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THE *ORATIONES* OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS IN THE BYZANTINE ROMANCE *BARLAAM AND IOASAPH*

ABSTRACT: The Byzantine romance *Barlaam and Ioasaph* relating the conversion to Christianity of an Indian Prince, modelled on the life of Buddha, was very popular in the Middle Ages and later, for several centuries, but today is known to few people. Discussion of authorship and time of its composition, started by Hermann Zotenberg in the 1880s, has continued until today, without satisfactory conclusions. He cast doubt on the commonly held hypothesis that the work was written by St. John of Damascus. One of the main arguments adduced by the supporters of this thesis was presence in the romance of multiple passages from works by Gregory of Nazianzus, who St. John used to quote often. In this article I analyse the fragments of his *Orationes* which can be recognised in the text of Chapter XXIV, seeking answer to the question of how great was the dependence of its author (or editor) on this father of the Church and how his writings were used.

KEY WORDS: *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, Christianity, romance, Buddha

Barlaam and Ioasaph is formed from the names of its main characters and is used as an abbreviation of the title of the Byzantine romance¹ known

¹ It is to be noted here that the term “romance” commonly used for *B&I* is to some extent inadequate: this work is distinct both from the late antique romances and from

also from beginning words ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΨΥΧΩΦΕΛΗΣ (in Latin translation: *Historia animae utilis*). The work, despite the fact that it achieved great popularity soon after its composition, and continued to be read in the following centuries, not only in the East, but also Western Europe, is today known, unfortunately, only to a narrow circle of scholars and enthusiasts of the culture of the Far East. However, I believe that this is an unusual and noteworthy work: in a surprising manner, by drawing from a broad range of sources, it combines different beliefs, cultures and languages, and rather than being a trite Christianised description of the life of Buddha, it is like a beautiful Byzantine mosaic, something distinctly different, even if inspired by that Sage and teacher of the East, offering a new story about the conversion to Christianity of the Indian Prince Ioasaph.

One of the characteristics of the romance is its rich incrustation with passages from works by prominent writers of antiquity and the early Middle Ages: fragments of the Holy Scripture, *The Apology of Aristides*, quotations from works of Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, homilies of John Chrysostom as well as *Vita Sanctae Mariae Aegyptiae* of Sophronius of Jerusalem, *Narratio* of Pseudo-Nilus Ancyranus and *Σχέδη βασιλικά* of Agapetus the Deacon. The purpose of this article is to try to analyse a few citations (among dozens of those identified by the most recent editor of the work, Robert Volk²) from the *Orationes* of Gregory of Nazianzus; it seems that although researchers recognise connections between the text of the romance and works of this prominent speaker and bishop (for example in the Polish translation made by Sebastian Piskorski with the preface of Jan Janów, the Greek-English edition of George Ratcliffe Woodward and Harold Mattingly or the new critical edition of Robert Volk), this issue has not been settled in any, even short, publication.

the ones inspired by them and composed in Byzantium eight centuries later, when, according to the scholars' opinion, this genre was just revived; therefore using for *B&I* the term "romance", even if all-embracing (Kazhdan 1999: 105, quoting the definition of Reardon), could be contentious. Some scholars, for example Beaton (1996: 30–31), point out to connections between hagiography and the romances; nevertheless he regards *B&I* not as one of them, but rather as "the religious fable" and part of "an undercurrent of fictional narrative", attributing the first medieval Greek romance to Theodore Prodromos.

² See index in: Volk 2006.

1. AUTHORSHIP OF THE ROMANCE

The main reason for choosing quotes from St. Gregory's speeches in *Barlaam and Ioasaph* as the object of analysis was the fact that their sheer number was one of the key arguments adduced by the proponents of the hypothesis that identifies the author of the romance as St. John of Damascus. Along with St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus was allegedly, a favourite writer of St. John's, very often cited by him. Nevertheless, today all the information available in the sources (manuscripts, martyrologies, works of other authors) makes it impossible to identify unquestionably "John the Monk" mentioned in the earliest manuscripts of the romance with that holy man, even if it was considered almost certain for years. It is wise to recall here the history of research on the romance to make the analysis of these fragments useful for the reader to reflect on their meaning as an argument in the dispute.

Clear identification of the author of the romance, closely connected with the problem of determining the date of composition, is very complicated, because of the variety of the sources on which the romance was based and the large number of versions of the text, different in terms of both language and content. This issue is particularly important for the Greek version – it is considered as the basis for the translations to Old Church Slavonic and Latin, which in turn were models for translations into almost all languages of medieval Europe. Henceforth, I use "romance", "work" and their synonyms with reference to the Greek version only. The work, in fact, was popular with both secular circles and the clergy from its composition, nowadays dated to the 10th century. The high popularity of the romance was connected with its internal and external features. A lively plot, characteristic of Hellenistic romances, (even if interrupted and slowed down by Barlaam's long speeches discussing the truth of the Christian faith), with unexpected twists and an eventually happy ending, as well as the setting of the story in India, which for the Greeks was a distant exotic country – these are indeed its advantages. Undoubtedly, too, this work, describing "the famous and blessed Barlaam and Ioasaph", has distinct characteristics of a hagiographic work, a genre which was highly popular at least from the end of antiquity.³ In

³ Smoraǵ-Różycka 1993: 12.

addition, its central theme, i.e. praise of life devoted to the service of God dovetails with many forms of monastic life already developed in the Byzantine Empire. All these features, as well as the richness of the parables included in the text, which could be suitable to use as stylistic or rhetorical means for example in sermons, made it a useful tool of Christianization.⁴

What contributed considerably to the popularity of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* was the fact that in the eleventh century, first in the Greek manuscripts, and then in the middle of the century, in the translations into Latin and other languages, the name of John of Damascus was included in its full title as the alleged author. Although his name was not the only one mentioned in this context,⁵ his authorship was recognized as likely fairly quickly, and already in the 16th century the romance was counted among the Saint's writings.⁶ The authorship of this eminent theologian and defender of the cult of images from the eighth century was not questioned until the 1880s, when the Orientalist and Arabist Hermann Zotenberg published his work.⁷ Having made a detailed analysis of a dozen manuscripts and selected the oldest among them, he stated that they indicate a certain monk John of the monastery of St. Saba in Jerusalem as the author of the romance, and that he need not be John of Damascus himself. The scope of the dogmatic issues raised in the romance and comparison between *B&I* and the other works of the Damascene with respect to language and style led the scholar to object to his authorship. His work initiated an international discussion on the romance.

It is noteworthy only that most of scholars, followed Zotenberg in rejecting, explicitly or indirectly, John of Damascus' authorship in favour of an unknown monk John, or St. Euthymius or some other anonymous

⁴ Khintibidze 1997: 499.

⁵ Apart from John of Damascus, the following are given as the author's name in the manuscripts: Euthymios the Iberian, Peter Kasimates, John Tabenisiotes (Kazhdan 1999: 95), Sofron of Palestine (Janów 1935: XXVIII).

⁶ This information is confirmed by, for example, the Martyrologium of Pope Sixtus the Fifth, which notes under date of 27 November: "the holy saints Barlaam and Josaphat, of India, whose wonderful acts St. John of Damascus has described"; Woodward, Mattingly 1953: VII.

⁷ *Notice sur le livre Barlaam de Ioasaph accompagnée d'extraits du text grec et des versions arabe et éthiopienne*, 1886.

person. These scholars include Friedrich Rosen,⁸ Fritz Hommel,⁹ Ernst Kuhn,¹⁰ Karl Krumbacher,¹¹ Joseph Jacobs,¹² Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare,¹³ Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge,¹⁴ Paul Peeters,¹⁵ Robert Lee Wolff,¹⁶ and David Marshall Lang.¹⁷ And yet, the point of view attributing the authorship of the romance to John of Damascus, which was so popular from the Middle Ages until Zotenberg's rejected it, still has some supporters. It was advanced again at the beginning of

⁸ According to Janów (1935: XXVII–XXVIII), he claimed that the Greek version of the romance was a translation from Georgian made by St. Euthymius.

⁹ Noteworthy are his attempts to reconcile the differing positions of Zotenberg and Rosen (Hommel 1890: 136–143).

¹⁰ Having analysed different language versions of the romance, he stated that the name of St. Euthymius had been interpolated in the title by an anonymous Georgian monk. He was unable, however, to give more information about the author aside from the fact that the first version of the romance had to be written in the Pehlevi alphabet by a Christian living in the 7th C (Kuhn 1893: 8–50).

¹¹ He mentioned the romance in his *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)* (1891: 173) as incorrectly attributed to John of Damascus. In a separate chapter on the work he regarded as true the information included in many manuscripts that it was brought from India to the Holy Land by a certain monk John of the monastery of St. Saba. The name of St. Euthymius had to be interpolated later.

¹² He also rejected the authorship of John of Damascene, but underlining the romance's Buddhist inclinations, he agreed that its origins lay in India (Jacobs 1896: XVI–XXV).

¹³ Talking about the authorship of the romance, Conybeare (1896: 101–142) also regarded the name of St. Euthymius as an interpolation. He tried to resolve the issue of the origins of the text by putting forward the hypothesis that there had been three Greek versions and the extant one was the last of these, whereas the earlier two had perished; nevertheless, until today there is no trace of them (see: Peeters 1931: 288–291).

¹⁴ He adopted the ideas of Conybeare regarding three textual versions (but with an earlier dating) and of Jacobs with respect to the origins of the romance in India (Budge 1923: V–CXXI).

¹⁵ On the basis of information provided in one of the oldest manuscripts of the Latin version he reached the conclusion that it was St. Euthymius who had translated the romance into Greek (Peeters 1931: 276–312).

¹⁶ Wolff (1939: 131–139) rejected some of Zotenberg's arguments as unconvincing, but also discarded the hypothesis of John of Damascus' authorship and opted for St. Euthymius.

¹⁷ Having analysed the statements made by Dölger (1953), Lang (1955: 306–325) rejected John of Damascus' authorship in favour of St. Euthymius.

the 20th century by George Ratcliffe Woodward and Harold Mattingly.¹⁸ They considered Zotenberg's arguments unconvincing, and – surprisingly – brought into question his competence to comment on this subject.¹⁹ Furthermore, almost a half century later, in the 1950s Franz Dölger tried to authenticate John of Damascus' authorship of the text.²⁰ The key evidence was alleged quotes from the Saint's other works to be found in the romance.²¹ More restrained was Alexander Kazhdan.²² He stated that the date of composition and the authorship of the romance are contentious. He was personally inclined to accept the attribution to an unknown John, a monk from the monastery of Mar Saba. Probably the most recent voice in this discussion is that of Robert Volk, the internationally recognised scholar, whose commentary precedes the latest critical edition. He convincingly systematised the current knowledge and demonstrated the inadequacy of the attribution of the romance to John of Damascus, instead recognizing St. Euthymius as the author of the Greek version.²³

2. FRAGMENTS OF ST. GREGORY'S *ORATIONES* IN *BARLAAM AND IOASAPH*

What can be concluded from the above discussion is that the majority of scholars today reject St. John of Damascus' alleged authorship of the romance. However, because of the mosaic nature of the text, it is worth looking more closely at the parts of the *Orationes* of Gregory present in its text. It would be interesting to reflect on the way in which the author or the editor (if we have in mind the dependence on the versions composed in other languages) of the Greek version of the romance used

¹⁸ Woodward, Mattingly 1914: XI–XIV.

¹⁹ Woodward, Mattingly 1914: XIII.

²⁰ Especially interesting are his analyses of the problem from two angles, a “positive” and a “negative” one (Dölger 1953: 61ff).

²¹ This argument, however, does not seem convincing, because no other medieval author cited his own works (Smoraǵ-Różycka 1993: 13, and footnote 18).

²² He addressed the issue first in the three-volume *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991), of which he was the principal editor, and later, in more detail, in an entire chapter devoted to “Barlaam and Ioasaph” in the first volume of his monumental *History of Byzantine Literature* (1999: 95–105).

²³ Volk 2009: 1–96.

them, and more specifically, whether they are literal quotations which encrust the text and are easily discernible for the listener or reader, or rather elements of an intellectual game with the recipient. Very important is also the context in which they appear in the romance and in the various speeches: is it possible to assign it any importance, or rather is it to be regarded as dependent on composition?

Due to the sheer number of these passages and the limited size of the article, a selection had to be made. The subjectivity of this selection is inevitable because of the variety of speeches from which they come, and their uneven distribution in the text. Therefore, the focus of reflection will be Chapter XXIV. It is one of those in which the author has recycled texts by other authors, making sure at the same time that they are as diverse as possible in terms of provenance. Nevertheless, it remains to be hoped that this research material is still representative enough to show the variety of methods used by the author or the editor to adorn the text with references to St. Gregory's works.

a) The context of Chapter XXIV

The analysis should include a discussion of the original context in which the relevant passages appear in the *Orationes* as well as one in which they appear in Chapter XXIV of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. However, we shall begin with an outline of the earlier events in the plot.

After a series of teachings relating to various aspects of faith – including the necessity of repentance, praise of monastic life, the value of good deeds, warning against wealth, the problem of human freedom, alms, perception of faith as a burden, learning about the Creator through His creation, the mystery of the Blessed Sacrament, the worship of images, the Nicene Creed, incentives to cultivate the virtues and instruction about prayer (in Chapters XI–XIX) – the monk Barlaam gives Prince Ioasaph the sacraments: Baptism and the Eucharist. Then he encourages him to pray and living in the manner suitable for Christian (Chapter XX).

The monk frequently visits the Prince, which worries his father's servants. One of them, Zardan, asks Ioasaph either to stop the meetings or to resign from his position. The prince's attempts to convert Zardan do not bring the expected results. Therefore, at the request of Barlaam and for fear that his teacher's life may be in danger, he allows the monk to return to the community of nuns (Chapter XXI). After his

departure, Ioasaph devotes himself to religious practices. The king, however, concerned about Zardan's feigned illness, wants to visit him, but he comes to the King and reveals the reason for his worries. Abenner calls his closest associate Araches, who starts to scheme how to convince the Prince to abandon the faith. The persecution of Christians intensifies: Barlaam is not found, but seventeen hermits, after disputation with Abenner, are condemned by him to a cruel death preceded by mutilation (Chapters XXII–XXIII).

b) The *Orationes* of St. Gregory in Chapter XXIV

Chapter XXIV begins with collusion between Araches and Nachor and Barlaam's unexpected capture. The information about these developments comes to Prince Ioasaph's attention: initially distraught, the young man finds in prayer not only solace, but also strength to stand up for the faith. When his father visits Ioasaph to reproach him and insist on making an offering to the gods worshipped in the Kingdom, he bravely admits:

Χριστῷ συνεταξάμην (93²⁴).

These words can be found in an identical form in St. Gregory's *Ora-
tio XXIV*, passage 3:

Χριστῷ συνεταξάμην.

Speech XXIV was probably the first of laudatory speeches which Gregory delivered in Constantinople, at the end of the 370s. It is dedicated to St. Cyprian, the image of whom was a combination of two characters: the legendary Bishop of Antioch, worshipped in the capital, and the historic Bishop of Carthage, a martyr from the time of Valerian. By means of this phrase the Bishop defines himself, expressing first the joy that he can take part in the festivities in honour of martyrs and explaining that since he serves Christ, he has rejected the pursuit of transient worldly goods.

²⁴ In the numbering of verses I follow Volk (2006).

Returning to the romance, – after his declaration Ioasaph presents his father with an article of faith in the Triune God, criticizing faith in the deities worshipped by him, and expresses regret that his father cannot experience the joy that conversion has brought on himself. The prince then encourages his father to become a Christian and brings his attention to the pointlessness of efforts made to persuade himself to renounce Christianity: he will rather renounce his royal sonship. In this case, therefore, the similarity between the speakers of the words cited above concerns their religious beliefs: both are Christians. Otherwise the context is completely different.

It should be also noted at this point that the same words are used to express conversion to Christianity by other writers, such as Asterius the Sophist and John Chrysostom.

Abenner's reaction to the Prince's words is very violent. Referring to the astrologers' prophecies which accompanied his birth (misrepresenting, however, their content; cf. Chapter III), he threatens him with punishment characterized by cruelty which he did not demonstrate even against his enemies. These threats, however, do not scare Ioasaph. He tells his father that if he forces him to change faith, his son will consider him an enemy, a tyrant and executioner. However, the Prince admonishes his father:

τὴν λήμην καὶ ἀγλὸν ἀποτινάξας τῶν τοῦ νοῦς ὀμμάτων ἀνάβλεψον ἰδεῖν τὸ πᾶσι περιλάμπον τοῦ θεοῦ μου φῶς (175–176).

A similar idea can be found in *Oratio XXII*, passage 7:

[πότε] τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν λήμην περιαιρήσομεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας φῶς ἀναβλέψομεν;

The leitmotiv of this speech, given, as mentioned above, in Constantinople at the end of the 370s, is peace between people. It was inspired by disputes over the election of the Patriarch of Antioch, who had initially been Meletius, but as a result of a conflict with the Arians had been banished by Emperor Valens and his office was supposed to be assumed by Paulin. After Meletius' return to Antioch some of the clergy took his side, – while the rest remained loyal to Paulin. This conflict, named the

Meletian schism, lasted for many years, did not even end with Meletius' death in 381. Then his successors became its main actors. In his speech, Gregory praises peace and then expresses concern for its absence among the followers of Christ. Outraged by mutual recriminations, he points out that later they may become a weapon in the hands of their opponents, and that such conduct will give a bad example to other people. The above mentioned words are a call for reflection, self-control, unity and agreement.

What connects the two texts is not a literal quotation of a phrase or sentence, but the use of the words *λήμη* and *φῶς* to build the context for both speeches, whereby anger and hatred are regarded as a hindrance to accurate perception, and a remedy for that is to return to the light: the light of God, the light of truth. Ioasaph continues his speech and cautions his father that while carnal pleasures can make people happy for a relatively short period of time, they eventually lead to eternal damnation. Then it will be too late, because:

ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἄδη ἐξομολόγησις καὶ μετάνοια οὐχ ὑπάρχει (193–194).

A vision of divine judgement and punishment for sins appears in *Oratio XVI*, passage 7:

οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄδη τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐξομολόγησις καὶ διόρθωσις.

The speech was delivered by St. Gregory after a hailstorm. Trying to figure out the source of natural disasters and to understand God's justice in punishment for sins, he attempts to establish moderation in sorrow over crop losses and draws his listeners' attention to much worse manifestations of God's wrath which they may witness if they do not repent. He interprets the recent hailstorm as a didactic tool used by God and a form of warning before a more severe punishment. He also argues that it is better to suffer now and have the chance of conversion than to pay the price after death, when it is too late to change anything. The belief that hell is a place of eternal damnation where mistakes cannot be corrected, is by no means a concept of St. Gregory's; this idea was already present in the Old Testament, Psalm 6, verse 6:

ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄδη τίς ἐξομολογήσεται σοι;

Taking into account the variety of quotations from the Holy Scripture present in the text of the romance, it is difficult to indicate clearly what was the first inspiration for the author, namely whether it was the *Oratio XVI*, the Psalm, or maybe commentaries on the Holy Scripture by Origen, Eusebius and John Chrysostom or works of Basil of Caesarea, in which the same passage appears. It might be useful to carry out a detailed grammatical analysis of the Old and New Testament fragments in *Barlaam and Ioasaph* in order to decide whether they are quoted exactly or one can observe some changes in the grammatical forms and parts of sentences. Without delving into this issue, it is noteworthy that the above cited statement appears once more in the romance, in Chapter XI 134, with a little modification of the order of words and a change of the verb:

οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄδη μετάνοια καὶ ἐξομολόγησις.

when Barlaam instructs Ioasaph in penance. The context in which those words are found is conditioned by their essence: in all cases they are part of eschatological consideration.

Another excerpt from Gregory's oration to be found in Chapter XXIV is separated from the preceding by the word ἀλλά. Ioasaph continues his reflection on the present life and on life after death:

ὁ παρῶν ὠρίσθη καιρὸς τῆς ἐργασίας, ὁ δὲ μέλλον τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως (194–195).

This passage is almost identical to the following one in *Oratio XIX*, passage 6:

(καιρός) ἐργασίας γὰρ ὁ παρῶν, ὁ δὲ μέλλον ἀνταποδόσεως.

St. Gregory delivered this oration at the request of a revenue officer Julian who was a friend of the author's from time as a student. He did so, although reluctantly, because after the death of his father, who was the Bishop of Nazianzus, he did not want to be regarded a priori as his successor. The purpose of the speech was to give a piece of moral advice to his listeners. The sixth passage is a development of the fifth, which speaks about following the example of martyrs. St. Gregory, convinced

that life brings many opportunities to fight evil, encourages the faithful to do it, irrespective of gender, age or wealth, and to follow Christ and change one's way of life. This whole passage, and even more clearly the next one, both refer primarily to the situation of Christians at the time and the actions it required. It seems that the eschatological character, so clear in Ioasaph's statement, is here of minor importance, and more accentuated instead is a call for action.

Furthermore, this passage, just like the previous one, is used again elsewhere, namely in Chapter VIII 125:

ἐργασίας γάρ, φησίν, ὁ παρὼν ἐστὶ καιρὸς, ὁ δὲ μέλλον ἀνταποδόσεως

when Barlaam answers Ioasaph's questions regarding faith and tells him about God's omnipotence and justice, which will be fully revealed during the Final Judgement. However, unlike the passage in Chapter XXIV, the admonishment is not used in the sense of a threat, but as a means to provide a connection between the passages on these two characteristics of God.

It is noteworthy that the phrase: (ὁ) ἐργασίας καιρὸς was quite popular and appears in works of many authors, for example: John Chrysostom, Andreas of Caesarea, Theodore the Studite, emperor Leo VI the Wise. However, the very similarity between the passages in the romance and *Oratio XIX* indicates it was St. Gregory's work that was an inspiration for the author.

Ioasaph's speech addressed to his father, which occurs just a few lines below the fragment of *Oratio XIX*, incorporates three passages from *Oratio XIV*. The first two express the Prince's conviction that worldly goods pass. He puts above them goods of faith:

καὶ αὖραις μᾶλλον ἔστι πιστεύειν οὐχ ἴσταμέναις καὶ νηὸς ποντοπορούσης ἴχνεσιν (204–205) ἢ ἀνθρώπων εὐημερία (205).

Considered by Volk as two independent quotations they are in fact parts of the same sentence in *Oratio XIV*, passage 19. There, St. Gregory compares the fickleness of human happiness to dreams and sandcastles: the author of the romance clearly reduced the borrowed fragment, which reads as follows:

κύκλος [...] φέρων μεταβολάς· καὶ αὖραις μᾶλλον ἔστι πιστεύειν οὐχ ἰσταμέναις καὶ νηὸς ποντοπορούσης ἴχνεσι, καὶ νυκτὸς ἀπατηλοῖς ὀνείρασιν, ὧν πρὸς ὀλίγον ἢ χάρις, καὶ ὅσα κατὰ ψαμάθων παῖδες τυποῦσι παίζοντες, ἢ ἀνθρώπων εὐημερία.

Interestingly, a paraphrase of the passage cited above can be found in Chapter XII 185–187:

πάντα [...] φέροντα τὰς μεταβολάς· ὀνείρων γὰρ καὶ σκιᾶς καὶ αὖρας κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα πνεύσεως ἀσθενέστερά εἰσι. μικρὰ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἢ χάρις

when Barlaam discusses following the example of holy men and holding, like them, temporal goods in contempt. Once again the same excerpt from St. Gregory's orations is used twice. In all three cases, however, this is justified: Ioasaph recounts to his father the teachings he has received from the monk.

For the reliability of research, it should be noted that the phrase ἀνθρώπων εὐημερία considered by the editor as an independent quotation, also functioned as a well known phrase, and it can be found in the works of Theodoretus of Cyrus, John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Theophylact.

The main topic of *Oratio XIV* is love for one's neighbours, which is expressed in mercy and care for their needs. Passage 19, immediately following the description of the contrasts that occur in society between the wealthy and the poor, is a call for the appropriate attitude towards perishable goods and for charity. Although the context is somewhat different than in Chapter XIV or in Chapter XII of the romance, the message of remains unchanged: man should not be attached to worldly goods, but turn towards what is of intangible value.

The third fragment of *Oratio XIV* in Chapter XXIV appears just a few verses further. Ioasaph, summing up what he has hitherto said, asks his father a series of rhetorical questions regarding conversion:

οὐ συνήσεις ταῦτα, ὦ πάτερ; οὐ παραδραμεῖς τὰ παρατρέχοντα καὶ προστεθήσει τοῖς ἐπιμένουσιν; οὐ προτιμήσεις τὴν κατοικίαν τῆς παροικίας, τὸ φῶς τοῦ σκότους, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς σαρκός, τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν τῆς σκιᾶς τοῦ θανάτου, τὰ μὴ λυόμενα τῶν ῥεόντων; (209–213)

He assures Abenner that despite his past conduct he can receive God's forgiveness. However, Abenner flies into such a rage that in order not to harm his son he leaves his palace, threatening him with death and persecution once again, unless he worships the idols of the Kingdom.

The above quotation is an abridged fragment of passage 21, slightly modified in terms of grammar:

τίς σοφὸς καὶ συνήσει ταῦτα; τίς παραδραμεῖται τὰ παρατρέχοντα; τίς προσθήσεται τοῖς ἐπιμένουσιν; τίς περὶ τῶν παρόντων, ὡς ἀπίόντων διανοηθήσεται; τίς περὶ τῶν ἐλπιζομένων, ὡς ἱσταμένων; τίς διαιρήσει τὰ ὄντα καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔψεται, τῶν δὲ ὑπερόψεται; τίς γραφὴν καὶ ἀλήθειαν; τίς τὴν κάτω σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν; τίς παροικίαν καὶ κατοικίαν; τίς σκότος ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτός; τίς ἴλυν βυθοῦ καὶ ἀγίαν γῆν; τίς σάρκα καὶ πνεῦμα; τίς θεὸν καὶ κοσμοκράτορα; τίς θανάτου σκιὰν καὶ ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον; τίς τοῖς παροῦσι τὸ μέλλον ὠνήσεται; τίς τῷ ῥέοντι πλούτῳ τὸν μὴ λυόμενον;

Having negated another cause for pride than faith, St. Gregory expresses his satisfaction with the fact that goods surrounding people in this world are transient, which induces man to think of future benefits. In the passage cited above the author indicates the ideal for which man should strive in order to have a proper attitude toward the world and to be able to reach the kingdom of God. The author of the romance agrees with St. Gregory's point as to what qualities a true Christian should possess, and Ioasaph encourages his father to become a person like that.

3. CONCLUSION

The excerpts from St. Gregory's *Orationes* discussed in this article are only a small sample of those observed in *Barlaam and Ioasaph* by Robert Volk. However, having compared them with the text of the romance, one may reach the following conclusion: the author of the romance had to be very erudite, as he repeatedly used texts by other authors (the similarities between the relevant passages is actually hard to negate), but he did so in a variety of ways. The quotations are characterized by a great diversity in terms of length: sometimes they are only two-word

phrases, at other times we encounter whole sentences. In some cases their grammar is transformed, but elsewhere they are quoted literally. On some occasions they have been abridged when it was deemed necessary, whereas on others excerpts from different orations are combined into one passage. The same passage may be used more than once, and yet still made to sound a bit differently. In many cases the author of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* was strongly influenced by the context of the oration, but what was important for him was the preservation of the meaning of the statements. While the language and style of the romance were admittedly modelled on those of the Scripture and the works of the fathers of the Church and therefore fragments of St. Gregory's *Orationes* naturally fit in the text, one cannot accuse its author (whoever he was) of slavish copying from other people's works and deny him extraordinary skill and ingenuity in using them.

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