άςαπητός.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 ἀγαπᾶσθαι . . . τὰ ἀγαπητὰ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἀγαπᾶται: Basil Hom. in Ps. xliv [xlv] (on the title ἀδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ) τὸ κυρίως ἀγαπητὸν ὁ θεός, . . . οὖ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ τέλειον χωρῆσαι ἀγάπης καὶ τὸν ὄντως ἀγαπητὸν ἐπιγνῶναι, Hom. in Ps. cxiv [cxvi] on v. v ταντα 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 dyáπη was the characteristic Christian virtue, the habitual designation as an alternative to ἀδελφοί, 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, V ad fin.): but in combination with a noun or noun and possessive pronoun (e.g. Dion. Alex. Ep. ad Basilidem τῷ ἀγαπητῷ μου νἱῷ καὶ ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ . . . ἀγαπητὲ υίέ 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 ἀγαπητέ, 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 αγαπητός 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 $d\gamma d\pi\eta\sigma\iota s$ is found in the Platonic "Oροι, 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 νίὸς ἀγαπητὸς ό μόνος ὢν πατρὶ ἢ μητρί: ὧσπερ καὶ ἀγαπητὴ θυγάτηρ καὶ μονογενὴς καθ' Ἡσίοδον: Hesychius Lexicon s.v. ἀγαπητόν· μονογενή, κεχαρισμένον. And so we find in Aristotle Politics ii 4 (1262 b) δύο γάρ ἐστιν ἃ μάλιστα ποιεί κήδεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ φιλείν, τό τε ἴδιον καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητόν: Eudemian Ethics iii 6. 3 (1233 b) οἷον εὶ εἰς γάμον δαπανῶν τις τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ, πλούσιος ών, δοκεί πρέπειν έαυτώ τοιαύτην κατασκευήν οίον άγαθοδαιμονιαστάς έστιωντι: Rhetoric i 7. 41 καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ τοῖς μὲν μόνον, τοῖς δὲ μετ' άλλων διὸ καὶ οὖκ ἴση ζημία, ἄν τις τὸν ἐτερόφθαλμον τυφλώση καὶ τὸν δύ έχοντα, άγαπητὸν 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 υἱοῦ for τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ υἱοῦ of Gen. xxii 16: it is the natural meaning of ένα έσχεν νίον άγαπητόν 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 αὐτοῦ ον άγαπητον είχε καὶ κληρόνομον 1: and it is an open question whether o vios mov o ayanntos 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 τῆ Παλαιά περὶ Υίοῦ πολλὰ λέγεται, οίον . . . ΦΔΗ Υπέρ τος αγαπητος [Ps. xliv (xlv) tit.], καὶ ἐν τῶ Ἡσαία [Is. v I] . . . ἐςμα τος ἀγαπητος τῷ ἀμπελώνι μος . . . τὸ δὲ αγαπητὸς τίς αν είη η υίὸς μονογενης... ταυτὸν γάρ έστιν τό τε μονογενèς καὶ το ἀγαπητόν, ώς τὸ Ογτός έςτιν ὁ γίος μογ ὁ ἀγαπητός οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην σημῶναι θέλων εἶπε τὸ ἀγαπητὸς (ἴνα μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους μισεῖν δόξη) άλλα το μονογενες εδήλου ίνα το μόνον εξ αὐτοῦ είναι αὐτον δείξη. τῷ ᾿Αβραὰμ γοῦν σημᾶναι θέλων ὁ Λόγος τὸ μονογενές φησι Προςένεικε τὸν γίον τον τον άγαπητον παντί δε δήλον εκ της Σάρρας μόνον είναι τον Ἰσαάκ: ib. ίν 20 τὸ δὲ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ Ελληνες ἴσασιν οἱ δεινοὶ περὶ τὰς λέξεις, ὅτι ἴσον έστὶν τῷ εἰπεῖν μονογενής· φησὶ γὰρ Ομηρος [Od. ii 365] . . . ΜογΝος ἐώΝ άγαπητός . . . δ ἄρα μόνος ὢν τῷ πατρὶ ἀγαπητὸς λέγεται. Other fathers who bring αγαπητόs into collocation with μονογενήs (as in Jud. xi 34 [A Lucian of Jephthah's daughter, αὐτη μονογενης αὐτῷ ἀγαπητή, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ πλην αὐτη̂s), and therefore presumably interpret the one by the other, are : Iren. Haer. iv 5. 3 (of Abraham) τον ίδιον μονογενή καὶ ἀγαπητον

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

παραχωρήσας θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα καὶ ὁ θεὸς εὐδοκήση . . . τὸν ἴδιον μονογενη καὶ ἀγαπητὸν υίὸν θυσίαν παρασχείν. Eus. eccl. theol. i 10 (68. 15) ὁ ἀληθῶς υίὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄτε δὴ 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) λόγον μεν όντα καθ' δ . . . θεὸν δὲ καὶ μονογενη καθ' δ μόνος άληθῶς ην υίὸς τοῦ έπὶ πάντων θεοῦ, νίὸς γνήσιος ὄντως καὶ ἀγαπητός, τῷ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα ἀφωμοιωμένος, and apart from any christological reference laud. Const. xiii 6, 7 (238. 12, 17) τὰ μονογενή καὶ ἀγαπητὰ τῶν τέκνων κατασφάττειν . . . ἔθυον τὰ ἀγαπητὰ καὶ μονογενη τῶν τέκνων. Αφ. Const. iii 17. 4 X. ὁ μονογενης θεὸς ὁ ἀγαπητὸς υίος, cf. viii 12. 31. Greg. Nyss. de deitate Filii et Sp. S. (ii 905) (of Abraham) λάβε μοί, φησι, τον γίον τον τον άγαπητον τον μονογενή. ὅρα τὰ κέντρα τοῦ λόγου, πῶς κεντεῖ τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ σπλάγχνα . . . καὶ υἱὸν ἀγαπητὸν καὶ μονογενη καλῶν; 1 So probably Serapion πάντας πρὸς έαυτὸν διὰ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου υίου έλκων in his εὐχὴ προσφόρου (J. T. S. i 105), his ordinary phrase being τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Ί. Χ. Both interpretations of αγαπητός are apparently combined by St Basil (in Ps. xliv [xlv] tit.: partly quoted ·above): άγαπητὸς τῷ πατρὶ μὲν ὡς μονογενής, τἢ κτίσει δὲ πάση ώς πατηρ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ άγαθὸς προστάτης, τὸ αὐτὸ δέ ἐστιν τῆ φύσει καὶ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν διότι καλῶς ὡρίσαντο ήδη τινὲς ἀγαθὸν εἶναι οδ 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 οξτός έςτιν ό γίος μογ ό λγαπητός. 165 Α οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ υίοὺς θεοῦ κατασκευάσας καὶ ἀγαπητούς οὖτως ἔλκει πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν λῆξιν ἡμᾶς. does not indeed appear to be any trace of $dyamntos = \mu ovoy \epsilon v \eta s$ in Origen; his comment on Matt. xvii 5 ή τοῦ πατρὸς φωνή μαρτυροῦσα τῷ νἱῷ ὡς ἀγαπητῷ καὶ εὐδοκητῷ, In Matt. Tom. xii § 42, suggests that he interpreted αγαπητός and εὐδοκητός 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 ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σου Ί. Χ. πατήρ, though Origen himself of course often interprets quite independently of the exegetical tradition.

IV In pseudepigraphic Christian (and in Jewish?) writings δ ἡγαπημένος (see under ἀγαπάω) seems to be used as a title of Messiah *The Beloved*, and ἀγαπητός may have followed suit from the apparent

¹ These passages seem amply sufficient to shew that μονογενής and ἀγαπητός are used as equivalent or as exegetical the one of the other (and one might perhaps add to them Ep. ad Diognetum 8. 11 διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδός, 10. 2 τὸν νίὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ); 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 ὁ γιός μογ ὁ ἀραπητός of Mt. xvii 5 with the ὁ γιός μογ ὁ ἀκλελεγμένος of Lk. ix 35. So the Ascension of Isaiah iii 13 ἐξέλευσις 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) Τά πάτερ ἄγιε . . . πέμψον σου τὸν ἀγαπητὸν νίὸν Ί. Χ. ἐλέγξαι τὸν ἄπιστον ἀρχιερέα, ἴνα τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐν τῷ ἀγαπητῷ 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 νίὸς 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 τὰς άγαπητάς λεγομένας συνεισάκτους γυναίκας κεκτημένων: ib. lxxviii 11 (of the Virgin as commended to St John) μη τοῦτο στραφή εἰς βλάβην τισι καὶ δόξωσιν ἐν τούτω λαμβάνειν πρόφασιν συνεισάκτους καὶ αγαπητάς έπικαλουμένας έαυτοῖς έπινοεῖν. Greg. Naz. Epigram. xx (Epigrams x-xx are on the same subject: x, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi contain the word) 7 των Χριστώ ζώντων καὶ τερπομένων αγαπηταις μή που τοὺς μεγάλους αὖρα φέρει καμάτους. ἡ πῦρ ἡὲ πυρὸς σημήϊα τοῖς αγαπητοίς· | την εἰκαζομένην φεύγετε σωφροσύνην. ib. xviii 3 Χριστον έχεις άγαπητόν, ἀπόπτυσον ἄνδρας ἄπαντας. Ps-Athanasius Syntagma Doctrinae ad Monachos [ed. Bened. ii 361 B] μη έχειν γυναίκα συνείσακτον, 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 εί [Πέτρος] είχεν άγαπητήν (sc. άδελφην γυναϊκα of I Cor. ix 5), καὶ ημεῖς τοῖς ἐκείνου ἴχνεσιν ἐπακολουθουμεν, 4 άγαπητή γάρ ήτω διά Χριστόν έως του χαίρειν, ΙΙ πολλάκις τις κόρη τοις ιδίοις γονεύσι μη εξυπηρετησαμένη . . . αιτη σπουδαία εις τον άγαπητὸν ευρέθη. Theodoret in ep. ad Philem. 2 άγαπητην ωνόμασε τοῦ Φιλήμονος την δμόζυγα ώς τη πίστει κοσμουμένην. θαυμαζέτω δε μηδείς εί προσπταίουσι νῦν τινες τῷ προσρήματι τούτῳ οἱ γὰρ κακῶς κεχρημένοι τῷ πράγματι τῆ προσηγορία τὴν λοιδορίαν προσῆψαν, πάλαι δὲ σεμνὸν τὸ ονομα καὶ ἀξιέπαινον 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) Εὕα . . . δρακοντιαίων συρισμάτων ἀγαπήτρια—another unknown form—the sense is not quite the same.]

Const. ix tit. 1 (Novellae vi cap. 6) τὰς [διακονίσσας] μὴ ἔχειν ἐν τάξει δῆθεν ἀδελφῶν ἢ συγγενῶν ἢ τῶν καλουμένων ἀγαπητῶν συνόντας.

VI The neuter ἀγαπητόν and adverb ἀγαπητῶς 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 . . . μεταδοῦναί τι μέρος αὐτοῖς ὧν κινδυνεύσαντες ηνεγκαν ούδ ότιουν μετέδοσαν, αγαπητόν δε ην το μη και προσαπολέσθαι σεσυλημένον. Origen in Io. x 43 (ii 22), the greater blessing is Blessed are your eyes for they see . . . άγαπητον δε και τον ύποδεέστερον λαβείν μακαρισμον λέγοντα Μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες. Eus. dem. ev. viii 2 p. 388 τοις έξ ἀνθρώπων . . . εἰς τὸ ἐφικτὸν ἀρετῆς χωρήσασιν ἀγαπητὸν άριοις χρηματίσαι . . . άριων δε άριος τίς αν κυρίως εν ανθρώποις ονομασθείη; Chrysostom frequently (especially in an apodosis, joined to $\pi\lambda\hat{\eta}\nu$ $\hat{a}\lambda\lambda\hat{a}$, or with τέως): Hom. in ep. ad Rom. I (426 A) τοσαύτην ἀπονείματε σπουδήν τη των λεγομένων άκροάσει όσην τη των χρημάτων συλλογή. εί γάρ καὶ αἰσχρὸν τοσαύτην ἀπαιτησαι παρ' ὑμῶν μόνην, πλην ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, ἂν τοσαύτην γοῦν διδῶτε: Hom. in ep. 1 ad Cor. xxxiii (307 E) δεῖ τοίνυν συγκαταβαίνειν . . . τὸ τέως άγαπητὸν ἢν τὸ τὸν σταυρὸν τοὺς ἀκούοντας μὴ έπαισχυνθήναι. For dyaπητώς Basil (?) Comm. in Isai. 472 Ε έπτὰ γγιαῖκες [iv 1] . . . πνεύματα . . . άπερ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὧ ἐπαναπαύσεται [ix 2], ἀγαπητῶς 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 ὅτι πολλοὶ τεχνῖται τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν, ἀγαπητῶς ἐκ τῆς ἐφὸ ήμέραν έργασίας την τροφην έαυτοις συμπορίζοντες, περιεστήκασιν ήμας, οί τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν συντέμνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀφέλκωνται.

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

The collection and arrangement of the meanings of ἀγαπητός 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 ἀγάπη 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 ἀγάπη itself does not occur in pre-Christian writers, and the discussion must turn upon the earlier meanings of άγαπᾶν, άγαπητός, &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 δ aγaπητός 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 ἀγαπητόs is rather 'the chosen' than 'the beloved' (= ἐκλελεγμένος), 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 εὐδοκητός 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 development 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 μονογενής 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.