

First published in *Vigiliae Christianae*, volume 56, issue 3 (2002).

Published by Brill Academic Publishers

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Edessa to Cassino

Edessa to Cassino: The Passage of Basil's Asketikon to the West

By

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Introduction

Through the 390s Christians in Palestine were racked by the first phase of the Origenist controversy. Two of those who came to loggerheads in that conflict were the erstwhile compatriots and friends Jerome (c. 347-419) and Rufinus of Aquileia (c. 345-411). In the year 397 at Easter in the church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem Bishop John presided over a reconciliation. Nevertheless, Rufinus left the east soon after and returned to Italy after an absence of some twenty-five years.

As soon as he arrived in the west Rufinus found a keen interest among Latin-speaking Christians for access to works of the Greek-speaking Church. He was singularly well placed with both the linguistic skills and a private library of Greek manuscripts to address the need. The first Greek work on which he honed his skills as a translator was the Small Asketikon of St Basil the Great, i.e. of Caesarea in Cappadocia (329-379), which was to become known in its Latin dress as the *Regula Sancti Patris Nostri Basili* or simply the *Regula Basili*.

Basil's Small Asketikon had followed a long and circuitous trail in order to reach its western destiny as the *Regula Basili*. The concern of this essay is to trace the geographic trajectory of the Small Asketikon from the east to the west, and follow its fortunes in the west after its publication.

Rufinus' copy of Basil's Asketikon

Where and when did Rufinus obtain his own copy of Basil's Small Asketikon? Several possibilities suggest themselves. Might Basil's work have reached the great intellectual, cultural and commercial crossroads of Alexandria during Rufinus' sojourn there in the 370s? Might Evagrius of Pontus have brought a copy when he took refuge in Melania and Rufinus' monastery on the Mount of Olives in about 382? Or might a copy have reached the great library at Caesarea in Palestine where Rufinus had evidently examined Origen's Hexapla? Then, even Basil himself had had correspondence with monks on the Mount of Olives in his later years.

As plausible as these speculations may seem, Rufinus probably obtained his copy another way. He mentions in a passage of his *Apologia contra Hieronymum* II, 12 that there was an interlude during his stay at Alexandria: 'I tarried for six years in God's concerns and again after some interval (*post intervallum aliquod*), for another two, where Didymus and others were...', i.e. Alexandria. Furthermore, in his additions to Eusebius' Church History I, 37, he testifies that he himself met a Theodore in Antioch who had been tortured during the reprisals which had broken out there in 362. Later he says later in the same work (II, 8): 'Of these monks we ourselves have seen not a few in Edessa and in the regions of Carrhae; but we have heard about many more. Rufinus had visited eastern Syria. From such comments Murphy inferred that Rufinus spent his *intervallum aliquod* on a journey through Palestine and Syria. If his initial arrival in Egypt is dated to 372, this northern journey will have taken place in about 378. Murphy comments:

It would be the logical time for such a trip, for it was after the full establishment of peace and the recall of the Egyptian as well as the Edessan monks from exile.

Perhaps it was at this time too and while he was in Antioch or Edessa, that he made acquaintance with the friends of St. Basil of Caesarea and of St. Gregory Nazianzen. It is not inconceivable that part of his object in going up to Antioch and to Edessa was to obtain the books and writings of the eastern Fathers whose names must have echoed in the schools at Alexandria. At any rate, in his History he does manifest a tremendous admiration for the Cappadocians.

Thus Rufinus most likely acquired his copy of the Little Asketikon during his journey north in 378. There is other supporting evidence. Syria had been very much in the sphere of Basil's activities for the Church. Indeed, there are letters of Basil specifically addressed to the three places mentioned by Rufinus: Antioch, Edessa and Carrhae. Basil seems to have known of the

great St Ephraim of Nisibis. But nothing is more convincing than the existence of a Syriac work called Questions of the Brothers, which Gribomont demonstrated was a translation, not of the Great Asketikon, but of the Small Asketikon.

So Basil himself, or ascetics of his circle in Pontus or Cappadocia must have sent or brought a copy of the Asketikon to ascetics in Syria at an early date, between the mid 360s, the earliest date at which the Small Asketikon was finished to about the early 370s. Already by about 369 Basil was adding to the Asketikon. He continued to do through the ensuing decade till by the time of his death in 379, it had grown to more than twice the length of the first version. This second, longer version, entirely supplanted the first edition which did not survive in Greek. So the Regula Basili, together with the Syriac Questions of the Brothers, are the only witnesses to the lost Greek original of the Small Asketikon.

Rufinus on the Mount of Olives

In 380, Rufinus departed Alexandria and joined that great monastic entrepreneur, Antonia Melania on the Mount of Olives at Jerusalem. In Ep. 26 Paulinus of Nola, their mutual friend, describes Rufinus as sanctae Melaniae spiritali in via comitem. The Latin monastery she was organizing seems to have been similar to the type of community taught and encouraged by St Basil. Thus it was fully cenobitic, comprising separate houses of men, women and guests who all worshipped at a common church. Whether there was provision for children is unknown. Productive work and almsgiving were pursued, the community earning its living through a flourishing scriptorium.

Rufinus' preface to the Regula Basili shows that on his return to the west he had his own copy of the Small Asketikon with him, was familiar with it and esteemed its doctrine very highly. He supposed it was normative for the way of life in Cappadocian monasteries and hoped that his translation would serve the same unifying function in the monasteries of the west. In short, Rufinus knew the Small Asketikon well from his Jerusalem years. This, together with the fact that Melania was an assiduous reader of Basil, makes it virtually certain that the Small Asketikon was used as a guide in their monastery on the Mount of Olives.

Thus the Regula Basili is the perfect line of suture between Rufinus' career in the east with his subsequent career in the west.

Rufinus returns to Italy

Rufinus landed in Italy in the late Spring or early Summer of 397. In his Preface to the Regula Basili he says that very soon after his arrival he found hospitality among the brothers at 'Pinetum'. The location of this Pinetum has been a matter of some debate. Earlier opinion placed it near Ravenna, i.e. on the upper Adriatic coast, apparently because Jordanes, in the History of the Goths, mentioned an ancient pine forest called 'Pineta' about three miles out of Ravenna. According to Murphy, however, Rufinus' Pinetum is better located at or near Terracina, about eighty kilometres south of Rome where the Via Appia meets the sea on a straight run from the capital. Murphy says in favour of the Terracina location:

I believe the notice of Paulinus of Nola (Ep. 47) mentioning the fact that Cerealis would have to go out of his way on the journey between Nola and Rome to see Rufinus, then staying at Pinetum, is decisive; especially when taken in conjunction with Rufinus' answer in his Praef. ad de Bened. Patriarcharum II.2.

It is important to understand the geographic context here. The quickest route from Nola to Rome lay inland through Capua and Cassinum along the Via Latina. The only other route to which Paulinus could have been referring lay around the coast and then up the Via Appia.

All things considered, it seems that Rufinus disembarked on the Tyrrhenian coast, probably at the port of Puteoli, in which case he would have just avoided Naples. He then made his way around the coast by the Via Domitiana to its junction at Terracina with the Via Appia. There he unexpectedly came upon a house of 'brothers', i.e. monks, and was delighted to break his journey with them and stay awhile. Rufinus' enthusiasm for Saint Basil and his Asketikon was soon shared by the superior, Ursacius, who begged his well-qualified guest to translate it for the monastic communities in the west.

Thus it was almost as an ad hoc response to a personal request and with a pastoral intention that Rufinus began his career as a translator which filled his remaining years till his death in 411.

After finishing the *Regula Basili*, he entrusted it to Ursacius to have copies made and sent to other monastic houses. Resuming his journey along the Via Appia he finally came to Rome where, early in 398, he fatefully translated Origen's *Peri Archon*. Jerome's friends Marcella and Pammachius made of this the occasion to foment the second phase of the Origenist controversy. Rufinus soon found himself the hub of a veritable book publishing industry, supplying a network of scriptoria with a steady flow of idiomatic translations conveying valuable religious and historical information and spiritual inspiration to a Latin-speaking readership.

The subsequent role of the *Regula Basili* in the West

Whatever its relation to the Greek original, the *Regula Basili* entered upon its own career among the monks of the West. 'La version latine a joui d'un grand succès, et son histoire à elle seule voudrait tout un volume', says Gribomont. It was the Latin form of Basil's *Asketikon* that was used by Cassian, the monks of Lerins and southern Gaul, the Master, St Benedict in his Rule—of which more shortly—and so on into the Carolingian and medieval periods.

In considering the role of the *Regula Basili* in the West, the first point of departure is the locale of its translation: Campania.

Rufinus concluded his preface to the *Regula Basil* by solemnly charging Ursacius:

Tui sane sit officii etiam aliis monasteriis exemplaria praebere, ut secundum instar Cappadociae omnia monasteria eisdem et non diversis vel institutis vel observationis vivant.

So Ursacius and his community set about fulfilling Rufinus' request, copying and disseminating the *Regula Basili* in this region of Campania. Not far off, at Nola, were other friends important in the production of Rufinus's works: the circle around Paulinus and his wife Therasia. Rufinus often mentions that he has sent his works to Paulinus. It was a group keenly interested in Origen and the Greek Fathers—specially the Cappadocians. Part of the circle were Apronianus and his wife Avita, to whom Rufinus dedicated other translations of St Basil and St Gregory Nazianzen.

Significantly, the oldest witness to the *Regula Basili* comes from Campania, from the library and

scriptorium of Eugippius at Castellum Lucullanum near Naples, from which issued an entire corpus of Rufinus' translations and works. Codex E, dated to the late 6th century, was redacted here. It is an anthology of monastic texts which includes some seventeen chapters excerpted from the Regula Basili. Eugippius very likely supplied Rufinus' works to his friend Cassiodorus for copying in his monastery at Vivarium in Calabria. Cassiodorus was a haunter of the Papal library, which gives us another possible point for distribution of the Regula Basili.

Codex E shows the same eclectic manner and the same stock of sources that characterise the Regula Magistri ('the Rule of the Master') and the Regula Benedicti ('The Rule of St Benedict'). These documents were older contemporaries of E, emanating from the same region of Campania and relying on the same network of scriptoria. The Regula Benedicti was written about a generation earlier, by about 540 at Cassinum, which lay a little to the north along the Via Latina to Rome. It is intriguing to consider that the Regula Basili was translated and disseminated, and the Regula Benedicti was written in the same local area of Italy, at a distance of scarcely fifty kilometres.

From such middle and southern Italian sources the trail very soon leads to northern Italy, for there we find the locale of the other two other very old Italian witnesses to the Regula Basili, C, hailing from Bobbio and S, hailing from Nonantola. From Bobbio the trail of manuscripts leads into the Merovingian kingdom of the seventh century.

How was the Regula Basili being used at this period? The first point to note is that Rufinus' hope that the Regula Basili would become the common rule for monasteries of the west was not realized. The fifth to eighth centuries in the West became instead 'the era of the mixed-rule'. E itself illustrates the point; it does not contain a whole copy of the Regula Basili, but only selections, interspersed between other selections from the Regula Magistri and from Cassian.

Zelzer accounts in some detail for the propagation of the Regula Basili and for the changing composition of the 'mixed-rule' in the pre-Carolingian era. It seems that the ethos of monasteries of that era was that of a living sense of a more or less common monastic tradition witnessed by a plurality of the Fathers. Though a community may have had a particular working rule, such a document was not necessarily exclusive of others. There were Church canons to consult and a

common patrimony of Rules and ascetical writings. It is clear that from time to time an entrepreneurial abbot would 're-synthesize' the tradition for his community, drawing on earlier monastic writings and Rules. This is exactly what St Benedict, the endredactor of the *Regula Benedicti* was about, and he was by no means unique. The recommendations for wider reading in the last chapter in some sense recommend this same recourse to a plurality of monastic sources.

Some historians of early monasticism tend to emphasise the different 'types' of monasticism. But it is worth noting the actual practice of the monks in this era. In the codices the Cappadocian Basil is constantly found combined with Cassian, the Egyptian Fathers Macarius and Pachomius, or the Irish Columbanus. Not only that, the longest continuance of the (non-exclusive) use of the *Regula Basili* seems to have been precisely in monasteries under the special influence of Cassian, the standard-bearer in the west of the Egyptian tradition. Thus the influence of the *Regula Basili* can be traced wherever the tradition of Lerins prevailed: along the old Gallic highways, the Rhine valley as far as the Moselle, the Seine, the Loire and into the Jura.

It was not until the centralizing tendencies of Carolingian legislation that the principle of exclusive allegiance to a single Rule was finally established. St Benedict of Aniane included not only a full copy of the *Regula Basili* in his *Codex Regularum*, but also selections from it in what would be the last example of the obsolescent genre of the 'mixed-rule', the *Concordia Regularum*. From then on the *Regula Benedicti* was fixed as the archetypal code of Western monks, inaugurating the so called 'Benedictine Centuries' (9th–12th centuries).

Since the *Regula Benedicti* emanated from the same region in which the *Regula Basili* was first translated and disseminated, it is natural that the latter was taken up as one of its sources, being part of the local monastic literature, as it were. The *Regula Benedicti* alluded to and cites the *Regula Basili* on numerous occasions. Finally in the last chapter, RB 73:5 expressly commends *Regula sancti patris nostri Basilii* to fervent monks who want to do more. This ensured that the *Regula Basili* maintained a certain currency wherever the *Regula Benedicti* held sway. Monks and nuns of the household of St Benedict continued to use the *Regula Basili* for their spiritual 'deepening'.

The extent and significance of Basilian influence in the RB was the subject of sharp controversy in the 1980s between two Benedictine monks: Adalbert de Vogüé, who tended to downplay its importance in favour of the Egyptian element, and Jean Gribomont, who criticized de Vogüé's view and emphasized the importance of Basil. Insofar as the Rule of St Benedict, and with it, Benedictine monasticism, represents a consciously cenobitic, i.e. community orientation—even by comparison with the *Regula Magistri*—it shows a definite 'Basilianizing' trend, though the influence of Augustine's communitarian teaching must also be factored in.

On the other hand, the distinctly high profile of the abbot in the *Regula Benedicti* breathes a different air to that of the Superior in St Basil's presentation. The antecedents of the Benedictine abbot must be sought not in St Basil, but in the Egyptian and Syriac traditions instead. Paradoxically, in this respect St Benedict may be considered a more 'eastern' monastic father—in the sense of non-Greek oriental—than St Basil.

Nevertheless, anyone who would make Basil an ally of latter-day notions of 'democracy' and liberalism in religious life shows that they have misconstrued St Basil, whose doctrine is as austere theocentric as it is communitarian. Indeed it with Basil, theocentrism makes the community.

Conclusion

Rufinus belonged to a select group who played outstanding roles as 'go-betweens' of Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking Christianity in the 4th to early 5th centuries. Had it not been for his labours as a translator, a much leaner body of Origeniana would have survived for the Church both east and west. He also relayed to the West Eusebius's Church History, writings of St Basil the Great, St Gregory Nazianzen, Evagrius of Pontus and others; Of the great Cappadocians, he translated Basil's *Small Asketikon* (397), eight of Basil's homilies, two of them on the Psalms, the others on ascetical themes (399), nine of the Orations of Gregory Nazianzen (400), and a *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus* by Gregory of Nyssa (after 402/3).

This essay has focussed on the very first work that Rufinus translated on his return to the West. We have followed the long trail of Basil's *Small Asketikon* from Pontus and Cappadocia in the

360s, to the monks of Syria in the 370s where it received a Syriac translation, to Melania and Rufinus' monastery on the Mount of Olives in the late 380s, to Campania in Italy in 397 where it was translated as the Regula Basili, and so to its dissemination in the West in subsequent centuries. This remarkable geographic and cultural passage to the West was due above all to Rufinus' industry, skill and use of opportunities. In a negative way, the unhappy circumstances in Palestine that drove him back to the West were an indispensable factor.

The unitive role Rufinus hoped that the Regula Basili would assume among monks of the West never eventuated. Initially it had to compete with other rules in the 'era of the mixed-rules', 5th-8th centuries, of which one, the Regula Benedicti, was composed in the same vicinity of Italy that first saw the Regula Basili disseminated. Finally in the Carolingian era it was the Regula Benedicti that achieved normative status instead. Thereafter the Regula Basili made its way transfused in a Benedictine medium, embedded as an important influence on the text and the teaching of the Regula Benedicti, enjoying its explicit recommendation and so being copied and kept in monastic libraries. In such fashion the ascetic teaching of our Holy Father Basil became part of the inheritance of the classic monasticism of the West.

While Jerome's relentless campaign of defamation against Rufinus robbed him of the status of a saint and a Church father, Rufinus' translations of the Small Asketikon and other works of the Cappadocian fathers continued for centuries to be a much appreciated and well-used resource in the theological, liturgical and monastic patrimony of the western Church.

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August 2001

An earlier form of this essay was presented as a paper at the XIIth Biennial Conference of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, University of Western Australia, 22-22 April 2001. The essay has also benefited from the observations of Stephen Mitchell, Philip Rousseau and Greg Horsley.

The primary texts to which this study refers, with related terms and abbreviations are as follows: Small Asketikon = the lost Greek text of the first edition of Basil's Asketikon, translated by Rufinus as the *Regula Basili*, 150–74; RBas = *Regula Basili*, in the edition of K. Zelzer, *Basili Regula—A Rufino Latine Versa*, CSEL vol. 86 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1986); Zelzer = *op. cit.*; Great Asketikon = Basil's revised and enlarged Asketikon, in Garnier's edition of the so-called 'Vulgate' recension, *Patrologia Graeca* ed. J.P. Migne, vol. 31 (Paris: 1857), 889-1309; LR = Longer Rules and SR = Shorter Rules, the two divisions of the Great Asketikon; Deferrari = R.J. Deferrari (tr.), *Saint Basil—The Letters*, in four volumes (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926, 1928, 1930, 1934; RB = *Regula Benedicti* in the edition of RB 1980: *The Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. T. Fry (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1980).

For secondary literature the following abbreviations are used: Amidon = Philip R. Amidon, *The Church History of Rufinus* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1997); Gribomont = Jean Gribomont, *Histoire du Texte des Ascétiques de Saint Basile* (Louvain: Muséon, 1953); Mitchell = S. Mitchell, 'The Life and Lives of Gregory Thaumaturgus', in J.M. Drijvers and J.W. Watt (eds.) *Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium and the Christian Orient* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), 99–138; Murphy = F.X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia (345–411) His Life and Works* (Washington D.C.: CUA Press, 1945); Zelzer 'Zur Überlieferung' = K. Zelzer 'Zur Überlieferung der Lateinischen Fassung der Basiliusregel', *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* ed. F. Paschke (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1981), pp. 625–35.

On the life and chronology of Rufinus see Murphy and G. Fedalto, 'Rufino di Concordia. Elementi di una biografia,' *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 39 (1992), 19–44. On p. 91 Murphy presented an older view that the *Regula Basili* was a drastic abbreviation of the Great Asketikon. It was a position already being discarded by contemporary scholars: F. Laun, 'Die beiden Reglen des Basilius, ihre Echtheit und Entstehung', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 44 (1924), 1-61, H. Dörries, *Symeon von Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1941), 452-453 and Charles de Clercq, 'Les Règles de saint Basile et leur traduction par Rufin', *Proche-Orient* 1 (1951), 48–58.

The issues discussed in his correspondence were doctrinal rather than ascetical. See Letter 258, Deferrari IV, pp. 34-47 at p. 39 and Letter 259, Deferrari IV, pp. 46-49. See also the note, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-7. Basil's contacts with the monks on the Mt of Olives were Palladius and Innocent. This Palladius may have been the one who wrote to Athanasius (PG 26, 1167) bidding him counsel the monks in Caesarea to cease opposing Basil—apparently over Basil's 'economy' concerning the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

Patrologia Latina 21, 594.

Amidon, p. 40.

Amidon, p. 70.

See Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World, ed. Richard J.A. Talbert (Princeton: the University Press, 2000), Map 67, Antiochia.

Murphy, pp. 49-50.

i.e. after the death of Emperor Valens.

Many of Basil's letters show his engagement in Syrian affairs, often dealing with the Antiochian schism. In addition to extensive correspondence with Meletius of Antioch and Eusebius of Samosata, there are Letters 118 to Jovinus of Perrha, 132 to Abramius of Batnae, 135 to Diodorus of Antioch, 185, 220, 221 and 256 to Berrhoea, 222 to Chalcis, 253 to the presbyters of Antioch, 254 to Pelagius of Syrian Laodicea, 255 to Vitus of Carrhae, 264 and 267 to Barses of Edessa and 361-364 to Apollinaris of Syrian Laodicea.

Sozomen is the earliest source for a connection between Basil and Ephraim, In his Church History III.16, devoted to Ephraim, he says: 'Basil, who was subsequently bishop of the metropolis of Cappadocia, was a great admirer of Ephraim, and was astonished at this erudition.' Subsequent tradition heavily embroidered the facts. According to the Syriac Life of Ephraim, Ephraim met Basil in Constantinople and that later in Syria he thwarted Basil's emissaries sent in the attempt to have him ordained priest. See the discussions in St Ephrem the Syrian, selected prose works, tr. E.G. Matthews & J.P. Amar (tr.) and ed. K. McVey (Washington DC: CUA Press, 1994), 13, 15-16, 79.

See Gribomont, pp. 108-148. Gribomont published after Murphy, who therefore did not know of this Syriac document.

Otherwise known as St Melania the Elder.

‘the companion of the holy Melania on the spiritual way’.

‘She was most erudite and fond of literature and turned night into day going through every writing of the ancient commentators—three million lines of Origen and two and a half million lines of Gregory, Stephen, Pierus, Basil and other worthy men. And she did not read them once only in an offhand way, but she worked on them, dredging through each work seven or eight times. Thus it was possible for her to be liberated from the knowledge falsely so called (1 Tim 6:20) and to mount on wings, thanks to these good books—by good hopes she transformed herself into a spiritual bird and so made the journey to Christ.’ Palladius, *The Lausiaca History* 55:3 tr. R.T. Meyer (NY: Newman Press, 1964), pp. 136-7. Palladius was a personal friend of Melania and had stayed at the community in Jerusalem.

Variant spellings in the codices are Pinnium clarum, Pinido etiam clarum, Pynido etiam. e.g. W.K.L. Clarke, *St Basil – Ascetic Works* (London: SPCK, 1925), p. 28.

For the text, see Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. by Theodor Mommsen in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, auctores antiquissimi* 5, 1.1 (Berlin, 1882), 53ff. For an English translation see Charles C. Mierow, *The Gothic History of Jordanes* (Cambridge: Spectrum Historiale, 1966), where a ‘Pineta’ appears in chapter 293, p. 136. The context is Theodoric’s war against Odoacer: ‘Crossing the river Po, he [Theodoric] pitched camp near the royal city of Ravenna, about the third milestone from the city in the place called Pineta’. See also Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, tr. Thomas J. Dunlop (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 282.

Murphy, p. 90.

See Barrington Atlas, *ibid.*, Map 44, Latium-Campania.

On the book publishing industry spearheaded by Rufinus, see Caroline P. Hammond Bammel,

‘A product of fifth-century scriptoria preserving conventions used by Rufinus of Aquileia’, *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 29 (1978), 366–91.

Gribomont, p. 95.

In his Preface to the Institutes Cassian mentions Basil by name and his ‘Institutes or Questions’ (i.e. the Asketikon) followed by the ‘monks of Pontus’. Since Rufinus’ Preface to the RBas refers to Basil’s work as ‘instituta monachorum’ (‘institutes of monks’), the use of ‘institutes’ indicates that Cassian knew Basil’s Asketikon from Rufinus’ translation. He cites the RBas at Inst. 1:1, 4:17, 6:19, 7:19; see Gribomont p. 262-263, where he concludes ‘Cassien semble donc connaître seulement le Petit Ascéticon.’

This tradition is preserved in the codices G, L and W, from monasteries of Saint Gall, Lambach, Wolfenbüttel respectively. See Zelzer’s description of the codices in his *Prolegomena*, pp. xvii-xxvii.

In accord with the generally accepted thesis of the RB’s dependence on the Regula Magistri, the references to the RBas found at RB 2:4 (RBas 15), 2:25 (RBas 98), 4:54 (RBas 8), 7:31-32 (RBas 12), 7:34 (RBas 65), 7:51 (RBas 62), 7:52-63 (RBas 86) are carried over from the Regula Magistri; see the list of citations of Basil’s Asketikon in both the RB and the Regula Magistri in J.T. Lienhard, ‘St Basil’s Asceticum Parvum and the Regula Benedicti,’ *Studia Monastica* 22 (1980), 234.

The text is from Regula Basili, ed. Zelzer, Praefatio 11, p. 4. ‘Make it your concern to provide copies for other monasteries also, so that, like Cappadocia, all the monasteries may live not by different, but by the same institutes and observances.’

An intriguing passage in Pope St Gregory’s Book of the Dialogues shows a direct link between Cassino and Terracina a century and a half later. Book 4.8 tells of two brothers sent by St Benedict to ‘a monastery of his, close by the city of Terracina’, and of a journey thence to Capua. Cassino, along the inland route from Nola to Rome is not far from Terracina on the coast, little more than fifty kilometres.

‘The collection of his (Rufinus’s) letters has been lost, though a four-page interchange with Paulinus has survived.’ (Murphy, p. xvi). This appears as the preface to Rufinus’ commentary On the Benedictions of the Patriarchs (see Murphy, pp. 202-204). The preface to Rufinus’ translation of Origen on Romans is also addressed to Paulinus.

See Murphy, p. 189, and Zelzer ‘Zur Überlieferung’, p. 628 n. 2.

This is the Codex Parisiensis bibl. Nat. Lat. 2634, published as *Regula Eugippi*, ed. A. de Vogüé and F. Villegas CSEL, vol 87 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1987).

See Murphy, 224-225. On p. 225, n. 69 Murphy gives the following bibliography of scholars of the manuscript tradition: ‘Cf. R. Beer, *Anzeigen der phil.-hist. Klasse der kais: Akad. der Wissensch.* (Vienna, 1911) n. XI; W. Baehrens, “Textgeschichte der Homilien zum Oktateuch,” *Überlieferung und Textgesch. der latein. Erhalt. Origenes=homilien zum alten Test.* (Texte und Untersuchungen 42,1, Leipzig, 1916), 186-199.’

‘Mischregelzeitalters’, Zelzer, ‘Zur Überlieferung’ p. 631.

‘Zur Überlieferung’, pp. 629-632. See also F. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich* (München-Wien, 1965), H. Ledoyen, ‘Aux origenes de Lérins: La Règle de Saint Basile?’, *Irenikon* 53 (1980), 30-45.

See Zelzer ‘Zur Überlieferung’ p. 630-1; de Vogüé, ‘Aux origenes de Lérins: La Règle de Saint Basile?’, *Studia Monastica* 31 (1989), 259-266; Ledoyen, *op.cit.*, 36.

See n. 25 above on citations of Basil in the RB carried over from the *Regula Magistri*. Of particular importance are the many citations of and allusions to the RBAs in the RB that do not derive from the *Regula Magistri*, about 30 in all. See J.T. Lienhard, ‘St Basil’s *Asceticum Parvum* and the *Regula Benedicti*’, *Studia Monastica* 22 (1980), 230–242 at 234. This list shows that the final redactor of the RB, St Benedict, was intimately acquainted with the RBAs

independently of any mediate source such as the *Regula Magistri*. ‘The forceful synthesis of Egyptian tradition enunciated by the RM [*Regula Magistri*] is taken over, but only after being purified and simplified, and then softened and completed by its merger with the traditions of Basil and Augustine’, RB 1980, *the Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, Minn., The Liturgical Press, 1981), p. 90.

See Adalbert de Vogüé, ‘Twenty-five Years of Benedictine Hermeneutics—an Examination of Conscience’, *American Benedictine Review* 36 (1985), 402–52, and ‘De la «Règle de saint Basile» à celle de saint Benoît’, *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 51 (1989) 298–309; Jean Gribomont, ‘The Commentaries of Adalbert de Vogüé and the Great Monastic Tradition’, *American Benedictine Review* 36 (1985), 229–62; tr. from the French—the article originally appeared in *Studia Anselmiana* 84 (Rome: Inst. S. Anselmi, 1982), 109–43, and ‘Sed et Regula S. Patris nostri Basilii’, *Benedictina* 27 (1980), 27–40.

It should be pointed out that despite the honour attaching to the memory of St Basil and his teachings on community, the spirituality of Byzantine and Slavic monasticism was much affected by the eremitic and mystical tendencies of the Egyptian, Syriac and Palestinian traditions, which contributed much to the development of Hesychasm in the later Byzantine period. In the classic 18th century anthology of Hesychastic texts, the *Philokalia*, St Basil does not figure at all, whereas ‘Saint Cassian the Roman’—the most important conduit of the Egyptian tradition to the West—does.

‘The spirit of the 1960s should not colour our reading of these 4th century texts’, Augustine Holmes, *A life Pleasing to God, the Spirituality of the Rules of St Basil* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2000), p. 179.

Others were Athanasius, Hilary and Ambrose, Aegeria, Marius Victorinus, Evagrius of Antioch, Melania the Elder, John Cassian and Jerome. Rufinus belongs to an even more select band whose writings in Latin were translated into Greek. In 402-403, at the suggestion of Bishop Chromatius, he translated Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History*, augmenting it throughout, deleting Book Ten and then adding a Two books of his own composition covering the fourth century. These were then

translated into Greek very shortly after it was published, and used by the Greek writers of Church history, Sozomen, Socrates and Gelasius of Cyzicus.

In 410, in the last year of his life Rufinus translated Origen's commentary on the Song of Songs. It would be hard to overstate the importance of this work on the history of western monasticism and spirituality. It had already contributed to the mystical discourse of the Greek-speaking Church through the medium of the Cappadocians, above all Gregory of Nyssa.

When in 480 Gennadius of Marseilles continued Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*, he devoted chapter 17 to Rufinus, where he says that he 'opened to the Latin speaking church the greater part of Greek literature', *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, ed. P. Schaff & H. Wace, originally published by Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1890, reprinted Peabody Massachusetts, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, vol. 3, p. 389.

Rufinus considered that Basil's ascetical works were particularly suitable reading for women. In the Preface to his collection of Basil's homilies he writes: '[Basil's] work is more moral in nature, fit for guiding souls toward the good life and for relieving them in their labour. In this also it possesses greater virtue in that the reading of it will be found most fitting for religious-minded women, and particularly for the admiring study of your lady wife, our daughter, for it is not burdened with questions of a dogmatic nature, but rather goes along as a most limpid stream, flowing softly and with sufficient calm', PG 31, 1723B. Cf. Basil's letters 52, 105 and 159 which show the high level of theological discourse he might expect of the women who had written to him.

i.e. after Rufinus had translated Eusebius' Church History, in Book 11 of which he had inserted a long excursus on Gregory Thaumaturgus. See Mitchell, pp. 130-135, specially 134-135.

Texts, especially of St Gregory Nazianzen, found important niches in the western liturgy, both as lectiones and as phrases used in the more lyric parts of the Divine Office, e.g. *O Mirabile Mysterium* for Lauds, Jan 1—see P. Jeffery 'Paravdoxon Musthvrion: the Thought of Gregory the Theologian in Byzantine and Latin Liturgical Chant', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 39 (1994), 187-198. Gregory Nazianzen's Apology for his Flight and Return was used by Gregory the Great in his treatment of the sacerdotal priesthood.