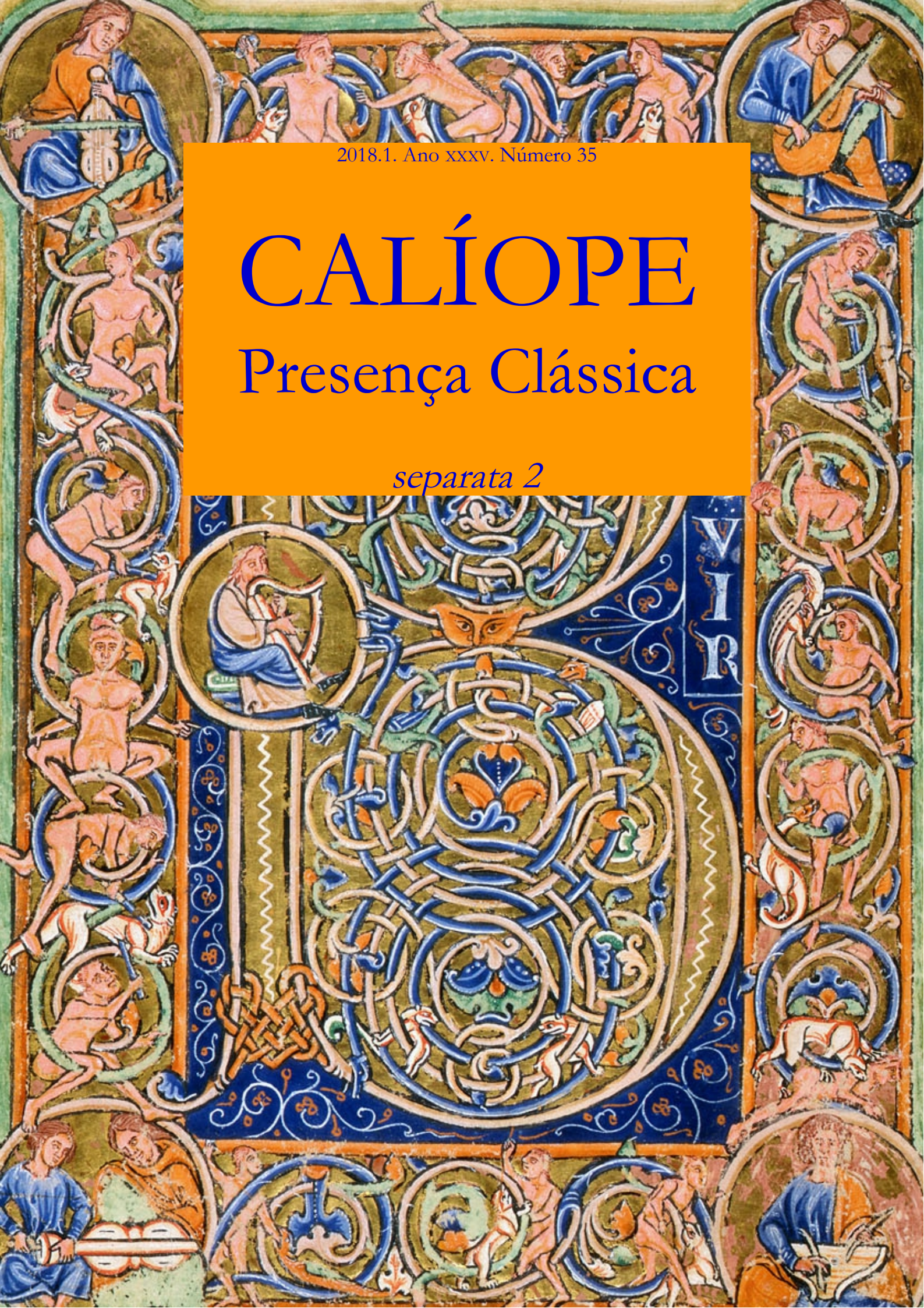


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“Here Have We No Abiding City”: From the Ancient Greek *Polis* to the Christian *Cosmopolis* Archimandrite Patapios

ABSTRACT

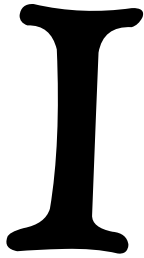
The focus of this paper is the concept of cosmopolitanism, the idea that the human being is neither confined nor defined by the immediate locality of a town, a city, or even a country, but is, in some sense, a citizen of the entire world or, at the very least, possesses an affinity with all the other members of the human race based on a common and universal psychophysical constitution (that of body and soul) and, more specifically, on the fact that all human beings are endowed with the faculty of reason. After outlining the rôle of the *polis* in ancient Greece, I trace the growth of cosmopolitanism from its roots in the Cynics to its further development and transformation by the Greek Church Fathers, touching briefly on certain aspects of Aristotle’s political theory and in particular on his oblique criticism of the Cynics, with a view to demonstrating that there is a definite progression in Greek thought from the centrality of the *polis* to a more open and generous attitude not just towards those belonging (as citizens) to other *poleis* and those belonging, by virtue of sex or social status, to no *polis*, but also toward those existing far beyond the confines of one’s own *polis*.

KEYWORDS

Cosmopolitanism; Polis; Cynics; Greek Church Fathers; Political Theory of Aristotle.

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In his seminal book *After Virtue*, Alasdair MacIntyre offers a succinct summary of what he calls the “Athenian view of the virtues”. Invoking figures as diverse as the Sophists, Plato, Aristotle, and the Greek tragedians, he observes that they all “take it for granted that the milieu in which the virtues are to be exercised and in terms of which they are to be defined is the *polis*”. That is to say, “the virtues have their place within the social context of the city-state. To be a good man will on every Greek view be at least closely allied to being a good citizen”.¹ This point is made even more firmly by Aristotle, who maintains in the *Politics* that “man is by nature a animal suited for living in a city [*polis*],² and [that] he who by nature and not by chance is cityless [*apolis*], is either a bad man or superior to humanity”.³ Aristotle goes on to remark still more sternly that a man who lives in isolation, either being unable to live in society or having no need thereof because he is self-sufficient, “is not part of the *polis*, and must be either a beast or a god”.⁴

In rather stark contrast to this assumption of the centrality of the *polis* to the classical Athenian and, more generally, Hellenic conception of what it is to be a human being stands the following utterance attributed to Diogenes of Sinope (ca. 405-ca.322 b.C.), one of the founders of the philosophical movement known as Cynicism. On being asked where he came from, he is said to have replied: “I am a citizen of the world [*kosmopolitēs*]”.⁵ From the Christian era, not entirely dissimilar to Diogenes’ answer and even more striking is the response given by St. Basil the Great (330-379 a.C.) to the prefect Modestos, who had been sent by the Arian Emperor Valens to arrest him: “I have no idea what exile means, not being circumscribed by any place, and not regarding as my own the land in which I now reside and considering my own any land into which I might be cast; or rather, reckoning the entire earth to be God’s, Whose guest and sojourner I am”.⁶

I have cited these rather divergent sources from classical Greek and early Christian literature in order to throw into sharp

relief a very significant shift in thinking about man and his relationship not only to the society around him but also to the wider world and to the human race in general. The focus in this paper is the concept of cosmopolitanism: that is, in basic terms, the idea that the human being is neither confined nor defined by the immediate locality of a town, a city, or even a country, but is, in some sense, a citizen of the entire world or, at the very least, possesses an affinity with all the other members of the human race based on a common and universal psychophysical constitution—namely, that of soul and body—and, more specifically, on the fact that all human beings are endowed with the faculty of reason.

After outlining the rôle of the *polis* in ancient Greece—and especially in Athens⁷—I will trace the growth of cosmopolitanism from its roots in the Cynics⁸ to its further development and transformation by the Greek Church Fathers. In the course of this presentation I will touch briefly on certain aspects of Aristotle's political theory and in particular on his oblique criticism of the Cynics. I wish to suggest, counter-intuitive though this will surely seem to many, that the Church Fathers had some respect for the Cynics and even echoed some of their ideas. The influence of Plato and, to a lesser extent, of Aristotle, on the Fathers is widely acknowledged and perhaps even taken for granted. The life and conduct of these two great doyens of classical Greek philosophy were quite conventional and would not have raised any Patristic eyebrows. The same could hardly have been said about the Cynics, given their not infrequently outrageous behavior and their questioning of traditional moral standards.⁹ Surely, it will be objected, the Fathers could not have endorsed the teachings and ideas of the Cynics. What I aim to show is that, although the Fathers did not hesitate to criticize the Cynics for beliefs and conduct inconsistent with Christianity, they were able to see beyond their external eccentricities and discern something of value even in this most unlikely of sources. In assessing the attitude of the Church Fathers to ancient philosophy we should always keep in mind that they were neither Platonists nor Aristotelians nor adherents of any other school. As Constantine Cavarnos argues,

“their use of pagan philosophy was not a wholesale, slavish one”, but a “very selective or ‘eclectic’ use, which left them quite free to criticize the errors of secular philosophy”.¹⁰

I should note, at this point in my exposition, that the concept of cosmopolitanism was a not insignificant feature of the moral and political philosophy of the Stoics. It is generally accepted that Zeno of Citium (ca. 344–ca. 262 b.C.), the founder of the Stoic school, was influenced by the Cynics,¹¹ and not least in his *Politeia* (Republic), a work which survives, unfortunately, only in fragmentary form. These fragments “show marked Cynic elements such as the abolition of coinage, temples, marriages, and the notion that the true community must be one consisting of good and virtuous men”.¹² Although it is rarely possible, given the fragmentary state in which Hellenistic philosophy survives, to state anything with certainty, it is quite conceivable that the cosmopolitan spirit of Diogenes and other Cynics influenced Zeno. Thus, according to Plutarch, Zeno taught that “that we should not live in [separate] cities and communities, each distinguished [from the others] by our own laws, but should regard all men as countrymen and fellow citizens, for whom there is a single [common] life and order”.¹³ Chrysippos of Soli (ca. 280–ca. 206 b.C.), the successor of Zeno and third head of the Stoic school, also advocated a form of cosmopolitanism. In what may plausibly be regarded as a summary of Chrysippos’ teaching on the subject,¹⁴ Cicero states, *inter alia*, that “from the fact that no one would wish to pass his life in utter solitude, not even with an infinite abundance of pleasures, it is easily understood that we are naturally fitted for the union and society of men and for natural community”.¹⁵ Another possible example of Chrysippos’ thinking on this subject may be found in an anonymous commentary on Plato’s *Theaetetus*, in which the author takes Chrysippos (or perhaps, more generally, the Stoics) to task for extending the scope of familiarization (*oikeiosis*)¹⁶ from our kith and kin to “the last of the Mysians”,¹⁷ in other words, to people in the most far-flung part of the world.

Within the confines of this paper there is simply not enough space to elaborate adequately on the Stoic conception of cosmopolitanism, considered either in and of itself or in connection to Patristic thinking on the issue.¹⁸ This aspect of the relationship between classical and Patristic thought really requires a separate treatment.

Before discussing the nature and significance of the *polis*, I will expand on the somewhat heuristic definition of cosmopolitanism put forward earlier in this essay. I am not using the term in the popular sense of an appreciation or enjoyment of foreign travel or foreign cultures, although such an outlook is certainly not inconsistent with a more precise definition of cosmopolitanism. As the following passage from the article on this subject in the “Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy” makes clear, cosmopolitanism can be understood in a variety of ways:

Every cosmopolitan argues for some community among all human beings, regardless of social and political affiliation. For some, what should be shared is simply moral community, which means only that living a good human life requires serving the universal community by helping human beings as such, perhaps by promoting the realization of justice and the guarantee of human rights. Others conceptualize the universal community in terms of political institutions to be shared by all, in terms of cultural expressions to be appreciated by all, or in terms of economic markets that should be open to all.¹⁹

Although the cosmopolitanism of the Cynics has political and cultural aspects, its content is primarily moral. This, as we shall see, is more or less the kind of cosmopolitanism to be found in the Greek Fathers, although this Christian variety might also, and perhaps better, be characterized as practical or attitudinal.

There are, in addition to the aforementioned formulations of cosmopolitanism, positive and negative aspects, which themselves admit of stronger and weaker versions. For the purposes of this paper, I define moderate positive cosmopolitanism as an outlook which is (1) consistent with being a citizen of a particular city or country and taking part in local and national politics, which (2)

emphasizes a universal community and affinity among all human beings, but which does not commit one who espouses it to (3) belief in the necessity of abolishing national boundaries and creating a world-state or world government. On the basis of this definition, what I will call strict positive cosmopolitanism rejects (1), affirms (2), and affirms (3). Moderate negative cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, I define as an outlook which rejects (1), that is, denies the legitimacy of local or national citizenship and of participating in politics at any level, affirms (2), but rejects (3). On the basis of this definition, what I will call strict negative cosmopolitanism, which is, to all intents and purposes a form of anarchism, rejects (1) and affirms (2). With regard to (3), it advocates the abolition of national boundaries but denies the necessity of creating a world-state or world government. It should be clear from the foregoing definitions that all four versions of cosmopolitanism affirm a universal community and affinity among all human beings. As we shall see, it is the moderate strains of positive and negative cosmopolitanism that bear on my central theme.

I will now turn to a summary of the nature and significance of the *polis* in classical Greece, in order to set the stage for the skepticism towards the *polis* in Cynic thought and its transformation in Christian thought. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that for the ancient Greeks the *polis* occupied a central place in their conception of what it means to be a human being, to an extent that we in the modern world can only dimly understand.

In his magisterial *Paideia*, Werner Jaeger points out that ancient Greek culture “first assumed its classical form in the polis, or city-state”, and goes on to observe that “[t]he centre of gravity of Greek life lies in the polis” and that “[it] is the polis which includes and defines every form of social and intellectual activity”, such that “to describe the Greek polis is to describe the whole of Greek life”.²⁰ In more concrete terms, “To describe a Greek fully, not only his name and his father’s are needed, but also the name of his city. Membership in a city-state had for the Greeks the same

ideal value that nationality has for men of today”.²¹ Thus, just as in our day to be a stateless person is not simply a serious disadvantage, but a positive calamity, since such a person does not belong anywhere and enjoys none of the normal rights and safeguards that a citizen of a country takes for granted, so also in ancient Greece, to be “cityless” was not far off from being the worst kind of punishment, if not tantamount to a death sentence. After all, one who did not belong to a particular *polis* would have no one to appeal to if wronged, no right to own property and earn a livelihood, no right to enter into marriage with another citizen, and no entitlement to vote or even to express an opinion on public policy. In other words, such a person would be, as the passage from Aristotle cited earlier implies, either sub-human or super-human.

I mentioned earlier in a footnote that the word *polis* is not quite correctly translated as “city-state”, because the Greek *polis* was more than a city and not really a state. In the case of ancient Athens, for example, what was then, and still is, known as Attica, the larger region in which the city proper (*asty*) was situated, was as much a part of the *polis* of Athens as the city proper. Altogether the Athenian *polis* covered an area of more than 1,000 square miles.²² When dealing with ancient cities it is rarely possible to cite exact numbers, but according to one estimate, prior to the Peloponnesian War (431-404 b.C.) little more than two-fifths of the populace dwelled within the *asty*, which, like most *poleis*, contained the state hearth (*hestia*), the temples of the state cults, the offices of the highest magistrates, the *agora* (marketplace), and the Acropolis (citadel), while the remaining three-fifths resided in the countryside.²³ To continue with the *polis* of Athens, it was not exactly a state, if by “state” is understood some entity over and above the individuals that belong to it. In fact, in ancient Greece “the state was identical with its citizens [...] The public spirit of the citizens, which really held the Polis together, rested on their identity with the state”.²⁴ As Thucydides pithily expressed this idea, “It is men, not walls or ships devoid of men, that constitute a city”.²⁵

By contrast, to many in our own day the word “state” connotes a coercive and menacing institution, which circumscribes our freedoms and confiscates our hard-earned money in the form of taxation. Of course, the Greek citizen had to relinquish a certain amount of his money in the form of taxes in order for the *polis* to continue functioning,²⁶ and he could not do just as he pleased. However, as h.d.f. Kitto argues, a commonplace Greek phrase like “It is everyone’s duty to help the *polis*” cannot adequately be translated into English and does not naturally resonate with us, for whom the very idea of “helping the city”, to say nothing of “helping the state”, has a decidedly alien ring to it. For a Greek, to help the *polis* was to help not only oneself but also one’s neighbor. Similarly, citing a phrase from Demosthenes about a man who “avoids the city”, he observes that this tells us nothing about the man’s place of residence: “[I]t means that he took no part in public life—and was therefore something of an oddity. The affairs of the community did not interest him”.²⁷

For an ancient Greek,²⁸ his *polis* was everything. It endowed him with an identity that was at once political, social, and religious. It also afforded him the opportunity to participate in a rich cultural life, exemplified in Athens by the magnificent drama festival of the Great or City Dionysia, a competition steeped in religion in which tragedians like Sophocles and Euripides vied with one another for the first prize and for the prestige that resulted from such an award.²⁹ With regard to religion, it should be emphasized that while, as M.I. Finley points out, Solon, the great sixth-century Athenian legislator, “claimed neither divine guidance nor revelation nor ‘royal blood’” in promulgating his reforms, and thus evinced an outlook quite secular by comparison, for example, with the Code of Hammurabi, the public life of Greek cities in general was characterized by a “ubiquitous piety”, in the form of altars, sacrifices, oaths, oracles, and the like.³⁰ Even more significant is the fact that, as Fustel de Coulanges remarks, the Greeks “founded the city as a sanctuary for [...]common worship, and thus the foundation of the city was always a religious act [...] Every city was a sanctuary; every city might be called holy”.³¹ Thus, Athens, for

example, was dedicated to Athena and Argos to Hera, to name but two *poleis*.

However, although the *polis* was everything for a Greek, as Jaeger also points out, it demanded everything in return.³² In particular, every citizen was compelled to participate in public life and fulfill his civic responsibilities, including, not least of all, regular attendance at the popular assembly (*ekklēsia*)³³ and the duty to fight in defense of the *polis*. Wealthy citizens in Athens, furthermore, were obligated to perform “liturgies”, acts of public munificence, such as “the chorēgia, the presentation of the dramatic chorus” and “the trierarchy, the equipment and maintenance of triremes”.³⁴

The centrality of the *polis* to the definition of one’s identity in ancient Greece is borne out by the following examples from Greek tragedy, which show what a dire fate it was to be *apolis*, that is, deprived of a *polis*, an outcast from one’s *polis*. One of the most telling examples appears in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, set in the period of the Trojan War in which the protagonist, a skilled archer, has been abandoned on the deserted island of Lemnos by the Greeks on their way to Troy on account of a malodorous wound. In response to Odysseus’ threat to take him by force to aid the Greek cause through his miraculous bow —indeed, to bring about the fall of Troy—, Philoctetes angrily exclaims: “You cast me forth me friendless, desolate, without a city [*apolin*], a corpse among the living”.³⁵ As MacIntyre remarks, “it is essential to the action [of the tragedy in question] that Philoctetes by being left on a desert island for ten years has not been merely exiled from the company of mankind, but also from the status of a human being”.³⁶ Another example comes from Euripides’ *Hippolytos*. Defending himself against the false accusation of having violated his stepmother, the young *Hippolytos* appeals to the gods to let him perish, deprive him of name and honor, expel him from home and city, and make him a roving exile on earth, if he is in fact guilty as charged.³⁷ Again, in a fragment from a tragedy of uncertain authorship, the speaker says, or it is said of someone, that he is “cityless [*apolis*], homeless, bereft of fatherland, a pauper and

wanderer, living life from day to day”.³⁸ As in the previous quotation from Euripides, being *apolis* is connected with becoming an exile, with all of the insecurity and suffering that this entails.³⁹ A citation, finally, from a speech by the orator Antiphon may serve to confirm the perilous consequences of being cityless. The defendant, who has been accused of murder, appeals to the jury in the following terms: “[I]f I am convicted now and put to death, I will bequeath an unholy disgrace to my children; but if I go into exile, I shall become a pauper in a strange land, an old man without a city”.⁴⁰

There was, however, another side to being *apolis*. The Sophists, who were in certain respects forerunners of the Cynics, although customarily identified by the places from which they hailed, did not for the most part consider themselves bound by such associations. Men like Gorgias and Hippias travelled freely from *polis* to *polis* in a way that was, in that era, somewhat unwonted.⁴¹ If not literally *apoleis*, in the sense of being social outcasts, they lived in a state of what might be termed voluntary exile. They deliberately chose to de-emphasize the strong bonds between an individual and his *polis*, which was, as we have seen, such a hallmark of ancient Greek self-understanding.

Few issues play such a prominent rôle in Sophistic thinking as the distinction between convention or custom (*nomos*) and nature (*physis*). Although we have to rely on Plato’s account in the *Protagoras* for the following words attributed to Hippias, we may presume that this passage captures, to some extent, the cosmopolitan outlook that seems to have characterized this Sophist in particular. Addressing a company of intellectuals from various *poleis* in the house of Callias, a wealthy patron of Sophists, Hippias says: “Gentlemen who are present, I regard all of you as kinsmen, friends, and fellow citizens—by nature, not by convention. For by nature like is akin to like, but convention, the tyrant of mankind, compels us to do many things that are contrary to nature”.⁴² This distinction between nature and convention, which was later to become an antithesis in Cynic thought, had to

be somewhat mitigated in order to allow for the realities of human society.

This leads us to the next point, that is, the adumbration of a contractarian theory of the state, that is, of the “social contract”, which is to be found in the extant fragments of certain of the Sophists and in the doxographical tradition. Kerferd summarizes this notion, which was far more fully developed by Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, as follows: “[T]he theory of the social contract maintains that human societies rest on an implied and so non-historical, or on an actual and historical agreement to establish an organised community”.⁴³ As he goes on to observe, the essence of this idea is “the view that political obligation flows from actual or implied contractual agreement”.⁴⁴ As an example of such agreement he cites a passage from Xenophon’s *Memoirs of Socrates*, in which Hippias states that the laws of a *polis* are written records of agreements (i.e., contracts) between citizens that specify what ought to be done and what ought to be avoided.⁴⁵ There is an element of contingency implicit in, or at least consistent with, such a viewpoint: human beings might or might not choose to arrive at agreements on matters of law, and might perhaps devise some other means of organizing communal life or even dispense with it altogether, preferring to dwell in some degree of isolation. This new conception of the relationship between man and the *polis*, by virtue of its detachment of the individual from the community that constitutes the *polis*, paves the way for the more cosmopolitan outlook that we find in the Cynics. A human being is no longer defined by membership in the citizenry of a *polis*. Indeed, he might not inhabit a *polis* at all, and might not even have a fixed abode.

Before I turn to the Cynics themselves, there is one other quotation from the Sophists that is of relevance to my exposition. According to a very small fragment from Lycophron, a pupil of Gorgias, “Law is a guarantor of men’s rights against one another”.⁴⁶ This is a species of the aforementioned social contract theory, and, as Kerferd observes, it reflects a “protectionist view of the state, according to which the state exists merely to guarantee

men’s rights against each other”.⁴⁷ Such a minimalist political philosophy is, as we shall see, diametrically opposed to Aristotle’s conception of the *polis* as the environment in which one learns to acquire virtue and become good, these being the very ends for which the *polis* exists.⁴⁸

Let us turn now to the Cynics. It is scarcely possible, within the confines of this paper, to expound in detail a movement which, for all of the fragmentariness of the literary evidence, has a great deal to offer the student of ancient philosophy. My discussion will be rather more telescoped than is strictly desirable. Some broad characterizations are nonetheless in order.

A “cynic” may be defined as “one who believes that human conduct is motivated wholly by self-interest: a person who expects nothing but the worst of human conduct and motives”. In other words, he is a misanthrope, someone “given to or affecting disbelief in commonly accepted human values and in man’s sincerity of motive or rectitude of conduct: accepting selfishness as the governing factor in human conduct [...] exhibiting feelings ranging from distrustful doubt to contemptuous and mocking disbelief”.⁴⁹ Some scholars portray the Greek Cynics as misanthropes, and certainly they were, in general, inclined to “disbelief in commonly accepted human values”. However, this fails to do justice to the historical evidence, which, although very limited and perhaps not entirely reliable, does suggest a more compelling picture of these philosophers.

Perhaps the most enduring and most familiar image of the Cynic is Diogenes of Sinope in his tub or wandering round Athens during the daylight hours with a lantern, in search of an honest man. In fact, Diogenes did not live in a tub, but rather in a large earthenware wine cask (*pithos*),⁵⁰ and when he was searching in Athens for a “honest” man, he was actually in quest, somewhat enigmatically, of a “man”,⁵¹ that is a genuine human being, one who lived a simple life as he did, stripped of all artificiality and superfluity.⁵² In essence, Diogenes was an ascetic, an exponent *par excellence* of practical philosophy, who saw himself as an exile not only from his native Sinope but also from everything worldly.

Thus, Diogenes Laërtios records, *inter alia*, that he slept in his cloak, ate and slept wherever he happened to find himself,⁵³ and would trample barefoot through the snow.⁵⁴

Among the Cynics I have so far referred only to Diogenes of Sinope, who is in many ways the archetypal Cynic. I will also advert briefly to Crates of Thebes (ca. 365 b.C.–ca. 285 b.C.), who is often considered to be a successor, in some sense, of Diogenes. If my comments center more on Diogenes, this is not because Crates is unimportant, but because more of the anecdotes ascribed to Diogenes have a direct bearing on the overall theme of this article.

Now, it may seem odd at first sight and counter-intuitive, as I admitted earlier, to devote any attention to the Cynics in an assessment of the relationship between ancient Greek philosophy and the Church Fathers. After all, as Donald Dudley remarks,

It is particularly easy for the modern observer to see only the grotesque aspect of Cynicism, and to miss its real significance. This is partly due to the fact that Cynicism is usually presented to us in histories of Greek philosophy, where it forms an interlude of semi-comic relief between Socrates and Plato, or between Plato and the Stoics.⁵⁵

Dudley goes on to observe that a great many of the stories about Diogenes in Diogenes Laërtios “belong rather to an anthology of Greek humour than a discussion of philosophy”.⁵⁶ It must be admitted that Dudley himself takes Diogenes and the other Cynics a good deal more seriously than the foregoing comments might suggest. However, a far more nuanced and judicious interpretation of the Cynics is evident in recent scholarship, and it is on this modern evaluation that I shall be relying in what follows.

In his otherwise excellent study, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought*, to which I have already referred, h.c. Baldry puts forth a rather more negative view of the Cynics. According to his reading of the sources, “an ideal figure stood at the centre of Cynic thought: the *sophos*, the man of wisdom, whom they, like Plato, identified with the true and natural man”.⁵⁷ Baldry presents the

Cynic sage as an ultra-individualist, even a misanthrope, characterized by complete self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*), who acknowledges spiritual kinship only with his fellow sages, and who feels nothing but contempt for the unenlightened masses. “Cities and their laws may be right for the common herd whom the politicians serve, but the wise acknowledge no city or law known to ordinary men”.⁵⁸

I have already cited the famous apophthegm of Diogenes in which he proclaims himself “a citizen of the world [*kosmopolitēs*]”. Some scholars interpret this as a purely negative statement, in which Diogenes was denying that he was a citizen of any particular Greek city.⁵⁹ There does not, however, seem to be any solid evidence for this interpretation. It occurs in the midst of a whole train of otherwise unrelated anecdotes in Diogenes Laërtios’ life of Diogenes. We do know, of course, that Diogenes hailed from Sinope, a city in Pontos, and that he was exiled from his native city. Perhaps he felt the sting of exile, coupled with some degree of resentment, in the particular circumstance in which the question of his civic origin was posed. At any rate, it is not unreasonable to see it as a more positive affirmation of wider loyalty to humanity or the world as a whole. As John Moles points out, Diogenes did not say, in response to the question, “Where are you from?” “I am without a city” (*apolis eimi*), as he did on other occasions.⁶⁰ Moles then offers the following comparison: “If in 1996 you are asked, ‘Are you French or German?’ and you reply, ‘I am European,’ the reply entails both the rejection of a restrictive nationalism and the assertion of a larger loyalty”.⁶¹ The assertion that one is a European is perfectly consistent with an acknowledgment that one is French or German. Likewise, Diogenes could respond that he was a citizen of the world without necessarily denying that he was from Sinope. However, he evidently did not consider his Sinopean origins to be in any way determinative of his identity as a human being. In this sense he decisively rejects the classical Greek idea that being a member of a particular *polis* is an indispensable component of one’s humanity.

What, then, did Diogenes mean by the term *kosmopolitēs*? It would seem, on the face of it, to be rather vacuous to maintain that one is a citizen of the world. What could its positive content be? It is worth noting that the word itself is very rarely found in extant Greek literature. It is used by Philo of Alexandria in several of his works,⁶² but is otherwise unattested until the fourth century a.D., appearing four times in the *Apostolic Constitutions*⁶³—though nowhere else in the corpus of Patristic literature. It should be noted at this point that many scholars are doubtful as to the authenticity of many of the aphorisms ascribed not only to Dionysios but also to other Cynics. However, as Philip Bosman contends, “the majority of scholars are inclined to believe that this particular saying did come from Diogenes himself”.⁶⁴ In support of the authenticity of the aphorism in question, Bosman cites the well-known verbal dexterity of the Cynics and the fact that cosmopolitan ideas are frequently attributed to the early Cynics.

Now, as to the possible meaning of *kosmopolitēs*, Bosman rightly observes that it is a highly paradoxical expression. *Kosmos*, in ancient Greek thought, at one level simply denotes order and structure, but at another, more technical level refers to the entire physical universe. We have already seen that *polis* implies a whole range of rights and responsibilities pertaining to the member of a “city-state”. But how could one be a citizen of something as extended, if not infinite, as the cosmos? Can the cosmos be understood as being some sort of *polis*? Bosman answers these questions as follows:

[T]he combination *cosmos* + *polis* redefines both terms: the *cosmos* as in a sense analogous to a *polis*, and *polis* as not necessarily restricted to the ordinary human establishments known as *poleis*. . . . The *cosmos* to which [Diogenes] refers is the ordered reality resembling the *polis* in having its own set of behaviour-regulating laws to which the Cynic, of necessity, subjects himself. As a citizen of this ordered whole, he claims the rights and status peculiar to it.⁶⁵

Earlier on I proposed several different definitions of cosmopolitanism, among which was what I termed moderate negative cosmopolitanism, that is, an outlook which denies the legitimacy of participating in politics at any level. According to this formulation of cosmopolitanism, being a citizen of the world means not being, or not considering oneself to be, a citizen of any city or country at all, though it does not entail belief in the necessity of establishing any kind of world government or in the abolition of national boundaries. Representatives of the first generation of Cynics, such as Diogenes and Crates, are, I submit, properly to be characterized as moderate negative cosmopolitans.

As Moles points out, later Cynics tended to inhabit cities, which they exploited for the purpose of begging, and even to participate in political affairs by dispensing advice to those in authority. In his view, however, it is “certain that the Cynicism of Diogenes and Crates, Cynicism at its most typical, rejected the polis”.⁶⁶ Moles immediately qualifies this rather bald statement by citing five respects in which the word *kosmopolitēs* might be interpreted in a more positive sense. I will summarize these points briefly, since they endow the term *kosmopolitēs* with specific content.

I have already mentioned Moles’ argument that Diogenes does not say that he is *apolis*. His second argument is that the aphorism in question should be read against the background of incipient cosmopolitanism evident in fragments of Heraclitus, Euripides, Antiphon, and Hippias, among others.⁶⁷ Thirdly, he compares Diogenes’ response to a similar statement ascribed by Xenophon to the Cyrenaic philosopher Aristippos, in which the latter claims that he is a “stranger [*xenos*] everywhere”, refusing to confine himself to a state (*politeia*).⁶⁸ Moles contrasts what he sees as Aristippos’ negative characterization of himself with Diogenes’ willingness to call himself a citizen (*politēs*) of the cosmos: “Diogenes substitutes the positive and the engaged (*politēs*, *politeia*) for the negative and disengaged [*xenos*], and he extends his sphere of operations beyond the world of human beings”.⁶⁹ His fourth and fifth arguments both center on the paradoxical and

ironic nature of the word *kosmopolitēs*. As I framed this point earlier, how could one be a citizen of something as extended, if not infinite, as the cosmos?

In order to answer this question, we need to bear in mind, as Moles observes, that the cosmos includes everything: the earth and the heavens; animate and inanimate nature; human beings and animals; Cynics and non-Cynics; Greeks and barbarians; men and women; the heavenly bodies and the gods who dwell in the heavens.⁷⁰ To be a citizen of the cosmos is to live according to nature rather than according to the artificial conventions or customs (*nomoi*) of the *polis*, and living according to nature is the very definition of Cynic virtue.

It should be noted, incidentally, that the Cynics had slightly more enlightened attitudes towards women than was generally customary in their day, as we may infer from the way in which Crates and his wife, Hipparchia, who “was proud to have spent on ‘education’ the time she might have wasted at the loom”, conducted themselves, both clad in the rough Cynic cloak and even attending dinners together, “which no respectable Athenian lady would do”.⁷¹ With regard to slavery, although there is no evidence that they advocated its abolition—an opinion which would have been quite revolutionary in the context of Greek society—nevertheless we know that two representatives of the second generation of Cynics, Monimos and Menippos, were former slaves, which suggests, at the very least, that Cynics were willing to admit such persons into their circles.⁷² In addition, the 4th century b.C. Cynic Onesicritos declared it to be a significant achievement on the part of the Indians whom he visited that there was no slavery in their domain.⁷³ There is not much more evidence for their attitude towards non-Greeks, but Diogenes Laërtios does note that Diogenes drew examples of endurance from Cyrus, the King of Persia, as well as from Heracles, which is perhaps indicative of open-mindedness in this regard. In any case, no one who called himself a “citizen of the cosmos” could possibly have envisaged the cosmos as being coterminous with Greece.

As I pointed out earlier, the *polis* was an essential component of a Greek man’s identity, and in return for giving meaning to his life it demanded a total commitment from him. If Diogenes’ use of the word *politēs* was to have any significance at all, it must have entailed some sense not only of responsibility towards the cosmos, towards the world around him, but also of being one “citizen” among many others. A *polis* with only one *politēs* would be wholly inconceivable. Thus, to be a citizen implies mutuality and community with other citizens. Now, in the course of his exposition, Moles uses the word *politeia*, which can refer to a state or a government, but also to one’s personal conduct or way of life.⁷⁴ He goes on to argue that “the Cynic *politeia*, the Cynic ‘state,’ is nothing other than a *moral* ‘state’: that is, the ‘state’ of being a Cynic”.⁷⁵ This interpretation is borne out by the following sentence from Diogenes Laërtios: “[Diogenes said that] the only correct state [*politeia*] was the one in the universe [*kosmos*]”.⁷⁶

On this reading, a *politeia* is really, as much anything, a state of mind, an attitude or outlook, something which may neatly be encapsulated in the Greek word *phronēma*. I have already suggested that this is what the cosmopolitanism of a Greek Fathers like St. Basil amounted to, a point which I hope will emerge more clearly in the final part of the present essay.

According to Diogenes Laërtios, Diogenes “used to say that he opposed boldness to fate, nature to convention, and reason to passion”.⁷⁷ But even Diogenes, the exponent of “hard Cynicism”,⁷⁸ was compelled to make some allowance for convention in the organization of society at large. There is a controversial passage in Diogenes Laërtios’ life of Diogenes over which a great deal of ink has been spilled, and it is not my intention in the present work to offer any further solution to the difficulties that it raises. I would, however, like to suggest an interpretation of it that will dovetail neatly with my presentation of the Patristic understanding of cosmopolitanism and its relationship to Cynicism.

Here is the text in question: “With regard to the law (*nomos*), he [Diogenes] held that it was impossible for there to be

political government (*politeuesthai*) without it. For he says: Without a city there is no profit in something civilized; and the city is civilized. Without law there is no profit in a city. Therefore law is something civilized”.⁷⁹ This passage may well come from Diogenes’ lost work, the *Politeia* (Republic), a program for an ideal state along the lines of Plato’s more famous work of the same name.⁸⁰ It can, however, also be construed, as it is by Baldry, as a concession to the weaker members of the human race who are unable to attain to Cynic sagehood: “It is true that one passage of Diogenes Laertius attributes to Diogenes the view that *nomos* is civilised and one cannot live in a city without it; but this is to talk in terms of what is expedient for the crowd, not what is 'according to nature' and right for the wise man”.⁸¹ There does not, in fact, seem to be any evidence that Diogenes envisaged a utopian abolition of the *polis* or of other institutions associated with it.

Crates, incidentally, was apparently a much more genial and mellow personality than Diogenes,⁸² and, according to Moles, “it seems clear that he did not insist on the complete renunciation of wealth or that everybody should become a Cynic, and that he conceded a certain legitimacy to existing occupations. While the values of the Cynic philosopher are superior, those of ordinary men are not damned”.⁸³

There is admittedly a great deal more that could be said about Diogenes and his fellow Cynics, but I will content myself, here, with just a few further anecdotes, which shed some light on the Cynic attitude towards the rest of the world. Earlier on I cited a fragment from a Greek tragedy, “cityless, homeless, bereft of fatherland, a pauper and wanderer, living life from day to day”, which, according to Diogenes Laërtios, Diogenes applied to himself.⁸⁴ This might seem to be at odds with Moles’ argument that he did not say that he was *apolis*. However, he was in this case perhaps simply citing a literary passage in order to illustrate the austerity and detachment of his way of life.⁸⁵ More pointedly, on one occasion, to someone who reproached him for being an exile he replied: “But it is for this reason, you hapless man, that I became a philosopher”. To another person, who observed that the

people of Sinope had condemned him to exile, he retorted that *he* had condemned *them* to remain in Sinope.⁸⁶

The following quotation from a tragedy by Crates also exemplifies the Cynic attitude of detachment from the world and at the same time a sense of being at home anywhere: “No single native tower or roof for me: the citadel and house of the whole earth stands ready for us as our dwelling-place”.⁸⁷ The otherwise bitter experience of exile could be turned to positive advantage by philosophers like Diogenes and Crates, since it enabled them to live in relative freedom, untrammelled by the familial and civic bonds that confine the vast majority of human beings to an entirely mundane existence. Two quotations, one from Dio Chrysostom and the other from Epictetos, will round off this section of my essay. According to Dio Chrysostom, Diogenes “made the cities his home and used to live there in the public buildings and in the shrines (which are dedicated to the gods), regarding as his hearthstone the whole world, which after all is the common hearth and nourisher of mankind”.⁸⁸ Epictetos says of him: “Diogenes [...] did love mankind, but how? As was fitting for a minister of God, at the same time caring for men, and being also subject to God. For this reason all the earth was his country, and no particular place”.⁸⁹

Before I return to the passages from Aristotle cited at the beginning of this paper, I will briefly address the state of the ancient Greek *polis* in the fourth century. While there is no doubt that, during the course of the century in question, the *polis* gradually became less and less like its fifth-century self, the period of its heyday, nevertheless, as Julia Annas comments, “It is a cliché that, in the moral and political philosophy of the schools which formed in the Hellenistic period, the *polis* loses the central role which it has for Plato and Aristotle”. Indeed, she suggests, “[t]he textbook claims that moral and political philosophy in the Hellenistic period became more 'individualistic' are generally too vague to assess, and the question badly needs re-examination”.⁹⁰

Mogens Hansen provides just such a re-examination in his recent work on the Greek *polis*, in which he candidly challenges

the received view, namely that the rising Macedonian kingdom had destroyed the *polis* by the middle of the fourth century, and remarks that

it is often supposed that the city-state disappeared at a single blow, the blow being the Battle of Chaironeia on 7 Metageitnion = 2 August 338, probably at c.3 o'clock in the afternoon when the defeat of the Thebans and Athenians by the Macedonians under Philip II was a reality—and that was what rang the referee's bell for the city-state.⁹¹

Although it is commonly supposed that Greek *poleis* lost their independence (*autonomia*), which is generally reckoned to be “the most important characteristic of a city-state”, at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, many smaller *poleis* had already lost or forgone their independent status by being absorbed into such quasi-empires as the Delian League or by joining other *poleis* of similar size in forming federations. However, they did retain their autonomy in the sense of being self-governing. Hansen argues that the decline of the *polis* was a very gradual process, and that it was not until the late third century A.D. under the Roman Empire that the *polis*, as a self-governing institution, really began to disappear.⁹²

In view of the above assessment by Hansen, it can more easily be appreciated that in the first book of the *Politics*, from which the passages previously cited are taken, Aristotle was not describing an ideal *polis*, but a form of social organization that was still in existence in his own day, albeit one in which the direct democracy of fifth-century Athens had not survived entirely intact. Now, what did Aristotle mean by characterizing one who lived without a city (*apolis*) as either “bad or superior to humanity”, or as “either a beast or a god”? The answer is, perhaps not surprisingly, that he was criticizing the Cynics without actually identifying them as such.

In his survey of the political thought of Plato and Aristotle, Barker contends that while it might seem fanciful to apply to the Cynics or Cyrenaics Aristotle's words about the “cityless” man

being either a beast or a god, nonetheless “the cap fits”.⁹³ Oddly enough, though, he does not make the connection, which seems obvious enough, between “beast” and “dog.” The Greek word for “dog,” *kyōn*, is, after all, the root of the very name “Cynic.” Diogenes was notorious for his often outrageous behavior, and it is this behavior that seems to have earned him—and his followers—a name which would ordinarily be highly opprobrious, but which he deemed to be an honorific title. He is reported to have replied, when asked what it was that he did to be called a dog: “I fawn on those who give to me, bark at those who don’t, and bite the wicked”;⁹⁴ at times he would even act like a dog.⁹⁵ Given that Aristotle (384-322 b.C.) was a younger contemporary of Diogenes, it is very likely that he was familiar with the latter’s sayings and antics. So much for Diogenes’ doghood. As far as his putative godhood is concerned, he used to say that good men—presumably including himself⁹⁶—were images of the gods and that since it was a property of the gods that they lacked nothing, those who needed few things were like the gods.⁹⁷ This last statement echoes the sense of *autarkeia*, one of the salient characteristics of the Cynics, which Aristotle, significantly enough, adduces to explain why someone might choose to live in isolation.⁹⁸

These particular remarks aside, it is obvious that the Cynic rejection of the *polis* in favor of a life lived according to nature was wholly incompatible with Aristotle’s conception of the *polis* as the context in which one learns virtue and becomes good. Had the opportunity arisen for Aristotle to debate the nature of virtue with Diogenes, he might well have asked his Cynic colleague from what source an individual could learn to be virtuous if he lived in isolation from a community. Even more important, from Aristotle’s perspective, is the priority of the community over the individual. As Annas puts it, “[i]n taking part in [...] a political community, the citizen takes part in shared activity and the achievement of a good common to the community [...]. An individual citizen achieves his own good properly as part of the common good, since the *polis* is prior to the household and the whole to its parts”.⁹⁹

This may seem somewhat startling to us who inhabit modern “liberal” societies, in which the freedom of the individual is paramount and in which there is no sense of belonging to anything resembling the ancient Greek *polis*. But in Aristotle’s view, there is no distinction between the good of the individual and the good of the *polis*, and no distinction between ethics and politics. Thus, near the beginning of the *Nicomachean Ethics* he very clearly states that

even though the good is the same for an individual and for a *polis*, that of the *polis* seems at all events good greater and more perfect both to attain and to preserve; while it is better than nothing to secure the good for one man alone, it is finer and more divine to secure it for a people and for *poleis*.¹⁰⁰

In a similar vein, in Book IX of the same work, Aristotle comments that

it is surely absurd to make the blessed man [*ton makarion*] a solitary. For no one would choose to have all good things on his own, since man is a social creature and one whose nature it is to live with others. This is also the case for the happy man [*tō eudaimonī*], for he has the things that are by nature good; and it is clear that it is better for him to spend his days with friends and decent people than with foreigners and just anyone.¹⁰¹

The final sentence in the second quotation may well strike us as rather chauvinistic or narrow-minded, and in this connection it must be acknowledged that Aristotle’s ethical and political thought, though a rich and perennial source of wisdom from which modern philosophers still draw-inspiration, does have some less attractive features. On the positive side, we should note that, for Aristotle, the *polis* is, first and foremost, a community (*koinōnia*),¹⁰² not simply an aggregation of individuals who happen to live in the same place. In the words of Glanville Downey, the *polis* “was a coordinated system of ethical and political activity”,

“an educational institution and a creative organism”, being ideally “designed to form man into the best kind of man”.¹⁰³

On the negative side we have to reckon with Aristotle’s opinions on women and slaves. Thus, with regard to women, he held, for example, that although they, like men, were endowed with faculty of deliberation, their form of this faculty was “lacking in authority” (*akyron*).¹⁰⁴ As for slaves, not only are they entirely bereft of a deliberative faculty,¹⁰⁵ but they are also “animate items of property”.¹⁰⁶ This conservative attitude compares quite unfavorably with the more open and egalitarian outlook of the Cynics. Aristotle excluded laborers, and even artisans, from citizenship, even though they performed work that was a necessary condition for the continuing existence of any *polis*¹⁰⁷—a view which Sir Ernest Barker calls “repellent”, since “it lowers the workers of a community into the community’s slaves”.¹⁰⁸

In the end, it is difficult to conceive of any more diametrically opposed viewpoints on the nature of moral life. In Aristotle, on the one hand, we have the emphasis not simply on community and place as preconditions for acquiring the virtues and attaining to goodness,¹⁰⁹ but also on a particular form of social organization, namely, the *polis*. Diogenes, on the other hand, underscores individuality and detachment from one’s surroundings as prerequisites for achieving these goals. From a reading of Diogenes Laërtios it is possible to sense a glimmer of communal sentiment among the Cynics, albeit limited to their own circle, as in the dictum (not attributed to any particular Cynic), “The wise man is a friend to one like him”,¹¹⁰ and in the statement ascribed to Crates, “I am a citizen of Diogenes”,¹¹¹ that is, a fellow citizen of the *politeia* of the wise.

We find ourselves, then, near the end of the fourth century b.C. with two radically polarized conceptions of the relationship between the individual and the community. How are we to make the transition from this historical juncture to the late fourth century a.C., when St. Basil offered his bold response to Modestos? I will cite a few passages from the New Testament as a

bridge to the Patristic era, which will be the focus of the remainder of this article.

First, however, it must be admitted that there is, unfortunately, very little continuity between classical and Christian thought on the issue of the individual and the community. The Hellenistic age saw a remarkable flowering of philosophical activity on the part of the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Skeptics, among others, and although it would be an exaggeration to say that political philosophy died out during this period, as conventional wisdom has it,¹¹² the primary contributions of these philosophical schools were in the areas of logic, ethics, and physics. Even if the texts of Aristotle's *Politics* were not completely lost, they must have become somewhat scarce, given the dearth of commentary on it during the Hellenistic era and thereafter.¹¹³ It is impossible to determine whether St. Basil and his great contemporaries, Sts. Gregory the Theologian and Gregory of Nyssa, actually read the *Politics* themselves, although there is in one of St. Basil's homilies on the Psalms an intriguing allusion to first of the passages that I cited in my introduction, which it is tempting to suppose that he might have heard at a lecture when he was a student at Athens. St. Basil says, with reference to St. Matthew 5:42, "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away", "these words summon us to sharing [*koinōnikon*] and reciprocal love, and to what is proper to our nature. For man is a social [*politikon*] and gregarious creature. For in a common way of life and mutual interaction generosity is necessary for correcting what is lacking".¹¹⁴ The expression *politikon zōon* is not unique to Aristotle,¹¹⁵ and so we cannot infer from its use in this passage that St. Basil derived it from the *Politics*. Apart from this text, however, there is precious little evidence that the Church Fathers had any familiarity with the *Politics*. In order to pursue this topic, therefore, I have adopted a more indirect approach, but one that will still facilitate a dialogue, as it were, between the Fathers and the classical tradition.¹¹⁶

Let us turn now to the bridge afforded by the New Testament. There are four key texts, all taken from the Epistles, which enable

us to make the transition from pagan to Christian antiquity: the first and second, from St. Paul, “[Y]e are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city [*polei*] of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem”, and “Here have we no abiding city [*polin*]”,¹¹⁷ the second, also from St. Paul, “For our citizenship [*politeuma*] is in heaven”,¹¹⁸ and the third from St. Peter, “Beloved, I beseech you as sojourners [*paroikous*] and pilgrims, to abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul”.¹¹⁹

If we traverse this textual bridge, we will reach the *Epistle to Diognetos*, a fascinating document of uncertain authorship and date. Formerly attributed to St. Justin the Philosopher, it is now generally assigned to sometime in the second century a.D., though even later dates have been suggested. Fortunately, it is the content of this work, not its provenance, that concerns us here. For our purposes, the most important section is to be found in chapter 5, in which the author says:

For Christians are distinguished from the rest of mankind men neither by country, nor by language, nor by customs. For they [do not] dwell in cities of their own [...]. But, inhabiting both Greek and barbarian cities [...] and following local customs with regard to clothing, food, and the rest of life, they display the admirable and undeniably extraordinary character of their way of life [*politeia*]. They inhabit their own countries, but as sojourners [*paroiko*]. They share all things [with others] as citizens, and yet endure all things as strangers. Every foreign country is their homeland, and every homeland is a foreign country [...]. They are in the flesh, but they do not live according to the flesh. They pass their days on earth, but they are citizens of heaven. They obey the appointed laws, and they surpass the laws by their own lives. They love all, and are persecuted by all.¹²⁰

It is quite evident from this text that the Christians of the author’s day were not sectarian in mentality and did not reject the *polis* as such, to the point of establishing their own cities. The important thing for them was not *where* they lived, that is, in which *polis*, but *how* they lived, that is, strict practice of their own

peculiar way of life or *politeia*. One implication of this passage is that a Christian could live anywhere in the world as long as he upheld the Christian *politeia*. This is somewhat reminiscent of the Cynic outlook, except that it does not involve such a strong aversion to the institution of the *polis*.

Another implication is that, even as sojourners (*paroikoi*), that is, temporary residents, in the countries and cities in which they dwelled, they nonetheless fulfilled their civic responsibilities along with their countrymen and fellow citizens. These responsibilities would certainly have included obeying the laws, paying taxes, military service, and public service, although during times of persecution Christians involved in the latter two spheres of activity were very often faced with a choice between confessing their faith by identifying themselves as believers or denying it by offering sacrifices to the pagan deities of the Roman Empire. The crucial point, though, is that Christians lived simultaneously on two axes: the vertical axis of the Church, the heavenly city, and the horizontal axis of the earthly city. Thus, we could say that they enjoyed dual citizenship. The Church being spread out over much of the *oikoumenē*, the inhabited earth, they could pursue the Christian *politeia* wherever they found themselves.

There are three major Church Fathers to consider in the final section of this article, namely, St. Gregory the Theologian (ca. 329-390 a.D.), St. John Chrysostomos (ca. 347-407 a.D.), and St. Basil the Great.¹²¹ Before I discuss their writings relevant to my subject, I will say something more about the sense in which the Fathers regarded the Church as a city. Origen says, for example, that the Church is the city of God.¹²² St. Basil expands on this rather terse statement as follows in a homily on Psalm 45. Commenting on the first half of verse 4, “The streams of the river make glad the city of God”, he says: “This river gladdens the entire city of God, that is, the Church [assembly] of those who have their citizenship [*politeia*] in Heaven. With regard to the second half of this verse, “The Most High hath sanctified His tabernacle”, St. Basil says that “tabernacle” could refer to either the heavenly city, the Jerusalem on high, or the Church on earth. Summing up the

tradition of Patristic exegesis, the early twelfth-century Byzantine commentator Euthymios Zigabenos states that the “city of God” in this verse is the “assembly of the faithful, the Church of the Christians”, which is so called “because their way of life [*politeia*] is pleasing to God”.¹²³ It should be noted, in this connection, that such a conception of the Church as a city constitutes a form of what is often termed “realized” or “inaugurated” eschatology, according to which Heaven and heavenly things belong to the future, to the world to come, and simultaneously exist in the present realm.¹²⁴

The *Epistle to Diognetos* dates, as I said, most probably from the second century. The Fathers whom I mentioned all lived in the fourth century (although St. John died in the early fifth century). After the conversion of St. Constantine the Roman Empire began, albeit gradually, to become Christianized to some degree.¹²⁵ Thus, the cities belonging to the Empire, like the Christians portrayed in the *Epistle to Diognetos*, were now situated on both horizontal and vertical axes. “In place of citizenship in the classical *polis*, the citizenship of the new Christian city was primarily citizenship in the heavenly city and the heavenly Jerusalem, that is, a dual citizenship of the city of God and the city on man on earth”.¹²⁶ This does not mean, of course, that all cities exemplified a truly Christian way of life or that all of the inhabitants of the Empire became Christians in anything more than a nominal sense. Much of the army remained pagan throughout Constantine’s reign, and paganism in general was not suppressed. However, Constantine had undeniably laid the foundations for the later development of a Christian society.

At any rate, by the time the three Fathers in question, all of whom were Bishops and pastors, were engaged in their ministry, the Christian Church was able to function freely; large and imposing churches had been constructed throughout the Empire, and the focus of civic life was now radically different from what it had been under paganism. If not in society at large, at least in the Church St. Paul’s affirmation that in Christ “[t]here is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor

female” rang true.¹²⁷ If it is not fanciful to draw such a comparison, what had been dimly foreshadowed in the relative openness displayed by the Cynics towards non-Greeks, women, and slaves was now given clear affirmation. Specifically with regard to the latter two groups, St. Gregory the Theologian says, addressing his sister Gorgonia: “O nature of woman, surpassing that of man in the common struggle for salvation, and proving that the difference between female and male is one of body, not of soul”.¹²⁸ St. Basil, apparently taking issue with Aristotle,¹²⁹ declares that “among men no one is a slave by nature”.¹³⁰

As already noted, my suggestion that the Church Fathers were willing to learn from the Cynics is bound to appear quite counter-intuitive. It is certainly not difficult to find passages in the Fathers in which they candidly censure the shortcomings of the Cynics. For example, St. Gregory the Theologian, in the first of his invectives against the Julian the Apostate, says: “Crates is a great man with you; for it was truly a philosophical deed for a shepherd to have abandoned his property—a deed similar that of our own philosophers. But in his preaching he makes a parade of license, just like one who is not so much a lover of wisdom as a lover of fame”.¹³¹ Similarly, in an oration on the philosopher Hero (actually Maximos the Cynic), he denounces “the pretentiousness of Antisthenes, the gourmandizing of Diogenes, and the ‘dog marriage’ of Crates”.¹³² However, in this same oration St. Gregory finds some positive things to say about Cynic outlook, and in particular its cosmopolitanism.¹³³ Thus, after praising Maximos as a paragon of virtue, he calls him a “citizen [*politēs*] of the inhabited earth [*oikoumenē*] in terms of his wisdom”, since “Cynicism does not tolerate being circumscribed by narrow boundaries”. He then goes on to commend Maximos for disdaining wealth and luxury, which is very much in the spirit of the original Cynics, and then, interestingly enough, for choosing the path of active engagement in civic life, which is much more characteristic of the later Cynics. In terms strikingly reminiscent of Aristotle’s conception of the *polis*, St. Gregory comments that Maximos

regarded it as the mark of the most perfect and philosophical soul to merge in all respects the public with the private spheres of life on the ground that each of us is born not for himself alone, but also for everyone who shares the same nature and takes his being from the same source and to the same ends.¹³⁴

Although the solitary life is a great and sublime affair, it goes against the social and philanthropic nature of love and fails to extend its benefits to the majority of human beings [*tous pollous*].¹³⁵ It is not entirely clear whether St. Gregory has in mind mankind as a whole, but it is certainly not unreasonable to interpret his thoughts in this part of the oration along cosmopolitan lines.

It is worth noting two other aspects of Cynicism that are mentioned in this oration. The first is that Maximos, in St. Gregory’s estimation, while repudiating the atheism (or ungodliness) of the Cynics, praised their simplicity, as could be seen, for example, from his Cynic apparel.¹³⁶ The second is that Maximos has accepted exile from his homeland in order to assist the Church in Constantinople, not knowing any homeland, whether his own or someone else’s. It is perfectly natural that someone like St. Gregory would value simplicity and frugality. More significant, though, is the emphasis that he places on exile, and this is a theme to which he returns in Oration XXVI, which he delivered after the turmoil provoked by Maximos’ attempt to supplant him as Archbishop of Constantinople had subsided. Rebutting those who accused him of being a foreigner (he was from Cappadocia), he asks: “Do I have a homeland circumscribed by borders—I for whom every land and no land is my homeland?”¹³⁷ This is very similar to what Epictetos says about Diogenes, and Martha Vinson is surely correct in calling it the “Christian equivalent of the famed cosmopolitanism of the Cynics”.¹³⁸

There are clearly echoes of both Aristotle and the Cynics in these passages from St. Gregory that I have presented, though with a greater emphasis on the Cynics. However, in the case of

Christian writers it is important to keep in mind that it is because they conceived their true homeland and citizenship as something transcending this world, as an eschatological reality, that they could claim that the entire world was their homeland, whereas for the Cynics there was really no other world beyond the visible one. Thus, in Oration XXXIII, St. Gregory states:

For everyone who is lofty in mind there is one homeland, the Jerusalem on high, in which we store up our citizenship [...]. These earthly homelands and families are the playthings of our transitory life and habitation. For our homeland is whatever each may have first occupied, either through violence or in calamity, and therein we are all alike strangers and sojourners.¹³⁹

St. John Chrysostomos also puts forth this idea in one of his homilies “On the Statues”, a series of orations delivered to the people of Antioch following a riot in which statues of Emperor Theodosios I and the imperial family had been thrown down by a mob enraged over the imposition of a special tax. Displaying great esteem for the city and concern for its inhabitants, St. John emphasizes that Christians have no earthly city and that their true citizenship is in Heaven—“even if we were to gain possession of the entire inhabited earth, we would still be strangers and sojourners in the whole world”—and also that their true adornment consists in virtue, not in the greatness of the city in which they reside; in other words, in how they live, not in where they live.¹⁴⁰

Before I move on to a discussion of St. Basil, I will cite another example of Patristic esteem for the Cynics, in order to show that the Church Fathers were happy to discern truth and value even in the most unlikely places. In a letter of consolation to a young widow, St. John cites Diogenes and Crates, among others, as examples of people who lost wealth and learned to live without it, seeing glory in the midst of their poverty.¹⁴¹ Similarly, in a defense of the monastic life, he mentions the same Cynics in the course of arguing that eloquence, a worldly trait, is not

necessary.¹⁴² The main point, here, is that St. John, in common with other Church Fathers, acknowledged and valued the detachment from worldly concerns, as exemplified by their renunciation of wealth and financial security, that is evident in the lives and sayings of the Cynics.

Let us now turn to St. Basil the Great, who, like the other two Fathers whom I have discussed, had some respect for the Cynics. In one passage, for example, he expresses admiration for Diogenes, who showed his contempt for human possessions when he declared to the King of Persia that he was the richer of the two of them, since he needed less than the King for sustenance.¹⁴³ In one of his letters he commends Diogenes for flinging away his bowl after learning from some young boy to stoop down and drink from the hollow of his hand.¹⁴⁴ It is hard to determine whether there is specific influence from the Cynics in his famous response to the prefect Modestos, but from an encomium by his brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa, we learn that “he was free from fear of exile, since he said that mankind had one homeland, Paradise, and saw the entire earth as a common exile of nature”.¹⁴⁵ It is noteworthy in this connection that St. Basil displayed great frankness in dealing with the prefect, and that this very candor (*parrhesia*) was a defining characteristic of the Cynics in general and of Diogenes in particular.¹⁴⁶ Just as Diogenes, as Bosman suggests, “based his freedom of speech on his citizenship of the world,” so we might say that St. Basil based his freedom of speech on his citizenship of Heaven.¹⁴⁷

Now, although one would not expect someone who spoke as candidly as he did to an imperial official like Modestos to be overly concerned with the realities of civic life, St. Basil certainly did show such solicitude, as is evident, for example, from his charitable foundation, the “Basileias”, named in his honor. According to Father Demetrios Constantelos, this institution, which “is believed to be the first organized charitable system in the Christian Greek East”, was far more than just a hospital. It was “a multi-purpose institution which, besides the hospital, also had rooms for lepers, travelers, physicians, cooks, and others”.¹⁴⁸

More broadly, as Philip Rousseau argues, “Christians, by baptism, were called into the company of the angels; but it was still as ‘fellow citizens’, which allowed other associations to cluster around the experience of the sacrament: freedom from slavery, release from financial injustice”.¹⁴⁹ Anyone who heard the homily on Psalm 14 cited previously could not fail to understand “that membership of such a Church would have immediate social and economic consequences”.¹⁵⁰ St. Basil, like St. John Chrysostomos, is renowned for those sermons in which he inveighs against the unjust accumulation of wealth and warns about the spiritual dangers of riches, not only for those who possessed them but also for those who did not. According to St. Basil, in the context of social life generosity is a fundamental virtue and its absence is a grave sin.

More important for the theme of this essay, however, is the fact that all human beings share a common nature. Thus, in a homily delivered in Lakizoi, he enjoins his congregation not to turn away strangers in need: “All are kindred, all are brothers, all are children of a single Father. If you seek your spiritual Father, He is your Heavenly Father; if you seek earthly things, the earth is your mother, and we are all formed from the same clay”.¹⁵¹ These words certainly bespeak a cosmopolitan outlook.

There is another aspect of St. Basil’s thought, which, while not inconsistent with his cosmopolitan outlook, provides it with some balance and enables us to draw together some of the strands of this essay. The development of the concept of cosmopolitanism is my primary theme, and I have endeavored to demonstrate, on the basis of a wide variety of sources, that there is a definite progression in Greek thought, broadly conceived as encompassing both classical and Christian phases, from the centrality of the *polis* to a more open and generous attitude not just towards those belonging (as citizens) to other *poleis* and those belonging, by virtue of sex or social status, to no *polis*, but also towards those existing far beyond the confines of one’s own *polis*. The Cynics brought to light the possibility of being at home anywhere in the world, of being a citizen of the world, and not being defined by

one’s membership of a particular civic community. What they failed to do, probably because they had no such aim or concern, was to explain how the average human being was to live in community with other people.

It is in this respect, among others, that the Church Fathers truly represent not so much a progression in thought as progress in thought from an admittedly already civilized and lofty view of human life towards a yet more civilized and elevated understanding. In essence, the Christian cosmopolitanism of the Fathers, which I would characterize as a form of moderate positive cosmopolitanism in contrast to the moderate negative cosmopolitanism of the Cynics, is grounded in a celestial, not a terrestrial citizenship. This celestial *politeia* exists in tension vis-à-vis one’s terrestrial *politeia*, but the two are not irreconcilable or incompatible. As the *Epistle to Diognetos* avers, Christians do not inhabit separate cities or communities. Although their true citizenship lies elsewhere, beyond the present realm of existence, they do nonetheless live in cities with other human beings and have the same civic obligations as their fellow citizens.

As a Bishop, St. Basil valued “the traditional features and virtues of city life. The development of crafts and skills, involvement in public affairs, the acquisition of property, travel from place to place—all were part of God’s plan, part of the goodness of creation, a basis for optimism in life”.¹⁵² Even a spiritual discipline and non-civic virtue like fasting could have significant social ramifications. Thus, in the first of his homilies on fasting, St. Basil exhorts his hearers:

Do not [...] define the benefit that comes from fasting solely of abstinence from foods. For true fasting consists in estrangement from vices [...]. Forgive your neighbor the distress he causes you; forgive him his debts [...]. You do not eat meat, but you devour your brother. You abstain from wine, but do not restrain yourself from insulting others. You wait until evening to eat, but waste your day in law courts.¹⁵³

On a more personal level, in a letter to one Phirminos, a young soldier who subsequently became a monk, St. Basil inquires whether he is still practicing the ascetic life, despite having joined the army, and goes on to encourage him to hold public office in his native city.¹⁵⁴

None of the Church Fathers under consideration ever urged the members of their flocks towards dereliction of their civic duties or to disregard of their fellow citizens who were not “of the household of faith”.¹⁵⁵ What they did emphasize above all was that Christians should live in the *polis* without being unduly attached to it, bearing in mind that their true *politeia* was in Heaven. “Have you been expelled from your homeland?” asks St. Basil. He replies: “But you have Jerusalem as your heavenly homeland”.¹⁵⁶ Aristotle and Diogenes, each in his own way, paved the way for the development of Patristic thought on the relationship between the individual, the community, and the wider world, Aristotle by his emphasis on solidarity and reciprocity among the inhabitants of a *polis* for the purpose of attaining the good life (*to eu zēn*),¹⁵⁷ and Diogenes by his refusal to confine moral life to the *polis* and his openness to persons and factors external to the *polis*. The signal contribution of the Church Fathers is to blend these two perspectives and place them within the eschatological context of the heavenly city, which, as I have already noted, is both a present reality and a future hope.

I will conclude with a passage from the funeral oration of St. Basil by St. Gregory the Theologian, which captures very movingly both the universality and the practical repercussions of St. Basil’s cosmopolitan outlook. Firmly rooted in the city which constituted his Episcopal see, and at the same time solicitous for the welfare of all human beings, he was mourned by a huge throng of people, tens of thousands of every race and age: “There was competition between our own people and strangers, Jews, pagans, and foreigners, and between them and us, as to who might lament more abundantly and thereby receive a greater share in the benefit”.¹⁵⁸

RESUMO

O foco deste artigo é o conceito de cosmopolitismo, que é a ideia que o ser humano não é restrito nem definido pela localidade imediata de uma cidade ou mesmo de um país, mas que ele é, em certa maneira, cidadão do mundo inteiro ou, pelo menos, possui uma afinidade com todos os outros membros da raça humana, baseada numa comum e universal constituição psicofísica (aquela de corpo e alma) e, mais especificamente, no fato de todos os seres humanos serem dotados de razão. Após ter resumido o papel da *pólis* na Grécia antiga, exibo o crescimento do cosmopolitismo desde suas raízes nos cínicos até seu desenvolvimento e sua transformação através dos padres da Igreja grega, tocando brevemente certos aspectos da teoria política de Aristóteles e particularmente o seu criticismo distorcido dos cínicos. Parto da posição de demonstrar que há uma progressão definitiva no pensamento grego. Essa progressão parte da centralidade da *pólis* em direção a uma atitude mais aberta e generosa, não somente para com aqueles que pertencem (como cidadãos) a outras *póleis* e aqueles que pertencem, em virtude do sexo ou do estado social, a nenhuma *pólis*, mas também para com aqueles que existem muito além dos limites da sua própria *pólis*.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Cosmopolitanismo; *pólis*; cínicos; padres da Igreja grega; teoria política de Aristóteles.

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¹After *Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 3rd ed. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 135.

²It should be pointed out that “city-state” is not an adequate translation of the Greek word *polis*, not only because there is no precise equivalent to it in English but also because the typical *polis* was far more than a city in modern terms and not really a state, if that term is understood to denote an entity distinct from the citizens belonging to it. For the remainder of this essay, in order to avoid confusion, I will simply use the word *polis*. I will say more about the concept of the *polis* in the body of the paper.

³*Politics*, I.2, 1253a2-4. Compare *ibid.*, III.6, 1278b19; *Nicomachean Ethics*, IX.9, 1169b18-19.

⁴*Politics*, I.2, 1253a27-29.

⁵Diogenes Laërtios, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.63.

⁶St. Gregory the Theologian, “Oration XLIII,” §49, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 36, col. 560C. For a similar account of this episode, see St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Against Eunomios*, I.12, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 45, col. 292CD.

⁷I am not privileging Athens in the belief that other *poleis* such as Sparta, Corinth, and Thebes are of no interest in this regard, but simply because we have so much more literary evidence concerning the theory and practice of the Athenian *polis*.

⁸Strictly speaking, the roots of the concept of cosmopolitanism are to be located much further back in Greek thought than the Cynics. Adumbrations of the idea can be found even in Homer, and certainly in the Presocratics (especially Anaxagoras) and the Sophists, and also in some of the tragedians (Euripides, for example). For an admirably lucid and balanced account of the rise of cosmopolitan thinking in ancient Greece, see H.C. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 8-51. Nevertheless, it is the Cynics who were responsible for advancing a more explicit conception of cosmopolitanism.

⁹For example, eating in the *agora* (Diogenes Laërtios, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.58, 61), advocating sexual promiscuity (*ibid.*, VI.72), and even flirting with the idea that cannibalism was not necessarily wrong (*ibid.*, VI.73).

¹⁰*The Hellenic-Christian Philosophical Tradition* (Belmont, MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1989), 19.

¹¹According to Diogenes Laërtios, he was for a time a pupil of the Cynic philosopher Crates, who had himself been a pupil of Diogenes of Sinope (*Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VII.4).

¹²A.A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics* (London: Duckworth, 1974), 110.

¹³Plutarch, “On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander,” §6, 329AB, in *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. J. von Arnim (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1905), vol. 1, 61.

¹⁴It must be admitted that there is no absolute certainty that this is the actual teaching of Chrysippos. However, as Long points out, “[f]or later Stoics, Chrysippus became the general canon of orthodoxy, and it is reasonable to assume that the majority of ancient summaries which begin with the words, ‘The Stoics say that,’ report his views or views which he would have approved” (*Hellenistic Philosophy*, 114).

¹⁵*Concerning the Ends of Goods and Evils*, III.65, in *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, vol. 3, 83.

¹⁶It is notoriously difficult to find a precisely equivalent English translation of the Stoic concept of *oikeiosis*. I have followed, here, the rendition advocated by Julia Annas in her excellent study *The Morality of Happiness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 262. In one place, earlier on in her exposition, Annas defines *oikeiosis* as “the progressive development of our instincts with age into fully reasoned moral commitment” (*ibid.*, 55, n. 19), and later on, more broadly, as an “attitude of impartial concern for the interests of all others,” which “is the basis of justice and of communal life” (*ibid.*, 265).

¹⁷In A.A. Long and D.N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), vol. 2, 348-349 (§57H).

¹⁸For a detailed analysis of the Stoic influence on Patristic thought, see Michel Spanneut, *Le Stoïcisme des Pères de l'Église: De Clément de Rome à Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1957).

- ¹⁹ Pauline Kleingeld and Eric Brown, “Cosmopolitanism,” <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/cosmopolitanism>
- ²⁰ *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, trans. Gilbert Highet, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), vol. 1, 77-78.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 108.
- ²² Thus, it would have been a little larger than modern-day Luxembourg.
- ²³ Victor Ehrenberg, *The Greek State* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1960), 33.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 86,90.
- ²⁵ *Histories*, VII.77.7.
- ²⁶ In practice, this did not generally amount to very much. According to Ehrenberg, direct taxation was comparatively rare. A *polis* might levy a property tax in times of war for the purpose of financing the war effort (*ibid.*, 85), but otherwise it “lived, so to speak, from hand to mouth” (*ibid.*, 82).
- ²⁷ *The Greeks* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1951), 72-73. Compare the following passage from Thucydides, in which Pericles, in his famous funeral speech over the citizens of Athens slain in the first winter of the Peloponnesian War, maintains that, unlike the inhabitants of other *poleis*, the Athenians regard one who fails to participate in public affairs not as disinterested [*apragmona*, a word that might also be translated as “non-political”] but as useless (*Histories*, II.40).
- ²⁸ That is, an adult male ancient Greek. Women were not eligible for citizenship in fifth-century Athens or in any other century, nor, *a fortiori*, were slaves. This manifest inequality in the cradle of democracy, however offensive to us moderns, must be understood in its historical context. Nowhere in antiquity were women enfranchised.
- ²⁹ See A.E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, 3rd ed., rev. A.W. Pickard-Cambridge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 6-24.
- ³⁰ M.I. Finley (ed.), *The Legacy of Greece: A New Appraisal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 23.
- ³¹ *The Ancient City: A Study of the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome*, trans. Willard Small (Boston: Lee and Shepard, Publishers, 1874), 177, 187.
- ³² *Paideia*, vol. 1, 108.
- ³³ According to Ehrenberg, in the case of Athenian citizens, this entailed attendance at some forty meetings during the year (*The Greek State*, 54).
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 82.
- ³⁵ *Philoctetes*, 1018.
- ³⁶ *After Virtue*, 135.
- ³⁷ *Hippolytos*, 1028-1029.
- ³⁸ “Fragmenta Adespota,” 284, in *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. August Nauck, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1889), 893.
- ³⁹ Interestingly enough, this particular passage is cited by Diogenes Laërtios in his life of Diogenes of Sinope (*Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.38).
- ⁴⁰ *First Tetralogy*, 2.9.
- ⁴¹ See G.B. Kerferd, *The Sophistic Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 15, 44, 46. Compare Jaeger: “Not only their teaching, but their intellectual and psychological charm made the Sophists illustrious and favored guests at the homes of the rich and powerful in every city where they chose to remain for a time.... Constantly wandering from city to city, they had no real nationality” (*Paideia*, vol. 1, 297).
- ⁴² *Protagoras*, 337C-D.
- ⁴³ *The Sophistic Movement*, 147.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁵ *Memoirs of Socrates*, IV.4.13.
- ⁴⁶ *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ed. Herman Diels and Walter Kranz, 6th ed. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1951-1952), §83.3; see also Aristotle, *Politics* III.9, 1280b10.
- ⁴⁷ *The Sophistic Movement*, 149.
- ⁴⁸ Aristotle, *Politics* III.9, 1280b6-8.
- ⁴⁹ *Merriam-Webster’s Unabridged Dictionary*, 3rd ed., s.v. “cynic,” “cynical.”
- ⁵⁰ Diogenes Laërtios, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.23.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, VI.41. Donald Dudley erroneously claims, repeating a popular distortion of this anecdote, that Diogenes was looking for an honest man (*A History of*

- Cynicism: From Diogenes to the 6th Century A.D.* [London: Methuen & Co., 1937], 31).
- ⁵² Baldry's interpretation of this passage in terms of an elitist contempt for non-sages seems unnecessarily harsh (*Unity of Mankind*, 110).
- ⁵³ *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.22.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, VI.34.
- ⁵⁵ *History of Cynicism*, x.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.
- ⁵⁷ *Unity of Mankind*, 104.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 108.
- ⁵⁹ Such is the interpretation of Sir William Tarn ("Alexander the Great and the Brotherhood of Man," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 19 [1932]), cited by Dudley (*History of Cynicism*, 35).
- ⁶⁰ Diogenes Laërtios, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.38.
- ⁶¹ "Cynic Cosmopolitanism," in *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy*, ed. R. Bracht Branham and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 109.
- ⁶² See, for example, *On the Creation of the World*, 3, and *Life of Moses* I.157.
- ⁶³ VII.34.6, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol.1, col. 1028A. See also. VII.39.2; VIII.12.16; VIII.41.4. This work, the full title of which is *Ordinances of the Holy Apostles Through Clement*, has traditionally been ascribed to St. Clement (probably St. Clement, Pope of Rome). Although Clement may have been responsible for parts of the work, in its present form, according to Panagiotes Chrestou, it dates from the late fourth century and is of Syrian provenance (*Hellenikē Patrologia* [Thessalonike: Ekdotikos Oikos "To Byzantion," 1987], vol. 3, 67).
- ⁶⁴ "Citizenship of the World – the Cynic Way," *Phronimon* 8:1 (2007): 26.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.
- ⁶⁶ "Cynic Cosmopolitanism," 108.
- ⁶⁷ See Heraclitus, fr. 114 (Diels-Kranz); Euripides, fr. 777, 902, 1047 (Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 606, 650, 692); Antiphon, fr. 44 (Diels-Kranz); Hippias, in *Protagoras*, 337C-D.
- ⁶⁸ *Memoirs of Socrates*, II.1.13.
- ⁶⁹ "Cynic Cosmopolitanism," 110.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 110-111.
- ⁷¹ Baldry, *Unity of Mankind*, 107.
- ⁷² Diogenes Laërtios, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.82, 99.
- ⁷³ Strabo *Geographica*, XV.1.54.
- ⁷⁴ This is, in fact, how it the term is most commonly understood in Patristic literature. See the entry on *politeia* in G.W.H. Lampe (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).
- ⁷⁵ "Cynic Cosmopolitanism," 111.
- ⁷⁶ *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.72.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, VI.38.
- ⁷⁸ John Moles, "The Cynics and Politics," in *Justice and Generosity: Studies in Hellenistic Social and Political Philosophy*, ed. André Laks and Malcolm Schofield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 145.
- ⁷⁹ *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.72. The translation is that of Malcolm Schofield (*The Stoic City* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 141), modified by John Moles and reproduced in "The Cynics and Politics," 130.
- ⁸⁰ "[W]hile doubtless partly a 'spoof' on the *Politeiai* of 'proper' philosophers like Plato, [it] must have entailed more systematic exposition of Diogenes' thought" (Moles, "The Cynics and Politics," 134).
- ⁸¹ *Unity of Mankind*, 106.
- ⁸² See Dudley, *History of Cynicism*, 43-44.
- ⁸³ "The Cynics and Politics," 143-144.
- ⁸⁴ *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.38.
- ⁸⁵ It should be added, of course, that Diogenes never developed, or intended to develop, any kind of philosophical system, and so we should not expect complete consistency in the sayings and views attributed to him.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, VI.49.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, VI.98; Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 809.
- ⁸⁸ *Discourse* IV.13.
- ⁸⁹ *Discourse* III.24.65-66.

- ⁹⁰□ “Aristotelian Political Theory in the Hellenistic Period,” in *Justice and Generosity*, 74.
- ⁹¹□ *Polis: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 48.
- ⁹²□ *Ibid.*, 50.
- ⁹³□ *The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle* (London: Methuen & Co., 1906), 272.
- ⁹⁴□ Diogenes Laërtios, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.60.
- ⁹⁵□ *Ibid.*, VI.46.
- ⁹⁶□ In common with other Cynics, Diogenes taught that the end (*telos*) of mankind was to live according to virtue and that Cynicism was a short path to virtue (*ibid.*, VI.104).
- ⁹⁷□ *Ibid.*, VI.105.
- ⁹⁸□ *Politics*, I.2, 1253a27-29.
- ⁹⁹□ “Aristotelian Political Theory in the Hellenistic Period,” in *Justice and Generosity*, 76.
- ¹⁰⁰□ *Nicomachean Ethics*, I.2, 1094b7-10.
- ¹⁰¹□ *Nicomachean Ethics*, IX.9, 1169b16-21.
- ¹⁰²□ *Politics* I.1, 1252a1.
- ¹⁰³□ “From the Pagan City to the Christian City,” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 10:1 (1964): 124-125.
- ¹⁰⁴□ *Ibid.*, I.13, 1260a13-14.
- ¹⁰⁵□ *Ibid.*, I.13, 1260a12.
- ¹⁰⁶□ *Ibid.*, I.4, 1253b32.
- ¹⁰⁷□ *Ibid.*, III.5, 1277b33-1278b5. Aristotle did allow, however, that artisans might be granted citizenship in certain kinds of constitution.
- ¹⁰⁸□ *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, 297.
- ¹⁰⁹□ It is worth remembering that the purpose of inquiring into the nature of virtue, according to Aristotle, is not to know what virtue is, but to become good, since there would otherwise be no profit in undertaking such an inquiry (*Nicomachean Ethics*, II.2, 1103b27-29).
- ¹¹⁰□ Diogenes Laërtios, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.105.
- ¹¹¹□ *Ibid.*, VI.93.
- ¹¹²□ For an up-to-date and far more compelling account of Hellenistic political theory, see the excellent chapters by Malcolm Schofield in Keimpe Algra, Jonathan Barnes, Jaap Mansfeld, and Malcolm Schofield (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 739-770.
- ¹¹³□ Indeed, it was not until the thirteenth century that any major commentary on the *Politics* appeared (that of Thomas Aquinas).
- ¹¹⁴□ “Homily on Psalm 14,” §6, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 29, col. 261C. In a similar vein, St. Basil writes elsewhere: “Who does not know that man is a gentle and social creature, not a solitary or a wild one? For nothing is so proper to our nature as to commune with, and depend on, one another, and to love what is akin to us?” (*Long Rules*, Resp. 3.1, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 31, col. 917A). It is worth noting that in one of his homilies on the Hexaemeron St. Basil reflects Aristotle when he says: “It is a property of the state to make the activity of its individual members converge towards one common end” (“Homily VIII on the Hexaemeron,” §4, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 29, col.172D).
- ¹¹⁵□ It appears, for example, in Plutarch, Aspasios, and Alexander of Aphrodisias (the latter two being commentators on Aristotle).
- ¹¹⁶□ It is very likely, however, given their familiarity with the Cynics, that all three of these Fathers, as well as St. John Chrysostomos, had read the biographies of the philosophers by Diogenes Laërtios, who flourished in the third century.
- ¹¹⁷□ Hebrews 12:22; 13:14.
- ¹¹⁸□ Philippians 3:20.
- ¹¹⁹□ I St. Peter 2:11.
- ¹²⁰□ *Epistle to Diognetos*, 5, in F.X. Funk (ed.), *Patres Apostolici*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: In Libraria Henrici Laupp, 1901), vol. 1, 396-398. For some very similar sentiments from one of the Latin Fathers, see Tertullian, *Apology*, 42, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 1, cols. 490B-492A.
- ¹²¹□ In the Eastern Orthodox Church, these three Fathers are celebrated together, interestingly enough, as the “Three Hierarchs,” on January 30.
- ¹²²□ “Homily 9 on Jeremiah,” 2, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 13, col. 349D.

¹²³□ *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 128, col. 508C.

¹²⁴□^κ“The Christian ‘citizenship’ or ‘commonwealth’ [Philippians 3:20] was for [St. Paul] a great and present reality, the full power of which would be shewn in due time [Philippians 3:21]” (Brook Foss Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 3rd ed. [London: Macmillan and Co., 1903], 390).

¹²⁵□ As is evident, for example, from the large number of churches that he built and from some of his legislation. Among other things, he promulgated laws concerning Sunday observance, repealed pagan laws prohibiting celibacy, and granted extensive privileges and exemptions to the Christian clergy.

¹²⁶□ Downey, “From the Pagan City to the Christian City”: 125-126.

¹²⁷□ Galatians 3:28.

¹²⁸□^κ“Oration VIII,” §14, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 35, col. 805B.

¹²⁹□ *Politics*, I.5, 1254a14-15, 1255a1-2.

¹³⁰□ *On the Holy Spirit*, 20.51, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 32, col. 160D. It must be admitted that St. Basil goes on, in the same chapter, to argue that, although people commonly become slaves as a result of war, they may be cases in which it is more profitable that someone who “has no natural ruling principle within himself should become the property of another” (ibid., col. 161A). This is nonetheless a far cry from the grim justification of slavery that we find in Aristotle. In fact, none of the Fathers could be characterized as abolitionists with respect to slavery, which was a social reality and one which they accepted, albeit reluctantly. They did, however, strive to mitigate its cruelty and injustice. For a trenchant denunciation of slavery, see St. Gregory of Nyssa, “Homily IV on Ecclesiastes,” *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 44, cols. 664B-668A.

¹³¹□ “Oration IV,” §72, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 35, col. 596A. Compare St. John Chrysostomos, “Homily X on St. Matthew,” §4, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 57, col. 188; “Homily XXXV on I Corinthians,” §4, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 61, col. 302.

¹³²□ “Oration XXV,” §7, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 35, col. 1208B. The word “dog marriage” (*kynogamia*) is a clever wordplay in which St. Gregory simultaneously identifies the philosophical motivation of the union between Crates and Hipparchia and its less savory aspects (see Diogenes Laërtios, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.97). I follow the reading *kynogamia* in preference to *koinogamia*, which could mean “public marriage” or “common marriage,” but which is far less scathing than *kynogamia*.

¹³³□ It should be noted that “Hero” is a pseudonym for Maximos the Cynic, an unscrupulous and disreputable opportunist from Alexandria who, having initially won St. Gregory’s trust, abused this by having himself consecrated Archbishop of Constantinople, St. Gregory’s own see. For further details, see John A. McGuckin, *Saint Gregory of Nazianzus: An Intellectual Biography* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2001), 311-325.

¹³⁴□ “Oration XXV,” §4, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 35, col. 1204B (I cite here the excellent translation by Martha Vinson (*St. Gregory of Nazianzus: Select Orations* [*The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 107; Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003], 160).

¹³⁵□ St. Gregory is obviously not referring, in this context, to the solitary life as practiced by hermits in the desert, a way of life which he certainly would not have condemned!

¹³⁶□^κ“Oration XXV,” §6, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 35, col. 1205A.

¹³⁷□^κ“Oration XXVI,” §14, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 35, col. 1248A.

¹³⁸□ *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: Select Orations*, 187, n. 64.

¹³⁹□^κ“Oration XXXIII,” §12, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 36, col. 229AB.

¹⁴⁰□^κ“Homily XVII ‘On the Statues,’” §2, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 49, cols. 177-178.

¹⁴¹□^κ“To a Young Widow,” §6, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 48, col. 607.

¹⁴²□^κ“Against the Opponents of the Monastic Life,” III.11, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 47, col. 367.

¹⁴³□ “Exhortation to Young Men About How They May Derive Profit from Greek Letters,” §8, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 31, col. 585B.

¹⁴⁴□ “Epistle IV,” *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 32, col. 237A; see also Diogenes Laërtios, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.37.

¹⁴⁵□^κ“Encomium in Praise of His Brother Basil,” *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 46, col. 797A. It is not clear whether by “exile of nature” St. Gregory means exile from our proper nature, but such would seem a natural reading of this text.

¹⁴⁶□^κ“When asked what was the most beautiful thing among men, he said: ‘Candor [*parrhesia*]’” (Diogenes Laërtios, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*,

VI.69).

¹⁴⁷□ "Citizenship of the World," 33.

¹⁴⁸□ Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1968), 154. Father Constantelos adds that St. John Chrysostomos emulated St. Basil's example by building several hospitals in Constantinople (ibid., 155).

¹⁴⁹□ *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 177.

¹⁵⁰□ Ibid., 177-178.

¹⁵¹□ "Homily Delivered in Lakizoi," §2, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 31, col. 1441A.

¹⁵² Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea*, 163. See "Homily on the Verse "Attend to Thyself," §6, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 31, cols. 212A-213A.

¹⁵³□ "Homily I on Fasting," §10, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 31, col. 181B.

¹⁵⁴□ "Epistle CXVI," *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 32, col. 532CD.

¹⁵⁵□ Galatians 6:10.

¹⁵⁶□ "Homily on Thanksgiving," §7, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 31, col. 236C.

¹⁵⁷□ *Politics*, III.9, 1280b39.

¹⁵⁸□ "Oration XLIII," §80, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 36, col. 601B.