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ά σπητός.1

Ι ἀγαπητός,² verbal adjective from ἀγαπάω, and so properly worthy of love, loveable: Origen in Io. xx 23 [on viii 4] ἄξιά ἐστιν τὰ ἀγαπητὰ τοῦ ἀγαπῶσθαι... τὰ ἀγαπητὰ μῶλλον ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἀγαπῶται: Basil Hom. in Ps. xliv [xlv] (on the title ὠδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ) τὸ κυρίως ἀγαπητὸν ὁ θεός, ... οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ τέλειον χωρῆσαι ἀγάπης καὶ τὸν ὄντως ἀγαπητὸν ἐπιγνῶναι, Hom. in Ps. cxiv [cxvi] on v. 1 πάντα αὐτῷ [i. e. to the Psalmist] ἀγαπητὰ διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπην.

II But probably the consciousness of this shade of meaning may have been confined to scholars like Origen and Basil: its regular use in Christian Greek from the beginning is *beloved*, and the word was, since ayáπη was the characteristic Christian virtue, the habitual designation-as an alternative to $d\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi o'$, or in combination with it—of Christians for one another. The N.T. use of it with proper names alone 'Persis the beloved', 'To Gaius the beloved' (Rom. xvi 12, 3 Jo. i) tended indeed to disappear (for one reason of this from the later fourth century onwards see Theodoret, ∇ ad fin.): but in combination with a noun or noun and possessive pronoun (e.g. Dion. Alex. Ep. ad Basilidem τώ ἀγαπητώ μου υίω και άδελφώ και συλλειτουργώ ... άγαπητε υίε μου, Feltoe 94. 1, 105. 7) it was always common, and in addressing Christians or the Christian community, whether in sermons or in letters, the use of the vocative $dya\pi\eta\tau\epsilon$, dyaπητοί was as regular after N.T. as in the N.T. books; e.g. Clem. ad Cor. has it seventeen times.

III Only, unique: especially Only Son. This was the proper use of $dya\pi\eta\tau\delta s$ in classical Greek: primarily of children 'an only child', but

¹ It is intended to publish from time to time in the JOURNAL drafts of articles on some of the more important words to be included in the proposed Lexicon of Patristic Greek. They will be contributed by different writers, but will not always be signed: nor will the arrangement and method be quite as compendious as will be necessary in the Lexicon itself. But it is greatly hoped that readers of the JOURNAL will contribute criticisms of such articles, or additional material amplifying or rectifying the original article. Communications should be addressed to the care of the editor of the Lexicon, Pusey House, Oxford.

² With regard to pre-Christian usage, it may be noted that in classical Greek the word $d\gamma d\pi\eta$ is unknown (though $d\gamma d\pi\eta\sigma_{15}$ is found in the Platonic "Opol, in Aristotle *Metaphysics* i 1 and in the fragments of the Stoic Chrysippus), and that $d\gamma a\pi d\omega$ means mainly 'to be contented with' (cf. VI below): $d\gamma a\pi\eta\tau \delta$ s would therefore properly be 'what one has to be contented with', and so 'all that one has', and then finally 'the exclusive object of interest or affection'. not exclusively. Thus Pollux Onomasticon iii 2 καλοῖτο αν υίος ἀγαπητὸς ό μόνος ων πατρί ή μητρί· ωσπερ καί άγαπητη θυγάτηρ καί μονογενής καθ' Ησίοδον: Hesychius Lexicon s.v. αγαπητόν μονογενή, κεχαρισμένον. And so we find in Aristotle Politics ii 4 (1262 b) δύο γάρ έστιν & μάλιστα ποιεί κήδεσθαι τους ανθρώπους και φιλείν, τό τε ίδιον και το αγαπητόν: Eudemian Ethics iii 6. 3 (1233 b) οἶον εἰ εἰς γάμον δαπανῶν τις τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ, πλούσιος ών, δοκεί πρέπειν έαυτώ τοιαύτην κατασκευήν οίον άγαθοδαιμονιαστάς έστιωντι: Rhetoric i 7. 41 και το αγαπητόν και τοις μεν μόνον, τοις δε μετ' άλλων διο και ούκ ίση ζημία, άν τις τον έτερόφθαλμον τυφλώση και τον δύ έχοντα, ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ ἀφήρηται, where the argument appears to be exactly parallel to Nathan's parable of the one ewe lamb-'other people have more lambs (or more eyes, or what not), my client had only one.' This use passed into LXX, e.g. Gen. xxii 2, 12, 16 (in v. 2 Cyprian's Bible had 'filium tuum illum unicum', but v. 16 'dilectissimo'), Jud. xi 34 (A and Lucian), Am. viii 10, Zach. xii 10, Jer. vi 26, Tob. iii 10 N: it must have been known to St Paul when he substituted in Rom. viii 31 τοῦ ἰδίου νίοῦ for τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ νίοῦ of Gen. xxii 16: it is the natural meaning of Eva Eoxev vior dyamytor in the parable of the husbandmen, Mk. xii 6, Lk. xx 13 (cod e 'filium meum unicum'), and in Hermas Sim. v 2. 6 τον υίον αυτού ον αγαπητον είχε και κληρόνομον 1: and it is an open question whether & vios nov & dyamntos in the Gospel narratives of the Baptism and Transfiguration should not be interpreted in this sense, cf. Daniel Heinsius Exercitationes sacrae ad N.T. (Leyden, 1639) on Mk. i 11. The following quotations will at least suggest that such was the dominant exegesis in the early Church. So expressly Athanasius: Or. c. Ar. iv 24 καὶ ἐν τη Παλαιά περί Υίου πολλά λέγεται, οίον . . . ψΔΗ ήπερ τογ άγαπητογ [Ps. xliv (xlv) tit.], καί έν τω Ήσαία [Is. V I] . . . άςμα τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τῷ ἀμπελώνι μογ . . . τὸ δὲ αναπητός τίς αν είη η υίδς μονογενής ... ταυτόν γάρ εστιν τό τε μονογενές και το αγαπητόν, ώς το Ογτός έςτιν όγιός μου ό άγλημτός ου γαρ δή την είς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην σημῶναι θέλων εἶπε τὸ ἀγῶπητὸς (ἴνα μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους μισείν δόξη) άλλα το μονογενες εδήλου ίνα το μόνον εξ αύτου είναι αυτον δείξη. καί τῷ ᾿Αβραὰμ γοῦν σημâναι θέλων ὁ Λόγος τὸ μονογενές φησι Προςέκετκε τὸκ Υίόν σογ τον άγαπητόν παντί δε δήλον έκ τής Σάρρας μόνον είναι τον Ισαάκ: ib. iv 29 το δε άγαπητον και Ελληνες ίσασιν οι δεινοι περί τας λέξεις, ότι ίσον έστιν τω είπειν μονογενής· φησι γαρ "Ομηρος [Od. ii 365]... ΜογΝος έώΝ άγαπητός ... δ άρα μόνος ών τῷ πατρί άγαπητος λέγεται. Other fathers who bring dyamptos into collocation with μονογενήs (as in Jud. xi 34 [A Lucian] of Jephthah's daughter, αὐτη μονογενής αὐτῷ ἀγαπητή, καὶ οὐκ έστιν αὐτῷ πλην αὐτῆς), and therefore presumably interpret the one by the other, are : Iren. Haer. iv 5. 3 (of Abraham) τον ίδιον μονογενή και άγαπητον

 1 This is apparently the true reading : cf. the Latin version 'quem carum et heredem habebat'.

παραχωρήσας θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ, ινα καὶ ὁ θεὸς εὐδοκήση ... τὸν ίδιον μονογενή καὶ ἀγαπητὸν υἱὸν θυσίαν παρασχεῖν. Eus. eccl. theol. i 10 (68. 15) ὁ ἀληθῶs υίὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄτε δη ἐκ πατρὸς ἀποτεχθείς, εἰκότως καὶ μονογενης καὶ αγαπητός χρηματίσειεν αν του πατρός, and ib. i 20 (86. 8), ii 7 (104. 23), ii 20 (129. 27), c. Marcell. i 1 (2. 14); cf. eccl. theol. ii 14 (118. 6) Loyov μέν όντα καθ' δ . . . θεόν δε και μονογενή καθ' δ μόνος άληθως ήν υίος του έπι πάντων θεού, υίδς γνήσιος όντως και άγαπητός, τω αυτού πατρί κατά πάντα ἀφωμοιωμένος, and apart from any christological reference laud. Const. xiii 6, 7 (238. 12, 17) τὰ μονογενή καὶ ἀγαπητὰ τῶν τέκνων κατασφάττειν . . . έθυον τὰ αγαπητά καὶ μονογενη των τέκνων. Ap. Const. iii 17. 4 X. δ μονογενής θεός δ αγαπητός υίός, cf. viii 12. 31. Greg. Nyss. de deitate Filii et Sp. S. (ii 905) (of Abraham) LABE MOI, ONGI, TON YION coy τον άγαπητόν τον μονογενή. δρα τὰ κέντρα τοῦ λόγου, πῶς κεντεί τοῦ πατρός τὰ σπλάγχνα . . . καὶ υίὸν ἀγαπητὸν καὶ μονογενή καλών;¹ So probably Serapion πάντας προς έαυτον δια της έπιδημίας του αγαπητού σου υίοῦ ἕλκων in his εὐχη προσφόρου (J. T. S. i 105), his ordinary phrase being τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου 'Ι. Χ. Both interpretations of ἀγαπητός are apparently combined by St Basil (in Ps. xliv [xlv] tit. : partly quoted ·above): άγαπητός τῷ πατρὶ μέν ὡς μονογενής, τη κτίσει δὲ πάση ώς πατήρ φιλάνθρωπος και άγαθος προστάτης, το αυτό δέ έστιν τη φύσει και άγαπητον και άγαθόν διότι καλώς ώρίσαντο ήδη τινές άγαθον είναι ου πάντα ἐφίεται [Aristotle *Ethics* i 1]: and by St Chrysostom Hom. xii in Mt. (iii 17) 162 C φωνή μετά τοῦ πνεύματος κηρύττουσα τοῦ μονογενούς την άξίαν . . . ή λέγουσα ογτός έςτιν ό γίός μογ ό άγαπητός. 165 Α ού γαρ άγγέλους και άρχαγγέλους έποίησεν, άλλα υίους θεού κατασκευάσας καί αγαπητούς ούτως έλκει πρός εκείνην την λήξιν ήμας. There does not indeed appear to be any trace of $dya\pi\eta\tau \delta s = \mu \rho v \delta \gamma \epsilon v \eta s$ in Origen; his comment on Matt. xvii 5 ή τοῦ πατρὸς φωνή μαρτυροῦσα τῶ υίῶ ὡς ἀγαπητῷ καὶ εὐδοκητῷ, In Matt. Tom. xii § 42, suggests that he interpreted dyamptos and evoloknotos as on the same plane, and if this is the right interpretation it perhaps covers the similar phrase in St Polycarp's prayer Mart. Pol. 14 ό τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σov I. X. $\pi a \tau n \rho$, though Origen himself of course often interprets quite independently of the exegetical tradition.

IV In pseudepigraphic Christian (and in Jewish?) writings $\delta \eta \gamma a \pi \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$ (see under $\delta \gamma a \pi a \omega$) seems to be used as a title of Messiah *The Beloved*, and $\delta \gamma a \pi \eta \tau \delta s$ may have followed suit from the apparent

¹ These passages seem amply sufficient to shew that $\mu o\nu \sigma\gamma\epsilon\nu\dot{\eta}s$ and $\dot{a}\gamma a\pi\eta\tau\dot{s}s$ are used as equivalent or as exceptical the one of the other (and one might perhaps add to them Ep. ad Diognetum 8. 11 dia $\tau o\hat{v}$ $\dot{a}\gamma a\pi\eta\tau o\hat{v}$ $\pi a\iota\dot{\delta}s$, 10. 2 $\tau \partial v$ $\iota\dot{\partial}v$ $a\dot{v}\tau o\hat{v}$ $\tau \partial r$ $\mu ov \sigma\gamma\epsilon\nu\dot{\eta}$); and if so, there would remain no ground for the suspicion expressed by Dr Hort (*Two Dissertations* p. 49 n.) that some of the writers cited read both words in their LXX text of Genesis.

identity of meaning of the two words : see Dr J. Armitage Robinson's note in his *Ephesians* [1903] pp. 229-233, who would further equate the ó yióc MOY Ó ÅFARHTÓC Of Mt. xvii 5 with the ó yióc MOY Ó ÅKAAEFMÉNOC OF Lk. ix 35. So the *Ascension of Isaiah* iii 13 éξέλευσις τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐβδόμου οὐρανοῦ (L 'adventum dilectissimi de septimo caelo'), iv 3 οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ. *Acta Philippi* 19 (Bonnet 10. 21-25) & πάτερ ἄγιε...πέμψον σου τὸν ἀγαπητῶν νίδν 'I. X. ἐλέγξαι τὸν ẳπιστον ἀρχιερέα, ἕνα τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐν τῷ ἀγαπητῶ Χριστῷ δοξασθῆ. This class of writings is more likely to have been influenced by Jewish, and less by classical, usage than were the fathers cited under **III** : and therefore it may well have interpreted ὁ ἀγαπητός, ὁ viòs ὁ ἀγαπητός, of Christ in a different sense to that predominantly found in the fathers.

V ἀγαπητή, and less frequently ἀγαπητός, a spiritual lover: not apparently till after the middle of the fourth century: used in Latin also, e.g. Jerome ep. xxii 14 'unde in ecclesias agapetarum pestis introiit? unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? immo unde novum concubinarum genus? unde meretrices univirae?' Epiph. Haer. lxiii 2 κατηγορούσι των έν τη έκκλησία τας άγαπητας λεγομένας συνεισάκτους γυναίκας κεκτημένων: ib. lxxviii 11 (of the Virgin as commended to St John) μή τοῦτο στραφή εἰς βλάβην τισι καὶ δόξωσιν ἐν τούτω λαμβάνειν πρόφασιν συνεισάκτους καί αγαπητάς επικαλουμένας εαυτοίς επινοείν. Greg. Naz. Epigram. xx (Epigrams x-xx are on the same subject: x, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi contain the word) 7 των Χριστώ ζώντων και τερπομένων αγαπηταις μή που τούς μεγάλους αύρα φέρει καμάτους. ή πυρ ή πυρός σημήϊα τοις άγαπητοις· | την εικαζομένην φεύγετε σωφροσύνην. ib. xviii 3 Χριστον έχεις άγαπητόν, απόπτυσον ανδρας απαντας. Ps-Athanasius Syntagma Doctrinae ad Monachos [ed. Bened. ii 361 B] un exelv yuvaîka ouveioακτον, καθάπερ τινές άγαπητας επέθεντο αυταις ονόματα. Basil (?: the treatise was first published from a Florence MS in 1763: Migne, XXX 811) Sermo de Contubernalibus 2 εἰ [Πέτρος] εἶχεν ἀγαπητήν (sc. άδελφην γυναϊκα of I Cor. ix 5), και ήμεις τοις εκείνου ίχνεσιν επακολουθούμεν, 4 άγαπητη γαρ ήτω δια Χριστον έως του χαίρειν, ΙΙ πολλάκις τις κόρη τοις ίδίοις γονεύσι μη έξυπηρετησαμένη ... αύτη σπουδαία είς τον άγαπητον ευρέθη.¹ Theodoret in ep. ad Philem. 2 άγαπητην ώνόμασε του Φιλήμονος την δμόζυγα ώς τη πίστει κοσμουμένην. θαυμαζέτω δε μηδείς εί προσπταίουσι νῦν τινες τῷ προσρήματι τούτψ οί γὰρ κακῶς κεχρημένοι τῷ πράγματι τῆ προσηγορία τὴν λοιδορίαν προσήψαν, πάλαι δὲ σεμνὸν τὸ ονομα και αξιέπαινον ην. John Scholasticus Nomocanon tit. xxiv, quoting

¹ For completeness' sake it may be as well to add from this same tract a record of a synonym for ἀγαπητή, namely ἀγαπητρίs, de Contubernalibus 2 ἡ τῶν ἀγαπητρίδων, λέγω δή, μανία. [In pseudo-Chrysostom in Ps. xcii 2 (ed. Bened. v 622 E) Εὄα . . . δρακοντιαίων συρισμάτων ἀγαπήτρια—another unknown form—the sense is not quite the same.]

Const. ix tit. 1 (Novellae vi cap. 6) τàs [διακονίσσας] μη έχειν έν τάξει δηθεν άδελφων η συγγενων η των καλουμένων άγαπητων συνόντας.

VI The neuter dyamptor and adverb dyamptus had already in classical Greek the technical signification 'it must be accepted, acquiesced in', 'one must be content'. So Josephus Bell. Iud. i 5, quoted in Eus. Η. Ε. iii 6. 10 ίκετευόντων . . . μεταδούναί τι μέρος αὐτοῖς ὧν κινδυνεύσαντες ήνεγκαν ούδ ότιουν μετέδοσαν, άγαπητον δε ήν το μή και προσαπολέσθαι σεσυλημένον. Origen in Io. x 43 (ii 22), the greater blessing is Blessed are your eyes for they see ... $dya\pi\eta\tau\partial\nu$ $\delta\epsilon$ και $\tau\partial\nu$ $\delta\pi\sigma\delta\epsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu$ $\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\ell\nu$ μακαρισμόν λέγοντα Μακάριοι οι μή ίδόντες και πιστεύσαντες. Eus. dem. ev. viii 2 p. 388 τοις έξ άνθρώπων . . . είς το έφικτον άρετής χωρήσασιν άγαπητον άγιοις χρηματίσαι . . . άγιων δε άγιος τίς αν κυρίως εν ανθρώποις δνομασθείη; Chrysostom frequently (especially in an apodosis, joined to $\pi\lambda\dot{\eta}\nu\,\dot{a}\lambda\lambda\dot{a}$, or with $\tau \epsilon \omega s$): Hom. in ep. ad Rom. I (426 A) $\tau \sigma \sigma a \delta \tau \eta v \delta \pi \sigma v \epsilon i \mu a \tau \epsilon$ σπουδήν τη των λεγομένων ακροάσει δσην τη των χρημάτων συλλογη· εί γαρ καὶ αἰσχρὸν τοσαύτην ἀπαιτῆσαι παρ' ὑμῶν μόνην, πλην ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, ἀν τοσαύτην γούν διδώτε: Hom. in ep. 1 ad Cor. xxxiii (307 E) δεί τοίνυν συγκαταβαίνειν . . . τὸ τέως άγαπητὸν ἦν τὸ τὸν σταυρὸν τοὺς ἀκούοντας μὴ έπαισχυνθήναι. For dyaπητώs Basil (?) Comm. in Isai. 472 E έπτά γναικές [iv I]... πνεύματα... άπερ ούκ έχοντα ώ έπαναπαύσεται [ix 2], άγαπητώς τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Κύριον ἀνθρώπου λαβόμενα ποιεῖ τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα (where the Benedictine text is wrong both in punctuation and translation). And so sometimes 'barely', 'scarcely', Basil Hom. in Hexaemeron iii I ov λέληθέ με ότι πολλοί τεχνίται των βαναύσων τεχνών, άγαπητως έκ τής έφ' ήμέραν έργασίας την τροφήν ξαυτοίς συμπορίζοντες, περιεστήκασιν ήμας, οί τον λόγον ήμων συντέμνουσιν, ίνα μή έπι πολύ της έργασίας αφέλκωνται.

(The following note has been kindly contributed on the subject of the above article.)

The collection and arrangement of the meanings of $d\gamma a \pi \eta \tau \delta s$ render it possible to conjecture something as to the affiliation or genealogy of the meanings discriminated in this article, possibly even to cast some light upon the motives which determined the choice of $d\gamma d\pi \eta$ to signify the peculiar relation of the Christian to his brethren in the new community. It is generally supposed that before its appropriation to such use the word or its cognates must have already conveyed some sense of a distinctive quality in the emotion so named, e.g. some special intensity or purity of the affection. But it has always been difficult or impossible to verify this line of descent, and the known facts as to pre-Christian use do not support it. As is pointed out, the word $d\gamma d\pi \eta$ itself does not occur in pre-Christian writers, and the discussion must turn upon the earlier meanings of $d\gamma a\pi \hat{a}\nu$, $d\gamma a\pi \eta \tau \delta s$, &c. The pedigree of the meanings, which is suggested by the study of the history of these words, is somewhat surprising. The earliest meaning is that of contentment or acquiescence, and there is no evidence of a gradual introduction of either warmth or purity. Or rather, both do come in, but as it were silently and incidentally. and it is hard to say how late even in Christian usage the original sense may have

persisted or been prominent. In any case the dominant element in the meaning was for long not that of any peculiar quality or intensity in the feeling, but rather that of some uniqueness in the object towards which the feeling was directed or with which the relation subsisted. Hence, while $\delta a\gamma a \pi \eta \tau \delta s$ may be translated 'the beloved', it rather denotes than connotes or 'means' that. What is prominent in the conception is the uniqueness of the relation to such a unique object, the quality of the feeling being consequential upon that. This implies the selection or singling out from many of the object, and what is emphasized is the *dilectio* rather than the amor or caritas. Thus the $\dot{a}\gamma a \pi \eta \tau \delta s$ is rather 'the chosen' than 'the beloved' $(=\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma)$, and this accords with sense IV in the article and is the most probable source of sense V. No doubt as time went on the feature of uniqueness in the object and the relation became obscured, while that of the character of the feeling came to the fore, but precisely when this change is to be dated it is hard to say. Perhaps our tendency is to date it too early, and Athanasius's words seem to indicate that the memory of it was a point of fine scholarship. Still it would probably be an error to suppose that in Christian use it had been almost entirely forgotten. The use of $\epsilon i \delta \delta \kappa n \tau \delta s$ as an equivalent does not help us much, for it too has somewhat of the same ambiguous or double sense : it sometimes means 'what one ought to be, or is, contented with '.

It may be worth while to add that the change is helped by the natural appropriateness of the word to the relation of the one wife to the one husband, and the growing elevation of the idea of true marriage under Christian influence. The problem of interest is the question why the word was selected to signify the new and higher relation of the members of the Christian community to one another, and the scantiness of the evidence leaves the answer largely to conjecture. But in any case it must have been suggested by something in non- or pre-Christian use, and it seems probable that the developement was as above conjectured.

The posteriority of the simpler noun $d\gamma d\pi\eta$ to its larger cognates has parallels in many languages, e.g. Latin *pugna* from *pugnare*, French *appel* from *appeler*, German *wach* from *wachen*. Clearly the formation has assisted the change of emphasis from the object or relation to the emotion, and from the ground of the affection to the affection itself. That change reacts upon the cognate verb and its verbal adjective.

Finally, occasion may be taken to ask whether the word $\mu \rho \nu \sigma \gamma \epsilon \nu \eta s$ did not originally mean 'sole of, or in, its kind', the association with 'begetting' being later, and, as it were, incidental to special uses of it.