*, in which it meets God. Clement of Alexandria is considered to be

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1) Cf. Mt. 12.23, Mc. 2.12, Lc. 8.56, Act. 8.13; 27, 9.21, 12.16. In Mc. 3.21 *ἐξίστασθαι* is 'to be mad'.

2) Cf. PFISTER, *Ekstasis*, 186ff.

3) Cf. LEMAITRE, *La contemplation de Dieu*, DSAM II, 1827ff.

4) VILLER—RAHNER ('HAUSHERR') *heute müssen wir von der evagriusischen Mystik reden, wenn wir diese große mystische Schule des Orients bezeichnen wollen die vom 4. bis ins 15., ja bis ins 20. Jahrhundert reicht*, o.c. 109.

5) Cf. LEMAITRE, *La contemplation de Dieu*, DSAM II, 1830ff, VOLKER, *Das Vollkommenheitsideal*, 85ff; *Der wahre Gnostiker*, 109ff, MUYLDERMANS, *Evagrius*, *Le Muséon* 44, 1931, 52f., nn. 12 and 13.

the precursor of this theory¹⁾. In the works of Gregory of Nyssa and especially of Pseudo-Dionysius the theology of the *ἔκστασις* effectively becomes a form of mystical theology; there the *ἔκστασις* progresses to its full mystical sense and the less favourable or commonplace meanings such as madness, hallucination, dread, bewilderment recede into the background²⁾.

In (A) a true ecstasy is recorded in cc. 65 and 82, but the word *ἔκστασις* is not used in this meaning. In ch. 65 the word is *ἀρπάζεσθαι*, 'to be carried out of one's senses': ... *ἤσθητο ἑαυτὸν ἀρπαγέντα τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ, τὸ παράδοξον, ἐστῶς ἔβλεπεν ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ἔξωθεν ἑαυτοῦ γινόμενον, καὶ ὡς εἰς τὸν ἄερα ὁδηγούμενον ὑπὸ τινων*, ch. 65.

This is how the beginning of the ecstasy is described with its graphic picture of Anthony going out of himself. His return to himself is given with equal directness: ... *καὶ εὐθὺς εἶδεν ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ἐρχόμενον καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐστῶτα, καὶ πάλιν ἦν ὅλως Ἀντώνιος*, *Ibid.* The episode concludes with a comparison with St Paul³⁾: *ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Παῦλος ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ ἤρπαγεν... ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἕως τοῦ ἁέρος ἑαυτὸν εἶδε φθάσαντα καὶ ἀγωνισάμενον ἕως ἐλεύθερος φανῆ*, *Ibid.*

The LXX uses *αἶρειν* and *ἀναλαμβάνειν* to express that the Spirit of Jahweh seizes the prophet and inspires him. To express this effect the New Testament has *ἀρπάζειν*, which while applied to divergent situations yet in each case emphasizes the sovereign power of the Spirit of God⁴⁾. An impression beyond all others was made by St Paul's description of the man who was carried out of himself up to the third heaven to hear mysteries which man is not allowed to utter, and it was to this passage that *ἀρπάζεσθαι* owes its meaning in mystical terminology⁵⁾.

Πολλάκις δὲ μετὰ τῶν εἰσερχομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν καθηζόμενος καὶ περιπατῶν, ἀπηνεῶτο, ὡς ἐν τῷ Δανιὴλ γέγραπται. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν μεθ' ὥρας ὁμίλει τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς συνοῦσιν ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῷ· οἱ δὲ συνόντες ἡσθάνοντο τινα θεωρίαν αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ch. 82. To interrupt a con-

1) Cf. LEMAITRE, *La contemplation de Dieu*, DSAM II, 1871; *Contemplation chez les Grecs*, DSAM II, 1788.

2) Cf. DANIELOU, *Mystique de la ténèbre*, DSAM II, 1872ff.; ROQUES, *Extase et ténèbre*, DSAM II, 1885ff.

3) Cf. 2 Cor. 12.2.

4) Cf. Act. 8.39; 1 Thess. 4.17; Ap. 12.5 2 Cor. 12.2,4.

5) Cf. FOERSTER, *Ἀρπάζεσθαι*, TW I, 471.

versation by stopping in the middle of a sentence and resume it at this point when the ecstasy is part is a common occurrence¹⁾.

Ἀπενεοῦσθαι, 'to be struck dumb, to become speechless' as a sign of rapture, is found only in the LXX²⁾. In the same passage ἔκστασις is used, where from the context it clearly means 'to be beside oneself with fear': ... ποτὲ γοῦν καθεζόμενος καὶ ἐργαζόμενος ὥσπερ ἐν ἐκστάσει γέγονε, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ στέναζων. Εἴτα μεθ' ὧραν σιγραφίς πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας, ἐστέναξε καὶ ἔντρομος γενόμενος, ἡῤῃχετο καὶ κάμπτιων τὰ γόνατα, διέμενεν ἐπὶ πολὺ. Καὶ ἀναστὰς, ἔκλαιεν ὁ γέρων. Ἐντρομοὶ τοίνυν γενόμενοι οἱ συνόντες, καὶ πάνν φοβηθέντες, ἡξίουν μαθεῖν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ οὕτω μέγα στενάξας. Ὡ τέκνα, βέλτιον, ἔλεγεν, ἀποθανεῖν πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὰ τῆς θεωρίας, ch. 82.

It is clear that the word ἔκστασις here refers only to the fright with which the θεωρία filled Anthony. This is confirmed by the use of the comparative adverb ὥσπερ and of the many words that imply fear and alarm.

'Ecstasis' in early-christian Latin.

In discussing ἀρπάζεσθαι and ἔκστασις in (A) the fourfold meaning of ἔκστασις in Philo was mentioned, that is to say: 1. madness, 2. violent fear or emotion, 3. complete quiescence of the mind, 4. the divine rapture of the prophets. But even in this last case ἔκστασις in no way implied seeing God; it referred only to the revelation of future events or more generally to facts or events not perceivable in the normal way.

A latinized 'ecstasis' is found in the *Vetus Latina*³⁾ having two of the meanings mentioned by Philo: ... *et immisit Deus ecstasim in Adam et obdormivit*, Gen. 2.21, 'ecstasis' = complete numbness; ... *ecstasis cecidit super Abram*, Gen. 15.12, 'ecstasis' = complete numbness; ... *ego dixi in ecstasi mea: omnis homo mendax*, Ps. 115.11, 'ecstasis' = violent emotion; ... *ibi Benjamin adolescentior in ecstasi*, Ps. 67.28. 'Ecstasis' = violent emotion. It is pretty safe to say that 'ecstasis' in the *Vetus Latina* must mean either numbness or emotion.

The Vulgate has 'ecstasis' only twice each time meaning emotion⁴⁾.

1) Cf. POULAIN, *Grâces d'oraison*, 255.

2) Cf. Dan. 4.16 (*Theodotion*); Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*, s.v.

3) Cf. TLL s.v. *ecstasis*.

4) Cf. Ps. 30.1; Act. 3.10.

Further uses of 'ecstasis' before Tertullian and Cyprian are very rare, e.g. Irenaeus: ...*aliquando consternabatur et in ecstasi patiebatur anima*, 1.4.2. 'Ecstasis' = emotion. *Passio Perpetuae*: ...*Perpetua a quodam tunc catechumeno suscepta et quasi a somno expergita — adeo in spiritu et in ecstasi fuerat — circumspicere coepit*, 20. Here again 'ecstasis' means emotion, fright. In fact it would seem that in the early christian centuries sparing use was made of 'ecstasis' in connection with mystic phenomena. The reason must no doubt be sought in the disgust felt by the christians at the wild extravagances of the pagan prophets. These seers generally speak in a state of ecstasy i.e. frenzy, unaware of their own utterances. Christian prophets and seers on the other hand, in case they receive their revelations in a state of ecstasy — that is to say withdrawn from contact with the sensuous world — speak in full possession and consciousness of themselves. There is no sign whatever of any mental derangement¹⁾.

The use made of 'ecstasis' by Tertullian is in the montanist vein, according to which prophecy is attended by ecstatic signs, circumstances suggesting mental derangement, *amentia*: ...*faciamus hic tria tabernacula, unum tibi et Moysi unum et Heliae unum; sed nesciens quid diceret. Quomodo nesciens? Utrumne simplici errore, an ratione qua defendimus in causa novae prophetiae, gratiae ecstasin, id est, amentiam convenire? In spiritu enim homo constitutus, praesertim cum gloriam Dei conspicit, vel cum per ipsum Deus loquitur, necesse est excidat sensu, obumbratus scilicet virtute divina; de quo cum inter nos et psychicos quaestio est, interim facile est amentiam Petri probare*, *Adv. Marc.* 4.22. A tract written by Tertullian on this prophetic ecstasy of a disorderly kind has not come down to us²⁾.

Where Tertullian in *De anima* 45 speaks of what dreaming is, he also states that this is an 'ecstasis'. But as is clearly shown by WASZINK in his commentary on this passage³⁾, Tertullian does not attribute the character of a prophetic inspiration to this form of ecstasy.

'Ecstasis' is found twice in Cyprian's letters: ...*praeter nocturnas*

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1) Cf. BACHT, *Die profetische Inspiration der vormontanistischen Zeit, Scholastik* 19, 1ff.

2) Cf. JEROME, *De viris illustribus*, 53.

3) Cf. WASZINK, *De anima*, 480ff.

visiones per dies quoque impletur apud nos spiritu sancto puerorum innocens aetas, quae in ecstasi videt oculis et audit et loquitur ea quibus nos Dominus monere et instruere dignatur, Epist. 16.520; ...emersit istic subito quaedam mulier quae in ecstasi constituta propheten se praeferret et quasi sancto spiritu plena sic ageret. Ita autem principalium daemoniorum impetu ferebatur ut per longum tempus sollicitaret et deciperet fraternitatem, Epist. 75.817. It is worth noting that this latter case refers again to a pseudo-prophetess.

In view of the prevailing Montanism it is not surprising that 'ecstasis' in the sense of ecstasy were avoided¹⁾, and perhaps the same attitude may account for the absence of ἔκστασις - 'ecstasis' in two places in *Vita Antonii*, where there is clear and descriptive mention of a real ecstasy. In (A) ἔκστασις always stands for violent fear. In ch. 66 an ecstasy is fully described but the word itself is wanting. (V) as a faithful henchman follows in (A)'s footsteps.

'Pavor' in (V).

In chapter 82, where likewise a prophetic ecstasy is narrated, the words ὥστερ ἐν ἔκστασει γέγονε are translated in (V) by 'quasi in pavore factus est' 82 (83.8). This is no doubt the correct rendering, since ἔκστασις is used here on account of the exceptionally frightening nature of the vision, not because of its general prophetic character. The translation ἔκστασις - 'pavor' is also found in the *Vetus Latina*²⁾: ...*expavit autem Isaac p a v o r e magno valde, Gen. 27.33, ...ἐξέστη δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἔκστασιν μεγάλην σφόδρα.*

'Pavor', fear, also occurs in general latin usage where the fear arises from religious motives. In (E) the word ἔκστασις is not translated at all.

From the above data it appears that if 'ecstasis' is at all used during the first centuries of early-christian Latin, it has nothing to do with the ecstatic mysticism of Gregory of Nyssa and Pseudo-Dionysius. 'Ecstasis' continues its connection with the rapture of the prophets, but after the time of Tertullian and the montanists

1) Cf. LABRIOLLE, *La crise montaniste*, 555ff.; in the same way as 'ecstasis', the use of 'charisma' was discontinued in consequence of montanistic abuse. Cf. MOHRMANN, *Les emprunts grecs*, VC 4, 1950, 207.

2) Cf. AUGUSTINE, *Quaest. in hept.* 1.80.

it fell into disuse. As a result 'ecstasis' in its other meaning of violent fear, emotion was also laid aside and 'pavor' gained in importance as its translation. In the last resort the use of *ἐκστασις* and its translations is to be traced back to the LXX and the *Vetus Latina*.

'Stupere', 'rapi' in (V).

In current Latin 'stupere' is the equivalent of 'to be struck senseless'. In (V) it is the latin rendering of ἀπενεοῦσθαι: ... *saepius autem cum his qui ad eum introibant monachis sedens vel ambulans apparebat illis stupens ut scriptum est in Daniele; et ipse quidem postmodum aut post horam sequentia loquebatur non excidens proposito*, 82 (83.1), ... ἀπηνεούτο. What is here narrated clearly refers to an ecstasy, 'excessus' or 'alienatio mentis a sensibus', as at a later date ecstasy is defined by Jerome and Augustine. The reference is to Daniel 4.16, where the Vulgate has: ... *tunc Daniel coepit extra semetipsum tacitus cogitare quasi una hora*; LXX: ... ἀπηνεώθη. It is quite possible that a translation in the *Vetus Latina* had 'stupere' in this passage but there is absolutely nothing to go by. As a matter of fact in biblical translations *stupere* does frequently describe the human reaction to what is wonderful and supernatural.

We do not want to discuss here, still less to settle, the question whether the writers in (A) and (V) are of opinion that Daniel's silence points to an ecstasy or whether they quote this passage merely because they deem any comparison with the old mystic seer a thing of importance; but there can be no doubt that ἀπενεοῦσθαι in (A) as well as 'stupere' in (V) are meant to express mystic phenomena. The context makes this quite evident. Outside this passage there is no 'stupor' nor 'stupere' in (V).

As regards 'rapi' we only note that this word, borrowed from biblical usage, was regularly used for ecstasy from the beginning. In common speech one of the meanings of 'rapi' is 'to be carried away with passion', 'to be transported, ravished'; usually though not invariably in an unfavourable sense, e.g.: *qui ad divinarum rerum cognitionem cura omni studioque rapiantur*, Cic. Div. 1.49.14. So it was quite natural for this word to be given a place in the terminology of christian mysticism, if only on account of the famous passage in 2 Cor. 12: ... *aliquando enim futurus ad*

manducandum circa horam nonam surrexit orare et sensit se raptum esse mente; et quod erat admirabile, stans videbat se stare extra, et quasi deduci in aerem ab aliquibus... et continuo vidit se venientem ad se stantem, et iterum erat Antonius totus... Quando hoc didicimus illi contigisse, memorati sumus Apostoli sancti dictum dicentis: sive in corpus, sive extra corpus, nescio; Deus scit. Sed Paulus sanctus quidem usque ad tertium caelum raptus est, et audivit inenarrabilia verba et discedit, Antonius vero usque ad aerem vidit se venisse et ibi certamen sustinuisse, donec liber appareat, 65 (70.12ff.).

'Stupere', 'rapi' in (E).

Ibique saepe cum introeuntibus deambulans vel residens stupēbat, sicuti in Daniele scriptum est; et interiectis horarum spatiis, consequentia respondebat, ut intellegeretur aliqua revelationis vidisse secreta, ch. 82, ... ἀπηνεόητο. 'Stupere' is used here by (E), as it is by (V), to express the ecstatic rapture. The further use of 'stupere' and its derivatives always indicates wonder or admiration at something of a higher order: ... non magnis stupentium se elatus est laudibus, ch. 14; ... vidit nescio quam animam ad caelum pergere. Cuius spectaculi novitate stupefactus beatum dixit sanctorum chorum, ch. 60; ... hactenus Antonio dicente, miro philosophi stupore perculsi, multum eius sibi fatebantur profuisse conspectum, ch. 80.

'Rapi' is used in the same way as it is in (V): ... raptum se sensit in spiritu, ch. 65; ... et Paulus quidem usque ad tertium caelum raptus est, Ibid.

2. Θεωρία, θεώρημα, ὁπτασία in (A).

Though Plato is deeply engaged in discussing his eternal ideas he does not use the word θεωρία to express this purely intellectual speculation. To him θεωρία chiefly means scene, spectacle, show, going to a show, entering on a scientific enquiry¹). Even in the discussion on δικαιοσύνη, where the word θεωρία is used once, he writes as if he is treating of 'divine spectacles': ... τόδε οἶε τι θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἀπὸ θεῶν θεωρίων ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνθρωπεῖα τις ἔλθων κατὰ ἀσχημονεῖ, Pol. 7.517d.

1) Cf. Phaid. 58b; Leg. 12.951c; Phileb. 38b.

To Aristotle *θεωρία*, contemplation, is the activity proper to God. Man can only apply himself to contemplation in so far as he has something divine in him, that is to say his mind, *νοῦς*, and this is his greatest happiness¹). Contemplation of the divine by man he deems non-existent.

Plotinus is the first to use the term *θεωρία* quite freely, but for the contemplation of divine things he mostly uses *θεάα*. In his writings the contrast *θεωρία* - *πραξις* is developed at great length: the two exclude one another²).

In the LXX *θεωρία* rarely occurs. It is only found in the hellenistic books³). In 2 Mac 15.12 it means 'vision'; for the rest it stands for spectacle, scene; this is also the meaning of its solitary use in the New Testament⁴).

As regards the greek fathers the first to make frequent use of *θεωρία* in the sense of contemplation of the divine are Clement of Alexandria and Origen. At times *θεωρία* is identical with *γνώσις*, but as a rule *γνώσις* covers the whole field of religious knowledge and *θεωρία* is this same knowledge at its highest perfection⁵). In the same way as Plotinus, they record the contrasts *θεωρία* - *πραξις*; *τὸ θεωρητικόν* - *τὸ πρακτικόν*; *βίος θεωρητικός* - *βίος πρακτικός*. Origen, Gregory of Nyssa and Evagrius Ponticus moreover distinguish *θεωρία* according as God or created objects are the object of contemplation. Hence Evagrius speaks of *θεολογία* and *θεωρία φυσική*⁶).

In (A) *θεωρία* seems to be employed in a somewhat broad sense. It is found a number of times in cc. 82 and 84, and is used both for the act of contemplation and for the object seen: ... *ἡσθαγοντο τινα θεωρίαν αὐτὸν βλέπειν*, ... *βέλτιον ἀποθανεῖν πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὰ τῆς θεωρίας*, ... *ὥς, δὲ ταύτην εἶδε τὴν θεωρίαν*, ... *πολλὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ στενάζων*, ch. 82.

The contents of ch. 82 would seem to suggest that with (A) *θεωρία* is a favourite word for prophetic visions; but elsewhere it

1) Cf. *Eth. Nic.* 10.7.1177ff.

2) Cf. ARNOU, *Πράξις et Θεωρία*, 49f.; *La contemplation chez les anciens philosophes*, DSAM II, 1719ff.

3) Cf. *Dan.* 5.7; *2 Macc.* 5.26; 15.12; *3 Macc.* 5.24.

4) Cf. *Lc.* 23.48.

5) Cf. VÖLKER, *Der wahre Gnostiker*, 303ff.; *Das Vollkommenheitsideal*, 84; LEMAITRE—ROQUES—VILLER, *Contemplation chez les Grecs et autres orientaux chrétiens*, DSAM II, 1762ff.

6) Cf. LEMAITRE, *La Θεωρία φυσική*, DSAM II, 1806.

is used for the contemplation of the divine: ... 'Αντωνίου δὲ μόνον ἡ εὐχή καὶ ἡ ἀσκησις, ἧς ἐνεκεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει καθήμενος, ἔχαιρε μὲν τῇ τῶν θείων θεωρίᾳ, ἐλυπεῖτο δὲ διοχλούμενος ὑπὸ πολλῶν, ch. 84. The context stresses so much the repose of contemplation, to which Anthony is wholly devoted, that it would be arbitrary to see in ἡ τῶν θείων θεωρία merely or even chiefly prophetic visions.

Θεώρημα occurs in the sense of apparition, the thing seen: ... ἡ γὰρ προσθήκη τῶν γινόμενων αὐτῷ τῶν ἄνω θεωρημάτων, ch. 13. But the verb θεωρεῖν which occurs several times, is entirely without the mystic meaning that attaches to θεωρία¹).

Ὁπτασία means: 1. apparition, i.e. what appears; 2. appearance i.e. the act of appearing; 3. the seeing of an apparition i.e. contemplation: ... ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐδέετο τῆς φανείσης ὀπτασίας λέγων, ch. 10; ... πολλάκις παραμύθιον γίνεσθαι τὰς ὀπτασίας, ch. 66; ... ἡ τῶν ἁγίων ὀπτασία οὐκ ἔστι τεταραγμένη, ch. 35; ... καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γινόμενα πολλάκις, ἐν τῷ ὄρει τυγχάνων ἔβλεπε καὶ διηγῆσάτο Σαραπίωνι βλέποντι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀσχοληθέντα τῇ ὀπτασίᾳ ch. 82.

'Visio', 'videre' in (V).

Θεωρία, θεώρημα and ὀπτασία, the mystic summits in Anthony's life, are rendered in (V) by 'visio', once by 'visus' and 'apparentia': ... *sentiebant quia aliquam visionem vidit* (θεωρίαν). *Nam ea quae gerebantur in Aegypto, sedens in monte et videns, saepius narravit Sarapioni episcopo intus constituto in monte et vidente eum vacare visionibus* (τῇ ὀπτασίᾳ). *Aliquando enim sedens et faciens opus, quasi in pavore factus est et dum videbat gemescens* (ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ), 82 (83.4); ... *filiis, melius mori antequam fiant ea quae vidi* (τὰ τῆς θεωρίας), 82 (83.16); ... *sed mox vidit hanc visionem* (θεωρίαν) *statim eos consolabatur*, 82 (84.4); ... *Antonii autem oratio erat tantum et studium deificum quod exercebat sedens in monte, de quo studio gaudebat et de visionibus* (τῇ τῶν θείων θεωρίᾳ), 84 (85.4); ... *appositio enim visionum* (θεωρημάτων), 13 (29.10); ... *deprecabatur visionem quae illi apparuit* (τῆς φανείσης ὀπτασίας), 10 (26.23); ... *sanctorum adventus et visus* (ὀπτασία), 35 (48.10); ... *si homines bonorum visiones timuerint* (ὀπτασίαν), 35 (48.21);

1) Cf. cc. 33; 36; 40; 46; 50; 51; 66; 87; 88.

... *sancti apparentia* (ὁπτασία), 43 (54.13); ... *laborum consolatio visiones sunt* (ὁπτασίας), 66 (72.16).

While (A) appears to have no preference for any *nomen actionis* but generally uses βλέπειν, ὁρᾶν and sometimes θεωρεῖν, (V) always translates 'videre'; for the rest this word retains its usual profane sense. This sense persists so strongly that in places where 'videre' expresses supernatural seeing, the verbal text frequently seems to suggest a mere accidental strengthening of normal sight rather than a new and higher kind of seeing; at other times, however, this last sense is quite evident. Hence it is found that 'videre' has a twofold sense apart from expressing normal sight.

1. It expresses supernatural sight, described as a strengthening of the normal power of sight, as in: ... *quomodo anima Elisaei videbat actus Giezi de longe*, 34 (47.22); ... *mirabantur de puritate animi ipsius quomodo vidit quod gestum est in loco qui longius erat ab ipsis mansiones tredecim*, 60 (68.17). The mention of *puritas animae* as the cause of this sight or of the *anima* as the seat of this power bear out that this seeing is of a more spiritual nature notwithstanding the material form of its description. In most cases 'videre' is thus used.

2. It expresses supernatural sight pure and simple, i.e. without any qualifications as to distance, time or space, which go with normal eye-sight: ... *satagebat corde eum (sc. Deum) videre et paratum esse oboedire voluntati eius*, 7 (24.7); ... *facta est vox dicens: intellege quod vides. Et aperta mens ipsius intellexit quia animarum transitus est*, 66 (72.3). Even this last 'videre' is not quite shorn of every association with material things, but what is material in it refers to the symbolic representations of certain mysteries, not to the sight of events which are related to the seer by distance or time.

Ultimately the use of 'videre' as detailed above is based on current latin usage, in which 'videre' can express mental vision as well as sense perception. The frequent occurrence of 'videre' in the bible in connection with prophetic visions is to be taken as the direct occasion of the use of 'videre' in (V).

By the side of 'videre' are found 'visio' and the noun 'visus'. 'Visio' always has a concrete meaning: the vision or object seen¹⁾.

1) Cf. 82 (83.5); 82 (84.4); 84 (85.4); 13 (29.10); 10 (26.23); 35 (48.21); 66(72.16); 82(83.7).

Once 'visio' has an abstract meaning: ... *ipsis autem iudicibus satis proderat visio ipsius*, 84 (85.16). This last 'visio', however, is an abstract noun in the natural order and therefore does not affect the present discussion.

It is important to note that (V) has no specific term to denote contemplation, the act of contemplating. In (A) the word is *θεωρία* or *ὁπτασία*; ... *ἔχαιρε μὲν τῇ τῶν θείων θεωρίᾳ*; ... *gaudebat de visionibus*, 84 (85.4); ... *ἀσχοληθέντα τῇ ὁπτασίᾳ*; ... *vacare visionibus*, 82 (83.7).

The noun 'visus' once means vision: ... *in visu apparuit illi niger puer* (τῇ φαντασίᾳ), 6 (21.7); once it indicates appearance the act of appearing: ... *sanctorum adventus et visus non est turbatus* (ὁπτασία), 35 (48.11); finally it once means just normal seeing: ... *a facie et visu illius tractus* (ὄψις), 67 (73.5).

'Visio', 'visus' in the sense of appearance, apparition, vision are not foreign to common Latin, but their use was stimulated by the old biblical translations, of which the Vulgate still carries some relics. Both in the Old and the New Testament of the Vulgate 'visio' and 'videre' are of frequent occurrence, while 'visus' is occasionally used there. As (A) with *θεωρία* takes over the scientific terminology of Origen and his school, so (V) with 'visio', 'visus' follows in the track of the latin biblical translations thus carrying forward the prophetic phraseology of the Bible.

Like 'videre' so also 'intellegere' is frequently found in (V) (*συνήμῃ, νοέω*). It generally denotes no more than the natural activity of the human mind, which by an effort of reasoning discovers the deeper structure of things.

In the case of a *visio* it is possible for the intellect to be raised above its natural level by directing its attention on the God-given vision. It would be wrong, however, to think that in such an event 'intellectus' should be taken to stand for *donum intellectus*. (V) is not aware of any *donum intellectus*, a supernatural gift, but only knows the normal *intellegere*, the ordinary human mental activity, which in the presence of the God-given *visio* is raised to a higher plane: ... *facta est vox dicens: intellege quod vides. Et aperta mens ipsius intellexit quia animarum transitus est*, 66 (72.3); ... *νόει τὸ βλεπόμενον καὶ διανοιχθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς διανοίας ἐγενόει τῶν ψυχῶν εἶναι τὴν παόρδον*. That this *intellegere*, in the same way as *videre*, is of biblical origin may be gathered for example from a

comparison with Dan. cc. 8 and 9.

Beside *intellectus animae*, the spiritual power of the soul, 'intellectus' occurs a few times as spiritual knowledge in general, more concretely and specifically as an illumination of the intellect: ... *prudencia, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, intellectus, dilectio, amor pauperorum, fides in Christo, patientia sine ira, hospitalitas*, 17 (33.16), ... *σύνεσις*; ... *si autem et sic invenerint munitam animam in fide et spe intellectus, de cetero adducunt suum principem*, 23 (38.13), ... *τῆς διανοίας*; ... *appositio enim visionum et intellectus quae fiebant in mente ipsius multum relegebat illum a laboribus*, 13 (29.11). Here again *intellectus* will have to be taken as the human mind reacting to the God-given *visio*. In this way *intellegere* appears to be the complement of *videre*.

'Visio', 'videre' in (E).

Θεωρία, θεώρημα, ὀπτασία which are rendered in (V) by 'visio', 'visus' and 'apparentia' are promiscuously translated by 'visio', 'revelatio' in (E): ... *cum aliqua se vobis obtulerit visio ... si sanctorum fuerit revelatio*, ch. 43; ... *his visionum exemplis incitatus*, ch. 66; ... *ut intellegeretur aliqua revelationis vidisse secreta...* *Lamentabilis sequitur visio...* *post aliquantum spatium revelationis inceptae...* *ut exponeret visionem...* *Visionem sequitur effectus...* *nihil defuit visioni veritatis...* *revelationis prosperitate solatus est*, ch. 82. From these data it appears that 'visio' and 'revelatio' have the concrete objective sense: the thing seen or revealed. The noun 'revelatio' is a christian neologism.

Nowhere in (E) is there a term expressive of the act of seeing or contemplating. In this respect (E) harmonizes with (V), where 'visio', 'apparentia', 'visus' always refer to the apparition, the thing seen, while both deviate from (A), where both *θεωρία* and *ὀπτασία* once or twice denote the act of contemplation¹⁾. From this it may be inferred that (V) and (E) are still under the spell of biblical prophetism. A prophet as a prophet is not one given to contemplation; he is one who is shown visions and given revelations. The mystic on the other hand is given to prolonged meditation and contemplation of what is divine. We thus find that the greek

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1) Cf. cc. 82 and 84; (E) does not even translate here *θεωρία* and *ὀπτασία*.

vocabulary has advanced one stage beyond the latin one in that *θεωρία* and *δρασσία* are expressive both of the thing seen and of the act of seeing, while 'visio' and 'revelatio' cover only the first of these two.

Like (V), (E) uses 'videre' to express natural sight as well as supernatural; but in the latter case (E) is careful to avoid such qualifications as might suggest that no more is intended than a strengthening of normal eye-sight. This is borne out by the following parallel passages:

(V)	(E)
34 (47.20): ... <i>anima potest videre amplius a quo daemones;</i>	:... <i>credo animam plus scire posse quam daemones.</i>
<i>Ibid.</i> : ... <i>anima Elisaei videbat actus Giezi de longe et virtutes;</i>	:... <i>anima Elisaei quae aliis incognitas virtutes videbat.</i>
60 (68.17): ... <i>quomodo vidit quod gestum est in loco qui longius erat ab ipsis mansiones tredicim;</i>	:... <i>quomodo rei tam longe gestae statim ad eum fuisset perlata cognitio.</i>

'Intellegere' in (E) plays a far less important part than it does in (V). It occurs hardly a dozen times, while 'intellectus' is wholly wanting. The verb is used to express knowing both in the natural and the supernatural way: ...*paganos intellexit ex vultu*, ch. 72; ...*vox facta est dicens: animadvertite quod vides. Et tunc coepit illuminato corde intellegere animarum esse consensum*, ch. 66. Here again, as in (V), *intellegere* is the complement of *videre*.

3. 'Αποκαλύπτειν, φανεροῦν in (A).

In cc. 24; 34; 59 and 66 *ἀποκαλύπτειν* is used for 'to reveal' while in ch. 59 *φανεροῦν* has the same function. Both words are used in the New Testament in connection with divine revelation, occasionally even they are bracketed¹⁾. The LXX is very partial to *ἀποκαλύπτειν*²⁾. The most ancient christian writers have continued the biblical tradition and with them *ἀποκαλύπτειν* enjoys a sort of priority³⁾: ...*οἶον τὸν διάβολον τῷ Ἰωβ ὁ Κύριος ἀπέκαλυψε, λέγων,*

1) Cf. WNT s.vv.

2) Cf. HATCH and REDPATH, o.c. s.v.

3) Cf. ОЕРКЕ, 'Αποκαλύπτω, TW III, 558; the later writers also use *φαίνεσθαι*, *φανεροῦν* etc.

ch. 24; ...ψυχὴ ἔχουσα τὸν ἀποκαλύπτοντα Κύριον αὐτῇ, ch. 34;
 ...εὐχομένῳ μοι νῦν πεφανέρωται... τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποκαλύψαντος, ch. 59;
 ... τοῦτο αὐτῷ εὐχομένῳ ἀπεκαλύπτετο, ch. 66.

'Revelare' in (V).

'Revelare' is 'to uncover', 'to lay bare' in the literal sense, and in this sense is found in poets and non-classical writers. Christian writers use it in its figurative sense of making manifest or reveal, and this in the first place in connection with divine revelation, which naturally leads to its analogical application to profane situations¹). (V) has 'revelare' both for ἀποκαλύπτειν and φανεροῦν: ...ut diabolus Dominus Iob revelavit dicens, 24 (38.14); ...anima habebit Dominum revelantem illi, 34 (47.21); ...hoc enim mihi oranti nunc revelatum est, 59 (66.29); ...non enim Antonii erat iudicium mortis sed Dei qui revelavit Antonio, 59 (60.6); ...hoc illi revelatum a Deo, 66 (71.19).

It will be noted how 'revelare', while originating in the sphere of biblical revelation, is beginning to be drawn within of the nascent mystic terminology.

'Revelare' in (E).

We have already drawn attention to the use of 'revelatio' in (E) as a rendering of θεωρία, ὁπτασία. We add that as in (V), 'revelare' is the translation of ἀποκαλύπτειν - φανεροῦν: ...diabolus qualem et beatus Iob Domino revelante cognoverat, ch. 24; ...hoc enim mihi nunc oranti revelatum est, ch. 59; ...qui et de sitiente revelare dignatus est, ch. 59; ...oranti ei a Domino revelabatur, ch. 66.

4. Φωνή in (A).

Several times a voice is spoken of, which addresses Anthony and reveals secrets. From ch. 10 it appears to be Christ's voice: ...ὁ δὲ Κύριος...καὶ φωνὴ γέγονε πρὸς αὐτόν, ch. 10. This manner of divine revelation is frequently met with in the Bible²). Ch. 49 suggests that it is quite habitual for Anthony to receive divine communications in this way³).

1) Cf. MATZKOW, *De vocabulis quibusdam Italae et Vulgatae*, 12ff.

2) Cf. Act. 9.4; 10.13; Mc. 9.7 etc.

3) Cf. cc. 60; 66; 82.

'Vox' in (V) and (E).

Et vox venit ad illum dicens, 10 (26.25)¹); (E): ...*et vox ad eum facta est dicens*.

Résumé.

From the data discussed so far we may draw up the following list:

(A)	(V)	(E)
ἔκστασις	<i>pavor</i>	
ἄρπάζεσθαι	<i>rapi</i>	<i>rapi</i>
ἀπενεοῦσθαι	<i>stupere</i>	<i>stupere</i>
θεωρία, ὁπτασία, concrete sense:		
vision, the thing seen.	<i>visio, visus, appa- rentia.</i>	<i>visio, revelatio.</i>
abstract sense:		
contemplation.	no equivalent	no equivalent
ἀποκαλύπτειν, φανεροῦν	<i>revelare</i>	<i>revelare</i>
φωνή	<i>vox</i>	<i>vox</i>

All the greek terms except θεωρία, are derived from the Bible. All the latin translations in (V) and (E) are taken from biblical translations. Θεωρία, borrowed from greek philosophy is taken by (V) and (E) only in its concrete sense: vision, the thing seen or revealed. They have no equivalent for θεωρία in its abstract sense of contemplation. This need cause no surprise since the East had reached a further stage in theological reflection than the West. Owing to greek philosophy the terminology there had reached a more elaborate stage than among the Latins, who confined themselves to using the traditional biblical terms.

MYSTIC PHENOMENA IN LATER WRITERS

1. 'Ecstasis', 'mentis excessus, alienatio', 'stupor', 'rapi'.

Jerome: ...*in eodem: ego autem dixi in excessu mentis meae, pro quo in latinis codicibus legebatur: in pavoro meo, et nos iuxta graecum transtulimus: ἐν τῇ ἐκστάσει μου, id est in*

1) Cf. 49 (58.27); 49 (59.6); 60 (67.14); 66 (72.3); 82 (83.22).

excessu mentis meae; aliter enim latinus sermo ἔκστασις exprimeret non potest nisi mentis excessum; aliter me in hebraico legisse noveram: in stupore et in admiratione mea, Epist. 106.18.2; ...pro ecstasi, id est, mentis excessu, in hebraeo habet thardema quod Aquila καταποθήν Symmachus vero χάρον, id est gravem et profundum soporem interpretati sunt, Quaest. hebr. in gen. p. 5.21; ...qui autem in ecstasi, id est invitatus loquitur..., In Hab. lib. 2 praef.; ...prophetæ in ecstasi sunt locuti. In Is. lib. 18 praef.

The 'ecstasis' or 'mentis excessus' of the above quotations refers each time to prophetic rapture. In the two passages where the Vulgate has 'ecstasis', it means fear, great astonishment: ...*in finem, psalmus David, pro ecstasi, Ps. 30.1; ...impleti sunt stupore et ecstasi, Act. 3.10*. When there is question of a true ecstasy the Vulgate has 'excessus mentis' or 'stupor mentis'¹⁾. 'Excessus mentis' is found a few times more in the Old Testament²⁾. 'Excedere mente' in 2 Cor. 5.13 is to be in ecstasy. In common usage especially in the post-classical period 'excessus' often means 'departing this life', 'death'.

'Stupor mentis' occurs in Act. 22.17, but is not met with elsewhere. An unqualified 'stupor' is of fairly frequent occurrence and expresses great astonishment. In classic Latin it means numbness, stupefaction, astonishment.

Cassian: 'Excessus', generally 'excessus mentis' or 'cordis' is his only designation for ecstasy: ...*itaque memini me in huiusmodi raptum frequenter excessum, ut obliviscerer me sarcina corporeae fragilitatis indutum, mentemque meam ita omnes exteriores sensus subito respuisse et a cunctis materialibus rebus omnimodis exulasse, ut neque oculi neque aures meae proprio fungerentur officio, et ita divinis meditationibus ac spiritualibus theoriis animus replebatur, ut saepe ad vesperam cibum me percepisse nescirem ac sequenti die de hesterna absolutione ieiunii penitus dubitarem, Coll. 19.4.1³⁾*. It is fairly generally agreed that the ecstatic prayer described by Cassian is not to be taken as a sort trance but rather as a state in which the mind is intensely concentrated on God,

1) Cf. Act. 10.10; 22.17.

2) Cf. Ps. 30.23; 67.28; 115.11.

3) Cf. Coll. 1.15.2; 2.10.1,2; 3.3.4; 3.7.3; 4.5; 6.10.2; 9.14; 9.31; 10.10.12; 10.11.6; 12.12.6; 19.5.2.

which state may continue for some time, but is mostly of short duration¹⁾).

Augustine. 'Ecstasis' occurs fairly often²⁾), and Augustine is well aware of its twofold meaning: ...*verbum ecstasis graecum, latine quantum datur intellegi verbo uno exponi potest, si dicatur excessus; excessus autem mentis proprie solet ecstasis dici. In excessu vero mentis duo intelleguntur: aut pavor, aut intentio ad superna ita ut quodam modo de memoria labantur inferna; in hac ecstasi fuerunt omnes sancti, quibus arcana Dei mundum istum excedentia revelata sunt. Ergo si hunc excessum mentis, id est hanc ecstasim, significat titulus psalmi huius, magna profecto et alta quaedam sperare debemus; si vero haec ecstasis pavor intellegendus est neque huic significationi verbi deerit huius psalmi contextus, In psalm. 30.2.3.* In his biblical commentaries Augustine takes account of the meaning *pavor*, but as a matter of fact he regularly uses 'ecstasis' in the sense of *excessus mentis*³⁾).

When he discusses the nature of ecstasy his illustrations are as a rule drawn from the classical examples in the Bible. But the fact that in a few instances he mentions a case of *ecstasis* in his immediate surroundings shows that he really takes the term as expressive of an ordinary mystic phenomenon: ...*in ecstasi autem unum audire potui, et eum rusticanum vix valentem quod sentiebat exprimere, qui et vigilare se sciret et videre quiddam non oculis corporis, Gen. ad litt. 12.2.4* (381).

In speaking of his own experiences he avoids 'ecstasis' as he does both 'contemplation' and 'visio': maybe from a motive of guarded modesty. The vision at Ostia clearly points to an ecstasy, but the word is not used: ...*et dum loquimur et inbiamus illi, attigimus eam modice toto ictu cordis; et suspiravimus et reliquimus ibi religatas primitias spiritus... et remeavimus ad strepitum oris nostri ubi verbum et incipitur et finitur, Conf. 9.10.24*⁴⁾).

1) Cf. CHADWICK, *o.c.* 142ff.; BUTLER, *Benedictine monachism*, 81.

2) Cf. BUTLER, *Western mysticism*, 50ff.; MOHRMANN, *Altchristliche Sonder-sprache*, (LCP III), 177ff.

3) Cf. *Gen. ad Litt.* 12.

4) Pronouncements on the Ostia-vision are widely divergent. A clear statement of the various interpretations is found in OLPHE-GALLIARD, *La contemplation augustinienne*, DSAM II, 1915ff. Following BUTLER, HENRI, BOYER and others the writer prefers a mystic interpretation. It would seem that no one has more clearly stated the real point at issue than MARROU: 'Le problème est d'abord d'ordre

In *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, written before the *Confessiones*, he records that ecstasy has also been expressed by 'stupor': ...*per demonstrationem in ecstasi, quod nonnulli Latini stuporem interpretantur; mirum si proprie, sed vicine tamen cum sit mentis alienatio a sensibus corporis, ut spiritus hominis divino Spiritu assumptus capiendis atque intuendis imaginibus vacet; sicut Danieli demonstratum est quod non intellegebat, Ibid. 2.1.1.* He mainly sticks to the term 'ecstasis' and explains it as *excessus* or *alienatio mentis*.

'Alienatio' or 'alienatio mentis' is the professional term for insanity, delirium.

'Rapi' remains in common use in later writers. It is also used to indicate the final parting of soul and body.

Jerome: ...*cum subito raptus in spiritu ad tribunal iudicis pertrahor, Epist. 22.30.3; ...et nos indignamur aliquem exire de corpore qui ad hoc forsitan raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum eius, Epist. 39.3.1.*

Augustine: ...*potest humana mens divinitus rapi; sic enim raptus est qui audit illic ineffabilia verba, Epist. 147.31; si continuetur hoc et subtrahantur aliae visiones longe imparis generis et haec una rapiat et absorbeat et recondat in interiora gaudia spectatorem suum, ut talis sit sempiterna vita, quale fuit hoc momentum intellegentiae cui suspiravimus: nonne hoc est: intra in gaudium Domini tui? Conf. 9.10.25.*

2. 'Visio', 'videre', 'contemplatio', 'theoria'.

Jerome. 'Visio' and 'videre' regularly occur in his biblical translations and commentaries¹). Both words remain wholly in the prophetic usage of the Bible. A couple of times 'visio' indicates not the thing seen, but the act of seeing: ...*in visione erudiens*

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proprement historique: il s'agit d'atteindre à une authentique et pleine compréhension de cette pensée singulière. On n'y parviendra pas si on se contente de confronter l'expérience augustinienne avec un tableau de catégories élaborées à partir d'une expérience toute différente. S. Augustin peut avoir été un authentique mystique, encore que son itinéraire intérieur soit très différent de celui que nous font connaître saint Jean de la Croix et sainte Thérèse d'Avila. .... Le dilemme quelquefois formulé entre méditation philosophique ou contemplation mystique est très probablement fallacieux: s'il y a une mystique augustinienne authentique, elle n'a pu être qu'une mystique de philosophe; son expérience dépasse et déborde l'apport de l'activité proprement philosophique, mais la suppose et l'assume', S. Augustin II, 645f. Cf. also MANDOUZE, L'extase d'Ostie. Augustinus magister I, 82f.

1) Cf. e.g. *Epist. 18 ad Damasum*.

fratres in monasterio de his quae eis eventura essent, Epist. Pach. 10 (99.4).

Cassian. 'Visio' is seldom used; it means either the apparition whether sent by God or dished up by the devil, or the contemplation of God in the world to come: ... *volens eum consuetudine visionum ad credulitatem futurae deceptionis illicere diabolus*, *Coll.* 2.8.2; ... *in visione Danielis prophetae*, *Coll.* 8.13.1; ... *moy-saicae visionis*, *Coll.* 12.11.5; ... *multumque distare inter illos qui misericordiam consequuntur et illos qui gloriosissima visione Dei perfrui merebuntur*, *Coll.* 11.12.2. 'Visio' has no connection whatever with the contemplative life of a monk.

Augustine. 'Visio' and 'videre' play an important part in his writings¹). He often treats of the *visiones* of the prophets and of the *visio Dei* hereafter. In the first case he takes 'visio' objectively, as the apparition, the thing seen; in the latter it is understood subjectively, the act of seeing, the contemplation. It is especially in *De Genesi ad litteram* 12 and in the *Epistula de videndo Deo* that he finds occasion to expatiate on *visio* in general and on *videre Deum* in particular. He is careful to distinguish *tria genera visionum*: ... *primum corporale quia per corpus percipitur et corporis sensibus exhibetur* ... *secundum spiritale: quidquid enim corpus non est et tamen aliquid est iam recte spiritus dicitur; et utique non est corpus, quamvis corpori similis sit, imago absentis corporis, nec ille ipse obtutus quo cernitur*, *Gen. ad litt.* 12.7.16 (388). This second *videre* therefore concerns the world of the imagination. ... *tertium vero intellectuale, ab intellectu; quia mentale, a mente, ipsa vocabuli novitate nimis absurdum est ut dicamus*, *Ibid.*; ... *intellectuale autem illud excellentius, quod mentis est proprium*, *Ibid.* 12.10.21 (392); ... *intellectualis autem visio non fallitur*, *Ibid.* 12.14.29 (398).

It is noteworthy that whenever there is question of seeing God during this life²) Augustine reserves the word 'visio' exclusively for the *visiones* narrated in the Bible. He does not deny that during this life God can be seen and known by man in a special way, but in speaking of this point he avoids the word 'visio' though he uses 'videre' as well as 'intellegere' and 'intellecta conspiciere': ... *vidi oculo animae meae supra mentem meam lucem incom-*

1) Cf. BUTLER, *Western mysticism*, 36ff.

2) Cf. BUTLER, *o.c.* 55ff.

mutabilem, Conf. 7.10.16¹); ...vidi nescio quid quod diu ferre non potui, Sermon. 52.16; ...et pervenit ad id quod est in ictu trepidantis aspectus. Tunc vero invisibilia tua, per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspexi sed aciem figere non evalui, Conf. 7.17.23; ...nusquam enim absens est qui caelum et terram implet, ubique totus est et nullo continetur loco. Hoc qui excedente mente intellegit videt Deum et cum absens putatur. Qui autem hoc non potest, oret et agat ut posse mereatur, Epist. 147.12.29. This last passage asserts very clearly that the sight of God is the fruit of the contemplative life: *oret et agat ut posse mereatur*. The ecstasy at Ostia he calls 'momentum intellegentiae': *...ut talis sit sempiterna vita quale fuit hoc momentum intellegentiae, Conf. 9.10.25²).*

The foregoing warrants the conclusion that Augustine stands by 'visio' in its traditional meanings: 'visio Dei in caelis', 'visio Moysis', 'visio Pauli' etc., but that he is hammering out a new terminology where he is concerned with the contemplative life, in which efforts the influence of both Neoplatonism and of the Bible³) can be traced.

In (V) and (E) 'visio' and 'revelatio' were used to translate *θεωρία* in its concrete sense. But as the characteristic features of the contemplative life became better known and appreciated in the West, the word 'contemplatio' came into vogue as a translation of *θεωρία* in its abstract sense. In classical Latin 'contemplatio' already has the meaning of attentive consideration whether with the eye or with the mind.

Jerome: *...ad scientiam et contemplationem quae ab illis appellatur θεωρία, In Eph. 4.4, p. 495.* This seems to be the only instance of 'contemplatio' being used in the above sense.

Cassian: *...videtis ergo principale bonum in theoria sola, id est in contemplatione divina Dominum posuisse; summum bonum non in actuali quamvis laudabili opere sed in sua contemplatione quae vere simplex et una est collocavit, Coll. 1.8.2, 3; ...duplex scientia: prima πραγματική, id est actualis, quae emendatione morum et vitiorum purgatione perficitur; alterna*

1) Cf. HENRY, *o.c.* 112ff.

2) Cf. MANDOUZE, *o.c.*

3) Cf. Rom. 1.20.

θεωρητική, quae in contemplatione rerum divinarum et sacratissimorum sensuum cognitione consistit, Coll. 14.1.3.

The usual way leading to this contemplation is a course of study and meditation of the Scriptures¹⁾: ... θεωρητική vero in duas dividitur partes, id est in historicam interpretationem et intellectionem spiritalem. Spiritalis autem scientiae genera sunt tria: tropologia, allegoria, anagoge, Coll. 14.8.1. This is little more than a scholastic outline of a method of biblical exegesis and it would not be fair to suppose that in Cassian's opinion this is the essence of contemplation. In the first place he says in so many words that it is no good to look for contemplation in this study unless one has first tried to obtain *puritas cordis*. Moreover the *illuminatio sancti Spiritus* is required: ... quapropter si vobis curae est ad spiritalis scientiae lumen non inanis iactantiae vitio sed emundationis gratia pervenire, illius primum beatitudinis cupiditate flammamini de qua dictum est: beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt, Coll. 14.9.1; ... aliud est facilitatem oris et nitorem habere sermonis et aliud venas ac medullas caelestium intrare dictorum ac profunda et abscondita sacramenta purissimo cordis oculo contemplari, quod nullatenus humana doctrina nec eruditio saecularis, sed sola puritas mentis per illuminationem sancti Spiritus possidebit, Coll. 14.9.7.

Contemplation therefore is conditioned by the *puritas cordis* and the mystic element is found in the *illuminatio sancti Spiritus*. Human endeavour in the study of Scripture is necessary, because grace does not as a rule presuppose human inertia and sloth, but the activity of the natural powers. Hence by 'contemplatio' he really means to signify mystic contemplation.

A remarkable trait in the development of mystic theology is that Cassian is the first to mention various degrees of contemplation according as the object of the contemplation is God in his creatures, God in the benefits accruing to man from the Incarnation and the Redemption or God in Himself²⁾. The highest degree of contemplation is the *oratio pura*³⁾, a permanent state of prayer, also called *oratio iugis*⁴⁾. Passing moments of high contemplation, such as

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1) Cf. CHADWICK, *o.c.* 151ff.

2) Cf. Coll. 1.15.

3) Cf. Coll. 9.

4) Cf. Coll. 10.8-10; 7.6.

are experienced even by less perfect ascetics, he calls *oratio ignita*¹⁾. He does not go into a detailed description of such states, but only mentions the methods by which one may arrive at the state of contemplation. He makes mention of the gift of tears as an attendant circumstance²⁾.

Augustine. Leaving out of account for the moment those passages in which Augustine speaks of the *contemplatio veritatis* by the philosophers³⁾, 'contemplatio' as a rule is the contemplation of God in the next life. This contemplation, however, can have some sort of beginning even in the present life; it is the highest perfection the soul can reach: ... *iamvero in ipsa visione atque contemplatione veritatis qui septimus atque ultimus animae gradus est, quae sint gaudia, quae perfructio summi et veri boni, cuius serenitatis atque aeternitatis afflatus, quid ego dicam? Dixerunt haec quantum dicenda esse iudicaverunt, magnae quaedam et incomparabiles animae, quas etiam vidisse ac videre ista credimus, Quant. anim. 33.76*. Elsewhere he speaks of an *inchoata contemplatio*⁴⁾.

He distinguishes two lives, *vita actuosa* and *vita otiosa* and a combination of the two, in which a man is: ... *nec sic otiosus ut utilitatem non cogitet proximi, nec sic actuosus ut contemplationem non requirat Dei, Civ. 19.19*⁵⁾.

Augustine never enters upon a full discussion of how a man who wants to be a contemplative is to set about it. He only speaks of *contemplatio in caelis*, he admits *contemplatio* in the lives of a few chosen souls and he extols *contemplatio* as the highest good, to which man can but slowly attain and by degrees⁶⁾. In *De quantitate animae* 33.79 he mentions seven steps: *vita*, *sensus*, *ars* which embrace the bodily and mental functions of the natural life; then follow *virtus*, the purging exercise of virtue; *tranquillitas*, the repose of the subdued passions; *ingressio* the state of the purified soul, which endeavours to penetrate into God's sanctuary; *contemplatio*, the 'abiding with God' in contemplation.

In connection with his own experiences he never mentions

1) Cf. *Coll.* 9.15; 9.26.

2) Cf. *Coll.* 9.27-30; HEUSSE, *o.c.* 190.

3) Cf. *Civ.* 8.4; 19.2; HENRY, *o.c.* 105f.

4) Cf. *Evang. Job.* 124.51.5.

5) Cf. BUTLER, *Western mysticism*, 157ff.

6) Cf. PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, DTC I, 2442.

'contemplatio'. Like Cassian he enumerates the various objects of contemplation by which the soul lifts itself up towards God. The famous Ostia-passage in the *Confessiones* ¹⁾ furnishes a clear instance of this spiritual uplifting.

Like Cassian Augustine knows of the gift of tears ²⁾.

3. 'Revelatio', 'vox'.

We shall not discuss 'revelatio' and 'vox' because of the very sparing use made of these words by later writers. This fact may be taken as an indication that the interest in the fringes of contemplation has waned. The stinted use of 'visio', vision, by Augustine and Cassian was a hint in the same direction.

Résumé.

When in fine the question is asked, what evidence is furnished by (V) and (E) for the existence of a latin mystic terminology, the following points may be stated:

'Rapi' in the sense of 'to be mentally transported' is known to (V) and (E). Derived from old latin translations of the Bible this word is kept alive as a technical term of mysticism by all subsequent writers.

'Stupere', likewise of biblical origin, is occasionally found in (V) and (E) and is mentioned by Augustine as an old translation of *ἐκστασις*, which has gone into disuse.

'Visio' in (V) has the objective meaning: apparition, the thing seen, the same therefore as it has in the biblical narratives of the prophetic visions. This sense is maintained in (E) and in later writers. The latter, however, begin to enlarge its content and to use it mostly in a subjective sense i.e. the act of seeing. (V) has not yet got a term to express this act. For this purpose Jerome and Augustine, but especially Cassian use 'contemplatio', now and then they employ the loan-word 'theoria'.

'Intellegere' plays an important part in (V) and (E) as the complement of 'videre'. There is a strong suggestion of a biblical connection, especially with the book Daniel. By Augustine 'intellegere' appears to have been used as a technical term for mystic knowing *par excellence*.

¹⁾ Cf. *Conf.* 9.24.

²⁾ Cf. BOYER, *Augustin*, DSAM I, 1123.

'Ecstasis' is entirely wanting in (V) and (E), and would seem to be deliberately avoided as a reaction against Montanism. In Augustine it is again of frequent occurrence, though it is rarely used to report mystic occurrences in his immediate surroundings. He never applies it to his own experiences any more than he does 'excessus' or 'alienatio mentis'.

Quite briefly the mystic terminology of (V) and (E) may be outlined as follows. It is wholly attuned to the Bible; it is quite primitive containing a number of terms that will gradually go into disuse ('stupere') or recede into the background ('visio', 'videre'), and others that will give proof of vitality by their staying power and growth ('rapi', 'intellegere').

The further development of the mystic terminology in later writers is especially associated with 'contemplatio' and synonymous expressions. As was noted above relevant data in the *Vita* are few and unsatisfactory. But while (A) by its use of *θεωγία*, contemplation, shows that a greek mystic terminology is being developed, which has already gone beyond the reach of the traditional biblical models, the complete absence of a latin equivalent for *θεωγία*, contemplation, in (V) and (E) clearly demonstrates that this advanced stage has not been reached by the West. Up to the middle of the fourth century latin christendom lacked men to lay the foundations of a speculative theology after the example of Clement and Origen.

When however the phrases and turns of expressions of Cassian and Augustine are compared with those of the *Vita* it appears not only that both of them have found the term 'contemplatio' for *θεωγία*, but that they furnish systematic accounts and detailed descriptions of the ways and degrees of contemplation, couched in terms of their own making such as *oratio ignita, pura, iugis, visio intellectualis*, etc.

As regards Cassian this need cause no surprise, since he carries on the alexandrian tradition of Origen and Evagrius¹). He is most admirable in setting forth methodically the way in which contemplation should be practised if one is to attain its highest regions. Benedict's ideas of the higher forms of prayer go back to the *Collationes* 9 and 10.

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1) Cf. OLPHE-GALLIARD, *Cassien*, DSAM II, 224.

In Augustine the West found the theological genius, which it lacked so long. Like the Alexandrians he is open to Neoplatonism, it moulds his philosophical thinking, but the content of his ideas is purely christian, drawn from the Scriptures. Strange that some have taken offence at his description of his going to God in terms which are reminiscent of Plotinus, and even have seen in them nothing but an imitation of the neoplatonic ecstasy¹). Surely it may be asked in what other way Augustine could have expressed himself steeped and schooled as he was in contemporary ways of thinking²). Though the theoretical element is duly given its share in his discussions on contemplation, it is his personal appeal and the warm tone of his mystic self-revelations that seize and hold the reader.

It would hardly be right to see in Augustine the great monk and the father of western monachism³). This honour had better be left undivided to Benedict, who carried forward and propagated in the West the true monastic tradition of Cassian⁴). Augustine, in the first place a bishop and *pastor animarum*, a shepherd of souls, at once deeper and more universal, should be considered to

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1) Thus e.g.: E. HENDRIKX, *Augustin's Verhaltnis zur Mystik*, Würzburg, 1936; F. CAVALLERA, *La contemplation d'Ostie*, RAM 20, 1939, 181ff.; M. DE LA TAILLE, *Théories mystiques*, RSR 18, 1928, 297ff.; H. HEIM, *Der Enthusiasmus in den Konfessionen des Hl. Augustinus*, Würzburg, 1941; K. RAHNER in: VILLER—RAHNER, o.c. VIII and 259ff. On the other hand: J. GUITTON, *Le temps et l'éternité chez Plotin et saint Augustin*, Paris, 1933; J. LEBRETON, *Sainte Monique et saint Augustin*, RSR 28, 1938, 457ff.; J. MARÉCHAL, *Etudes sur la psychologie des mystiques II*, Bruxelles, 1937, 145ff.; CH. BOYER, *Essais sur la doctrine de saint Augustin*, Paris, 1932, 272ff.; HENRY, o.c. 114; BUTLER, *Western mysticism*, 40ff.

2) Cf. MANDOUZE: 'n'est-ce pas la preuve évidente de deux faits qui viennent se renforcer: d'abord qu'Augustin transforme tout ce qu'il touche et s'assimile aussi bien Plotin que S. Paul ou que l'auteur des Psaumes; ensuite que le vocabulaire mystique, particulièrement celui de l'extase, est limé et qu'il présente des zones communes au christianisme et au paganisme, à la religion et à la philosophie..... En tout cas, on ne peut plus parler de mentalité plotinienne comme manifestation d'une certaine originalité augustinienne. Vulgarisé en Occident... le plotinisme est devenu une sorte de véhicule commun et de vocabulaire spécialisé au service de tous ceux qui sans plus avoir conscience de dépendre de Plotin, se mêlent d'exprimer des notions spirituelles..... Même dans les passages les plus mystiques, même dans ceux qui font irrésistiblement penser à sainte Thérèse d'Avila, Plotin n'a jamais un accent comparable à celui de saint Augustin', *L'extase d'Ostie. Augustinus magister* I, 82f.

3) Thus e.g. ZUMKELLER, *Das Monchtum des Hl. Augustinus*. Cf. MOHRMANN, VC 7, 1953, 126f.

4) Cf. VILLER—RAHNER: 'Der wirkliche Gesetzgeber des abendlandischen Monchtums, dessen Einfluss allmählich den aller andern verdrängte... ist Benedikt von Nursia. Auch heute noch, wo sich die Formen des Ordenslebens so vervielfältigt haben, bleibt er in Wahrheit der Vater der Monche', o.c. 210.

be the father of a western spirituality, a western mysticism of a catholic christian type, or, if a special label is wanted, of an ecclesiastical or clerical type, not specifically monastic¹⁾.

The contrast between the purely monastic tendency of Cassian's spirituality and the more catholic one of Augustine ultimately is due to this that the monastic tradition draws the mind's eye to a given method, which is fully and almost exclusively described. It clearly concerns a school, a tradition settled but in a state of living development.

Of Augustine it may be said that he became a monk when later generations began to see him as such, and make him their model. To his own time he is the great church-father, bishop and mystic, the seer and the universal genius of latin christendom.

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1) Cf. BUTLER, *Benedictine monachism*, 17; v. D. MEER, *Augustinus de zielzorger*, 179.

CHAPTER VI

MONASTIC LATIN AND PRIMITIVE WESTERN MONASTICISM

The preceding chapters have shown monastic Latin to be a special language¹⁾, which differs from general speech and from common christian Latin at least in its vocabulary. This will now be made the subject of some further discussion.

Special languages develop within the framework of a living language²⁾. Thus early-christian Latin originated within common Latin. On the basis of MEILLET's pronouncement that *le langage est éminemment un fait social*³⁾ every special language and therefore also monastic Latin, demands a social unity together with a corresponding linguistic unity and the reverse. The unifying factor of monastic Latin is ultimately the fact of the monastic life by which the speakers are united into one social group. Now just as this monastic group, placing its ideal in a perfect fulfilment of all the implications of a christian life⁴⁾, constitutes part of the christian community, in a similar way monastic Latin constitutes part of early-christian Latin. Thus came into being monastic Latin within early-christian Latin on the common nursery ground of general Latin.

The primary constituents of a special language are the *termes techniques* and these elements owe their origin to the appearance of new things in the widest sense of the word: concrete objects and institutions as well as ideas, theories etc. For early-christian Latin the need of technical terms was due to the spread of christian

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1) Cf. VENDRYES: 'On entend par langue spéciale une langue qui n'est employée que par des groupes d'individus placés dans des circonstances spéciales'. *Le langage*, 293.

2) Cf. VENDRYES, *o.c.* 294.

3) Cf. MEILLET, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* I. 16ff.; LEWIS, *Language in society*, 71ff.

4) Cf. CHADWICK, *o.c.* 15; HEUSSI, *o.c.* 280ff.; LECLERCQ, *Cénobitisme*, DACL II, 3047ff.

doctrine into the West; for monastic Latin it was owing to the coming there of monasticism. As is mostly the case in early-christian Latin, monastic loan-words are concerned with concrete things: *monachus*, *monasterium*. Our inquiry did not bring to light any latin neologisms, which however does not prove that there have not been any.

Semantic 'monachisms' have appeared in rather large numbers. Richly varied as they are, they clearly show of what great importance monachism from the very beginning has been for the christian community. For, in the first place, the rather small group of terms which we have so far discussed contains expressions that tend to prove that monachism manifested itself as a reinvigoration of christian life. Terms expressive of *pur sang* christianity had gradually lost much of their original force; as what they stood for no longer stirred the christian of the time following upon the reconciliation of Church and State, they wore off into little more than trite and empty formulae. Now monachism infuses new life into them. The monks addressed each other as *frater*, as the early christians had done; they left the *mundus*, *saeculum*; their manner of life is *religio*; they are called *sancti*, *servi Dei*, *milites Christi*, and without a *conversio* no one may join them.

Next monachism manifests itself as an enrichment of christian life. Thus we notice that through its stimulating influence a group of terms asserts itself as now indispensable for the technical terminology of the spiritual life, which indeed had always been part of the vocabulary of latin christianity — they occur in the bible-translations —, but were nevertheless practically non-existent in early-christian Latin except as a biblical reminiscence. We mainly refer to expressions directly connected with mystical contemplation, as *rapi*, *stupere*, *visio*. This points to monachism trying to penetrate christian revelation to its depths. We also come across words which are loan-words from the bible-translations, were introduced into the language of the early christians, but which not until now are used in the typical sense bestowed upon them by, and ever reminiscent of, monachism: *acedia*, *eremus*.

Finally, monachism has freely drawn upon the general language, endowing several words with a specific monastic-christian meaning: *cella*, *desertum*, *secedere*, *solitudo*; *instantia*, *institutum*, *labor*, *propositum*; *perturbatio*, *stabilitas*, *tranquillitas*; *alienatio*, *contemplatio*,

excessus. This group is by far the most numerous, the reason being that these terms the more readily assumed a new monastic-christian meaning as they did not yet possess a technical meaning in christian usage, this in contrast to the terms mentioned in the other groups.

Thus by this small vocabulary monachism is shown to stand for a reinvigoration and enrichment of christian life and christian culture ¹⁾).

It would be a rash conjecture to suppose that in the course of its development monastic Latin remained restricted to the vocabulary and left other parts of speech untouched. A thorough examination of Cassian's Latin might be a useful and profitable starting-point for the study of this further development. The present writer's task has only been to throw some light on the very first phase of monastic Latin as it appears in the *Vita Antonii*.

If facts of a social order may lead to the rise of a special language, the order may perhaps also be inversed and the data of a given special language may be of help to obtain a deeper insight into the social structures of the group to which it owes its rise.

In the several chapters the linguistic data furnished an occasion here and there to have let us discuss some details of western monasticism. We may now be allowed to indicate in what way the main features by which that monasticism is characterized manifest themselves in the linguistic data. Western monasticism differs from that of the East in this, that from the very beginning it is far less interested in what is personal, individual and subjective, and emphasizes what is social and objective. In the West there were indeed those who practised the life of a hermit, but they were far fewer than in the East, and wherever this kind of life was taken up it gradually got reformed into some sort of 'common life'. As regards the ascetic discipline of the monks objective patterns are devised, fixed rules and practices as guides and safeguards for every member of the community. Austere ascetic practices pushed to their extremes by individuals are not prized, nor is the establishing of records in fasting and all sorts of austerities, as happened to be the case all over the East, especially in Egypt.

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1) This does not clash with the fact that even christians frequently anything but welcomed monasticism in its initial stages: it spelled too clear a criticism of the way in which many of them behaved. Cf. LABRIOLLE, *Débuts* (HEFM III), 355ff.

The question now presents itself whether the ways in which (V) and (E) render the greek text of *Vita Antonii* bear out, however slightly, these differences between East and West; do (V) and (E) show forth the more social character of western monasticism, do they thus point to a greater estimation of the objective pattern and rule? To both questions the answer is yes.

As regards the social character, this is proved by the fact that in (E) 'monachus' has already assumed a more general sense of an ascetic, whereas 'monachus' in (V) and *μοναχός* in (A) very emphatically stand for a hermit. Besides, (E) uses 'frater' more frequently, especially where (A) writes *μοναχός*. (V) follows (A) in this point; indeed, but it should be remembered that, first (V) is older than (E) and, second, its method of translation does not make deviations from (A) in the matter of simple words like *μοναχός* and *ἀδελφός* very likely.

Both (V) and (E), especially the latter, leave no doubt as regards their estimation of an objective pattern of monastic life. Both diligently endeavour to find a suitable latin equivalent for the abstract *ἀσκησις* connoting a subjective attitude, but they cannot help a few times having recourse to terms which mean a fixed way of life and objective rule of behaviour: 'institutum' (E), 'propositum' (V), (E). The way in which both employ the word 'religio' already suggests that one day it too will mean: an ascetical state of life.

The terminology used by later writers makes it clear that in its further development western monasticism took this direction. Its social character comes ever more markedly to the fore. The words 'monachus' and 'monasterium', originally meaning hermit and hermitage, get in the course of less than fifty years so closely joined with cenobitism that then they only stand for monk and monastery. In a similar way there is no serious endeavour of rendering accurately *ἀσκησις* as a subjective striving after perfection; but increasingly attention is paid to the *institutum*, and *propositum*, the objective ascetical rule, a chosen ascetical way of life, and *religio*, the ascetical state of life.

Cassian and Augustine are the representatives of the two different aspects of primitive western monasticism and as such they demand our attention. Cassian carried forward in Gaul that old monastic tradition which is characterized by the monk wishing to

establish a christian community after the pattern of the Jerusalem community of apostolic times.

The reconciliation in the fourth century of Church and State brought rest and relief after the cruel persecution, contempt and disparagement of previous years. The Church now occupied its own place in the world, but at the same time the spirit of the world began to infiltrate and infect a considerable portion of the growing christian community. Being a christian now no longer entailed degradation as a citizen. Less courage was now required, and there was less urgency to be prepared to face the worst. Hence it was that slackness crept in, and fervent christians sadly turned their thoughts to those hard times when the confessors were fewer in number but their confession so much more vigorous. Rising monasticism had thus found its favourable climate. The ideal was the full restoration of a truly christian community after the example of that in Jerusalem, as depicted in the Acts. It should be added that a certain intellectual confusion which was the offshoot of the struggle for orthodoxy, also led to christians withdrawing from the world in which the salt of the gospel tended to lose its savour.

Cassian founded his monasteries at Marseilles, and wrote the *Instituta* and *Collationes* at a time when roman society threatened to collapse under the weight of the advancing Goths and Huns. As life in the world grew gloomier, the greater attraction was exercised by the monastic ideal of a christian community¹⁾. These worries of daily life are reflected in the laboured artificiality of Cassian's writings: he holds on like grim death to the ideals of a rhetoric that has had its days. Benedict in his turn continued where Cassian left off²⁾. From the earliest Middle Ages his monasteries were the centres giving guidance in building the christian society of western Europe according to the pattern of those cells of truly christian community life that the monasteries themselves strove to be. To Cassian cenobitism is still in a sense a preparatory school for the eremitic life. Benedict however has done with this life, as he has also done with all rhetoric³⁾, being in both respects the very antipode of Cassian.

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1) Cf. CHADWICK, *o.c.* 41ff.

2) Cf. CHADWICK, *o.c.* 174ff.; LECLERCQ, *o.c.* DACL II, 3240.

3) Cf. MOHRMANN, *La langue de S. Benoît; La latinité de S. Benoît*. RB 62, 108ff.

These considerations show that the earliest form of monasticism was a thing of and for lay-folk, and that the priest only played the indispensable part which is inseparably joined up with his being an ordained minister. He is the member of the community who fulfills the sacerdotal office, but his ordination does not confer upon him special power, position or esteem within the community.

The way in which the monastic ideal took shape under Augustine's influence shows a quite different process. It never was his intention to start a new form of monachism¹⁾. But his strong personality could not fail to impress its own stamp upon the monastic milieu of which he was the soul and inspiration; hence his monks to a marked degree underwent the influence of those circumstances of time and place in which Augustine found himself placed. The development of his conception of monasticism shows three stages. The character of a community of picked men is already discernible in the days preceding his conversion, when with his friends he tries to establish a community whose members, leaving the world and all worldly cares, wish to devote themselves entirely to philosophical reflection²⁾. This ideal is only capable of complete realisation after his conversion in the period of Cassiciacum and the three years following his return to Africa. But by now the desire for the undisturbed study of philosophy becomes absorbed in a really christian ideal: the perfect service of God³⁾. Finally, Augustine's monastic community receives a third characteristic trait from his own life as a priest and a bishop. The select group which at first was one of philosophers and became one of religious, now grows into an association of clerics. Hence that many priests and bishops of the Church in Africa were nurtured in this augustinian community⁴⁾. So in contrast with the monachism of Cassian, that of Augustine presupposes the presence of well educated and cultured men, and is only meant for a spiritual élite.

The word 'religio' bears clear testimony to the difference of conception underlying the two forms of monasticism. For Cassian *religio* is the religious state, the community in which God is deserved, this in opposition to the world in which man is not or

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1) Cf. LECLERCQ, *o.c.* DACL II, 3226; v. D. MEER, *o.c.* 179ff.; LABRIOLLE, *o.c.* 353ff.; PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, DTC I, 2275f.

2) Cf. *Conf.* 6.14.24.

3) Cf. *Vita Aug. auct. Poss.* 2, ML 32. 35.

4) Cf. *Vita Aug. auct. Poss.* 11, ML 32. 42.

too little, concerned about the things that are God's. With Augustine on the other hand *religio* is religion. His monks do indeed zealously observe all the obligations of the *religio*, but they remain aware of the fact that they are never more than a group within the greater community of all the faithful ¹⁾. Bearing this difference of conception in mind, one should be careful to give terms like 'sancti', 'servi Dei', 'milites Christi' that specific shade of meaning in accordance with their being used by either Augustine or Cassian.

In Africa augustinian monasticism succeeded in holding its own till the day that the total collapse of roman civilization took away its basis of existence. It was not until the Middle Ages were about to flower forth in a new culture that it presented itself again to men's minds. Thus we see from the tenth and eleventh centuries onwards a reawakening of interest in augustinian monasticism; but the society in which this interest took root and grew, ultimately owed its being to the blessing of a fruitful lay-monasticism. So in a certain way augustinian monasticism rests upon lay-monasticism, but inversely it exercised a living influence upon the latter: this much is clear from the fact that gradually the priest as a man of learning and culture takes a more important place in lay-monasticism. Our own days are marked by a renewed interest in the older monastic orders; one cannot be far wrong if this is taken to be a sign of an uneasy christendom being anxious to improve and restore human society in a truly christian spirit.

The contrast between Augustine and Cassian should not blind us to the fact that they are fully agreed in attaching the greatest importance to the social character of monastic life and in holding asceticism to be subject to observation of a rule. From the monk's point of view this implies that obedience moulds his ascetic life. In this way the idea of monastic life has fully developed and is ripe to be put into practice.

The utmost austerity of life of the fathers in the desert, coupled with almost unlimited personal liberty, has lead to excessive behaviour in many respects. The practice of virtue and mortification easily lost its spiritual character, and thus degenerated into a self-training of a merely materialistic nature, which moreover often proved to be both unnatural and inhuman, especially in matters

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1) Cf. *c. Faust.* 5. 9.

of chastity. The numerous stories about diabolical intervention point to the human mind being over-strained and becoming hysterical because of the lack of wise guidance¹⁾.

By stressing obedience in the observance of the common life and the common rule extravagancies have no chance to develop in western monasticism, and in this way the monk's sacrifice becomes more complete, more human too, and it gains in sense and significance: for now he makes a sacrifice of his most precious possession, his own liberty.

*Obsculata, o fili, praecepta magistri
et inclina aurem cordis tui,
et admonitionem pii patris libenter excipe
et efficaciter comple;
ut ad eum per oboedientiae laborem redeas,
a quo per inoboedientiae desidiā recesseras.
Reg. Ben. Prol.*

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1) Cf. *Vita Antonii*, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 22—43, 51—53.

SAMENVATTING

Toen Athanasius, omstreeks het jaar 357 uit Alexandrië verdreven, een schuilplaats gevonden had bij de monniken van Pachomius in de Thebais, schreef hij aldaar het levensverhaal van Antonius de kluizenaar. De latijnse christenheid leerde dit leven kennen vooral uit de vertaling van Evagrius van Antiochië, welke tot op onze dagen belangstellende lezers vond. Uiterlijk vóór het jaar 374 moet Evagrius' vertaling ontstaan zijn, maar zeer waarschijnlijk had een ons onbekende auteur reeds eerder een vertaling gemaakt, welke echter in vergetelheid geraakte tengevolge van de populariteit, waarin Evagrius' werk zich mocht verheugen. Eerst in 1914 werd deze tekst weer ontdekt in het archief van het kapittel van Sint Pieter in een MS uit de 10e of 11e eeuw, dat de aandacht getrokken had van Dom A. WILMART. In 1939 werd deze tekst, van een critisch apparaat voorzien, uitgegeven door GÉRARD GARITTE.

Onderlinge vergelijking van de griekse tekst van Athanasius, (A), de vertaling van Evagrius, (E), en de anonyme vertaling van de *Vita*, (V), leert ons dat, hoewel (E) en (V) beiden betrekkelijk dicht bij (A) staan, (V) het toch veruit wint van (E) door zijn op de voet volgen van het origineel. Met recht schreef GARITTE dan ook boven zijn tekstcritische editie van (V): *Un témoin important du texte de la vie de saint Antoine par saint Athanase*, daar hij (V) beschouwt als een uiterst belangrijke bron voor onze kennis van de grondtekst (A).

Evenwel niet slechts als getuige van (A) neemt (V) een plaats van betekenis in. Vanwege het geheel eigen karakter van zijn taal is (V) tevens een getuige van de ontwikkeling van het oud-christelijk Latijn in het midden van de 4e eeuw. Helaas is dit aan GARITTE voor een groot deel ontgaan en heeft hij volgens de beginselen van een verouderd, humanistisch classicisme in de overgeleverde tekst van het MS een aantal veranderingen aangebracht, welke men moeilijk als verbeteringen kan aanvaarden.

Het onderwerp van deze studie is echter niet het oud-christelijk

Latijn van (V) in het algemeen, maar de latijnse monastieke terminologie, de monastieke groeptaal, zoals deze zich nog in haar eerste ontwikkelingsfase in (V) manifesteert. Het monastieke karakter van (V) is reeds bij oppervlakkige lezing duidelijk. Om dit karakter nauwkeuriger te kunnen bepalen, gingen wij als volgt te werk. Uit de vele termen, die voor onderzoek in aanmerking kwamen werd een keuze gemaakt, waarbij wij eerst onze aandacht gaven aan de benamingen voor concrete zaken: de *monnik*, zijn *verblijfplaats*, om vervolgens te komen tot de uitdrukkingen voor abstracte begrippen: *ascese*, *volmaaktheid*, *mystieke beschouwing*.

Nadat het te onderzoeken materiaal aldus enigszins was bepaald en geordend, trachtten wij van elke term of complex van termen in de griekse tekst (A) de juiste betekenis en monastieke waarde te bepalen, waarbij wij ons rekenschap gaven van de eventuele, algemeen culturele of specifiek christelijke voorgeschiedenis van de betreffende term in de griekse wereld. Met betrekking tot de latijnse equivalenten in (V) en (E) gingen wij op gelijke wijze na, in hoeverre wij te maken hadden met monastieke termen en in hoeverre deze reeds, hetzij in het algemene, hetzij in het specifiek christelijke taalgebruik een plaats innamen.

Tenslotte was het, om de levensvatbaarheid van de verschillende termen te bepalen, nodig hun verdere ontwikkeling na te gaan aan de hand van de geschriften van latere schrijvers over monastieke onderwerpen. Het spreekt vanzelf, dat het niet in onze bedoeling lag, waar het dit laatste betrof, naar volledigheid te streven: onze taak bestond immers slechts in het onderzoek van de monastieke terminologie van de latijnse vertalingen van de *Vita Antonii*. Zo beperkten wij ons dus in hoofdzaak tot Hieronymus, de *Peregrinatio Egeriae*, Cassianus en Augustinus, terwijl wij om onze blik op het westerse 'monachisme' nog enigszins te verruimen, in enkele gevallen ook de *Regula* van Benedictus in onze beschouwingen betrokken.

Het onderzoek naar de termen betreffende de *monnik* en diens *verblijfplaats* bracht het volgende aan het licht. *Μοναχός* in (A) en 'monachus' in (V), in de *Peregrinatio Egeriae* en in de geschriften van Hieronymus tot ongeveer het jaar 380 betekenen: *eremiet*, *kluizenaar*. In (E) schijnt 'monachus' reeds enige malen meer in het algemeen *monnik* of *asceet* te betekenen. Duidelijker is dit het

geval in de latere geschriften van Hieronymus. Bij Cassianus en Augustinus is het de enige betekenis.

'Ἀδελφός in (A) en 'frater' in (V) en (E) zijn synoniem met μοναχός, 'monachus', met uitzondering nochtans van een enkele passage waar zij *christen* betekenen. In de brieven van Hieronymus, in de *Peregrinatio* en bij Cassianus betekent 'frater' uitsluitend *eremiet* of *monnik*; bij Augustinus wordt het woord in beide betekenissen aangetroffen. Het gebruik van 'frater' in de zin van *eremiet* of *monnik* is een van de gegevens, die er op wijzen, dat de monniken er op uit waren de traditie van de eerste christenen in hun milieu's te doen herleven.

Μοναστήριον in (A) betekent *monnikskluis* evenals 'monasterium' in (E). In (V) wordt dit woord niet gevonden, maar op verschillende wijzen omschreven: 'singularem vitam habentium mansio', 'singularis mansio' etc. Bij Hieronymus betekent 'monasterium' aanvankelijk uitsluitend *kluis*, later echter *klooster*; in de *Peregrinatio* is het meestal *kluis*; bij Cassianus, Augustinus en Benedictus uitsluitend *klooster*. 'Cella', in (V) slechts eenmaal te vinden, wordt evenals 'cellula' bij de latere schrijvers vaak aangetroffen om het verblijf van een enkele monnik of althans van een beperkt aantal monniken aan te duiden.

Ἔρημος in (A), 'desertum' in (V) en 'eremus' en 'solitudo' in (E) vertonen duidelijk monastieke kleur. De latere schrijvers gebruiken alle drie deze woorden in monastieke zin, ofschoon met een zekere voorkeur voor 'eremus' en 'solitudo', een spraakgebruik, dat zich in de romaanse talen heeft voortgezet.

Aan het einde van deze beschouwing over de *monnik* en zijn *verblijfplaats* merken wij nog op, dat 'pater noster' een veel gebruikte term is om de stichter van een bepaalde monastieke richting aan te duiden; 'patres nostri' worden soms de eerste volgelingen genoemd. 'Secedere', *zich in afzondering terugtrekken*, schijnt naarmate het westers monnikenwezen zich in zijn verdere ontwikkeling meer en meer van het kluizenaarsleven afwendde, aan betekenis te hebben ingeboet. 'Mundus' en 'saeculum', die aanvankelijk slechts de *wereld der heidenen* stelden tegenover de *gemeenschap der christenen* worden thans in monastieke kring gezien als de *wereld, welke de monnik verlaten heeft*. Ook in het gebruik van deze beide woorden ziet men het streven van het 'monachisme', om de oud-christelijke traditie opnieuw te beleven, tot uiting komen.

De christelijke *ascese*, zoals deze in (A) beschreven wordt, vertoont drie aspecten: de beoefening van deugd en versterving, de voortdurende inspanning en het op God gericht zijn. In (A) blijkt duidelijk een zekere onvoldaanheid van de auteur met de term *ἄσκησις* en steeds is hij er op bedacht het christelijk karakter, waardoor de *ἄσκησις* der monniken zich onderscheidt van die der heidense asceten, naar voren te brengen. Opmerkelijk is de moeite, welke de vertalers zich getroosten, om voor het griekse *ἄσκησις*, in christelijke zin verstaan, een geschikt latijns equivalent te vinden. (V) bedient zich bijna uitsluitend van omschrijvingen met behulp van 'studium': 'studium virtutum, sustinentiae, laboris', maar vooral: 'studium deificum' en 'studium religionis'. Slechts eenmaal gebruikt hij 'abstinentia', waar uit de griekse tekst duidelijk blijkt, dat met *ἄσκησις* ditmaal slechts het speciale aspect van de lichamelijke versterving door vasten is bedoeld. In (E) treffen wij een groot aantal termen, die in hun bonte verscheidenheid elk een bepaald aspect van de *ἄσκησις* beklemtonen: 'via ad virtutem', 'sanctitas', 'merita', 'abstinens', 'ieiunia vigiliaeque', 'rigor', 'instantia', 'labor', 'studium servitutis in Dei opere', 'studium religiosum', 'propositum', 'institutum', 'conversatio'. Bij nader onderzoek blijkt, dat enige van genoemde termen ook reeds in (V) gebruikt werden, wel niet als rechtstreekse vertalingen van *ἄσκησις* en zijn afleidingen, maar toch met onmiskenbaar monastieke gevoelswaarde: 'conversatio', 'instantia', 'propositum', 'sanctus', 'servus Dei'.

De meeste van deze termen worden ook bij de latere schrijvers aangetroffen. Meer in het bijzonder trekken de aandacht die, welke de *naar ascetische beginselen geordende levenswijze* of de *ascetische leefregel* betekenen: 'institutum', 'propositum', 'religio'. In het veelvuldig voorkomen van deze woorden komt duidelijk tot uitdrukking, dat men in het Westen meer aandacht heeft voor de objectieve normen, volgens welke het ascetisch leven dient te worden geleid, dan voor de individuele ascetische inspanning.

De idee om het leven der monniken te zien als een *martyrium* was zeker aanvankelijk zeer levendig, getuige ook de *Vita Antonii*; al spoedig echter geraakte deze gedachte op de achtergrond. Daarentegen blijft men de levensstaat der monniken zien als de *militia Christi* bij uitstek.

Om de hoogste, door *ἄσκησις* bereikbare, graad van *volmaaktheid*

uit te drukken gebruikt (A) de aan de filosofie van Stoicijnen en Neoplatonici ontleende termen: καθαρότης, κατὰ φύσιν εἰσιὼς en κατὰστασις, welke in (V) worden weergegeven door 'puritas' en 'stabilitas', in (E) door 'puritas', 'integritas' en 'securitas'. De termen κατὰστασις, 'stabilitas' en 'securitas' vinden bovendien een speciale toepassing waar het gaat over de *onderscheiding der geesten*, in zover zij gebruikt worden om de ideale gesteldheid der ziel tegenover de werking der geesten te beschrijven. De latere schrijvers gebruiken in dit verband meestal 'tranquillitas', terwijl zij voor de volmaaktheid in het algemeen de voorkeur geven aan 'stabilitas' en 'puritas'. Bij Cassianus echter worden 'tranquillitas', 'stabilitas' en 'puritas' op gelijke wijze gebruikt als equivalenten van de, door Evagrius Ponticus zozeer aangeprezen, ἀπάθεια.

Bij Benedictus wordt 'puritas' vooral gebruikt in verband met het *gebedsleven*, terwijl 'stabilitas' een heel bijzondere toepassing vindt vanwege het *votum stabilitatis*.

De terminologie van de mystieke verschijnselen is in de *Vita Antonii* nog geheel traditioneel bijbels met uitzondering slechts van het gebruik, dat (A) maakt van θεωρία, de *beschouwing*, in abstracte zin, waar de invloed van het Neoplatonisme merkbaar is. (V) noch (E) doen een poging dit in het Latijn weer te geven. De verklaring hiervoor moet ongetwijfeld gezocht worden in het feit, dat men in het Westen nog niet gekomen is tot een systematische reflectie op de problemen van het hoger gebedsleven. Eerst bij de latere schrijvers treffen wij het woord 'contemplatio' aan als equivalent van θεωρία. Blijkbaar nog als gevolg van de reactie tegen het pseudoprofetisme van het Montanisme wordt ἔκστασις, 'ecstasis', in de zin van *extase* in de *Vita Antonii* gemeden. Van de latere schrijvers gebruikt vooral Augustinus dit woord; de anderen geven meestal de voorkeur aan 'excessus mentis', 'alienatio mentis', welke uitdrukkingen eveneens bij Augustinus worden gevonden.

Uit het voorafgaande blijkt het bestaan van een latijnse monastieke terminologie, een monastieke groeptaal, welke zich binnen het kader van het oud-christelijk Latijn ontwikkelde. Onder de technische termen van het vocabulaire tellen wij enige leenwoorden uit het Grieks, die, zoals met leenwoorden meestal het geval is, betrekking hebben op concrete zaken: *monachus*, *monasterium*.

Bijzonder groot echter is het aantal semantische 'monachismen' en vooral deze tonen ons in al hun verscheidenheid, hoezeer het monnikenwezen een vernieuwing en verrijking van het christelijk leven en denken betekende.

Oude afgesloten 'christianismen' krijgen als monastieke termen weer nieuwe kleur en kracht van betekenis: *frater, mundus, saeculum, religio, sancti, servi Dei, milites Christi, conversio*. Woorden, die tot nu toe slechts gebruikt werden in de bijbelse sfeer, verwerven zich thans een speciale plaats als technische termen van het geestelijk leven: *visio, stupere, rapi*. Zeer veel termen uit het algemene spraakgebruik verkrijgen, dank zij het monnikenwezen, een speciale betekenis in het specifiek christelijke, monastieke spraakgebruik: *cella, desertum, solitudo, secedere, institutum, propositum, stabilitas, tranquillitas, perturbatio, contemplatio, excessus, alienatio* etc.

Het feit, dat wij ons alleen met de monastieke woordenschat bezig houden, wil geenszins beduiden, dat het monastiek Latijn beperkt is tot het vocabulaire en niet op de duur ook op andere gebieden van de taal heeft doorgewerkt. Onze taak was het echter, slechts het eerste begin van een monastieke groeptaal in de woordenschat van de *Vita Antonii* te bestuderen.

Daar het monastiek Latijn ontstaan is tengevolge van de verbreiding van het monnikenwezen in het Westen, is het wel zeer waarschijnlijk, om niet te zeggen noodzakelijk, dat het monastiek Latijn ons een beeld geeft van de wezenstrekken van het westers 'monachisme'.

In tegenstelling tot het oosters monnikenwezen geeft het westerse de voorkeur aan wat sociaal en objectief is boven het individuele en subjectieve. Vandaar de voorkeur voor het gemeenschapsleven met vaste regels boven het aan vrije, individuele ascetische inspanning overgelaten kluizenaarsleven. Dit is reeds merkbaar in de latijnse vertalingen van de *Vita*. Wij herinneren er aan, dat 'monachus' in (E) reeds enige malen *monnik* of *asceet* in het algemeen betekent, dus niet meer uitsluitend *eremiet*. Ook wordt in (E) 'frater' zeer vaak gebruikt, en verschillende malen juist daar, waar (A) *μοναχός* schrijft. (V) houdt zich wat 'monachus' en 'frater' betreft stipt aan de griekse tekst, hetgeen evenwel niet uitsluitend mag worden toegeschreven aan het feit dat (V) van oudere datum is dan (E) en bijgevolg een oudere ontwikkelings-

phase in het Westen vertegenwoordigt. Ook de bijna scrupuleus nauwgezette vertaalmethode van (V) moet hiervoor aansprakelijk worden gesteld.

Vervolgens wordt *ἀσκησις* in (E) reeds enige malen vertaald door 'institutum', 'propositum', de *objectief vastgestelde levensregel*, de *voorgenomen levenswijze*. Ook in (V) wordt 'propositum' in deze betekenis gebruikt aangetroffen, zij het niet als rechtstreekse vertaling van *ἀσκησις*.

Bij de latere schrijvers gaat deze ontwikkeling verder. 'Monachus' en 'monasterium' betekenen al spoedig uitsluitend *monnik* en *klooster*. Men bekommert er zich steeds minder om, een zuiver equivalent te vinden voor het abstracte en subjectieve *ἀσκησις*, maar spreekt daartentegen zeer vaak van 'institutum', 'propositum', 'religio': de *ascetische levensregel, levenswijze, levensstaat*.

In het oude westerse 'monachisme' zijn twee grote richtingen te onderscheiden, welke zich ook in de taal weerspiegelen: die van Cassianus en die van Augustinus. Cassianus werd in Gallië de voortzetter van de oude monastieke traditie, waarin het streven der monniken, om een christelijke gemeenschap te vormen het sterkst tot uiting komt. Na hem geeft Benedictus aan dit ideaal vorm in zijn *Regula*. Voor beiden is het monnikenleven een aangelegenheid voor leken, waarin de priester slechts de nu eenmaal onontbeerlijke rol speelt, waartoe hij door zijn wijding is afgezonderd: de monnik, die het priesterambt in de monastieke gemeenschap vervult, zonder dat hem evenwel macht of aanzien hierdoor in het klooster ten deel valt. Beschouwt Cassianus het gemeenschapsleven nog altijd enigszins als een leerschool voor het kluizenaarsleven, Benedictus heeft met dit laatste volkomen afgerekend, terwijl ook het populaire karakter van de taal van zijn *Regula*, dat sterk afsteekt tegen de kunstmatige rhetoriek van Cassianus' geschriften, hem typeert als de man, die zijn tijd begrepen en aanvaard heeft.

Op geheel andere wijze kreeg het monastieke ideaal vorm bij Augustinus. Het élite-karakter van de augustijnse gemeenschap openbaart zich reeds in de tijd voor zijn bekering, wanneer hij met zijn vrienden de mogelijkheid overweegt van een gemeenschapsleven, waarin zij zich volkomen zullen kunnen wijden aan de beoefening van de wijsbegeerte. De verwezenlijking van dit ideaal is echter eerst mogelijk na zijn bekering gedurende de periode van Cassiciacum en de eerste drie jaren na de terugkeer in Afrika,

terwijl het verlangen naar de beoefening der wijsbegeerte dan geheel is opgenomen in een positief christelijk ideaal: de volmaakte dienst van God. Tenslotte geeft de periode van Augustinus' priesterleven een derde en laatste karakteristieke trek aan zijn monastieke gemeenschap. De aanvankelijk slechts wijsgerige, daarna religieuze élite wordt thans een clericale élite. In tegenstelling dus tot de monastieke traditie van Cassianus veronderstelt de augustijnse een belangrijke graad van geestescultuur en doet zij een beroep op een geestelijke élite.

Het augustijnse monnikenwezen hield stand tot het vanwege de volkomen ineenstorting van de romeinse cultuur in Afrika zijn bestaansmogelijkheid verloor. In het Westen begon men er eerst weer aandacht voor te krijgen in de 10e en 11e eeuw, toen er opnieuw sprake was van een geestescultuur van enige allure. De maatschappij echter, waaruit deze belangstelling voortkwam, dankte haar bestaan voor een groot deel aan de vruchtbare werkzaamheid van het 'lekenmonachisme'.

Het woord 'religio' legt op treffende wijze getuigenis af van het verschil in mentaliteit tussen beide richtingen. Voor Cassianus is het de *religieuze staat*, welke, in tegenstelling tot de wereld daarbuiten, geheel op God gericht is en waar men Hem dient in de meest strikte zin des woords. Voor Augustinus is het de *godsdiens*t, waarvan de monniken slechts de eminente beoefenaars zijn. Van de andere kant echter wijst het woord 'institutum' er op, dat men niet mag vergeten, wat beide richtingen verenigt in het westers 'monachisme': het sociale karakter van de kloostergemeenschap en de gebondenheid van de ascese aan de objectieve norm van een regel, hetgeen, van de kant van de monnik gezien, betekent, dat de gehoorzaamheid aan zijn ascetisch leven leiding geeft.

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STELLINGEN

I

In *Vita Antonii* P (15.6); 39 (51.14); 44 (55.9); 50 (60.12); 53 (62.7) verdient de lezing van het MS: 'et', de voorkeur boven de conjectuur van GARITTE: 'ut' finale of consecutivum.

P (15.6): *Volebam quidem, accepta epistola vestra mittere ut veniat ad me unus ex monachis de his qui solent assidue ad illum ire, et forsitan plus ab illo audiens, de illis vitam possem vobis perfectius scribere.*

39 (51.14). *Ego autem orabam et mens mea non moveretur.*

44 (55.9). *Sed tantum multitudo erat ibi studentium secundum Deum, et unus erat omnibus sensus in deifica virtute, et videns quis omnia loca ipsa et tantum ordinem monachorum, posset discere ..*

50 (60.12). *Instituit pauca olera, et introeuntes post durum et molestae desertae viae laborem ut habeant aliquam resumptionem et consolationem.*

53 (62.7) *Bestia itaque fugit et de velocitate cursus caderet et veluti moreretur.*

II

In *Vita Antonii* 9 (26.1) en 14 (30.8) verdient de lezing van het MS: *torquebatur se*, resp.: *exercebatur eum*, de voorkeur boven die van GARITTE: *torquebat se*, resp.: *exercebat eum*.

III

De termen: *frater, mundus, saeculum, servus Dei, miles Christi, religio*, in monastieke zin gebruikt, bevestigen, dat het oude monnikenwezen bewust aansluiting zocht bij de oudste christelijke traditie.

IV

Uit het feit, dat de passages in Augustinus' werken, die over de beschouwing handelen, neoplatoonse invloed verraden in de terminologie, volgt niet, dat Augustinus geen mysticus is geweest in christelijke zin.

V

Hoewel de latijnse terminologie van de christelijke spiritualiteit minder dan de griekse de invloed verradt van griekse filosofische terminologie, gaat CHADWICK te ver, waar hij verklaart, dat zij geheel vrij is van associaties met de griekse filosofie.

Cf. O. CHADWICK, *John Cassian*, 87.

VI

In de latijnse monastieke terminologie openbaart zich de voorkeur van het westerse monnikenwezen voor objectieve, algemeen geldende ascetische normen boven subjectieve, individuele ascetische strevingen.

VII

Het determinisme van VAN PESCH schiet te kort voor de interpretatie van Sophocles.

Cf. H. W. v. PESCH, *De idee van de menselijke beperktheid bij Sophocles*, Wageningen, 1953.

VIII

Ten onrechte concludeert VAN PESCH op grond van Antig. 904vv., dat Antigone bij haar daad niet geleid werd door werkelijk religieuze motieven.

Cf. v. PESCH, o.c. 202vv.

IX

Vergilius, Aeneis VI 559 leze men volgens de Mediceus:

Constitit Aeneas strepituque exterritus haesit.

X

Noch uit de bewondering, welke de latijnse christelijke schrijvers koesterden voor de grote auteurs van de profane literatuur, noch uit de verschillen in stijl, waardoor de werken van een en dezelfde christelijke auteur zich van elkaar kunnen onderscheiden, mag men met BEA afleiden, dat de christelijke schrijvers zich niet gebonden achten door het taaleigen van het christelijk Latijn.

Cf. A. BEA, *Dieci anni del nuovo salterio latino*.
La Civiltà cattolica 106 I, 1955, 612v.

XI

Het Kerklatin is niet slechts de taal, welke de Kerk gebruikt in haar akten en documenten, zoals SPRINGHETTI veronderstelt, maar bovendien en in de eerste plaats de taal van de bijbelvertalingen en die van de liturgische teksten.

Cf. A. SPRINGHETTI, *Lingua latina gloria sacerdotum*.
Monitor ecclesiasticus, 76.4, 1951, 671.

XII

De lezing van de christelijke schrijvers op het Gymnasium dient in hoofdzaak beperkt te blijven tot de latijnse schrijvers; de lezing van een christelijke schrijver als auteur voor het eindexamen is slechts dan verantwoord, wanneer de leerlingen door systematisch onderricht een duidelijk inzicht kunnen verkrijgen, wat betreft die punten, waar het oud-christelijk Latijn verschilt van het klassieke spraakgebruik.