



Christos Simelidis

Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus

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Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben

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Selected Poems of
Gregory of Nazianzus

I.2.17; II.1.10, 19, 32: A Critical Edition
with Introduction and Commentary

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

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FOR PARASKEVI

πέπειμαι γὰρ ὅτι
οὔτε θάνατος οὔτε ζωὴ
οὔτε ἄγγελοι οὔτε ἀρχαὶ
οὔτε ἐνεστῶτα οὔτε μέλλοντα
οὔτε δυνάμεις οὔτε ὕψωμα οὔτε βάθος
οὔτε τις κτίσις ἕτέρα
δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρὶς αἰ
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ
τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

Preface

Gregory's *Poem on his own Life* contains some beautiful lines [...] which burst from the heart, and speak the pangs of injured and lost friendship: [...]. In the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Helena addresses the same pathetic complaint to her friend Hermia: [...] Shakspeare had never read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen; he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother-tongue, the language of Nature, is the same in Cappadocia and in Britain.

E. Gibbon¹

Gregory of Nazianzus (*ca.* AD 330-390) is a very important theologian of the early Christian Church and was undoubtedly one of the most learned men of his generation. In the Byzantine period Gregory became 'the most widely imitated Christian author' (Mango [2002: 103]).² Apart from orations and letters, he wrote poetry (about 17,000 verses) in traditional, i.e. archaic and Classical, language and metres. The poems were widely read in Byzantium, and there is a strong case that they were part of the school curriculum. In later times, Aldus Manutius' 1504 edition of Gregory's *Carmina* predated the *editiones principes* of such central classical authors as Plato (1513), Pindar (1513), and Aeschylus (1518). Aldus translated the poems himself and he is very enthusiastic about them in the brief preface to his book. However, the reception of the poems in modern times has been less sympathetic.³ And although Gregory's letters and the great majority of his orations have recently been edited, most of his poems are still awaiting a critical edition. For the moment we have to wrestle with the Maurist edition (Paris, 1778-1840), reprinted by Migne (henceforth M.) in his *Patrologia Graeca* vols. 37-8 (Paris, 1858-62).⁴ The lack of a critical edition of these poems impedes serious study and full appreciation. A century ago, Cavafis used to say

¹ *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. 27, n. 29. The last sentence was cited by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* (vol. IV, Berlin, 1962), 639.

² Cf. J. Noret, 'Grégoire de Nazianze, l'auteur le plus cité, après la Bible, dans la littérature ecclésiastique byzantine', in Mossay (1983: 259-66).

³ See Edwards (2003: 1-49).

⁴ The Maurist edition consists of two volumes; the poems are included in the second (1840), edited by A. B. Caillau ('post operam et studium monachorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti e Congregatione sancti Mauri; edente et accurante D. A. B. Caillau'). There are some discrepancies between this edition and M. and I will refer to some of them in my notes.

to his friends: ‘Δύο ποιήματα ένανάγησαν γιατί δὲ βρήκα Γρηγόριο Ναζιανζηνό!’⁵

This book offers a critical edition (from 29 manuscripts), with introduction and commentary, of four poems (266 verses): two autobiographical (II.1.10 and 19), one lament (II.1.32) and one gnology (I.2.17). The introduction discusses features of Gregory’s poetry in general, using material from the entire corpus. I also discuss his relationship to Hellenistic poetry and other poetic texts (from Homer to Theodore Metochites), and offer an account of the poems’ reception in Late Antiquity and Byzantium: *SEG* 48.1847-8 (Apameia; s. VI); *CIG* 4.9065; the epigram in Photius’ copy of Ps-Apollodorus’ *Bibliotheca* (*Bibliotheca* 142b) and various imitations in several Byzantine authors are brought together in this context for the first time. However, the introduction is necessarily brief and does not intend to examine in detail all issues that arise.

My commentary on the text is primarily linguistic, but I treat literary, historical, and religious questions suggested by the text alongside my detailed verbal work. The introductory chapters to each poem (I. General Outline, II. Literary Characteristics, III. Place in Gregory’s Life and Thought) include historical and theological evidence which is relevant to understanding the poems. In addition to echoes of and sources for the poems, I investigate their influence in later centuries. The fate and the understanding of the poems in later ages are also reflected in the three different Byzantine paraphrases, which are transmitted by the majority of the manuscripts together with the text of the poems. The paraphrases of my four poems are edited as an appendix. A section of the introduction discusses their linguistic characteristics and the support they offer for the idea that Gregory’s poems were used in schools.

Some of the verbal parallels cited in my commentary are not intended to help the reader to understand the poems, but only seek to shed some light on Gregory’s compositional technique, his knowledge of certain earlier authors, or his fate in Byzantium. This is sometimes the case with the same words or phrases used in other poems of Gregory at the same metrical *sedes*, or references to the use of uncommon words by earlier or later authors. Similarly, some of the variants in my apparatus offer no more than a picture of the kinds of errors found in the manuscripts.

Difficult or rare readings are discussed in detail in the commentary. One of these cases is the word *προνόμοι* (I.2.17. 15), which had previously been

⁵ ‘Two poems of mine were shipwrecked because I could not find a copy of Gregory Nazianzen’: G. Seferis, *Δοκιμές* (vol. I: 1936-1947, Athens, 1974), 343. The English translation is from G. Seferis, *On the Greek Style: Selected Essays in Poetry and Hellenism*, (tr.) R. Warner and T. D. Frangopoulos (Boston-Toronto, 1966), 140. Cavafis was ‘an admiring reader’ of Gregory, according to R. Liddell, *Cavafy: A Biography* (London, 2002), 120.

thought to occur only once, in Aeschylus. Gregory uses the word with a different meaning from that traditionally ascribed to it in Aeschylus. The new meaning makes much better sense in Aeschylus and, moreover, invites a reconsideration of a textual problem in the Aeschylean verse in question. I have made a new proposal which is closer to the manuscript transmission (Simelidis [2003 and 2005]). Scholars have not sufficiently appreciated to what extent Gregory is able to inform our understanding of classical authors.

Gregory's poems present particular interest as an attempt to create a distinctive Christian poetry within the tradition of classical literature. Gregory may not have been the first to write classicizing Christian verse, but his poetry is the earliest Greek verse of this kind that survives in any great quantity. Gregory often wants to engage his reader in exploring literary allusions. In fact the reader of Gregory's verses can often fully understand his text only if he is aware of the classical texts to which Gregory alludes. The fact that some texts which he echoes are erotic (cleverly transformed) is particularly striking, and may throw some light on the tolerant attitude of the Byzantine Church towards the various kinds of classical texts (cf. Wilson [1970]).

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Selections from my work have been presented in seminars and lectures at the Centre for Advanced Study at the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters (Oslo), at the Catholic University of America (Washington, D.C.), at Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, D.C.), at the University of Texas at Austin and at the University of Oxford. I would like to thank those who participated for their helpful comments.

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The book is dedicated to my wife Paraskevi Zerva for the light and the joy she has brought to my life. Our wedding on the 2nd of July 2006 truly marked the beginning of a new life.

C. S.

Lincoln College, Oxford
March 2008

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Abbreviations and Conventions

CA	<i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> , ed. J. U. Powell (Oxford, 1925).
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. A. Boeckh (4 vols., Berlin, 1828-77).
Cosmas	Κοσμά Ἱεροσολυμίτου φιλογρηγορίου, <i>Κυναγωγή καὶ ἐξήγησις ὧν ἐμνήσθη ἱστοριῶν ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος ἐν τοῖς ἐμμέτρως αὐτῷ εἰρημένοις ἐκ τε τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς καὶ τῶν ἐξῶθεν ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων</i> , ed. G. Lozza (2000).
EG	<i>Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus Conlecta</i> , ed. G. Kaibel (Berlin, 1878).
<i>epigr.</i> Cougny	<i>Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et Appendice nova epigrammatum veterum ex libris et marmoribus ductorum</i> , ed. E. Cougny (vol. III, Paris, 1890).
<i>epigr.</i> M-S	<i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> , ed. R. Merklbach and J. Stauber (5 vols., Stuttgart-Munich-Leipzig, 1998-2004).
DGE	<i>Diccionario griego-español</i> , ed. F. R. Adrados, E. Gangutia et al., 6 vols. (α-ἐκπελεκάω) (Madrid, 1980-2002).
GDRK	<i>Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit</i> , ed. E. Heitsch (2 vols., Göttingen, 1961-4).
GVI	<i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> , ed. W. Peek (Berlin, 1955).
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin, 1893-).
Kriaras	<i>Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημόδου Γραμματείας (1100-1669)</i> , ed. E. Kriaras, 15 vols. (α-περιδεμῶ) (Thessaloniki, 1968-2006). [Vol. 15 was published by the Center for the Greek Language].
LBG	<i>Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität: besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts</i> , ed. Erich Trapp et al., Fasz. 1-5 (α-παλιάνθρωπος) (Wien, 1993-2005).
Lex. Cas.	<i>Lexicon Casinense</i> , ed. D. Kalamakis (1995).
Lex. alph.	<i>Lexicon Ordine Alphabetico</i> , ed. D. Kalamakis (1992), 145-227.
Lex. vers.	<i>Lexicon Ordine Versuum</i> , ed. D. Kalamakis (1992), 119-143.

- LSJ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn., revised by Sir H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1940); Revised Supplement, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford, 1996).
- M. *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne (162 vols., Paris, 1857-66).
- NTG F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, A Translation and Revision of the ninth-tenth German edition incorporating supplementary notes of A. Debrunner by R. W. Funk (Chicago-Cambridge, 1961).
- NTL *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd edn., revised and edited by F. W. Danker, based on W. Bauer's (Chicago-London, 2000).
- Nicetas David Νικήτα τοῦ καὶ Δαυῖδ δούλου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ φιλοσόφου, Ἐξήγησις τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐπ' αὐτῶν. The Commentary on I.2.17 is in M. 38.765-773 (M. reprints the edition by E. Dronke [Göttingen, 1840]).
- OCD *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, rev. 3rd edn., ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford-New York, 2003).
- ODB *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. P. Kazhdan et al. (3 vols., New York-Oxford, 1991).
- Par. A The Anonymous Paraphrase A (see pp. 83-4).
- Par. B The Anonymous Paraphrase B (see pp. 84-7).
- Par. C The Anonymous Paraphrase C (see pp. 87-8).
- PGL *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford, 1968).
- PGM *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, ed. K. Preisendanz, 2nd edn., revised by A. Henrichs (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1973-74).
- PMG *Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1962).
- POxy *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London, 1898-)
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden 1923-).
- SH *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones and P. J. Parsons (Berlin, 1983).
- SL J. Lust, E. Eynikel and K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (rev. ed., Stuttgart, 2003).

Conventions

1. Periodicals are abbreviated as in *L'Année Philologique*; classical authors as in LSJ or, if not available there, as in DGE; books of the Bible and Fathers of the Church as in PGL. In certain cases (especially of patristic texts) I either give the full titles or slightly expand the abbreviations in order to avoid confusion.
2. Modern works cited by author and year only are listed in the Bibliography.
3. The number in square brackets in references to Gregory's poems indicates the column in M. 37. If the poem is available in a modern edition (other than the present one), the name of the editor is given instead in a parenthesis.
4. In references to AP 8 the author, Gregory of Nazianzus, is implied.
5. In the chapter on the 'Transmission of the Poems' Gertz (1986) is referred to as 'G.'
6. Bibliographical details of well-known or unique commentaries on classical texts are sometimes omitted.
7. Transliterations of Greek names are generally a mixture of what is familiar in English (Aeschylus not Aischylos) and what looks or sounds better for authors of the Byzantine period (Antiochos Monachos not Antiochus Monachus). Inevitably, there are inconsistencies.

Introduction

1. Gregory's Poetry

1.1 Gregory's Poetry and Modern Scholarship

This section will not offer a survey,¹ but only a few introductory remarks on what some scholars have said about Gregory's poetry, if they are aware of it at all. It may seem hardly believable to many that Gregory's 17,000 verses could fall into oblivion among scholars (philologists and theologians) who work on Gregory's era, but here is a clear example: in their 1987 edition (with translation and notes) of the *Vision of Dorotheus* (Pap. Bodmer 29, 'written about 400 C.E.') A. H. M. Kessels and P. W. van der Horst claim that 'the poem is the oldest now known specimen of Christian hexametric poetry. The few other examples all date from the fifth century: Nonnus' Paraphrase of the Gospel of John, Pseudo-Apollinaris' Paraphrase of the Psalms, and Eudocia's poems!'²

In the recently published *Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*, A. Louth (2004: 297) is fortunately aware of Gregory's poetry; but in a 538-page volume devoted to early Christian *literature* one would expect something more than a single paragraph, general in content, discussing a corpus of 17,000 Christian verses. However, space was probably granted according to each text's significance: Louth says that 'taking a variety of classical forms, and demonstrating considerable skill, they [Gregory's poems] are difficult, and may not be to our taste, but they impressed his contemporaries enough for a whole book of the Palatine Anthology (Book 8) to be devoted to his poems'. But Book 8 of the Palatine Anthology should be attributed to Gregory's high esteem in Byzantium rather than to the impression his epigrams had on his contemporaries.³ Furthermore, Gregory's 260 se-

¹ A very good survey is now offered by Edwards (2003: 1-49).

² 'The Vision of Dorotheus (Pap. Bodmer 29), edited with Introduction, Translation and Notes', *VChr* 41 (1987), 313-59, at 314. The editors follow the *editio princeps* (A. Hurst, O. Reverdin, J. Rudhardt, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIX: Vision de Dorotheos* [Cologne-Geneva, 1984]) and date the text to the turn of the third and fourth century, because they want to identify its author with known Christians, among them the son of Quintus Smyrnaeus. But several *realia* clearly point to a later date, in the second half of the fourth century, as Bremmer (1988) has shown.

³ It is currently believed that Book 8 was not even part of the 10th cent. Anthology of Cephalas, but a slightly later addition to the Palatine Anthology; see Cameron (1993: 145-6); Lauxtermann (2003: 84) and M. Lauxtermann, 'The Anthology of Cephalas', in M. Hinterber-

pulchral epigrams in Book 8 can hardly be taken as representative of his vast poetic corpus, and Louth's reference to the poems being not to 'our taste' is unfortunately left without a word of explanation.⁴

I have to acknowledge, however, that the fact that this corpus has not yet been critically edited or carefully studied may cause unease to the scholar who wants to provide an accurate brief description. But this was not the case with Philip Rousseau, who was less hesitant in commenting directly on the poems' value in his two-line reference to Gregory's poetry in the *OCD* entry on Gregory of Nazianzus: 'His historical significance springs from his detailed and lively letters, a series of polished and thoughtful orations (some of theological importance), and relatively uninspired poetry that nevertheless contains valuable autobiographical information.' Other scholars would question the value of the information Gregory gives on his own life (e.g. McLynn [1998]) and thus Gregory's verse seems only to be regarded as an unfortunate peripheral activity of an otherwise good author.

A much better account is offered by A. Dihle in *Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire*.⁵ Dihle discusses Gregory's poetic activity carefully and comments on his exceptionally good knowledge of ancient Greek poetry. 'The natural ease with which he uses the linguistic and metrical forms of the individual poetic genres cannot be imagined without such erudition.' Dihle refers to Gregory's 'surprising degree of nonchalance' in using non-poetic words or phrases and allowing false quantities. But, significantly, Dihle adds that 'as some remarks by Gregory prove, these slight deviations from tradition were conscious, as well as presumably intentional. In any case, his technique helped him to deal with a great variety of themes, and, in spite of its ties to very old conventions at odds with contemporary linguistic reality, to make his poetry the vehicle of a living expression of current thoughts and feelings. [...] it is certainly legitimate to see Gregory as the herald of a different age, with other demands on, and other possibilities for, poetry.'

However, two comments made by classicists illustrate very well some prejudices held against this poetry and its author. C. M. Bowra ('Εἴπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ', *Hermes* 87 [1959], 426-35, at 432) discusses the supposed last Del-

ger-E. Schiffer (eds.), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst: Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin-New York, 2007), 194-208.

⁴ Cf. Dennis Trout's remarks in his review of this volume (*CML* 25/2 [2005], 109-12, at 109): 'and yet, the editors' trawl has managed to miss almost entirely one large and crucial body of early Christian writing, poetry, whose escape from the pages of this literary history is suggestive of deeper issues, not fully articulated or resolved, that lurk around the volume's approach'. See also the review by J. Pederson in *Religion and the Arts* 11 (2007), 512-14.

⁵ Translated by Manfred Malzahn (London-New York, 1994), 604-7. Translation of *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur der Kaiserzeit: von Augustus bis Justinian* (Munich, 1989).

phic oracle and its authorship, and considers Gregory's candidacy:⁶ 'Gregory wrote a great deal of poetry, and though some of his 17,000 lines are rather sad stuff, it is conceivable that he might have been inspired by detestation of Julian and joy in his discomfiture to write lines so good as these! A similar view is taken by F. H. Sandbach; in a paper entitled 'Five Textual Notes' (*Illinois Classical Studies* 2 [1977], 49-53), he devotes the last note to Gregory's *epist.* 12. 6 *καὶ δεῖ τὸν ἐκτὸς ἐόντα πρὸς τὸν ἐντὸς βλέπειν ἄνθρωπον*. Sandbach rightly points out that we should read *ἑώντα* for *έόντα*, but he takes the opportunity to express his disrespect for Gregory in an utterly unjust way, by closing his note with the unnecessary remark: 'I hope that the false spelling was that of a copyist and not his own.' This is said of the author whose orations had so impressed Brooks Otis (1961: 158) that he wrote: 'it is indeed worth learning Greek just to be able to read these orations in their original splendor.'

I cannot be certain about the reasons why some scholars were so dismissive of one of the most learned men of Late Antiquity, but this is how U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff explained the lack of a critical edition of Gregory's poems:

Dieser selbe Gregor ist der fruchtbarste und merkwürdigste Poet dieser Periode; es ist eine Schmach, daß die Philologen noch nicht einmal für eine einigermaßen lesbare Ausgabe seiner Gedichte gesorgt haben; wenn er kein Kirchenvater, sondern ein schäbiger Poetaster wäre, der einen abgestandenen mythologischen Stoff breitträte, wie Quintus, oder gar ein Lateiner wie Silius, hätte er sie längst.⁷

The late date alone could be considered problematic. In his 1966 edition of Hesiod's *Theogony*, Martin West felt the need to justify his 'frequent citation of late poets such as Oppian, Quintus, and Nonnus': 'I do not pretend that the usages of these poets are as relevant to Hesiod as are those of Homer, Solon, or even Euripides. But the fact that they are late does not mean that they knew nothing' (Preface, p. vi).

Recent work is generally more positive on Gregory and, twenty years after Sandbach, J. D. Reed (on Bion's *Adonis* 42) treats in a quite different way *AP* 8.30.3 *χειρας ἀμπετάσασα φίλας τεκέεσσι φίλοις*, a clear imitation of Bion's *πάχεας ἀμπετάσασα*: 'Gregory's unwonted metrical error in *χειρας ἀμπετάσασα* makes one wonder whether he imitated Bion more clearly by writing *πήχεας ... φίλους*, with *χειρας* originating as a gloss. The Palatine MS

⁶ On this poem see also Trypanis (1981: 404); Averil Cameron, 'Agathias and Cedrenus on Julian', *JRS* 53 (1963), 91-4; T. E. Gregory, 'Julian and the last oracle at Delphi', *GRBS* 24 (1983), 355-66 and A. Markopoulos, 'Kedrenos, Pseudo-Symeon, and the last oracle at Delphi', *GRBS* 26 (1985), 207-10.

⁷ *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache* (3rd ed., Berlin-Leipzig, 1912), 294. Christian Poetry was not represented in N. Hopkinson's *Greek Poetry of the Imperial Period: An Anthology* (Cambridge, 1994).

reads *χειρας δ' ἀμπετάσασα*, a hasty attempt to correct the metre.⁸ Reed seems unaware of Gregory's metrical 'peculiarities', although a critical edition of the poems may reduce their number, and a thorough examination of imperial and contemporary verse may prove that at least some are in line with the metrical trends of his age. The fact that an eminent Callimachean scholar like A. S. Hollis (2002: 43, n. 35) confesses in passing that *carm.* I.1.34.[515] *ἰο γηθοσύνη τε φόβω τε διηνεκέε ἀείδουσι* is 'a nice *σπονδειαζών*' is encouraging for those working on Gregory's verse and promising for the future, given the current state of the poems' text. In Sykes' words (1970: 42), Gregory 'has a right to be considered alongside his forerunners, in a study which is not unrewarding, in which deeper knowledge may well bring us to deeper respect'.⁹

1.2 The Case for Christian Poetry

In a poem dedicated to his own verses (*carm.* II.1.39.[1329-36]: 'Εἰς τὰ ἔμμετρα'), Gregory explains why he wrote verse; he cites four reasons:

⁸ *Bion of Smyrna: The Fragments and the Adonis*, edited with Introduction and Commentary by J. D. Reed (Cambridge, 1997), 221, n. 98.

⁹ A very interesting recent work on Gregory's verse is undoubtedly Preston Edwards' unpublished doctoral thesis (Brown, 2003): 'Ἐπισταμένοιο ἀγορεύω: On the Christian Alexandrianism of Gregory of Nazianzus'. Edwards first reviews in detail nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship on Gregory's verse. He stresses Gregory's 'deliberate participation in the allusive practices of the pagan Hellenistic poets' and he sets his focus as follows: 'a set of biblical and classical references found within a single passage of poetry allows one to speak with greater clarity and specificity as to the intent of the author in bringing them together' (p. 41). In the main part of his thesis, Edwards examines *carm.* I.1.1. 1-24 (ed. Moreschini) and parts of the verse epistles II.2.2. 4-5 (M. 1505-42), in comparison with *or.* 28. 1-4 (ed. Gallay) and *ep.* 51-55 (ed. Gallay), where Gregory discusses similar ideas. In his study of these passages, it becomes clear that he is mainly interested in how Gregory made use of allusion on a wider, non-verbal level. In his attempt to explain how every allusion is absolutely integral to the poem's meaning, Edwards offers some thoughts and connections which I have found strained. Also, I often felt that his analysis did not pay enough attention to the poetry, the words, the formulas and to 'Christian Alexandrianism' in the way it is understood in my work; what he writes about I.1.1. 1-24, for example, has more to do with the ideas expressed in the poem and in *or.* 28. 1-4, and it is a general fact that several of Edwards' arguments deal more with Gregory's philosophy than with his poetic technique. His work would be an excellent supplement to a closer verbal analysis of the passages he deals with.

Another very interesting recent study is the thesis of J. Prudhomme, 'L'oeuvre poétique de Grégoire de Nazianze: héritage et renouveau littéraires', doctoral thesis (Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2006). Unfortunately, I became aware of the completion of this work too late to take it into account.

1. to control his excess in writing, by forcing himself to write verse, which was for him a more demanding and tiring activity than writing prose (vv. 34-7);

2. to offer to young Christians and to those who enjoy literature a pleasant potion of persuasion (‘τερπνὸν ... φάρμακον πειθοῦς’),¹⁰ leading them to more useful things and sweetening with the poetic art the harsh aspects of the Christian commandments (vv. 37-46);¹¹

3. although beauty for Christians lies in *θεωρία* (‘spiritual contemplation’; cf. PGL, s.v.), still he does not accept that the *ξένοι* (‘pagans’ and ‘heretics’) should be better skilled *ἐν λόγοις [...], τοῖς κεχρωσμένοις λόγοις* (vv. 47-51);

4. writing verse was a consolation in his illness and old age (vv. 54-7).

His second and third reasons are the most interesting. The reference to young people implies that there were no (or at least not enough) Christian literary texts, and this point almost certainly relates to the schools and their curriculum. It is known that, apart from the study of the Psalms, pagan books remained the basis of the school curriculum.¹² Apollinaris of Laodicea (ca. 310-ca. 390) and his father had already tried to draw up an entirely Christian curriculum, mainly as a reaction to Julian’s edict (362) forbidding Christians to teach classical literature or philosophy.¹³ According

¹⁰ M.’s punctuation after *φάρμακον* is wrong (ὥσπερ τι τερπνὸν τοῦτο δοῦναι φάρμακον, | πειθοῦς ἀγωγὸν εἰς τὰ χρησιμώτερα, | τέχνη γλυκάζων τὸ πικρὸν τῶν ἐντολῶν); cf. e.g. Longin. Rh. (fr. 48) 269-70 (Patillon-Brisson) [= p. 190.16-18 Spengel-Hammer] ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς πειθοῦς φάρμακα, θήρατρα χαρίτων καὶ μουσικῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πείθειν ἠσκημένης; Clem.Al. Prot. 1.2.4. 6 γλυκὺ τι καὶ ἀληθινὸν φάρμακον πένθους ἐγκέκραται τῷ ἄγματι [πένθους Reinkens : πειθοῦς codd.] (p. 4.21 Stählin-Treu).

¹¹ For a similar use of verse to sweeten the pill of harsh philosophical truths see Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 1. 933-50 (cf. 4. 1-25). I owe this reference to Ben Gray.

¹² See Wilson (1996: 8). The only Christian text which is known to have been studied in school is a selection of sixteen sermons by Gregory (Wilson [1996: 23]). ‘But that did not alter the perception that Christianity had no literary culture suitable for schooling’ (Mango [2002: 103]). From the examples adduced in Byzantine metrical treatises (dating from the 9th to the 14th cent.) we understand that Pisides’ *Hexaemeron* and the anacronics of Sophronios may also have served as didactic material in the Byzantine classroom; see M. Lauxtermann, ‘The Velocity of Pure Lambs: Byzantine Observations on the Metre and Rhythm of the Dodecasyllable’, *JÖByz* 48 (1998), 9-33, at 14-15.

¹³ For a recent discussion see C. Kelly, ‘Past Imperfect: The Formation of Christian Identity in Late Antiquity’ in Minamikawa (2004: 55-64). P. Speck (‘A More Charitable Verdict: Review of N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*’, in id. *Understanding Byzantium* [Ashgate, 2003], 163-78, at 166-9) has argued that ‘the story that Julian’s decree on education [...] directly caused the Apollinarii, father and son, to compose Christian school texts is surely a legend.’ Speck points out Socrates’ phrase that the works of the two Apollinarii *ἐν ἴσῳ τοῦ μῆ γραφῆναι λογιζέται*; however, this phrase could perhaps be better understood in relation to Apollinaris’ condemnation by the Church; cf. also the letter of St Nilus of Ancyra which I discuss on p. 27. For the debate surrounding the activities of the Apollinarii see Agosti (2001: 68-71, esp. 70, with n. 14).

to Socrates (*Historia ecclesiastica* 3.16. 1-5 [p. 210.5-19 Hansen]),¹⁴ the Apollinarii imitated Homer and the tragedians in paraphrasing the Old Testament and they also recast the New Testament in the form of Platonic dialogues:

ὁ μέντοι τοῦ βασιλέως νόμος, ὃς τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας μετέχειν ἐκώλυεν, τοὺς Ἀπολιναρίους, ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, φανερωτέρου ἀπέδειξεν. ὡς γὰρ ἄμφω ἦσθην ἐπιστήμονες λόγων, ὁ μὲν πατὴρ γραμματικῶν, σοφιστικῶν δὲ ὁ υἱός, χρειώδεις ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἀπεδείκνυον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐθύς, γραμματικὸς ἄτε τὴν τέχνην, γραμματικὴν Χριστιανικῶν τύπων συνέταττε, τὰ τε Μωυσέως βιβλία διὰ τοῦ ἡρωικοῦ λεγομένου μέτρου μετέβαλεν καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν διαθήκην ἐν ἱστορίας τύπων συγγέγραπται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ δακτυλικῷ μέτρῳ συνέταττε, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῷ τῆς τραγωδίας τύπων δραματικῶς ἐξεργάζετο, καὶ παντὶ μέτρῳ ρυθμικῶ ἐχρήτο, ὅπως ἂν μηδεὶς τρόπος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώττης τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἀνήκοος ἦ. ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀπολιναρίος, εὐ πρὸς τὸ λέγειν παρεσκευασμένος, τὰ εὐαγγέλια καὶ τὰ ἀποστολικὰ δόγματα ἐν τύπων διαλόγων ἐξέθετο καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων παρ' Ἑλλήνων.

The question whether Gregory's poems were actually used in schools will be discussed later, together with the Byzantine paraphrases of the poems. But it may be worth citing here a passage from John Zonaras (12th century), who in his *Epitome Historion* (p. 61.13-62.4 Büttner-Wobst) associates both Apollinarius' *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* and Gregory's poems with Julian's edict and the schools:

οὕτω γὰρ ἐξεμάνη (sc. ὁ Ἰουλιανός) κατὰ χριστιανῶν ὡς καὶ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς μαθημάτων μετέχειν Ἑλληνικῶν, μὴ δεῖν λέγων μύθους αὐτὰ ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ διαβάλλοντάς τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφελείας ἀπολαύειν καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ὀπλιζέσθαι κατ' αὐτῶν. ἔθεν τῶν παιδῶν τῶν χριστιανῶν εἰργομένων μετέπειτα τοὺς ποιητὰς ὁ Ἀπολιναρίος λέγεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ψαλτηρίου ὁρμηθῆναι παράφρασιν καὶ ὁ μέγας ἐν θεολογίᾳ Γρηγόριος εἰς τὴν ποίησιν τῶν ἐπῶν, ἵν' ἀντὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μαθημάτων ταῦτα οἱ νέοι μανθάνοντες τὴν τε γλῶσσαν ἐξελληνίζωνται καὶ τὰ μέτρα διδάσκονται.¹⁵

With his third reason Gregory associates his own activity with Julian's edict (cf. also e.g. *or.* 4.100 [ed. Bernardi]).¹⁶ However, *ξένοι* may also refer

¹⁴ Cf. Sozomen, *Hist eccl.* 5.18 (ed. Bidez-Hansen) and Wilson (1996: 10).

¹⁵ Zonaras' ἀντὶ in the last sentence is meant to be taken as part of the reason why Apollinarius and Gregory wrote poetry, that is the fact that the Christian pupils were forbidden to study pagan authors. But Gregory at least presupposes his readers' familiarity with earlier poetry, if they were to notice and appreciate his allusions (see pp. 40-1 and 44). His poetry would be best studied together with, not instead of, the earlier pagan verse.

¹⁶ For the impact of Julian's decree on Gregory and his reaction see, e.g., Bowersock (1990: 11-12) and Van Dam (2002: 195-9). Hose (2006: 87) seems to have misunderstood Gregory and to have been unable to see any literary merit in Gregory's verse (cf. *id.* [2004: 24] referring to Gregory's second and third reasons: 'Die Motive b und c zerfallen, betrachtet man die Gedi-

to heretics,¹⁷ who often used verse to spread their teaching. A well-known example is Arius and his *Θάλεια*.¹⁸ But Gregory could also have in mind Apollinaris, whose teachings were condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381. It is plausible to assume that Apollinaris' verse was a further reason behind Gregory's decision to write or at least to continue writing classicizing verse in the last years of his life. That Gregory wrote poetry also as a reaction to Apollinaris' attempt, after the latter was condemned as heretical, is not well known in modern scholarship,¹⁹ but it is mentioned by Gregory the Presbyter (6-7 cent.), Gregory's biographer (M. 35. 304 A-C; cf. also 277 B-C):

περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμμέτρων, ὧν ἐμνήσθη καὶ πρώην, διττὸς αὐτῷ γέγονεν ὁ σκοπός· πρῶτος μὲν, ὅπως τὴν ἄθεσμον Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ τυράννου νομοθεσίαν μειρακιώδη καὶ ἀνίχυρον ἀπελέγξῃ, κελεύουσιν μὴ μετεῖναι Χριστιανοῖς τῆς Ἑλλήνων παιδείας· δεύτερος δέ, ἐπεὶ ἑώρα Ἀπολλινάριον ῥάψαντα πολυτίχους βίβλους ἐκ διαφόρων μέτρων, καὶ τοῦτοις κλέψαντα τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν αἴρεσιν, ὡς ἐλλόγιμον δῆθεν, ἀναγκαῖον ᾤθη, ἐν Ἀριανζοῖς ἡσυχάζων μετὰ τὴν ὑποτροφήν καὶ χολὴν ἄγων, οἷα πραγμάτων ἀπηλλαγμένος, τῆνικαῦτα γράψαι τὰ ἔμμετρα, ὅθεν μοι εὗρηται ἢ πλείστη ὕλη τῆσδε τῆς ὑποθέσεως.

Gregory the Presbyter's reference to the power of verse and the appeal of Apollinaris' poetry to his Christian audience is significant, and in fact agrees with Sozomen's remark that people 'τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου σπουδὴν ἐπήνουν καὶ ἐδιδάσκοντο, ταύτη πλεον αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐφυῖαν θαυμάζοντες' (*Hist. eccl.* 5.18. 5). It also agrees with the testimony of a letter attributed to St Nilus of Ancyra (died ca. 430), where we find a dismissive reference to Christian poetry, which is associated with Apollinaris alone (*ep.* 2. 49; M. 79. 221 B-C):

πολλοὶ τῶν αἰρετικῶν πολλὰ ἐπιθυνοῦνταζαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὠφέλησαν. Διότι ἀνεμοφθόρους εἶχον τοὺς στάχνας, ὡς φησὶν ὁ προφήτης, δράγμα οὐκ ἔχον ἰσχὴν τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἄλευρον. **Εἰ δὲ θαυμάζεις τοὺς γράφοντας τὰ ἔπη, ὦρα σοὶ καὶ Ἀπολλινάριον τὸν δυσσεβῆ καὶ καινοτόμον θαυμάζειν, πολλὰ λιὰν μετρήσαντα καὶ ἐποίησαντα καὶ ματαιοπονήσαντα καὶ παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν λόγοις ἀνοήτοις κατατριβέντα**, οἰδῆσαντα δὲ τοῖς ἀκερδέσι τῶν ἐπῶν, καὶ φλεγμήναντα καὶ ὑδερίασαντα τοῖς λογικοῖς «καὶ ἡ γλώσσα αὐτοῦ διήλθεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς», ὡς Δαυὶδ ἔλεγεν.

Whether this is the original wording of the letter or the result of editing by an admirer of Nilus (in the 6th c.), as some details in this corpus of 1,061 let-

chte selbst'; Keydell (1953) certainly could not have helped him appreciate Gregory's verse; see p. 126, with n. 30).

¹⁷ Cf. Evenepoel (1994: 92, n. 22).

¹⁸ Cf. Mitsakis (1971: 160-4).

¹⁹ See, however, Evenepoel (1994: 91, n. 20).

ters suggest,²⁰ it is very interesting to see how an early ascetic figure, who could not have been unaware of Gregory's verse, took a negative view of Christian classicizing verse. Earlier in the same letter its author uses strong words to say that those who appreciate epic and iambic verses act like children; no one needed such verses, neither the learned Apollon of Alexandria nor Clement of Rome nor the innumerable philosophers and grammarians; they would not render the Cross of our Lord void through metre and versification (*ep.* 2. 49; *M.* 79. 220 C):

καὶ δίκην μεираκίων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη καὶ τοὺς ἰάμβους, ὧν χρεῖαν οὐδεὶς ἔσχευ, οὐκ Ἀπολλῶς ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς λόγιος ὁ ποτικτῆς τῶν Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν, οὐ Κλήμης ὁ Ῥωμαίων φιλόσοφος, οὐκ ἄλλοι μυριοὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ γραμματισταὶ δεῦτεροι τῶν ἀποστόλων λεγόμενοι, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τοῦ μέτρου καὶ τῆς ἐποποιᾶς κενώσῃ τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Κυρίου.

But this voice of criticism was not the only one: on more than one occasion Gregory himself found it necessary to defend his actions. In both *ep.* 101. 73 and in the poem dedicated to his own verses (*carm.* II.1.39), Gregory claims that what he does is similar to the psalms and the songs of David;²¹ in his letter he adds that his activity may indeed be human innovation, but, even so, it does fall within the tradition of the songs of the Old Testament. Some similarities (even verbal ones) with the letter attributed to Nilus are striking (I have highlighted three words):

εἰ δὲ οἱ μακροὶ λόγοι καὶ τὰ νέα ψαλτήρια καὶ ἀντίφθογγα τῷ Δαυὶδ καὶ ἡ τῶν μέτρων χάρις ἢ τρίτη Διαθήκη νομίζεται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ψαλμολογήσομεν καὶ **πολλὰ** γράσομεν καὶ **μετρήσομεν**. Ἐπειδὴ δοκοῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἔχειν· εἴπερ Πνεύματος χάρις τοῦτο ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνθρωπίνῃ **καινοτομία**.

In fact Gregory writes as if he responds to St Nilus and we should assume that the critic or critics he has in mind used similar arguments to those found in the letter of St Nilus, which is later. But in the poem 'To his own verses' he is apologetic and he openly replies to a critic (*carm.* II.1.39.[1335-6] 82-91, 98-99):

πλὴν ἴσθι πολλὰ καὶ Γραφαῖς μετρούμενα,
ὡς οἱ σοφοὶ λέγουσιν Ἑβραίων γένους.
Εἰ μὴ μέτρον σοὶ καὶ τὰ νεύρων κρούματα,
ὡς οἱ πάλαι προσῆδον ἐμμελεῖς λόγους,

²⁰ Al. Cameron (*GRBS* 17 [1976], 181-96) considers the bulk of the correspondence genuine, even though edited by an admirer of Neilos, while Ringshausen (*Zur Verfasserschaft und Chronologie der dem Nilus Ancyranus zugeschriebenen Werke* [Frankfurt, 1967]) sees in the correspondence the work of a different author: *ODB*, s.v. Neilos of Ankyra.

²¹ This must have been a common argument in defence of early Christian poetry. In his great poem, the *Carmen paschale*, Sedulius also appeals to the model of the *Psalms*, in a passage recently discussed by Roberts (2007: 150).

τὸ τερπνόν, οἶμαι, τοῦ καλοῦ ποιούμενοι
 ὄχημα, καὶ τυποῦντες ἐκ μελῶν τρόπους,
 Καοὺλ σε τοῦτο πεισάτω, καὶ πνεύματος
 ἐλευθερωθεὶς τοῖς τρόποις τῆς κινύρας.
 Τίς οὖν βλάβη σοι, τοὺς νέους δι' ἠδονῆς
 σεμνῆς ἄγεσθαι πρὸς Θεοῦ κοινωνίαν; [...]
 Cὺ δ' οὐ τὰ ὄψα τῷ γλυκεῖ παραρτύεις,
 ὦ σεμνὲ καὶ σύνοφρον καὶ συνηγμένε;

Criticism should cause us no surprise, since some ascetics had reacted strongly even to liturgical hymnography. The use of verse by heretics might have contributed to this attitude.²² It is more important, however, that Nilus' letter reveals the appeal of verse to eastern Christian audiences. The popularity of versified theology is attested in the West as well; one example is Ambrose's anti-Arian hymns, which were a popular success.²³

But let us return to Gregory and Apollinaris, who, I argued, is likely to have played a role in Gregory's poetic career. Is there any evidence in Gregory's verse that links Gregory to the earlier verse of Apollinaris? Gregory attacks Apollinaris directly in *carm.* I.1.10, but Sykes thinks 'that the *Arcana* might have been written in 381 or early 382, before Gregory found it necessary to attack Apollinaris in hard-hitting precise terms' (Sykes in More-schini [1997: 67]). In any case, it is obvious that any kind of relationship between Gregory's poems and those written by Apollinaris would be important for understanding many aspects of Gregory's poetry. The fact that Apollinaris' poetry is lost is in itself a shame, but the loss is even more painful to the student of Gregory's verse, who needs to place Gregory's poetry in the context of other early Christian poems; examples of extant texts include: *POxy* 1786 (second half of third century), a Christian hymn with musical notation, written in a purely quantitative metre; the hymn to Christ preserved by Clement of Alexandria; the hymn to Christ as the Bridegroom of the Church, included by Methodius of Olympus (died *ca.* 311) in his *Symposium*; Arius' *Θάλεια*, of which fragments survive; the iambics *For Seleucus* by Amphilocheus of Iconion (Gregory's cousin); the *Metaphrasis of the Psalms* attributed to Apollinaris of Laodicea; the *Vision of Dorotheus*; Nonnus' *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel*; Synesius' hymns, and prosodic hymns in papyri,²⁴ as well as the Latin verse of Juvencus (early fourth century),

²² See Mitsakis (1971: 108 and 66-70).

²³ However, Christian poets were initially ignored and Prudentius is not mentioned by Augustine; see Evenepoel (1993: 52-3 and 56).

²⁴ e.g. the hymn of P. Amherst (fourth century), which in fact resembles in form Gregory's (?) *carm.* I.2.3 (B. P. Grenfell-A. S. Hunt, *The Amherst Papyri*, vol. I [London, 1900], 24) and the hymn of P. Berol. 8922 (fourth century). See Mitsakis (1971: 109-23).

Pope Damasus (ca. 304-84), Ausonius (ca. 310-394), Prudentius (348-after 405),²⁵ Paulinus of Nola (353/4-431) and Sedulius (5th century).²⁶

1.3 Gregory and Hellenistic Poetry

ἴλαθί μοι, τρίλλικτε, μέγα κρείοισα θεάων

So Callimachus to Demeter, in the last line of his *Hymn* to the goddess, who is *τρίλλικτος*, 'thrice-invoked' or 'occasionally worshipped as part of a trinity including Persephone and Dionysus or Pluto' (Hopkinson *ad loc.*).

ἴλαθί μοι, βασιλεία κεδνή, τρίάς

So Gregory of Nazianzus, in one of his invocations to the Trinitarian Christian God (*carm.* I.2.14. 119 [ed. Domiter]). 'The Homeric form is ἴληθι [...]. ἴλαθι appears first in Hellenistic verse, where it is the norm' (Hopkinson *loc. cit.*). But the specific phrase ἴλαθί μοι occurs first in Callimachus (also fr. 638 Pfeiffer ἴλαθί μοι φαλαγγίτι, πυλαιμάχε),²⁷ in two inscriptions from Nubia dated to the early imperial period,²⁸ and then again only in the fourth century: in Gregory's verse, cited above, and ten times in magical papyri (edited in PGM and GDRK, all dated s. IV or IV/V).²⁹

²⁵ On Prudentius and Gregory see Evenepoel (1994).

²⁶ Valuable studies on early Christian Latin poetry have been conducted, but often take little account of the Greek texts. E.g. Jacques Fontaine (*Naissance de la poésie dans l'Occident chrétien. Esquisse d'une histoire de la poésie latine chrétienne du III^e au VI^e siècle. Préface de Jacques Perret* [Paris, 1981], 68-70) argues that in order to understand the *Evangeliorum liber* of Juvenius, a Life of Christ based on the Gospel narratives, but written in 3,200 hexameters influenced by Virgil, we need to study Byzantine poetry and icons; Fontaine recommends in particular *Christos Paschon* and the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melodos. But closer parallels would include Nonnus' *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel* or the *Paraphrase of the Psalms* attributed to Apollinaris (cf. the review of Fontaine's book by J. H. Waszink in *VChr* 37 (1983), 72-87, at 76).

²⁷ Domiter, in his 1999 commentary on *carm.* I.2.14. 119, is not aware of Callimachus' ἴλαθί μοι in his discussion of the phrase.

²⁸ ἴλαθί μοι, Μανδοῦλι, Διὸς τέκος, ἡδ' ἐπίνευσον is a verse repeated in two inscriptions, a hymn and a proscynema to Mandoulis (ed. H. Gauthier, *Le Temple de Kalabchah* [vol. II, Cairo, 1911], p. 246 [inscr. 16, l. 7] and p. 261 [inscr. 29, l. 8]; inscr. 16 = EG 1023 and CIG 5039). The inscriptions should be dated between the end of the first and the third century AD and they belong to the temple of the Nubian god Mandulis in Talmis-Kalabchah. The Greek inscriptions found in this temple have impressed scholars with their metrical sophistication and literary references; see the edition with commentary by É. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1969), pp. 576-616 (inscr. 16 Gauthier = 167 Bernand and 29 Gauthier = 170 Bernand).

²⁹ Later examples include Synesius' *hymn* 1. 113-4 μάκαρ, ἴλαθί μοι, | πάτερ, ἴλαθί μοι; AP 15.29. 6 (Ignatius the deacon) ἴλαθι, ἴλαθί μοι ὀμματι εὐμενέι; John Geometres, *carm.* 56. 1 (ed. Van Orpshall) ἴλαθί μοι, πανίλαε βασιλεῦ, ἦλιε δόξης; and Theod. Prod. *carm. hist.* 38. 111 ἴλαθί μοι, βασιλεία, λόγους προτίθημι μεσίτας, who clearly imitates Gregory.

This is a typical case of a very likely allusion by Gregory to Callimachus: Gregory uses earlier diction, in this case from a strongly pagan context, to phrase his Christian prayer. The basic differences between Christianity and paganism would have been known to everyone, but one could also argue for similarities in some particulars; St Paul had famously quoted Aratus (*Phaen.* 5) in his sermon to the Athenians, when he wanted to say that we are all God's children: *τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν* (Acts 17. 28). Gregory seems to have enjoyed hinting at similarities of this kind, especially by using poetic language suitable to both contexts. This feature of his poetic language will be discussed later in more detail, but it is important to clarify at this point that not all Gregory's imitations of earlier poetry send hidden messages of this or a similar kind; some are mere borrowings, as is the case with *εἰκέτι καὶ νῦν* |, found only in Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 77; *AP* 7. 666. 5 (Antipater of Thessalonica); Gregory's *carm.* II.1.16.[1259] 75 and *AP.* 8.5. 5; and *AP* 9.532. 1 (adesp.).

These two almost certain imitations of Callimachus by Gregory have not been noticed by scholars, and there are certainly many more to be found. But the cases already noticed were enough to suggest to A. S. Hollis (2002: 43) 'how deeply Callimachus had entered Gregory's mind'. One more unnoticed example will suffice here: Callimachus' last line of the *Hymn to Apollo* has caused a debate over whether we should read *φθόρος* (Ψ) or *φθόνος* (I, Ald [inde L]):³⁰

χαῖρε ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἴν' ὁ Φθόνος ἔνθα νέοιτο.

A scholion on Gregory's *carm.* I.2.34.[950] 72 found in cod. Bodl. Clarke 12 (s. X) cites the verse with *φθόνος*, but one could also cite in support of *φθόνος* two verses which could have been inspired by Callimachus' use of *μῶμος* and *φθόνος* in close proximity: Euarestos' *epigr.* M-S 17/06/02 (Oinoanda, Lycia; 238 AD), line 21: *τοιγὰρ μῶμον ἀνέντεες ὄσοι φθόνον αἰνὸν ἔχουσιν* and Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.2.2.[597] 246-7 *οὐ φθόνος, οὐδὲ πικρὸν καὶ ἀνάρκιον ἐνθάδε Μῶμος* | ὄμμα βαλεῖ.³¹

Indeed, Gregory seems to have Callimachean verses constantly in his mind. His obsession with Callimachus is a very interesting and at first sight surprising fact. Callimachus, who is never named in Gregory's verses, would certainly not be attractive to Gregory because of his interest in rare or obscure mythological details or because of his metrical technique, which was

³⁰ J. Blomqvist, 'The last line of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*', *Eranos* 88 (1990), 17-24 (he defends *φθόρος*); G. Giangrande, 'The final line in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*', *Habis* 23 (1992), 53-62 (defends *φθόνος*).

³¹ Cf. also Gr. Naz. *ep.* 22. 4 (ed. Gallay) *οὐδὲν διαφεύγει τὸν φθόνον, ὅποτε καὶ τούτου τις μῶμος ἦψατο*, and two less significant cases: Sotad. *CA* 6. 2 (ed. Powell) *τοῦ φθόνου λαβεῖν δεῖ μερίδ'*, ἢ μῶμον ἔχειν δεῖ and *Orac.Sib.* 3.377 *ἠδέ τε δυνουμῆ μῶμος φθόνος ὀργῆ ἄνοια*.

not followed by Gregory. But his reworking of old material with the intention of creating something new certainly appealed to Gregory, who wanted to write a new kind of classicising verse. It is also beyond doubt that Gregory appreciated and enjoyed Callimachus' choice of words and his innovative mixture of literary and non-literary language.³² Gregory had to apply older vocabulary to an entirely new Christian context, and his innovative use of certain words and phrases often surprises the reader; in addition, Gregory also used extremely rare or non-literary words, and some striking examples are offered in my discussion of the poems' language. However, the example cited at the beginning of this chapter suggests that Callimachus inspired Gregory in a stronger and more direct way. The following account may shed some light on this issue, but what can be offered in the framework of this introduction is necessarily brief and incomplete.

An impressive number of allusions, imitations or mere similarities with earlier texts (archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, biblical and later Roman) has already been identified in Gregory's poetry,³³ and there are certainly many more to be found. Their number, and the number of authors who appear to have been sources of language or inspiration for Gregory, is large. Many imitations have been collected either in editions (often with no comment) or by scholars who wanted to shed new light on fragmentary authors, such as Sappho or Callimachus.³⁴ Few attempts have been made, however, to discuss the literary function of these allusions (even of individual cases) within Gregory's poetry itself. Two exceptions are worth mentioning here in some detail. Athanasios Kambylis ('Gregor von Nazianz und Kallimachos', *Hermes* 110 [1982], 120-2) has drawn attention to a phrase in the first lines of Gregory's dogmatic poem 'Περὶ ἀρχῶν' (I.1.1. 8-10, ed. Moreschini):

τοῦνεκα θαρσαλέως ῥήξω λόγον. ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆλε
φεύγετε, ὄστις ἀλιτρός· ἐμὸς λόγος ἢ καθαροῖσιν
 ἢ ἐκαθαρομένοισιν ὄδ' ἔρχεται·

This is a reminiscence (with a verbatim borrowing) of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* 1-3:

οἶον ὁ τῶπόλλωνος ἐεείκατο δάφνινος ὄρηξ,
 οἶα δ' ὄλον τὸ μέλαθρον· **ἐκάς ἐκάς ὄστις ἀλιτρός**.

³² Fantuzzi-Hunter (2004: 43): Callimachus' 'whole style reveals, and demands of his readers, an extraordinarily easy familiarity with the Greek literary heritage and with the various levels of literary and non-literary Greek. Callimachus' choice of words, and the order in which he places them, is constantly surprising; it is this, more than anything else, which distinguishes his poetry from that of all other surviving poets.'

³³ See, e.g., Wyss (1983), Cataudella (1928), Nicastrì (1981), Tissoni (1997), Hollis (2002) and the recent editions of Gregory's poems (cited separately in the Bibliography).

³⁴ e.g. Hollis (2002).

καὶ δὴ που τὰ θύρετρα καλῶ ποδὶ Φοῖβος ἀράσσει

Kambylis explains how Gregory adapts Callimachus' words in his context: 'Vom visuellen Bereich (dem ursprünglichen), in dem das Motiv bei Kallimachos noch angesiedelt war, wurde es bei Gregor v. Nazianz auf den akustischen Bereich transponiert; [...] ὅστις ἀλιτρός hat Gregor wortwörtlich übernommen, ἐκάς ἐκάς hat er durch ἀπὸ τῆλε φεύγετε ersetzt'.³⁵

In a short note ('Gregory of Nazianzus and Apollo', *JThS* 20 [1969], 240-1) Alan Cameron has shown that the first three words of Apollo's fictitious oracle in Gregory's *carm.* II.2.7.[1571] 253-5, where Apollo announces his own destruction by Christ:

Φοῖβος μαντεύοιτο θεῶν μόρον οὐκέτ' ἐόντων·
αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀλόχευτος, ἀμήτωρ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος,³⁶
 ὅστις ἐμὸν διέπερσε κακὸν μένος, ὕστατ' αἰίδων

'are not in fact fictitious, but the opening of a genuine (or at least typical) Apolline oracle of the period. [...] Gregory writes for readers who will spot and appreciate the clever irony of his "oracle"—irony which lies in the (implied) greater appropriateness of these stock pagan titles to Christ than to their original subject.'³⁷ Cameron notes that 'it would be to miss half Gregory's art to suppose that he chose his epithets solely to suit Christ.' But Gregory's clever play in the lines cited above is not limited to what Cameron brings to our attention. The last two words of v. 253 were also chosen in order to cause a pleasant surprise to his Christian readers: οὐκέτ' ἐόντων is an analogical variant of the epic formula for gods αἰὲν ἐόντων used in the same verse-position by Homer (*Od.* 3. 147; 4. 583)³⁸ and Hesiod (*Th.* 21,

³⁵ At the Eighth International Patristic Conference which met in Oxford in September 1979, D. A. Sykes (1982: 1127-8) had already used the same imitation as an example of Gregory's allusions, which are 'limited in application, essentially stylistic rather than intended to evoke views held by classical writers': 'ὅστις ἀλιτρός must be interpreted through the ideas of sacred and profane as they developed through Jewish into Christian experience, with Mount Sinai as a determinant, and without any hint of acceptance in any form of either the standards of purity or the forms of revelation associated with Delphi'; cf. his commentary (in More-schini's edition of *Poemata Arcana* [1997: 81]), where he seems unaware of Kambylis' note.

³⁶ Cf. Heb. 7. 3 ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος (of Melchizedek); Cf. also the opening of Nonnus' *Paraphrasis*, which contains several epithets with ἀ-privative, and De Stefani's commentary.

³⁷ Cameron cites the first line of an oracle quoted by Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 1.7. 1): αὐτοφνής, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ, ἀτυφέλικτος, for which see now *epigr.* M-S 17/06/01 (Oinoanda, Lycia; 3rd cent. AD), with discussion and bibliography. There is also another similar oracle: ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ Απόλλων, τί θεός, ἐξείπεν οὕτως· αὐτοφνής, ἀλόχευτος, ἀώματος ἡδέ τ' ἄϊλος. This text has been edited by H. Erbse, *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1995); it had already been printed at Porphy. *ex or. haur.* p. 238.37 Wolff (= *epigr.* Cougny 4.151); cf. Wyss (1983: 855).

³⁸ Cf. also the Homeric formula θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες (4 x *Il.* at the end of a verse; also Ζεῦ πάτερ ἡδ' ἄλλοι μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες four times in *Odyssey*) and Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.2.7.[1557] 88

33, 105, 801). The allusion to the Homeric formula certainly has ironic and triumphal (from a Christian point of view) connotations.

Gregory of Nazianzus wanted to write Christian poetry in the classical tradition. Like the Hellenistic poets, he was concerned both to indicate his continuity with the literary past and to display his independence from it. But Gregory's anxiety was not so much to show a literary, linguistic or metrical independence, but to demonstrate his different religious outlook. If one thing distinguishes his poetry more than anything else, it is its Christian content;³⁹ he consciously constructs his poetic personality by referring to his Christian spirituality. This does not mean that Gregory was not much concerned with poetic conventions and traditions, but his poetry is additionally informed by his spirituality; he certainly appreciated Callimachus' poetic art, but the content is for him equally, if not more, important (*carm.* II.2.7. [1569-70] 239-51):

λήξατ', αἰδοπόλοι, ναὶ λήξατε, μαινόμενοι τε
 δαίμονες, ἐμπνειοντες ἀθεσμοτάτοις αἰδοαῖς.⁴⁰ 240
 Ὀρφεὺς θήρας ἄγοι, Πέρση δ' Ἀσκραῖος αἰδοί
 Ἥσιδος, Τροίην δὲ καὶ ἄλγεα κλεινὸς Ὅμηρος.
 Μουσαῖος τε Λίνος τε θεῶν ἀπο μέτρα φέροισεν,
 οἳ ῥα παλαιστάτησιν ἐπικλέες εἰσὶν αἰδοαῖς.
 Ἑρμῆς ὁ τρικάριστος ἐμοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἀρήγοι, 245
 οὐδ' ἐθέλων, σταυρὸν δὲ σέβει μέτροισι Κίβυλλα,
 τῆς μεγάλης θεότητος ἐλαυνόμενοι βελέεσσιν·
 οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφομαι, καὶ εἴ τις ἀσσὸν ἴκοιντο,
 οὐ Θεόθεν, Βίβλων δὲ παρακλέσαντες ἐμεῖο.
οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάνπαν ἀλαμπέες, οἱ δ' ὀλίγον τι 250
ἀστεροπήν πάλλουσαν ἐσέδρακον, ὡκα δ' ἄμερθεν.

Without Christian content, no verse can be regarded very highly, even if artistically perfect, even if there is some Biblical light there, as in the Hermetic corpus and the *Sibylline Oracles*. Christ is the only true light, and the classical authors were *πάνπαν ἀλαμπέες*. With *παρακλέσαντες* he certainly repeats earlier apologetic arguments that truths known by pagan authors were stolen from the Bible.⁴¹ But we should not misunderstand Gregory and think that he was not able to appreciate pagan literature. He offers many

ἄνθρωποι θνητοὶ καὶ τέκτονες οὐδὲν ἔόντων, where the phrase οὐδὲν ἔόντων refers again to the pagan gods (cf. Demoen 1996: 226, n. 67).

³⁹ For example, a hexameter panegyric in the high style following all the rules of the genre —but on virginity' (Cameron [2004: 349], referring to *carm.* I.2.1); cf. Sykes (1970: 39-40).

⁴⁰ Cf. Ps. 95. 1 and 4-5 ἄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἄσμα καινὸν | [...] ὅτι μέγας κύριος καὶ αἰνετὸς σφόδρα | φοβερός ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς· | ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμόνια, | ὁ δὲ κύριος τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησεν.

⁴¹ The argument is also found in Clement's *Stromateis* 6; at 6.4. 35 and 6.5. 43 the Hermetic corpus and the *Sibylline Oracles* are also mentioned as examples.

proofs to the contrary, most of all by writing classicizing verse himself and by showing his appreciation for Hellenistic poetry, and especially Callimachus. But we should always bear in mind that for Gregory [τὰ] πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν Χριστός (Col. 3. 11) and thus the Classical and Hellenistic poets sing for a dead religion. A few lines later in the same poem, a long list which starts with *Κακταλίη* and *Δάφνη* ends as follows (*carm.* II.2.7.[1572-3] 275-80):

πάντα, θεῶν Ταύρων τε κακὴ ξείνοισι θυλή,
καὶ Προκύμνοιο καλοῖο θεὸς φαλὸν ἀμφαγαπάζων
δουράτεον, μάχλη τε Κύπριν τίουσα ἑορτὴ
κερδαλέη, καὶ Λίνδος ἐφυβρίζουσι ἱεροῖσι·
πάντ' ἔθανε Χριστοῖο μεγακλέος αἵματι σεπτῶ,
ἀρχηγόνου τε νέου τε, τὸ δὴ καὶ θαῦμα μέγιστον.

Gregory's words and sensitivities are also to be understood in the context of an age when pagan cults were still alive,⁴² and had recently received imperial support from Julian.

In the following lines, which 'have an unmistakably Callimachean air, without being closely related to any specific passage of Callimachus' (Hollis, 2002: 47),⁴³ Gregory makes his own intentions clear (*carm.* II.1.34.[1312-3] 69-90)⁴⁴:

ὄργανόν εἰμι Θεοῖο καὶ εὐκρέκτοισ μελέεσσιν
ἕμνον ἄνακτι φέρω, τῷ πᾶν ὑποτρομέει. 70
Μέλπω δ' οὐ Τροίην, οὐκ εὐπλοον οἶά τις Ἄργώ,
οὐδὲ σὺς κεφαλὴν, οὐ πολὺν Ἡρακλέα,
οὐ γῆς εὐρέα κύκλα ὅπως πελάγεσσιν ἄρηρεν,
οὐκ αὐγὰς λιθάκων, οὐ δρόμον οὐρανίων·
οὐδὲ πόθων μέλπω μανίην καὶ κάλλος ἐφήβων, 75
οἷσι λύρη μαλακὸν κρούετ' ἀπὸ προτέρων.
Μέλπω δ' ὑψιμέδοντα Θεὸν μέγαν, ἠδὲ φαεινῆς

⁴² Cf. Gregory's *carm.* II.2.7.[1557-8] 86-98, cited on p. 221.

⁴³ Cf. Cataudella (1928). But *κρείσσονα* at v. 81 may actually allude to Call. *ep.* 21.1 Pfeiffer *κρέσσονα βασκανίης*, for which cf. Gregory's *carm.* II.2.1.[1477] 368 *Μώμου κρείσσονα*; Gregory also starts his *AP* 8.188 with the first words of this Callimachean epigram (*ὅστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρει πόδα*). What makes me think of a possible allusion to Callimachus (and an implicit comparison of their different expectations for *κρέσσονα*) is that Gregory would hardly use naturally and independently a phrase like *κρείσσονα τῆς παρούσης* to refer to the harmony of paradise, where St Paul *ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα ῥήματα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι* (2 Cor. 12.4). But if *κρείσσονα* was suggested by Callimachus' *ep.* 21.1, it is used to imply that Gregory's expectations are by far *κρείσσονας* compared to those of Callimachus, and this allusion would be in line with the context of this passage.

⁴⁴ Corresponding phrases within these lines are highlighted with the same font format. For some parallel ideas and expressions in early Christian Latin poets see Evenepoel (1993: 45-6). The priamel could perhaps be paralleled by *AP* 12.2 (Strato), but the similarity is not close enough to suggest direct dependence.

εἰς ἓν ἀγειρομένης λάμψιν ἐμῆς Τριάδος,
 ἀγγελικῶν τε χορῶν μεγάλους ἐριχηέας ὕμνους
 πλησίον ἑσταότων ἐξ ὁπὸς ἀντιθέτου 80
 κόσμου θ' ἄρμονίην καὶ κρείσσονα τῆς παρεούσης,
 ἦν δοκέω, πάντων εἰς ἓν ἐπειγομένων
 καὶ Χριστοῦ παθέων κλέος ἄφθιτον, οἷς μ' ἔθέωσεν,
 ἀνδρομέην μορφήν οὐρανίη κεράσας.
 Μέλω μίξιν ἐμῆν. Οὐ γὰρ φατὸν ἔργον ἐτύχθην 85
 ἔργον, ὅπως πλέχθην θνητὸς ἐπουρανίοις.⁴⁵
 Μέλω δ' ἀνθρώποισι Θεοῦ νόμον, ὅσσα τε κόσμου
 ἔργματα καὶ βουλάς καὶ τέλος ἀμφοτέρων·
 ὄφρα τὰ μὲν κεύθης σῆσι φρεσί, τῶν δ' ἀπὸ τῆλε
 φεύγης καὶ τρομέης ἡμᾶρ ἐπερχόμενον. 90

Some scholars will first of all be puzzled by the false quantity in *πᾶν* (70). The second hemistich is repeated at II.1.55.[1400] 10, where Gregory is talking to the devil: *ἀλλ' ὑπόεικε, | μὴ σὲ βάλω σταυρῶ, τῶ πᾶν ὑποτρομέει*. The critical edition of these poems may confirm that there is indeed a false quantity in this Gregorian formula, which may be significant for Gregory's poetics: before the King or the Holy Cross all tremble and prosody does not matter; it has to *υπόεικειν*.⁴⁶

What is fairly clear behind the differences which Gregory presents in these verses is his attempt to find 'common' elements between the pagan past and the Christian present: if Zeus could be called *ὑψι μέδων* (Hes. *Th.* 529), so could the Christian *Θεὸς μέγας* (77);⁴⁷ if pagan poets wrote cosmogonies (73), so he sings of the cosmic harmony (81); if the pagan poets composed erotic verses (75), so does Gregory (85-6): both *μίξιν* and *πλέχθην* can be used of sexual intercourse⁴⁸ and Gregory chose these words in order to suggest a parallel between human sexual activity and his own (*ἐμῆν*) loving union with God.⁴⁹ The implicit comparison tacitly suggests the superiority of the Christian option. Indeed, how much superior for Christians (if there can be any comparison) is the shining Trinity (78 *λάμψιν ἐμῆς Τριά-*

⁴⁵ There is a problem with the text here (at least *ἔργον* in 86 is difficult). For the moment, White's (1996: 171) translation offers the meaning needed (85-6): 'I sing of this mixture of mine, for I was created in a mysterious manner, in such a way that I, a mortal being, was combined with the immortal'.

⁴⁶ Prof. Dr. Sicherl suggests (letter of 17. 12. 2007) emendation in both cases to *τῶ περ ὑποτρομέω*. But I think this does not make good sense in either case, especially the second (II.1.55.[1400] 10).

⁴⁷ Cf. Demoen (1993: 240, n. 14).

⁴⁸ See LSJ, s.v. *μίξις* and cf. e.g. this use of *συμπλέκομαι*: S. fr. 618. 2 Radt *Θέτιδι συμπλακείς*; Pl. *Smp.* 191a *συμπλεκόμενοι ἀλλήλοισι*.

⁴⁹ For *οὐ φατόν* (v. 85) said of *μίξις* cf. Pl. *Symp.* 203a *θεὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπων οὐ μείγνυται*. By speaking of his own *μίξις* Gregory of course refers to the whole of humanity in general and the Incarnation of Logos; cf. e.g. *carm.* I.1.11.[471] 5-11.

δοc) than the beauty of young men (75)? And, last but not least, if the whole heroic world and archaic poetry (71-2), from which he now differentiates himself, were mainly concerned with κλέος ἄφθιτον ‘imperishable fame (conferred by poetry)’,⁵⁰ how much better does this notion apply to Christ’s passion, which deifies humans (83)? Thus, Gregory’s appropriation of κλέος ἄφθιτον again has ironic force against the pagans and stresses the triumph of the Christians, who claim for themselves undying glory, the most important value in the ancient world.

But the real news for Christians is that their own ‘eternal glory’ is now expressed in Homeric language and metre! Gregory’s choice of words is indeed very careful in many cases. How διηνεκέc could the ἄεισμα Callimachus refers to (*Aet.* fr. 1. 3 Pfeiffer; cf. fr. 26. 8 ἦνεκέc ἀείδω) be, compared with the literally eternal worship of the Christian God (*carm.* I.1.34.[515] 8-11)?⁵¹

πνεύματα θεσπεσίων ἀνδρῶν, ψυχαί τε δικαίων,
πάντες ὀμηγερέεc, καὶ σὸν θρόνον ἀμφιέποντεc,
γηθοσύνη τε, φόβω τε διηνεκέc ἀείδουσι
ὕμνον ἀνυμνεῖοντεc ἀκήρατον ἢ καὶ ἄπαστων.

Christians would feel that this expression could only be accurate and realistic in Gregory’s, not Callimachus’ text. Similarly, Christians who could recognize Callimachus’ words in Gregory’s ἀπὸ τῆλε | φεύγετε, ὅστιc ἀλιτρός (see pp. 32-3), would be glad to realize once again the superiority of Christian purity. Of course, this would not necessarily happen, as not everyone would be able to spot and appreciate such allusions; but Gregory’s game was conscious and deliberate. The following examples, some of them very striking, illustrate well Gregory’s allusive art.

Callimachus’ defence of shorter poems (fr. 1; cf. *Ap.* 112 πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆc ὀλίγη λιβάc ἄκρον ἄωτον), a ‘slender Muse’ (fr. 1. 24 Μούcαν ... λεπταλέην) and a pure poetry (cf. *Ap.* 111 καθαρῆ τε καὶ ἀχράαντοc), as well as his praise of λεπταὶ | ῥήciεc, Ἀρήτου σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίηc (*ep.* 27. 3-4), were perhaps adapted to the *spiritual* requirements of Gregory’s poetics in his advice, e.g., at *carm.* II.2.1.[1473] 309-11

δοc χάριν ἡματίοιc πόνοιc, νυχίγι τ’ αἰδαίc·
δοc δὲ χαμευνίη, λεπταλέοιc τε γόοιc,
καὶ τρυχίνοιc βακέεcci, καὶ ὄμμαιc τηκομένοιc
δοc δὲ νόω καθαρῶ, δοc δ’ ἱεροίcι λόγοιc

⁵⁰ See *Il.* 9. 413 (with Hainsworth’s note); cf. G. Nagy, ‘Another Look at *kleos aphthiton*’, *WJA* 7 (1981), 113-16 and K. Volk, ‘Κλέος ἄφθιτον Revisited’, *CPh* 97 (2002), 61-8.

⁵¹ The similarity with Callimachus is mentioned by Wyss (1949: 193, n. 43) and Hollis (2002: 43, n. 35).

This monotheistic hymn should be associated with the Hypsistarians, worshippers of *θεός ὕψιστος* or *παντοκράτωρ*.⁵⁴ Gregory's father was a Hypsistarian before he was converted to Christianity and Gregory gave an account of the cult in *or.* 18, which he delivered at the funeral of his father in 374.⁵⁵ This hymn might have been known to Gregory and might have been popular; it may be suggestive that *carm.* I.1.29, a Neoplatonic hymn to God transmitted with his poems and incorrectly attributed to him, was undoubtedly very popular.⁵⁶ When Gregory describes a series of Old Testament miracles, this is how he renders the story of Joshua son of Nun, who at Gibeon defeated the Amorites by asking God to cause the Sun to stand still,⁵⁷ so that he could finish the battle in daylight (*carm.* I.2.1.[546] 317-8):

μήνης δ' ἡελίου τε δρόμον χέθεν ἡϋς Ἰησοῦς,
μακρότερον δηϊοίσι φόνον καὶ κήδεα τεύχων.⁵⁸

Gregory's phrase clearly recalls v. 13 of the hymn to the Pantocrator and its reference to the *παντοκράτωρ* God, by whose power the elements exist (cf. the references to God in the text of the Septuagint, cited in n. 57).⁵⁹ It seems

⁵⁴ Cf. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 80.4 (III, p. 485.11-12 Holl-Dummer) ἐνὶ δὲ μόνον δῆθεν τὸ *εἶβας νέμοντες καὶ καλοῦντες Παντοκράτορα*; Gr. Nyss. *Refutatio Confessionis Eunomii* 38 (II, p. 327.18-21 Jaeger) Ὑψιστιανοῖς, ὧν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς διαφορὰ, τὸ θεὸν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι τινα, ὃν ὀνομάζουσιν ὕψιστον ἢ παντοκράτορα, πατέρα δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι μὴ παραδέχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Χριστιανός, εἰ μὴ τῷ πατρὶ πιστεύοι, Χριστιανὸς οὐκ ἔστιν. For the Hypsistarians see S. Mitchell, 'The Cult of Theos Hypsistos', in P. Athanassiadi-M. Frede (eds.), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1999), 81-148.

⁵⁵ *Or.* 18. 5 (M. 35. 989-92); the reference closes with the sentence: Ὑψιστάριοι τοῖς ταπεινοῖς ὄνομα καὶ ὁ Παντοκράτωρ δὴ μόνος αὐτοῖς *σεβάσμιος*.

⁵⁶ See Sicheřl (1988).

⁵⁷ Jos. 10.12-14: τότε ἐλάλησεν Ἰησοῦς πρὸς κύριον, ἧ ἡμέρα παρέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Αμορραῖον ὑποχείριον Ἰσραηλ, ἠνίκα συνέτριψεν αὐτοὺς ἐν Γαβαων καὶ συνετρίβησαν ἀπὸ προσώπου υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ, καὶ εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς: Στήτω ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ Γαβαων καὶ ἡ σελήνη κατὰ φάραγγα Αἰλων. καὶ ἔστι ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἐν στάσει, ἕως ἡμῦνато ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν. καὶ ἔστι ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὐ προεπορεύετο εἰς δυσμὰς εἰς τέλος ἡμέρας μιᾶς. καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἡμέρα τοιαύτη οὐδὲ τὸ πρότερον οὐδὲ τὸ ἔσχατον ὥστε ἐπακοῦσαι θεὸν ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι κύριος συνεπολέμησεν τῷ Ἰσραηλ.

⁵⁸ Sundermann prefers *μήνη δ' ἡελίω*, transmitted by several manuscripts.

⁵⁹ Gregory refers to the same miracle at *carm.* I.1.36.[518] 9 *μήνη δ' ἡελίος τε δρόμον χέθεν. μήνη* often joins *ἡέλιος* in poetry (cf. e.g. Arat. SH fr. 83.1 *ἀμφὶ μοι ἡέλιος περικλειτοῖό τε μήνης*; [Man.] *Arot.* 2. 2 *ἡέλιος μήνη τε διηνεκέσ ὠκα φέρονται*; 4. 537 *Μήνης δ' Ἡελίω κύνοδοι κατὰ κόσμον ἐχούσης*; Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.2.2.[579] 19 *μήνη τ', ἡέλιος τε καὶ ἀστέρες*, with Zehles-Zamora's note); but *δρόμον* and the particular context of Gregory's lines and the hymn to the Pantocrator suggest the latter as Gregory's source. Ludwich (1887: 234) noticed the similarity with EG 947.a.2-5 *καὶ αὐτὸς ἄθλοισ τοῖς ἐν σταδίοις τ[ε]τεύχειν, | καὶ πῶτον στεφθεῖς σταδῖν καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διάυλον | Ἡελίου τε δρόμον Μήνης τε Σελήνης ἄθλα τελέ(ς)α | μεῖζονα θ' Ἡρακλέου(ς* (from the collection of the dedicatory epigrams ['agonistica'] found 'Romae, in tribus anaglyphi lateribus' = CIG 5923 = IG 14.1108); this is a different context and it is also unlikely that Gregory would know this text; in any case, the hymn to the Pantocrator might not have

that Gregory wanted to place the general and theoretical reference in the hymn of the Hypsistarians in the context of a specific miracle, in order to suggest (or demonstrate) who really is the *θεὸς ὑψιστος* and *παντοκράτωρ*.

But the most striking and suggestive example of an allusion that I have come across so far in Gregory is his use of Euphorion's fr. CA 98 (ed. Powell), transmitted by John Tzetzes in his Scholia on Lycophron's *Alexandra* 440.⁶⁰ Euphorion refers to the myth of Mopsus and Amphilocheus, who killed each other for control of Mallus, near the river Pyramus (cf. Strabo 14.5. 16):

Πύραμον ἠχήεντα, πόλιν δ' ἐκτίσσατο Μαλλόν,
ἦς πέρι δῆριν ἔθεντο κακοφράδες ἀλλήλοισι
Μόσος τ' Ἀμφίλοχος τε, καὶ ἄκριτα δηρινθέντες
μουνᾶξ ἀλλίστοιο **πύλας ἔβαν Ἄϊδονῆος**.⁶¹

In a short prayer,⁶² Gregory refers to Christ's crucifixion and resurrection (*carm.* I.1.33.[514] 7-9):⁶³

ὄστις ἐπὶ σταυροῖο μόρον τέτληκας ἐπισπεῖν,
οἷα βροτός· τριτάτη δὲ **πύλας λίπες αἰδονῆος**,
οἷα Θεός· θανάτου γὰρ ἔλυκας δεσμὸν ἀνατάς

λίπες would be inconceivable to a non-Christian world,⁶⁴ but at the same time very satisfactory to Christians, whether they were able to notice the

been the only possible source for Gregory's phrase, although Gregory's family connection with the Hypsistarians makes it certain that he would be familiar with their hymns.

⁶⁰ E. Scheer (ed.), *Lycophronis Alexandra* (vol. II, Berlin, 1908), 162.19-22.

⁶¹ For the last phrase cf. Tzetzes' Scholia on Lycophron's *Alexandra* 440 (p. 162.16-18 Scheer): *οὗς θάψαντες οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες πύργον μεταξὺ τῶν τάφων κατεσκεύασαν, ὅπως μηδὲ μετὰ θάνατον ἀλλήλων κοινωνήσωσιν*.

⁶² Werhahn (1966: 342-3) has questioned the authenticity of this poem, because it is transmitted (together with I.1. 31, 34 and 35) only by Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 43 (s. XVI). But scribes sometimes copied out very old exemplars and the poem is actually transmitted also by Vaticanus Borg. gr. 22 (s. XV); see M. Sicherl, 'Zwei Autographen Marsilio Ficinos: Borg. Gr. 22 und Paris. Gr. 1256', in G. C. Garfagnini (ed.), *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone. Studi e documenti* (vol. I, Florence, 1986), 221-8. The words and the meanings are Gregorian (see C. Crimi, 'Nazianzenica VIII. Contributi al testo e all'interpretazione dei «Carmi»' 1,1,33.34.35; 1,2,28', *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 47 [1995], 141-6, at 141-2) and the allusion to Euphorion argues further in favour of the poem's authenticity (cf. Magnelli [2002: 115, n. 57]). Moreover, Gregory seems to have in mind the previous line of Euphorion's fragment when he writes *carm.* II.1.17.[1268] 92 *χηρῶν ἢ γεράνων ἄκριτα μαρναμένων* (Wyss [1983: 853]).

⁶³ The case is cited with no discussion by Magnelli (2002: 115-16); he also cites Euph. CA 75 (ed. Powell) *χιζὸν μοι κνώσονται παρ' Ἀργανῶθιον αἶπος* ~ Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.45.[1369] 229 *καὶ ποτέ μοι κνώσονται παρίστατο τοῖος ὄνειρος* (also in Hollis [2002: 46, n. 50]). For another possible allusion to Euphorion see Simelidis (2006: 93-7).

⁶⁴ Cf., e.g., Philetas, CA 6 (ed. Powell) *ἀτραπὸν εἰς Αἶδαο | ἦνυσα, τὴν οὐπω τις ἐναντίον ἦλθεν ὀδίτης*, and the other parallels cited by Gow on Theoc. *Id.* 12.19 *ἀνέξοδον εἰς Ἀχέροντα*.

allusion to Euphorion or not; but the adoption of a unique expression⁶⁵ at the same metrical *sedes* is intended to stress Christ's triumph over death. Only those aware of the allusion to the pagan poem can fully understand and appreciate Gregory's verse.

At *Id.* 12. 34 Theocritus envies the judge in the boys' kissing-contest in honour of the Megarian hero Diocles, who gave his life for his friend: ὄλβιος ὄστις παιῖσι φιλήματα κείνα διαιτᾶ. We will see later how Gregory was inspired by such ὄλβιος-verses (especially the pederastic Theognidean distichs 1253-4, 1335-6, 1375-6) to write his *carm.* I.2.17 (Διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοί) and present his own Christian version of ὄλβιος in a poetic reply. But Theocritus' *Idyll* 12, a monologue addressed by the poet to a boy whose two-day absence had seemed to him too long, was a source of further inspiration for Gregory. Theocritus opens the idyll ἐν ἡματι φάσκων τοὺς ποθοῦντας γηράσκειν, in Julian's words (*ep.* 96 [I.2. 176. 8 Bidez = 374c Hertlein]):⁶⁶

ἦλυθε, ὦ φίλε κοῦρε· τρίτη σὺν νυκτὶ καὶ ἡοῖ
ἦλυθε· οἱ δὲ ποθεῦντες ἐν ἡματι γηράσκουσιν.

Theoc. *Id.* 12. 1-2

For Gregory, Theocritus' *delight* at the return of the *boy*, stressed by the repetition of ἦλυθε as first word of the first two lines, can only be paralleled by Gregory's own *wrath* at the coming of *Devil* in the shape of thoughts, feelings, and mental images (*carm.* II.1.54.[1397] 1-2):

ἦλυθε, ὦ κακοεργέ· νοήματα σεῖο γινώσκω·
ἦλυθε, ὄφρα φάουσ με φίλης τ' αἰῶνος ἀμέρης.⁶⁷

Such a use of allusion is undoubtedly a very clever and inspired way of writing Christian poetry within the tradition of classical literature. I have already referred to the impact that Gregory's verse would have had among learned Christians; but we should not think of Christians as the exclusive readers of his poems. In fact, one of his poems is addressed to a pagan: II.2.7 (*Πρὸς Νεμέσιον*). Nemesius served as governor of Cappadocia Secunda and was known for his learning and his rhetorical skills; he had also promised to discuss Christianity with Gregory. 'Since familiarity with classical culture had established a bond between them as friends, Gregory would use it to introduce Nemesius to Christianity. In his poem he politely, and at length,

⁶⁵ For the rare form Αἰδονεύς, which occurs only in Euphorion, Quintus of Smyrna, Gregory and Nonnus, see DGE, s.v. Αἰδονεύς (cf. v. Αἰδωνεύς).

⁶⁶ For the same poem of Theocritus cf. also Julian, *Misopogon* 338d and Athenaeus 2. 50a.

⁶⁷ Cf. *carm.* II.1.50.[1385] 1-2 ἦλυθε αὐθις ἐμοιγε, δολοπλόκε ὡς ἐνοήθης, | βένθος ἐμῆς κραδίης ἐνδοθι βοσκόμενος and the Delphic oracle cited by Elias, *In Porph. Isagog.* (p. 7.1-2 Busse) ἦλυθε, ὦ Λυκόεργε, ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηόν· | δίξω εἴ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἠὲ καὶ ἄνδρα (= David, *Prolegomena philosophiae* [p. 16.28-9 Busse]); cf. Hdt. 1. 65.

argued in favor of Christian beliefs and against pagan deities.⁶⁸ The appropriateness and value of his learned allusions in this poem (see pp. 33-5) are easily understood.

Gregory's game is very different from comic parody and should be clearly distinguished from, e.g., *AP* 12. 39; despite a similar allusive technique, *AP* 12. 39 certainly reveals a degree of parody:

ἐςβέεσθη Νίκανδρος — ἀπέπτατο πᾶν ἀπὸ χροῦς
 ἄνθος, καὶ χαρίτων λοιπὸν ἔτ' οὐδ' ὄνομα —
 ὄν πρὶν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι ἐνομιζόμεν. ἀλλὰ φρονεῖτε
 μηδὲν ὑπὲρ θνητούς, ὦ νέοι· εἰς τριχέας.

Thomas Williams⁶⁹ argues that 'the paramount factor is the statement at the end, *there is hair*' and shows convincingly that the phrase here is a parody of the common exclamation of faith, *εἰς θεοί*: 'The loss of the boy's beauty is greeted with jubilation. [...] The punishing of Nicander proves not, as would be usual, that the gods exist but that hair does— by growing where least welcome it has spoiled the body of which he was so selfishly proud [...] When hair is formally acknowledged as existent there is a mischievous suggestion that hair is the gods. The poem then is a joke.' Williams speaks of the 'comical exploitation of a religious formula' and goes on to remark that 'it is interesting to notice that the same *The Gods Exist* formula did not, to all appearances, go through another process which one might possibly have expected and adjust itself to a type of blasphemy that may conveniently be illustrated from Christianity.' This is true, as long as one expects comical exploitation and blasphemy. But what about the Christian acclamation *εἰς Θεός*?⁷⁰ Might its popularity among Christians have been due to the fact that this phrase was an adaptation of the similar pagan acclamation *εἰς θεοί*? There is no parody or comedy involved, although the linguistic similarity of the Christian reply may provoke a smile; this is at least the game Gregory plays when he writes of the pagan gods *οὐκέτ' ἐόντων*, modifying the Homeric and Hesiodic *αἰὲν ἐόντων* (see pp. 33-4), or when he writes in the same way *χεῖρα κραταιήν* which *replaces* (in both his verses and his life) the Homeric *μοῖρα κραταιή* (see p. 121).

⁶⁸ Van Dam (2002: 87, with note 19). On Nemesius see Hauser-Meury (1960: 128) and A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (vol. I, Cambridge, 1971), 622.

⁶⁹ 'Gr. Anth. 12,39 [Anon.] and Greek Folk Humour', *Hermes* 99 (1971), 423-8.

⁷⁰ E. Peterson, *EIC ΘΕΟΙ: Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Göttingen, 1926). Cf. Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.1.1. 25 (ed. Moerschini) *εἰς Θεός ἐστιν* (with Sykes' note) and Ch. Roueché, 'Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 74 (1984), 181-99, at 191 (Text 1) and 194, as well as P. Berol. 21332 (ed. P. Sarischouli, *Berliner griechische Papyri: Christliche literarische Texte und Urkunden aus dem 3. bis 8. Jh.n.Chr.* [Wiesbaden, 1995], 22 with notes at 28-9).

It is very interesting to notice that this way of modifying a pattern to give one's own version of things has a striking literary parallel in Callimachus. One of his most celebrated epigrams (28 Pfeiffer):

ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ
χαίρω, τίς πολλοὺς ᾧδε καὶ ᾧδε φέρει·
μισέω καὶ **περίφοιτον** ἐρώμενον, οὐδ' ἀπὸ κρήνης
 πίνω· σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια.
 Λυκανίη, εὐ δὲ ναίχι καλὸς καλός—ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν
 τοῦτο σαφῶς, Ἥχώ φησί τις· ἄλλος ἔχει.⁷¹

is in fact inspired by and modelled on Thgn. 579-82

ἐχθαίρω κακὸν ἄνδρα, καλυψαμένη δὲ πάρειμι,
 σμικρῆς ὄρνιθος κοῦφον ἔχοντα νόον·
ἐχθαίρω δὲ γυναῖκα **περίδρομον**, ἄνδρά τε μάργον,
 ὅς τὴν ἀλλοτρίην βούλετ' ἄρουραν ἀροῦν.⁷¹

Indeed, how this is very similar to what Gregory does when he models his own version of *ὄλβιος* on earlier *ὄλβιος*-verses (see pp. 117-120).

In fact, Callimachus' *ep.* 28 Pfeiffer offers one more example of Gregory's obsession with this Hellenistic poet; the epigram stuck in his mind, perhaps because what Callimachus says could be *mutatis mutandis* transferred to Gregory's life; when the latter resigned from the see of Constantinople, he stressed his *difference* from his fellow-bishops in the following terms (*or.* 42.22. 22-3 [ed. Bernardi]):

οὐ τὰ πολλὰ **συμφέρομαι τοῖς πολλοῖς**, οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν **βαδίζω ἀνέχομαι**·
 θρασεῶς μὲν ἴσως καὶ ἀμαθῶς, πάσχω δ' οὖν ὁμοῦ. **Ἀνιᾶ** **με** τὰ τῶν ἄλλων **τερπνὰ**
 καὶ **τέρπομαι** τοῖς ἐτέρων ἀνιαιοῖς.

οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν (*sc. τοῖς πολλοῖς*) *βαδίζω ἀνέχομαι* seems to correspond in thought (if not in language) to *οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ | χαίρω, τίς πολλοὺς ᾧδε καὶ ᾧδε φέρει*. But Gregory was very learned and, interestingly, not ashamed to allude even to the inventor of the Alexandrian erotic epigram, Asclepiades of Samos (*AP* 12. 105)

μικρὸς Ἔρωσ ἐκ μητρὸς ἔτ' εὐθήρατος ἀποπτὰς
 ἔξ οἴκων ὑψοῦ Δάμιδος οὐ πέτομαι·
 ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ, φιλέων τε καὶ ἀζήλωτα φιληθεῖς,
οὐ πολλοῖς, εὐκράς δ' εἰς ἐνὶ **συμφέρομαι**.

(*οὐ*) (*τοῖς*) *πολλοῖς συμφέρομαι* occurs nowhere else in Greek literature (for *συμφέρομαι* see also my note on *II.1.10. 22*).

⁷¹ Cf. also Thgn. 959-62, which expresses more fully what Callimachus wants to say with *κρήνης* (cf. Gow-Page on *Call. ep.* 2.3 [= 28.3 Pfeiffer]). See also A. Henrichs, 'Callimachus *Epigram* 28: A Fastidious Priamel', *HSCPh* 83 (1979), 207-12.

The transformation of a unique phrase used before in an erotic context is striking. In *carm.* I.2.17 Gregory uses a similar structure to that in which the pagan poet said 'happy is the man who sleeps with a lad all day long' to suggest that a man is *δλβιος* who keeps away from sex for his entire life (see pp. 117-19). In addition, in line 22 of the same poem, [Archilochus'] simile for a harlot (fr. 331 West) may be behind Gregory's heavenly wine-vats (see pp. 120-1). And elsewhere, in prose, Gregory uses erotic vocabulary to describe his friendship with Basil as 'a relationship between two equals united in their erotic quest for divine wisdom'.⁷² It seems that Gregory expected that at least some of his readers would be well read in pagan erotic poetry. With his allusions to this poetry, he exploits (and thus approves of) its reading, suggesting (again implicitly) that Christians could transform and use for spiritual purposes even erotic poetry. There are at least two ways of understanding this. Basil had written (*leg. lib. gent.* 3. 1-4 [cf. Wilson, 1975: 44]):

εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔστι τις οἰκειότης πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς λόγοις, προὔργου ἂν ἡμῖν αὐτῶν ἢ γνῶσις γένοιτο· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ τό γε παράλληλα θέντας καταμαθεῖν τὸ διάφορον οὐ μικρὸν εἰς βεβαίωσιν τοῦ βελτίονος.

That is, when pagan ideals expressed in literature are in some ways similar to Christian, Christians should study these pagan texts; but even if they are different, the appreciation of the contrast could strengthen their Christian faith. But we should not hastily ascribe all pagan erotic passages to the second category; some of the above mentioned Gregorian examples may point to possible similarities, better illustrated by a passage in John Klimakos' *Ladder of Divine Ascent* 30 (M. 88. 1156 C-D):

μακάριος ὅστις τοιοῦτον πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκτήσατο ἔρωτα, οἷον μανικὸς ἐραστής πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐρωμένην κέκτηται. [...] Ὅ ὄντως ἐρῶν αἰεὶ τὸ τοῦ φιλουμένου πρόσωπον φαντάζεται, καὶ τοῦτο ἔνδον ἐνηδόνως περιπτύσσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος. Οὐκ ἔτι οὐδὲ καθ' ὑπνοῦς ἠρεμεῖν τοῦ πόθου δύναται· ἀλλὰ κάκεισε πρὸς τὸ ποθούμενον ἀδολεσχεῖ. Οὕτως ἐπὶ σωμαίων, οὕτως ἐπὶ ἀσωμάτων πέφυκε γίνεσθαι.

In general, I suspect that both the poet and his Christian readers would find the reused old words and transformed pagan formulas very pleasant, especially when they pointed to the superiority of Christianity over paganism. As I have already said, not all Gregory's borrowings or allusions make a specific point, but a full investigation of his corpus is likely to reveal that messages hidden in allusions occur more frequently than scholars have realized so far. And we should not forget that such messages might actually not

⁷² See J. Børtnes, 'Eros Transformed: Same-Sex Love and Divine Desire. Reflections on the Erotic Vocabulary in St. Gregory of Nazianus's Speech on St. Basil the Great', in T. Hägg-P. Rousseau (eds.), *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley-London, 2000), 180-93.

have been so hidden to Gregory's learned readers as they sometimes are to modern scholars.⁷³

Perhaps it is relevant to notice that early Christians did not, and did not have to, change all aspects and tastes in their lives. The 'Proiecta casket', a silver-gilt toilet casket from Rome (dated around 380) is suggestive: three sides of the lid are decorated with pagan mythological themes, but on the top of the lid, busts of a richly dressed woman and man appear within a wreath held by naked Erotes. They are identified by an inscription around the rim of the lid: SECVNDE ET PROIECTA VIVATIS IN CHR[ISTO].⁷⁴ A simple adaptation of past pagan customs and tastes like this would perhaps be particularly pleasant, as a clear mark of change. The following texts, which have never been compared or discussed in such a context, are illuminating. In acclamations of praise, a formula starting with *τόν* and followed by adjectives of praise, the name of the person and a reference to the stele or tomb erected in his honour was frequently used by pagans. Examples include *epigr.* M-S 16/34/06 and 16/34/08 (Dorylaion; 'zwischen 212 und 250 n. Chr.'), as well as *epigr.* M-S 03/02/08 (Ephesos; 'um 550 n. Chr.')

*τόν σοφίη κρατέ[ρ]οντα καὶ εὐνομίη καὶ ἀοιδῇ
ἐξ ἀγαθῶν πατέρων ἀνθύπατον πρύτανιν
Δαμόχαριν ποθέοντες Ἰήονες ἀργυραμοιβοί
στήλη λαϊνὴν στήσαν ἀγασσάμενοι*

and *epigr.* M-S 08/05/08, vv. 1-4 (Miletupolis?; '2 Jahrh. n. Chr.'):⁷⁵

*τόν μέγαν ἐν Μούσαισι, τὸν ἐν σοφίη κλυτὸν ἄνδρα
ἔξοχα ὀμηρείων ἀψάμενον κελίδων,
μηγύω παριοῦσι σοφὴ λίθος, εὐκλέα Μάγνον,
θαῦμα μέγα ξείνων, θαῦμα μέγα πτόλιος.*

We may now read the epitaph of Severus and Eugenius, bishops of Laodiceia (*epigr.* M-S 14/06/04 ['etwa 350 bis 380 n. Chr.']):

⁷³ A lemmatist of the *Palatine Anthology* wrote that epigram 9. 435 (Theoc.) is 'διακυρτικὸν ἢ μᾶλλον τωθατικόν' ('a satirical, or rather a jeering poem'). Gow and Page (1965: 534) insisted that the poem was a 'trade-sign for a banker, misunderstood by the Lemmatist'. But they were the ones who missed its point; A. H. Griffiths ('Six passages in Callimachus and the Anthology', *BICS* 17 [1970], 32-43, at 35-6) explains: the banker was praised by modern scholars for keeping late hours in the service of the community ('τὰ δ' ὀθνεῖα Κάκκος | χρήματα καὶ νυκτὸς βουλομένοις ἀριθμεῖ' is the closing sentence of the epigram), while he is in fact accused of being a male prostitute!

⁷⁴ From the British Museum's description (<http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_mla/t/the_projecta_casket.aspx>, accessed 13 March 2008); cf. Averil Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire* (Fontana History of the Ancient World, London, 1993), 160-2.

⁷⁵ Cf. also *epigr.* M-S 23/08 (= 04/12/10) [Saittai?; '235/6 n. Chr.'] and for more cases see the *Initia Carminum* at M-S, v. 5, pp. 194-5.

τὸν Χριστοῦ σοφίης ὑποφήτορα, τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα
 οὐρανοῦ γενέτου κύδιμον ἀθλοφόρον
 [C]εβῆρον πόλεων πανεπίσκοπον, ἡγητῆρα
 λαοῦ σακκοφόρου μνήμα κέκευθε τόδε
 [λείψανον Εὐγενίου τε Θεουδέος, ὃν κατέλειπεν
 [ποιμ]νης πνευματικῆς ἀξίον ἠνίοχον·
 [οὔτοι] καὶ ζῶντες ἑαῖς π[αλάμασιν ἔτευξαν]
 [αὐτοῖς] ἀσκητὸν μνή[μα τόδ' ἀέναον]

and one of the troparia of the first Ode of the Canon composed by John Mauropous (ca. 1000-after ca. 1075-81) in honour of St Theodore Teron:⁷⁶

τὸν μέγαν ἐν Μάρτυρι,
 τὸν ἀθλητὴν τὸν ὑπέρλαμπρον,
 τὸν ὀνομαστότατον καὶ περιβόητον,
 τὸν ἐν θαύμασιν ἀπ' ἄκρων γῆς εἰς ἄκρα
 ἐπίσημον ἄσκασι μέλπω Θεόδωρον.

Older poetic formulas or artistic customs are now adapted, *converted* to a new Christian world. The mark of the change, as we saw in several of the examples discussed in this chapter, was often meaningful. *πύλαι Αἰδωνῆος*, the *ἀνέξοδοι* gates of inexorable Hades, can now be left behind; for, according to the Christian faith, Christ loosed the bond of death with His resurrection (see pp. 40-1). Sykes has argued that 'in drawing vocabulary, forms, and direct reminiscences from his predecessors, both remote and comparatively recent, Gregory is doing no more than showing that he understood the conventions of his chosen form'.⁷⁷ He was definitely doing more, and his reuse of older forms deserves a thorough investigation, which would place it in a broader historical and cultural context: it has been argued that Christianity conquered the Roman Empire by transforming the classical culture that was its foundation.⁷⁸ This transformation sometimes went beyond what one might have expected: in the early fourth century Galerius persecuted Christians; by the late fourth or early fifth century, part of his palace in Thessaloniki, the monumental Rotunda, had been converted into a Church!⁷⁹

⁷⁶ See *Τριώδιον κατανακτικόν, περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν αὐτῷ ἀκολουθίαν τῆς Ἁγίας καὶ Μεγάλης Τεσσαρακοστῆς* (Rome, 1879), 211.

⁷⁷ Sykes (1970: 40).

⁷⁸ e.g. Quacquarelli (1986). Similarly, R. MacMullen closes his book on *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (New Haven-London, 1997) with the sentence: 'The triumph of the church was one not of obliteration but of widening embrace and assimilation' (p. 159).

⁷⁹ For more details, some of them impressive, see L. Nasrallah, 'Empire and Apocalypse in Thessaloniki: Interpreting the Early Christian Rotunda', *JCS* 13 (2005), 465-508. Cf. R. P. C. Hanson, 'The Transformation of Pagan Temples into Churches in the Early Christian Centuries', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 23 (1978), 257-67 and now J. Hahn-S. Emmel-U. Gotter (eds.),

1.4 Language and Metre

Language

No lexicon records Gregory's vocabulary in a systematic way: only words from *carm.* II.1.11 were included in the Revised Supplement (1996) of LSJ; PGL was mainly interested in theologically important terms, while it is regrettable that DGE often misses or ignores Gregory.⁸⁰ According to Sykes (1982: 1127), who mainly refers to Gregory's hexameters,

as we read much of the verse of Gregory Nazianzen we may well form the impression of a blending of elements, with the intention of producing a homogeneous whole. The language of Homer and Callimachus is not unskillfully merged with expressions drawn from Greek philosophers or the Septuagint or the New Testament, the result being what might be expected of competent didactic verse which had always shown itself amenable to the incorporation of diction taken from diverse, and even apparently alien sources. With Gregory we may feel that this is not simply a matter of literary ability, but that it represents an overt claim to be, as an educated Christian, a legitimate inheritor of the full tradition of the classical world.

There is much truth in this, but as Sykes himself admits, a closer examination of Gregory's language may prove that the above pattern is a simplification. Indeed, Gregory seems also to have been influenced by less traditional texts, such as the *Sibylline Oracles* and [Manetho's] *Apotelesmatica*; apart from specific borrowings and imitations, there is something of a tone or a feeling in several of his lines which reminds the reader of the versification of these texts.⁸¹

Gregory wanted to express his Christian ideas and concepts and he had to do this by employing traditional vocabulary in his entirely different context. The use of Homeric and Classical words in a Christian context is one of the most interesting characteristics of Gregory's poetry.⁸² Sometimes he changed the semantic nuance of classical words in order to serve his purposes, and it is also understandable that new words had to be coined to de-

From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in late Antiquity (Leiden-Boston, 2008).

⁸⁰ I refer to some cases in the course of my commentary, e.g. on 1.2.17. 9 ἄζυγέων, 53 ἀρηραμένη; II.1.19. 20 ἀμφυλάουσι; II.1.32. 9 βρονταῖον (see my footnote for I.1.2. 71 [ed. Moreschini] βρονταίης φωνῆς).

⁸¹ Cf. Sykes (in Moreschini [1997: 58]) and my notes on 1.2.17. 8 ἐπιδευομένοις, 26 πενθαλέην; II.1.10. 5 πολήων; II.1.19. 16 τίς ἅπαντα διακριδὸν ἐξαγορεύσει; 20 ἀντολίη τε δύνει τε, 75 πολλοὶ δ' αὖ; II.1.32. 4 ἡμάτιον βίον ἔλκειν, 51 κόσμον ἅπαντα. For Gregory and the *Sibylline Oracles* cf. Lightfoot (2007: 154 and 168-9).

⁸² Cf. Easterling (2003: 326) on II.1.11. 1225-31, as an example of tragic iambs which 'become a vehicle for ideas, feelings and religious attitudes quite alien to the original models'.

scribe certain ideas;⁸³ examples include *χθαμαλοφροσύνη* (I.2.17. 40, with my note); *οιόβιος* (I.2.1.[525] 46)⁸⁴ and *κοσμόβιος* (I.2.29. 326 [ed. Knecht]); *κοσμοθέτης* (I.1.1. 34 [ed. Moreschini], with Sykes' note); *κοσμολέτης* (I.2.14. 88 [ed. Domiter]); *πατροφαίης* (II.1.38.[1325] 5) and *σαρκοπέδη* (I.2.2.[618] 503). Gregory may have also coined some of the many *hapax legomena* found in his verse,⁸⁵ but he must have met most of them in earlier texts now lost;⁸⁶ some examples are: *ἄνοικτρος* (II.1.88.[1438] 88); *ἀνόλικτος* (I.2.2.[607] 368); *ἀριπρεπίη* and *μειλιχόμυθος* (I.2.29. 121 and 292 [ed. Knecht]); *παντάσκιος* (II.1.12.[1220] 742)⁸⁷ and *πυρσπόλος* (I.2.14. 88 [ed. Domiter]).

But Gregory's use of words or expressions is sometimes problematic; see e.g. my note on the structure of *πτωχός* with the genitive at I.2.17. 25 or his use of the word *ἄθηρον* ('without wild beasts') at II.1.32. 5, where it is indirectly attached to *νόον* with the meaning 'distinguished from beasts'. There are cases where light can be shed by contemporary or later texts; in other cases, he may be innovating or inaccurate or mistaken, but we should never forget that he had at his disposal many texts which are not available to us today. Thus at least some of his peculiarities could follow a tradition which is now lost; the latest suggestive finding in this respect is the form *φ]ιλομειδ[* in *POxy* 4711 (Elegy). The editor, W. B. Henry, comments as follows:⁸⁸

φ]ιλομειδ[in this context no doubt of Aphrodite, as almost always elsewhere. Dr M. L. West suggests restoring the usual poetic form *φ]ιλομ<μ>ειδ[*, perhaps

⁸³ Most of those words are included in PGL, but some have been missed. Detorakis ([1981] and [1990]) publishes them, together with many others, as 'Addenda to PGL', but he includes in his lists many words which are already recorded in LSJ and have no particular interest for patristic study. He is obviously unaware of the relation of PGL to LSJ: see the highlighted paragraph on p. ix of the Preface of PGL.

⁸⁴ Also I.2.5.[643] 11 and Hesych. ο 356 **οιοβίοις*-*μονοβίοις* (*Greg. Naz. c. 1, 2, 5, 11*).

⁸⁵ Some of the modern editions cited in my Bibliography (e.g. Domiter, Knecht and Meier) list the *hapax legomena* in the indexes.

⁸⁶ *POxy* 4352 (*Hexameter Verses*; ca. 285 AD), published in 1996, is now the earliest occurrence of the word *χλαινοφόρος* (v. 36), elsewhere found only at *Gr. Naz. ep.* 86.2 and George of Sykeon (7th c.), *Vita Sancti Theodori Syceotae* (ed. Festugière; *Subsidia Hagiographica* 48).

⁸⁷ Cf. Hesych. π 396 [ό] *παντάσκιος*-*ὁ πάντοθεν σκιάν οὐκ ἔχων*, but the reference to Gregory was missed by Hansen. M. Schmidt was the first to recognize the presence of Gregorian lemmata in Hesychius, in 'Gregorius Nazianzenus', *Philologus* 15 (1859), 712-14 (see also his paper 'Gregor von Nazianz und Hesychius', *RhM* 21 [1866], 489-97). K. Latte and P. A. Hansen were able to identify even more Gregorian lemmata in their editions of Hesychius' *Lexicon* α-ο (Copenhagen, 1953-66) and π-σ (Berlin-New York, 2005) respectively. But over the course of my work on Gregory's poems, I have identified glosses that were not attributed to any literary source by the editors, but almost certainly come from Gregory's poems. I have started a thorough investigation of Gregorian lemmata in Hesychius' *Lexicon* and already have interesting results, which I plan to publish in a separate paper.

⁸⁸ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 69, Edited with translations and notes by N. Gonis, D. Obbink, D. Colombo, G. B. d'Alessio and A. Nodar (London, 2005), 51. The fragment may belong to the *Metamorphoses* by Parthenius of Nicaea. Cf. Hutchinson (2006).

rightly, though there are late examples with a short second syllable (Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I.1.7. 77 [PG. 37.444], Pamprep. 3.107, *AP* 9.524.22, 6.66.9 [Paul. Silent.]; f. l. at *H. Merc.* 481).

Rare uses of words or expressions also occur in Gregory's verse and if not spotted and properly understood, they might incorrectly be considered among his peculiarities. In *carm.* II.1.11. 1278 at least *τίς ἦν* seems unintelligible and Jungck put the words between *crucēs*:⁸⁹

νῦν δ' οὐκ ἐᾷ με τὰ πρόσω τῶν πραγμάτων. 1275
 ὦν τὰ μὲν ἦλθε δεξιῶς, τὰ δ' ἀγνοῶ,
 τί χρῆ λέγειν με καὶ τίνι μοίρα προκνέμειν.
 †τίς ἦν, † ἐπαινῶ.

τίς ἦν A C W : τίςιν L C^{pp} S O : τίνας P v M, Migne δ' ἐπαινεῖν P a v, Migne

In their recent edition Tuilier and Bady print the same text (with a comma after *προκνέμειν*) without *crucēs* and with no word of discussion. Bernardi translates *τίς ἦν, ἐπαινῶ* as 'et quel était celui dont je dois me louer'; Jungck translates as follows: 'Welches es auch war, ich bins zufrieden (?)'. When I wrote my review of the Budé edition, I thought that Jungck was right in using *crucēs* (Simelidis [2004: 448]); but since then I have realized that the use of the interrogative pronoun *τίς* as relative (*ὅστις, ἥτις*) occurs in Callimachus more than once (*Call. ep.* 38.1-2 Pfeiffer,⁹⁰ with Gow-Page's note [*Hell. Ep.* 1042]; fr. 75.60 and 191.67, on which see Pfeiffer), as also in Nossis (*AP* 5.170. 3) and Nicander (*Al.* 2), and perhaps E. *Phaethon* 46 αἰτοῦ τί χρῆζεις ἔν ('ask whatever one thing you want').⁹¹ What Gregory says is: 'I am pleased with the person I was'. But the use of *τίς/τί* as a substitute for the relative pronoun is in fact more common than it appears at first sight: it occurs in later Greek, for example at Acts 13.25 *τίνα με ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγώ* ('I am not who you think I am');⁹² in a phrase attributed to Ptolemaeus Euergetes in Ath. 10. 438e: *τίνι ἢ τύχη δίδωσι, λαβέτω* and in a documentary papyrus from Egypt, dated to the 3rd century AD (BGU III 822.4-5):⁹³ *εὔρον γεοργόν (sic), τίς αὐτὰ ἐλκύει*; see more at NTG (§ 298.4) and NTL (s.v. *τίς/τί* 1aα 7).

⁸⁹ I print Jungck's apparatus; C is Bodleianus Clarkianus 12 (s. X).

⁹⁰ οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ | χάρῳ, τίς πολλοὺς ὠδε καὶ ὠδε φέρει.

⁹¹ Diggle offers more parallels, e.g. an oracle [s. VI] *apud* Diod. Sic. 9.3 and Diog. Laert. 1.28 *τίς σοφῆ πάντων πρῶτος, τούτου τρίποδ' ἀδῶ*; as far as the Classical period is concerned cf. Lloyd-Jones-Wilson (1990: 48) on Soph. *Electra* 316.

⁹² This is how the phrase is cited in NTL (s.v. *τίς/τί* 1aα 7). There is a variant *τί* for *τίνα* and the 27th edition of Nestle-Aland prints: *τί ἐμὲ ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι; οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγώ*. NTL also cites Jac. 3.13, 'if it is to be punctuated τίς σοφός ἐν ὑμῖν, δεῖξάτω'.

⁹³ *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden*, vol. III (Berlin, 1903), 137 (P. 7146).

The fact that this use of *τίς* occurs in Gregory's long autobiographical poem makes it likely that it was common in later texts, since Gregory certainly wanted that poem be read and understood by as many as possible; the examples cited above also suggest that it might also have occurred in lost Hellenistic texts. However, it is worth mentioning in this context that Gregory does use very rare words. This is particularly interesting, because the use of rare words is a feature of the learned Hellenistic poets,⁹⁴ whom Gregory seems to have found particularly attractive for their reworking of old poetic language. Examples of very rare words in Gregory's verse include *παυράκις* (I.2.1.[577] 709 ~ Thgn. 859); *πρήνιξε* (II.1.13.[1231] 54 ~ Euphor. SH fr. 418. 41; *Orac.Sib.*; Opp. *H.*; Nonn.); *θηήτορα* (I.2.1.[530] 104; 8 x Nonn.) and *δυηπαθίην* (II.1.34.[1319] 176 ~ A. R. 4. 1395; GDRK 56. 48; cf. DGE, s.v.).

A specific group of significant and sometimes rare words is that of the Homeric *hapax legomena*,⁹⁵ also frequently used by Hellenistic poets; Kyriakou (1995) has examined how Apollonius Rhodius employed the Homeric *hapax legomena* 'in poetically significant ways': through his use of rare and obscure words, Apollonius makes scholarly points about their interpretation. In other cases, the adoption of a Homeric variant may suggest the poet-scholar's preferred reading in the Homeric text (see e.g. Hollis [1990: 11]). It is obvious that when it comes to rare words, or words of disputed status, the way they were used by Gregory deserves more attention. A couple of rare Homeric *hapax legomena* in Gregory will be discussed here in some detail; other examples include *Il.* 1. 236 *οὐδ' ἀναθηλήκει* ~ II.1.1.555 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *φῶς ἀναθηλήσαν*; *Od.* 3. 348 *ὥς τέ τευ ἢ παρὰ πάμπαν ἀνείμονος ἠὲ πενιχροῦ* ~ II.2.3.[1490] 144 *ἀυαλέοι, κρυεροὶ καὶ ἀνείμονες, ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα* (cf. Call. *Aet.* fr. 7.9 *ἵε ἀνείμον[ε]ς ὡς ἀπὸ κόλπου*);⁹⁶ *Il.* 13. 521 *βριήπυος ὄβριμος Ἄρης* ~ II.1.13.[1236] 116 *κῆρυξ μὲν δὴ τοῖα βριήπυος*; *Il.* 13. 382 *ἀμφὶ γάμφω, ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι ἐεδνωταὶ κακοὶ εἶμεν* ~ I.2.2.[630] 665-6 *Χριστὸν ἔχοις μορφῆς ἐρικυδέος ἐσθλὸν ἐραστήν, | Χριστὸν ἐεδνωτήν.*

⁹⁴ Hollis (1990: 13): 'the fact that a particular word or formation was rare or of disputed status in Homer makes it all the more likely to attract the attention of learned Hellenistic poets.'

⁹⁵ Lists in M. M. Kumpf, *Four Indices of the Homeric Hapax Legomena* (Alpha – Omega, Reihe A, 46), (Hildesheim-Zurich-New York, 1984).

⁹⁶ Gregory (missed by DGE, s.v. *ἀνείμων*) perhaps alludes to Callimachus. Pfeiffer does not mention Gregory this time, nor does Rengakos ('Homerische Wörter bei Kallimachos', *ZPE* 94 [1992], 38): 'Das odysseische Hapax *ἀνείμων* (γ 348) nimmt erst Kallimachos in fr. 7.9 im Sinne der Homerexegese (sch.E γ 348 *ἱματίων ἀποροῦντος* : He.a 4818 *γυμνοῦ*) wieder auf; Nonn.D. 47,281 ahmt den hellenistischen Dichter nach: *τίς Χάρην ἐχλαίνωσεν ἀνείμονα*.'

The word ἄβροτος is also found only once in Homer, at *Il.* 14. 78 νύξ ἄβροτή, ἦν καὶ τῇ ἀπόσχονται πολέμοιο ('holy': LSJ),⁹⁷ cf. e.g. 18. 267-8 νύξ ... ἀμβροσίη and *Od.* 11. 330 νύξ ἄμβροτος. Interestingly, the word occurs again only twice before Gregory: at A.(?), *PV* 2 *Σκύθην ἐς οἶμον, ἄβροτον εἰς ἐρημίαν* (v. l. ἄβατον) and *Soph.* fr. 269c. 20 *Ραδτ σκότον ἄ<β>ροτον* ('uncanny darkness': Lloyd-Jones).⁹⁸ Gregory uses ἄβροτος at *carm.* I.2.14. 35 (ed. Domiter),⁹⁹ where he describes his conception and condition in his mother's womb:

ἦν πάρος ἐν χροῖ πατρός, ἔπειτά με δέξατο μήτηρ,
 ξυνὸν δ' ἀμφοτέρων. ἔνθεν ἔπειτα κρέας
 ἄκριτον, ἄβροτον, αἰσχος ἀνείδεον, οὔτε λόγιοι, 35
 οὔτε νόου μετέχον, μητέρα τύμβον ἔχον.

Both Renehan (1975: 9) and Griffith (*Aeschylus: Prometheus Bound* [Cambridge, 1983], 82) think that the v. l. ἄβροτον at *PV* 'is supported by the entry in Hesychius (α 211) ἄβροτον· ἀπάνθρωπον, and Latte indicates that the gloss comes from 'Aesch. Prom. 2'. The interpretation of the lemma may indeed suggest *PV* 2, but interpretations in lexica were often subject to later changes or modifications, within the transmission of the lexica. This is perhaps why Renehan (*loc. cit.*) adds: 'note that the termination [of ἄβροτον at *PV* 2] is the same as in Hesychius'. However, the ending is also the same as in Gregory, whose use of the word may be recorded in other lexica: *Συναγωγή* 25 (= Phot. α 59 and Suid. α 94) ἄβροτον· ἄψυχον, ἀναίσθητον,¹⁰⁰ although the interpretation ἄψυχον, ἀναίσθητον would not be very accurate for Gregory; Paraphrase A offers εἶδος ἀνθρώπου μὴ ἔχων (version of Pc, fol. 91^v.ii.11-12, and also of D, Ri and La), Paraphrase B ἀδιάπλαστον (version of D, f. 85^r.ii.11, and Mq, f. 146^r.ii.12) and Paraphrase C οὐκ ἀνθρώπῳ προσεικόσ (version of Ma, f. 365^r.1).

The other Homeric *hapax* to be examined here is ὑπερμενέων (no verb ὑπερμενέω exists): *Od.* 19. 62 καὶ δέπα, ἔνθεν ἄρ' ἀνδρες ὑπερμενέοντες ἐπι-

⁹⁷ But DGE gives the sense 'deshabitado, solitario', following a scholion ('καθ' ἦν βροτοὶ οὐ φοιτῶσιν': [III p. 578 Erbse]). We also get: '2 ἄβροτος, -ον *inanimado, carente de sentidos* Sud.'

⁹⁸ For *Antigone* 1134, where it appears as v. l., see Lloyd-Jones-Wilson (1990: 145).

⁹⁹ It also occurs in lexicographers (Hesychius, Ps-Zonaras, Photius), Etymologica, grammarians, Eustathius and two patristic texts: Procopius, *Catena in Canticum canticorum* on 4.3 (PG 87/2.1645. 19) ὡς γὰρ τῆς ῥόας ὁ καρπὸς ὑπὸ στρυφνοῦ τε καὶ ἄβροτον τῆς ἐπιφανείας φυλάττεται; [Athanasius], *Commentarius de templo Athenarum* cod. Bodl. Roe 5 fol. 156r.4 (ed. A. von Premerstein [Athens, 1935]) ἄμφω γὰρ βροτὸς ὁμῶς καὶ ἄβροτος, ὁ αὐτὸς θεὸς ἦ καὶ ἀνήρ and also at fol. 156v.3.

¹⁰⁰ None of these lexica's editors (Cunningham, Theodoridis and Adler) was aware of Gregory's use of the word.

νον ('exceedingly mighty': LSJ, s.v. *ὑπερμενέων*).¹⁰¹ The word is not found elsewhere in Greek literature apart from Gregory's *carm.* II.1.1. 409-10 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *ὡς φάσαν· ἀμφοτέρων δὲ Θεὸς κλύε καὶ ῥ' ἔλεηρεν | ὄν μογέοντι ἔνόησεν, ὑπερμενέοντα δ' ἄτισεν*. Gregory uses the word to describe the Pharisee (in the parable of the tax collector) and *ὑπερμενέοντα* corresponds to *ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτόν* of the Gospel (Luke 18. 14) or *ὑπερηφάνοις* (at Prov. 3. 34); cf. Lex. vers. 328 *ὑπερμενέοντα δ' ἄτισεν· τὸν ὑπερήφανον ἄτιμον ἀπεπέμψατο*. There is no doubt that this was the way Gregory understood the word in *Od.* 19. 62, where it actually qualifies the suitors, who have been offensive and brutal. Indeed, it seems that this semantic nuance of excessive self-confidence or arrogance gives better sense than the meaning suggested by R. Rutherford (*Homer Odyssey: Books XIX and XX* [Cambridge, 1992], 140): "powerful", "mighty", without necessarily implying excessive use of power (the traditional English rendering "overweening" exaggerates this).

Before discussing Gregory's metre, brief mention should be made here of a distinct feature of Gregory's style. Even the less attentive reader of his poetry will notice frequent repetitions of words or phrases, usually at the same metrical *sedes*. In a few cases, we even get one or two lines repeated. I have often felt that repeated words or phrases express a leading idea or motif in his poetry, and I would like to examine this in more detail in the future. The repetition of important ideas or trains of thought would serve his educational or advisory purposes. But in other cases, repetitions of the same formulas may indicate that he was writing very quickly. His huge corpus may also suggest that perhaps he could not always recall in detail the use of the same phrase in other poems. Examples of various kinds of repetition are offered in my commentary.

The fact that 'he often repeats himself' is sometimes considered to be one of his peculiarities,¹⁰² and frequent repetition certainly does not appeal to modern taste. It is important, however, to consider this phenomenon in the context of Late Antiquity. Quintus of Smyrna has been criticized for repetitions that, according to Campbell, simply follow the Homeric style.¹⁰³ In 1873 Ludwich observed of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*: 'no textual corruption is more common in Nonnos than the improper repetition of a word or word root.' But he added: 'Nevertheless, text criticism must proceed with great caution in this area, because it is certain than Nonnos often intended a definite subtlety with such repetitions. A basic investigation of this subject

¹⁰¹ Cf. also *ὑπερμενής, ἐς* ('exceedingly mighty'), epithet of Zeus at, e.g., *Il.* 2. 116 and 350, but also used with *βασιλῆς* (*Il.* 8. 236) and *ἐπίκουροι* (*Il.* 17. 362).

¹⁰² Demoen (1993: 236, n. 5).

¹⁰³ See M. Campbell, *A Commentary on Quintus Smyrnaeus: Posthomeric XII* (Mnemosyne Supplementum, 71 [Leiden, 1981]), 175 (on 521-2).

would not be barren.¹⁰⁴ The attitude towards repetition in Late Antiquity might then have been different from that of today; indeed, the following piece of information is suggestive: ‘the reader of the letters of Synesius will soon perceive that Synesius tends, with surprising frequency, to repeat combinations of words and phrases which he has used elsewhere, both in letters and in occasional speeches.’¹⁰⁵ Although the case of letters which perhaps were never meant to be gathered together is different, it may still be used to elucidate this phenomenon in general; it is significant, for example, that a group of his repetitions suggests that Synesius ‘is clearly indulging in the practice of using a prepared statement for more than one purpose’.

One final point could be made in the framework of Gregory’s repetitions. In *AP* 8.188. 1, Gregory has copied a line from Callimachus up to the bucolic diaeresis (*ep.* 2.1.1 Pfeiffer):

ὄστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα, ἴσθι με ταῦτα¹⁰⁶

In another case, he felt free to copy the whole of *Od.* 4. 221 *νηπενθέε τ’ ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἀπάντων* (= *carmin.* II.2.5.[1356] 202) and elsewhere he copies shorter Homeric phrases. Critics of his poetry may be quick to raise eyebrows, but there is an important earlier parallel, coming from a Hellenistic authority, which perhaps has not received enough attention; in Hollis’ (1990: 12) words, ‘[fr. 74] line 22 contains a phenomenon unique in Callimachus, indicating that his *Hecale* approaches Homer much more closely than do the hexameter *Hymns*: he has employed a Homeric hexameter as far as the bucolic diaeresis, *καδδραθέτην δ’ οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον* (= *Od.* 15.494).’ The rest of Callimachus’ line is *αἴψα γὰρ ἦλθεν*, taken from *Od.* 12. 407. But ‘approaches Homer much more closely’ is not enough to explain this kind of borrowing when it occurs in Callimachus! The fact that in the small percentage of Callimachus’ poetry that survives there is even one case of this kind, not only suggests that there were perhaps more to be found in his poetry, but, more importantly, proves that Callimachus was not opposed as a matter of principle to borrowing of this kind. Thus the copying of almost an entire Homeric line was approved by the learned poet whose style for centuries ‘was still the paradigm directly opposed to hexa-

¹⁰⁴ A. Ludwich, *Beiträge zur Kritik des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Königsberg, 1873), 82. I have taken this reference (and the translation) from R. Schmiel, ‘Repetition in Nonnos’ *Dionysiaca*’, *Philologus* 142 (1998) 326-34, at 326. Schmiel examines some types of repetition and concludes that ‘it is used for its own sake, one aspect of Nonnos’ highly wrought and artificial style, but it is also used specifically to heighten the effect of pathetic, dramatic, or erotically charged passages.’

¹⁰⁵ D. T. Runia, ‘Repetitions in the Letters of Synesius’, *Antichthon* 13 (1979), 103-11.

¹⁰⁶ This particular borrowing suggested to Hollis (‘Callimachus, Epigram 9 G.-P. = 44 Pf. = Anth. Pal. 12,139’, *ZPE* 123 [1998], 73-4) that Gregory’s phrase *οὗτος ὁ βρῖσαύχη* (I.2.14. 101 [ed. Domiter]) could be the text in Callimachus’ *epigr.* 9. 6 Pfeiffer: *οὗτος ὁ ἑσειργάνηστ*.

metric versification based on formulaic repetition' (Fantuzzi-Hunter [2004: 248]); and there must be no doubt that the Homeric line repeated in Callimachus' context was received well by his demanding audience.

Metre

According to West (1982: 164), Gregory's poetry belongs to the type of 'verse in which the poet appears to have a definite quantitative scheme in view, but offends against it, particularly by treating an accented short syllable as long or an unaccented long as short'. False quantities are a feature of Gregory's verse which causes surprise to many scholars, but Alan Cameron (2004: 338-9) is certainly right in making the following remarks:

it is true that he must have written very fast, and sheer carelessness is certainly possible. Yet given the fact that in everything but prosody Gregory shows considerable technical competence, his 'false' quantities (a characterization that reveals our own classicizing perspective) are not really likely to be the result of ignorance. The explanation of this paradox is surely that he deliberately ignored classical quantities when it suited him. [...] Within the parameters of his classicizing, Gregory was (I suggest) making a half-hearted attempt to come to terms with the pronunciation of his own day, anticipating the Byzantine doctrine of dichrona.

Indeed this is in line with Maas' (1962: 14) attempt to explain the phenomenon of false quantities:

1. 'The earliest false quantities in the verse of educated writers occur in the works of Methodius of Patara, Areius and Gregory Nazianzen, all Christians who did not expect their public to have an ear for rhythms belonging to the heathen past.'

2. Although Nonnus in his *Dionysiaca* achieves almost perfect correctness in his quantities, 'in his paraphrase of St. John's Gospel the subject-matter forces him to commit several false quantities (e.g. *Νικόδημος* and also *κρίσιος*, for which there is no excuse).'

It is also important to add that Nonnus is not free from stress-accent rules and concerns in a world which had long lost all feeling of quantity; the question is how he was read. Scholars have rightly wondered whether his verses were read with respect for his quantitative pattern or 'as prose, with the impression of metre maintained by some degree of accent-regulation at the caesura and the line-end'.¹⁰⁷

M. Sicherl's section on Gregory's metrical practice in Oberhaus' edition of I.2.25 (1991: 26-36) is a first step towards a complete and reliable account

¹⁰⁷ M. Jeffreys, 'Byzantine Metrics: Non-Literary Strata', *JÖByz* 31.1 (1981), 313-34, esp. 315-19. Cf. Lauxtermann (1999: 71-3) and the substantial earlier discussion by A. Wifstrand in his valuable study *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos* (Lund, 1933).

of Gregory's prosody. There are several 'long' syllables with a short vowel, almost always before *v*, *c* and *ρ*,¹⁰⁸ although some cases are not certain; in this respect Gregory imitates a Homeric licence which is not absent from Hellenistic poets.¹⁰⁹ Examples of Gregory's scanning of *dichrona* according to need: *σταθμᾶ* is scanned – ◡ at I.2.2.[610] 409 and II.2.1.[1467] 219, but – at I.2.17. 35; the second syllable of *ἔκλυτος* is short at I.2.10. 836 (ed. Crimi) and II.1.11. 28 (ed. Tuilier-Bady), but the second syllable of *ἄλυτος* is long at I.2.31.[911] 10; I.2.34.[955] 135; 2.1.11. 1301 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) and II.1.12. 466 (ed. Meier).¹¹⁰ But some cases of false quantities should be treated with caution: at I.1.4. 97 *αὐτὰρ ὃ γε θνητοῖσι πάγη θνητός, ἦνικ' ἔμελλε*, Moreschini prints *θνητός* and Sykes (in Moreschini [1997: 172]) does not discuss L's *βροτός*;¹¹¹ however, a case like this one would hardly be allowed with no serious reason, and the *polyptoton* *θνητοῖσι ... θνητός* might not have been a sufficiently strong reason for Gregory: cf. I.1.8. 74-5 (ed. Moreschini) *ἐκ δὲ χοός πνοιῆς τε πάγην βροτός ἀθανάτοιο | εἰκῶν*.¹¹² In II.1.34.[1312-3] 70 and II.1.55.[1400] 10 *τῷ πᾶν ὑποτρομέει*, the false quantity in *πᾶν* may be significant, if it is understood as a deliberate device to reinforce the sense (see p. 36).

Additional valuable material on Gregory's hexameter was collected and analysed by Agosti-Gonnelli (1995). Their study included more Christian poets and confirmed Gregory's 'self-consciousness' regarding his place in the metrical tradition, although his verse is still not without peculiarities; however, it is important to stress that the critical edition of the poems is likely to reduce the current number of irregularities: II.1.1. 82 (ed. Tuilier-Bady), for example, no longer offends against Hermann's Bridge (see p. 139). Gonnelli concludes that 'considerato il suo esametro, ci sembra innanzitutto da limitare alquanto l'idea che egli sia poeta *neglegentissimus in rebus metricis*, soprattutto se lo si confronta con Doroteo, gli *Oracoli Sibillini* ed Eudocia' (p. 407). Regarding its peculiarities, Gonnelli makes a very interesting point, explaining also the similarities which he noticed between Gregory's hexameter and that of ps-Oppian's *Cynegetica*: Gregory is the only one of the early Christian poets he examined who was also a prose writer and a prominent rhetor. He may thus possess 'la libertà di uno smal-

¹⁰⁸ Sicherl in Oberhaus' edition of *carm.* I.2.25 (1991: 29-30). The lengthening does not happen only with short closed final syllables before initial vowels, but with internal vowels as well. Examples in my poems are: I.2.17. 11 *τυτθὸν ὑποείξας |* and 27 *αἰὲν ἀκόρετος ἐδωδῆς |*.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. e.g. Theoc. *Id.* 17. 72 *ἀπὸ νεφέων* (cf. R. Hunter, *Theocritus: Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 2003), 70); Call. *Del.* 83 *ἦ ῥ' ἐτέον ἐγένοντο*. For more examples from Callimachus see Mineur (1984: 42-3); for Homer see West (1982: 38).

¹¹⁰ Cf. also Crimi (1972).

¹¹¹ *θνητός* at I.1.4. 97 could have easily been a mistake due to the earlier *θνητοῖσι*.

¹¹² Similarly one is tempted to write *αἰεὶ* for *αἰὲν* at *carm.* I.2.17. 27 (see my note).

iziato retore-poeta [...]: ed è una libertà tanto metrico-prosodica quanto linguistica e stilistica'.¹¹³ Significantly, the *Cynegetica* was known to Gregory and its style is overtly rhetorical;¹¹⁴ and while ignoring the Alexandrian metrical refinements, Ps.-Oppian clearly imitates (as does Gregory) Callimachus and Theocritus and draws on Euphorion (see Whitby 2007: 126).

In the case of the hemiamb and the anacreontic metre, Gregory actually plays an active role in their development: 'The hemiambs of Gregory of Nazianzus (2.1.88) show the start of a tendency to avoid proparoxytone endings, also seen in the later Anacreontea. In the sixth-century poem *εἰς τὰ ἐν Πυθλοῖοις θερμᾶ* (*App. Anth.* 4. 75 Cougny) 179 lines out of 190 end paroxytone' (West [1982: 167]).¹¹⁵ Regarding the Byzantine anacreontic, 'stress regulation on the seventh syllable starts in the fourth century: Gregory of Nazianzos c. 80% and Synesios c. 70%. By the sixth century it has become a strict rule: John of Gaza 93% and George the Grammarian 98%' (Lauxtermann [1999: 77, n. 176]).¹¹⁶

The metre of the poems edited in this book is hexameter or elegiac couplets. According to Agosti-Gonnelli (1995), Gregory's favourite patterns of hexameters are dddd (31.69 %) and sddd (19.20%); other sequences which Gregory favours to a lesser extent are dsddd (15.22%) and ddsd (8.50%); *προνδειάζοντες*: 1.44%. Every line has a masculine or feminine caesura in the third foot. The feminine caesura predominates by a wide margin (78.82%). A masculine or feminine caesura will be coupled with a bucolic diaeresis in 72.3% and 63.75% of cases respectively; considered separately, the total figure for bucolic diaeresis is 65.52%. The statistics indicate clearly that first foot spondee and bucolic caesura are regular features of Gregory's style and Mary Whitby wonders if these pronounced rhythms might be Gregory's personal technique for marking a strong beginning and end to the hexameter line, as against the regulation of word accent at line-end and caesura refined by Nonnus.¹¹⁷ As far as the pentameter is concerned, 'in the third and fourth centuries a surprising freedom develops with regard to hiatus or *bre-*

¹¹³ According to M. Carpenter ('The Paper that Romanos Swallowed', *Speculum* 7 [1932], 3-22, at 22) 'the line dividing the homily and hymn was so slight in Gregory of Nazianz that he was said to be an orator in his poems and a poet in his orations, whereas the differentiation between the two literary forms was never even attempted in Syriac literature.'

¹¹⁴ For examples of ps.-Oppian's rhetorical techniques see Whitby (2007: 128-9).

¹¹⁵ The poem *εἰς τὰ ἐν Πυθλοῖοις θερμᾶ* was in fact written in the early tenth century by Leo Choiosphaktes (died after 919); cf. Lauxtermann (1999: 44) and Vassis (2002: 12-13).

¹¹⁶ Cf. C. Crimi, 'Le anacreontee di Gregorio Nazianzeno: tra metrica e tradizione manoscritta', in F. Conca (ed.), *Byzantina Mediolanensia: V Congresso Nazionale di Studi Bizantini* (Soveria Mannelli, 1996), 117-25.

¹¹⁷ M. Whitby, "Sugaring the pill": Gregory of Nazianzus' advice to Olympias (*Carm.* 2.2.6), a paper presented at a conference on late Greek hexameter poetry at Cambridge (19-21 April 2007); the papers of the conference will appear as a special volume of *Ramus* ('Signs of Life? Studies in Later Greek Poetry') in 2009, edited by K. Carvounis and R. Hunter.

vis in longo at the caesura of the pentameter. There are many examples in Gregory, three in Palladas, four in Lucianus, three in the fourteen-line pentameter poem of Heliodoros, and dozens in the inscribed epitaphs of these centuries' (West [1982: 181]).

An intriguing question that arises is whether Gregory is the author of *carm.* I.1.32 and I.2.3, which are written in a verse where only accents, not quantities, are regulated. Most scholars believe that these poems are not the work of Gregory, but they also agree that in any case they cannot be later than the first half of the fifth century.¹¹⁸ However, Lauxtermann (1999: 60-1, 80, 83-5) does not share their views and argues further that these two hymns, together with the hymns of the Greek Ephraem, are 'the earliest instances of Byzantine accentual poetry'. In any case, Gregory certainly opens the way for the Byzantine dodecasyllable, when he scans *dichrona* arbitrarily and, especially, when he reduces the frequency of the resolved feet in iambs, obviously because 'in an age when people no longer heard the classical quantities, resolved feet obscured the simplicity of the iambic rhythm, and more than one per line destroyed it' (Cameron [2004: 338]).

2. Gregory's Poetry in Byzantium

2.1 Reputation and Influence

Gregory's authority was already very high soon after his death. As early as 399/400 Rufinus translated nine of Gregory's orations into Latin;¹¹⁹ in his preface, Rufinus describes Gregory as 'virum per omnia incomparabilem, qui verbo et operibus clarus splendidissimum lumen scientiae Christi ecclesiis praebuit'. Translations of his orations into Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Georgian, Slavonic and Ethiopian also exist, and some go back to the fifth century.¹²⁰ A papyrus fragment of *or.* 28 has been discovered (P.

¹¹⁸ See Mitsakis (1971: 131-6) and cf. Werhahn (1966: 343-4).

¹¹⁹ *Tyrannii Rufini Orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni Novem Interpretatio. Iohannis Wrobelii copii usus edidit et prolegomena indicesque adiecit Augustus Engelbrecht* [Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 46] (Vienna, 1910). Cf. F. X. Murphy, 'Rufinus of Aquileia and Gregory the Theologian', *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 39 (1994), 181-6 and Berschin (1988: 46). For a later Latin translation of *or.* 45 and 19, *ep.* 102 and 101 and *carm.* I.2.3 see C. Moreschini, 'Rufino Traduttore di Gregorio Nazianzeno', in *Rufino di Concordia e il suo tempo* (vol. I [Antichità altoadriatiche, 31], Udine, 1987), 227-85, at 241-85.

¹²⁰ These texts are now edited and studied at the Centre for the Study of Gregory of Nazianzus in the Université catholique de Louvain. For more information see <<http://nazianzos.fltr.ucl.ac.be/>>, accessed 6 March 2008.

Vindob. Gr. 29407; '5. Jh.'; 'Herkunft unbekannt'),¹²¹ while Gregory's letters 80 and 90 are surprisingly found in the binion of P. Vindob. Gr. 29788 A-C (s. V/VI), containing hexameter poems attributed by some scholars to Pamprepus of Panopolis.¹²² As far as the poems are concerned, Syriac translations of several of Gregory's poems have been found, the oldest of which is dated to the sixth or seventh century (see p. 90). Other early traces of the poems' lives will be discussed later in this chapter.

In later Byzantine times Gregory was 'worshipped', but the Byzantines' obsession with him is yet to be the subject of a systematic study. The number of panegyrics composed in praise of Gregory is large and the choir of encomiasts includes some of the most eminent Byzantine scholars, such as Michael Psellos¹²³ and Theodore Metochites.¹²⁴ A considerable amount of material related to Gregory's reception and reputation has been collected by Sajdak (1914), but there are certainly more cases to be found. A few indications of Gregory's immense prestige are briefly mentioned here. In more than one case, he was 'declared the supreme source of stylistic inspiration'.¹²⁵ In innumerable cases the reader of Byzantine texts of any kind comes across references to Gregory which either explicitly or implicitly reveal an utter respect and admiration for the saint usually referred to only as 'ὁ θεολόγος'.¹²⁶ Some of the most splendidly executed and richly illuminated Byzantine manuscripts contain Gregory's homilies,¹²⁷ which are

¹²¹ K. Treu-J. Diethart, *Griechische literarische Papyri christlichen Inhaltes* [Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, NS 17] (vol. II, Wien, 1993), 24-5 (with plates).

¹²² See H. Livrea (ed.), *Pamprepis Panopolitani Carmina* (P. Vindob. Gr. 29788 A-C), Leipzig 1979 and GDRK 35 (with plates E-K). Cf. R. C. McCail, 'P. Vindob. Gr. 29788C. Hexameter Encomium on an Un-named Emperor', *JHS* 98 (1978), 38-63, and J. Henner-H. Förster-U. Horak (eds.), *Christliches mit Feder und Faden: Christliches in Texten, Textilien und Alltagsgegenständen aus Ägypten: Katalog zur Sonderausstellung im Papyrusmuseum der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek aus Anlass des 14. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* (Wien, 1999), 33-4 (no. 26).

¹²³ See Wilson (1996: 168-72) and cf. Th. M. Conley, 'Byzantine Criticism and the Uses of Literature', in A. Minnis-I. Johnson, *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism* (vol. II: The Middle Ages, Cambridge, 2005), 669-92, at 679-80.

¹²⁴ See Ševčenko (1996).

¹²⁵ I. Ševčenko (1981: 300), mentioning the cases of Psellos and Sikeliotis. For the latter see Th. M. Conley, 'Demosthenes Dethroned: Gregory Nazianzus in Sikeliotis' Scholia on Hermogenes' *Περὶ ἰδεῶν*', *ICS* 27-8 (2002-3), 145-52.

¹²⁶ In one case, in the Life of Michael the Synkellos, a short quotation from Gregory is followed by 'θεολογικῶς εἰπεῖν' (p. 80.7 Cunningham): see C. Crimi, 'Nazianzenica XI. Citazioni e allusioni gregoriane in testi bizantini', in *Ad Contemplandam Sapientiam: Studi di Filologia, Letteratura, Storia in memoria di Sandro Leanza* (Soveria Mannelli, 2004), 179-85, where more cases are discussed.

¹²⁷ See ODB, s.v. Gregory of Nazianzus ('Illustration of the Homilies of Gregory') and s.v. Paris Gregory, for which see also L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge, 1999).

transmitted in more than 1500 manuscripts dated before AD 1500. Constantine the Philosopher (826/7-869), later missionary to the Slavs, reputedly memorized the works of Gregory as a youth.¹²⁸ And when the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos transferred the relics of Gregory to Constantinople, he pronounced a panegyric in which he ‘saw’ Gregory returning to the patriarchal see and becoming a defender and supporter of his kingship (‘καὶ ἐὲ τῆς βασιλείας ὑπερασπιστὴν καὶ ἐπικουρον προβάλλομαι’)!¹²⁹ In an extreme case, a one-and-a-half-page letter written in the twelfth century by Iakovos the Monk contains no less than thirty phrases copied from Gregory’s letters!¹³⁰

Gregory was also well known in the Latin West. Apart from Rufinus’ translations (already mentioned), it is suggestive that in a letter of about 600, written by Bishop Licinianus of Cartagena to Pope Gregory the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus is the only eastern father who joins Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose and Augustine as being ‘the holy ancient Fathers, the teachers and defenders of the Church’.¹³¹ Moreover, the only work of Gregory of Nyssa which was translated into Latin (*Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου*) was attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus: Gregory of Nyssa ‘was almost unknown in the Latin Middle Ages’.¹³² Two particularly interesting cases come from Norman Sicily; the court of the Norman king of Sicily William I (1154-66), son of King Roger II (1130-54), included Eugenius of Palermo (*ca.* 1130-*ca.* 1203), who translated Ptolemy’s works from Arabic into Latin and the *Sibylline Oracles* from Greek, and Henricus Aristippus (fl. 1156-62), translator of Plato’s *Phaedo* and *Meno*, and of Book IV of Aristotle’s *Meteorologica*.¹³³ Eugenius, whose native language was Greek, also wrote poetry, undoubtedly influenced by Gregory’s *Carmina*.¹³⁴ In his prologue to the Latin translation of Plato’s *Meno*, Aristippus reveals that in order to translate *Meno*, he put aside some great tasks, among them a translation of Gregory’s ‘opuscula’ requested by King William I: ‘In quo te quantis pretulerim precibus, te

¹²⁸ Fr. Dvornik, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (2nd edn., Hattiesburg, Miss., 1969), 25.

¹²⁹ See B. Flusin, ‘L’empereur et le Théologien: À propos du retour des reliques de Grégoire de Nazianze (BHG 728)’, in Ševčenko-Hutter (1998: 137-153, at 141 and 143). Flusin identifies the author of this anonymous panegyric with Constantine VII from some information in the epilogue of this text, found only in the version of Mosquensis 162. Cf. G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (translated by J. Birrell), (Cambridge, 2003), 218.

¹³⁰ M. J. Jeffreys, ‘Iakovos Monachos, Letter 3’, in Moffatt (1984: 241-57).

¹³¹ B. M. Kaczynski, ‘The Authority of the Fathers: Patristic Texts in Early Medieval Libraries and Scriptoria’, *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006), 1-27, at 2.

¹³² Berschin (1988: 83).

¹³³ Cf. Berschin (1988: 232-5).

¹³⁴ M. Gigante (ed.), *Eugenii Panormitani: Versus iambici edidit, italice reddidit, commentario instruxit Marcellus Gigante* [Testi e monumenti. Testi, 10], (Palermo, 1964), 23. Cf. Hunger (1978: II 161).

latere nolim. Iussu namque domini mei, gloriosissimi Siculorum regis Guilelmi, Gregorii Nazanzeni [sic] opuscula translaturus eram, qui eodem numero quo et Atheniensis Plato dictavit sermones'.¹³⁵ Writing about the creation of the angels, Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274) confesses that one must not reject out of hand the opinion of Gregory of Nazianzus, who enjoys such great authority that no one has ever slandered him.¹³⁶

Let us return to the East, where in literary and educational spheres Gregory was the only Christian writer to be regarded as a literary model equal to, or even higher than, the classical authors,¹³⁷ and several of his orations were given a place in the school curriculum (Wilson [1996: 23, 248]). But the history of the poems' text has not yet been studied in a systematic way and the paraphrases of the poems are relatively unknown. The evidence suggests that 'Gregory's poems were also very widely read' (Wilson [1996: 23]), and there is a strong case that they were also used in schools, as will be argued in the next chapter.

We can now make an attempt to trace early knowledge of the poems, although a full investigation of this matter is beyond the scope of this introductory chapter. Nonnus from Panopolis in Egypt (fl. 444-50), the poet of *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel*, borrowed phrases and words (mainly adjectives) from Gregory's poems.¹³⁸ If the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* attributed to Apollinaris of Laodicea is later than Gregory's poems, its author would also be one of the earliest imitators of Gregory's verse.

¹³⁵ *Plato Latinus*, edidit Raymundus Klibansky, vol. I.: *Meno, interprete Henrico Aristippo*, edidit Victor Kordeuter, *recognovit et praefatione instruxit Carlotta Labowsky* (London, 1940), 6.12-14.

¹³⁶ L. J. Elders, 'Thomas Aquinas and the Fathers of the Church', in Backus (1997: I 337-66, at 340); he refers to I 61, 3 of the Leonine edition.

¹³⁷ Hunger (1978: I 85): 'Gregor von Nazianz, der "christliche Demosthenes", stand für die Byzantiner über seinem "Vorbild" und über allen antiken Rednern.' Hunger refers to Sikeliotes (Walz VI 75.5ff.; 341.12); at Walz VI 75.5-6 Sikeliotes says that Gregory 'οὐ μόνον Δημοσθένην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας ὑπερεβάλετο'. Cf. Wilson (1996: 26).

¹³⁸ See, e.g., D'Ippolito (1994); Ludwich (1887) and his *Praefatio* (esp. p. ix) in vol. I of his Teubner edition of the *Dionysiaca* (Leipzig, 1909); J. Golega, 'Zum Text der Johannesmetabole des Nonnos', *BZ* 59 (1966), 9-36, at 9-11, and Agosti (2003: 159, 454). S. Fornaro's statement in Brill's *New Pauly* ([vol. IX, Leiden-Boston, 2006], 813) that Nonnus' literary references go up to and including Triphiodorus (3rd or early 4th cent. AD) is mistaken. For similarities that I noticed see my notes on II.1.19. 56 πνεύματος αἴγλην; 65 βοηθῶον; 90 μούνοσ ἐγώ and II.1.32. 8 καθύπερθεν ἀερθεῖσ. It is worth noting that in the past some scholars have found it difficult to accept that Nonnus could have imitated Gregory's verse; e.g. P. Collart, *Nonnos de Panopolis: Études sur la composition et le texte des Dionysiaques* (Cairo, 1930), 10: 'Déjà aux yeux de Naeke il n'était pas vraisemblable que Nonnos, lecteur infatigable de la vieille littérature grecque, eût imité Grégoire; on peut ajouter: lui païen, un chrétien' (for Naeke's remarks see his *Opuscula Philologica* (ed. by Fr. Th. Welcker), vol. I (Bonn, 1842), 236-50, esp. 240). Following the same line of thought, Cataudella (1934) argued that Nonnus predates Gregory, so that the latter becomes the imitator and not the source (cf. Q. Cataudella, 'Spunti e motivi cristiani nella poesia pagana antica', *VChr* 29 (1975), 161-90, at 168).

But the case is still unresolved; there seems to be a good number of clear borrowings which show a direct relationship between the texts, but the dating of the *Metaphrasis Psalorum* is uncertain. Golega (1960: 83-92) favours the idea that Gregory is the earlier author, but he offers no conclusive evidence; he also rules out the authorship of Apollinaris.¹³⁹ The case of *carm.* I.1.3. 1 (ed. Moreschini) *θυμέ, τί δηθύνεις; καὶ Πνεύματος εὐχος ἄειδε* (with Sykes' note) may indeed be suggestive: *θυμέ, τί δηθύνεις* occurs just once in Gregory and four times in the *Metaphrasis*, but without any real point in the latter.¹⁴⁰ Although this may suggest that the author of the *Metaphrasis* does borrow the phrase and use it as a formula, we should keep in mind that in rewriting the Psalms in hexameters he might well employ such formulas for metrical reasons, even if they did not exactly paraphrase something from the text of the Psalms. One of the cases cited by Golega (p. 89) becomes more interesting in the light of a recent publication: Ps. 44. 21 *ὅτι ἐπεθύμησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ κάλλους σου* is versified as follows: *οὐνεκά **κευ** γεραρῆς βασιλεὺς ἠράσκατο μορφῆς*. Golega relates this to *carm.* II.2.3.[1484] *52 μορφῆς μὲν τις ἔης ποτ' ἔράσκατο*; cf. also I.2.29.[895] *155 καὶ μορφῆς τις ἔης ποτ' ἔράσκατο* (in both cases of Narcissus). In POxy 4711 ('Elegy: Metamorphoses?'), published in 2005, we read (→ fr. 1. 11) *μ]ορφῆς ἠράσκατο **σφετέρης*** (again of Narcissus). Gregory is likely to have known this text¹⁴¹ and the same applies to the author of the *Metaphrasis Psalorum*, who is undoubtedly borrowing a phrase here too, as *μορφῆ* is not a precise translation for *κάλλος*. An earlier source, now lost, could have supplied *θυμέ, τί δηθύνεις* to both Gregory and the *Metaphrasis Psalorum*.¹⁴²

An epigram-invocation of the Trinity to protect a newly built house, found in the Syrian city of Apameia on the Orontes and dated 'au plus tôt au deuxième quart du VI^e siècle' (Feissel [1998: 119]), reads as follows:¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Golega (1960: 5-24). Golega concludes that the *Metaphrasis* was not written until the second half of the fifth century. But F. Gonnelli ('Parole "callimachee" nella parafrasi del Salterio', *SIFC* 81 (1988), 91-104, at 91, n. 4) thinks that the *Metaphrasis* predates Nonnus. In addition, A. Persic ('La *Metaphrasis Psalorum*, provvisoriamente adespota, e Apollinare di Laodicea: definitivamente escluso qualunque rapporto?', *ASR* 3 (1998), 193-217) compares the *Metaphrasis* with several fragments of the *Comments on the Psalms* by Apollinaris from Laodicea and argues that there are several meaningful exegetic and linguistic coincidences between the two texts; however, I have not found these coincidences significant.

¹⁴⁰ In three cases, *ἵνα τί περίλυπος εἶ, ψυχῇ, καὶ ἵνα τί συνταράσσεις με;* (Pss. 41.6, 12; 42.5) is rendered as *θυμέ, τί δηθύνεις; τί δέ μοι νόον ἔνδον ὀρίνεις;* In the fourth, *ἐπίτρεψον, ἡ ψυχῇ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου* (Ps. 114.7) is versified as *θυμέ, τί δηθύνεις μετὰ σὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἰκέσθαι;* Cf. Golega (1960: 84) and Sykes (in Moreschini 1997: 116).

¹⁴¹ Cf. Hutchinson (2006: 71, with n. 2).

¹⁴² More work needs to be done on the *Metaphrasis Psalorum* and the projected new edition and study by Dr Andrew Faulkner (University of Waterloo) is most welcome.

¹⁴³ I print Feissel's text and his apparatus for the first word of v. 11; the same inscription is edited as *epigr.* M-S 20/05/06 and 1847-8 in SEG 48; both print [*εὐ*]διον at v. 11.

Ἡ Τριάς, ὁ Θεός, πόρρ|ω διώκοι τὸν Φθόνον.
 † Εἰκὸν ἐπουρανίῳ Θε|οῦ, Λόγε, μειλίχιον φῶς,
 ὃς Χριστὸς τελέθεις, ὃς | ἐδείμαο κόσμον ἀλήτην,
 ὄλβον ἐμοὶ προῖαλλε, τ|εὴν χάριν ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ.
 Χριστὸς αἰεζῶων λυς|[ι]πήμονα χεῖρα κομίζει, 5
 τοῦνεκεν οὐ τρομέο|[ι]μι κακορρέκτοιο μενοινὰς
 δαίμονος, οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς σ|τυγερόν καὶ ἀθέσμιον ὄμμα.
 Νεῦμασιν ὃς μούνοισι θε|μεῖλια πήξαο γαίης
 ῥίζας τ' οὐρανίας καὶ ἀτρυ|[γ]έτοιο θαλάσσης,
 τόνδε δόμον, λίτομαί σε, | [κ]αὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ὀπάζοις 10
 [εὔ]διον ἀτυφέλικτον, | [ἀ]οίδιμον αἰὲν ὀράσθαι.

11 au début [χῶ](ρ)ιον Prentice; [χῶ]<ρ>ιον Mouterde; “un adjectif ... en -λιος ou -διος” Robert; [αῦ]λιον Merkelbach; [εὔ]διον Fournet

Feissel translates [εὔ]διον as ‘sereine’, while Merkelbach-Stauber offer for [εὔ]διον ἀτυφέλικτον: ‘als eine unerschütterliche Stätte guten Wetters’. But it is fairly clear at first sight that the word cannot be easily used in our context. εὔδιος (‘calm, fine, clear’: LSJ, s.v.) is used of air, weather or sea, and it can also be used metaphorically of a person’s life (‘peaceful’) or face (M. Ant. 6.30. 2 τὸ εὔδιον τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τὸ μειλίχιον). But more importantly, the corrupt word ought rather to describe the condition of the house as a building to be passed to future generations (10 [κ]αὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ὀπάζοις).

Scholars have noticed that the author of these verses knows the poetry of Nonnus, the only other text where *κόσμος ἀλήτης* (v. 3) occurs (*Par.Eu.Io.* 3. 80, 9. 176 *κόσμον ἀλήτην* |; *Par.Eu.Io.* 14. 105; *D.* 1. 399, 32. 54 *κόσμος ἀλήτης* |). Other texts known to the author perhaps include *AP* 1.29. 2 and 4 [Anon.] *Χριστέ, τεὴν προῖαλλε χάριν καμάτοισιν ἐμεῖο* and *Χριστέ, κύ μοι προῖαλλε τεὴν πολὺὸλβον ἀρωγὴν* (~ v. 4); *Eudoc. Cyr.* 1. 89-90 τῶ νῦν μὴ ποτε σὴν δμῶν δαμάσῃς ὑπὸ χεῖρα | ἀντιβίου, *στυγεροῖο, ἀθεσμίου, ἀντιθέοιο* (~ v. 7). *λυσιπήμων* (v. 5) occurs elsewhere only in two *Orphic Hymns* 2. 11 (ed. Quandt) ἐν γὰρ σοὶ τοκετῶν λυσιπήμονές εἰσιν ἀνῖαι; 59. 20 ἐρχόμεναι μύσταϊς λυσιπήμονες εὔφρονι βουλήμῃ and in *Carmina Anacreontea* 50. 10 (ed. West) *λυσιπήμων τότε Βάκχος*, while *κακορρέκτης δαίμων* (v. 6) is found in earlier poetry at *A.R.* 3. 555, and *Eudoc. Cyr.* 2. 374 *κακορρέκτης δαίμων*.

But the last two lines suggest that the composer of these verses might also have known the poetry of Gregory. For v. 10 cf. *carm.* I.2.15.[774] 109 *Χριστὲ ἀναξ, λίτομαί σε, κακῶν ἄκος ἀντίκ' ὀπάζοις* and for v. 11 cf. II.2.6. 11 (ed. Bacci) *ἔμπεδον, ἀτυφέλικτον, ἀοίδιμον εὔχος ἐχούσῃ* and also: II.2.4. 125 (ed. Moroni) *ἔμπεδον, ἀτυφέλικτον, ἀγήραον, ἄτροπον, ἐσθλόν*; II.1.1. 568 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *ἔμπεδον, ἀτυφέλικτον, ἀρείονά τ' εὐσεβέεσσιν*; II.1.18. [1263] 13 *ἔμπεδον, ἀτυφέλικτον, ἀπενθέα*; I.2.14.[759] 45 *Domiter συμφύες, ἀτυφέλικτον, ἀγήραον*. For similar phrases cf. also GDRK 16 (*fragmentum*

epicum verso, v. 14) **ἔμπεδος** [...]...νη[.]·i[...].α[.] **ἄς[τυφ]ἔλικτος**; Didymus Caecus (?), *De trinitate* (M. 39. 888) *φασὶν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἑλληνῶν δόκιμοι ἄθνατος δὲ Θεὸς παννύπερτατος αἰθέρι ναίων, | ἄφθιτος, ἄστυφέλικτος, αἰδῖος, αἰὲν ὁμοῖος*; Nonn. *D.* 45. 330 *καὶ δόμος ἄστυφέλικτος*.

ἔμπεδον ('steadfast') is indeed what one would expect to find in v. 11 of the inscription. All three adjectives could have been copied from Gregory's *carm.* II.2.6. 11, but there are several other cases of *ἔμπεδον* followed by *ἄστυφέλικτον*. However, the stone (in the photo published by Feissel [1998], plate XXVI, 1) seems indeed to have an ending in -ION and, apart from that, the space which seems to have been used before Δ/Λ (the stone is damaged and only a Λ is currently visible) is insufficient for the letters ΕΜΠΕ-. The author might have changed *ἔμπεδον* to a synonym, or to a word of different meaning: *αἰδῖος*, for example, would make good sense (cf. the example from Did.[?] *Trin.*, cited above)¹⁴⁴ and fit well into the space on the stone. However, *αἰδῖο-* always scans – ∪ ∪ and would only be possible with *synecphonesis* of *ᾱ* and *ῖ*; but this would be an unusual *synizesis* and the epigram is otherwise metrically competent.

Another interesting case is the apotropaic use of Gregory's verses in an amulet found in the cathedral of Monza: the text inscribed is Gregory's *carm.* II.1.55.[1399-1400] 1-9:

Φεῦγ' ἀπ' ἐμῆς κραδίης, δολομήχανε, φεῦγε τάχιστα
 φεῦγ' ἀπ' ἐμῶν μελέων, φεῦγ' ἀπ' ἐμοῦ βιότου.
 Κλώψ, ὄφι, πῦρ, Βελίη, κακίη, μόρε, χάσμα, δράκων, θήρ,
 νύξ, λοχέ, λύσσα, χάος, βάσκανε, ἀνδροφόνε,
 ὃς καὶ πρωτογόνοις ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ λοιγὸν ἔηκας, 5
 γεῦσας τῆς κακίης, οὔλιε, καὶ θανάτου.
 Χριστὸς ἄναξ κέλεται σε φυγεῖν ἐς λαῖτμα θαλάσσης,
 ἢ ἐκατὰ σκοπέλων, ἢ ἐκυῶν ἀγέλην,
 ὡς λεγεῶνα πάροιθεν ἀτάσθαλον. Ἄλλ' ὑπόεικε,

Bossina (1998: 13), who describes the *encolpion* in detail and offers illustrations, has suggested that it belongs to the second half of the sixth century and is a product of Syro-Palestinian art.¹⁴⁵ If this is right, this amulet is the oldest extant witness of Gregory's poems.¹⁴⁶ The text on the amulet has several mistakes and missing letters. The man who inscribed it probably did

¹⁴⁴ See also LSJ and DGE, s.v., esp. Xen. *Ages.* 11. 16 *αἰδῖον οἴκησιν*; cf. *epigr.* Cougny 2.255c. a 4 *αἰδῖον ... δόμον* and 2.621. 9 *οἶκον ἐς αἰδῖον* |. In all three cases the expression is used of a tomb.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. J. Spier, 'Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and their Tradition', *JWI* 56 (1993), 25-62, at 38 (n. 74) and 45 (with n. 115). For amulets used by Christians see D. C. Skemer, 'Written Amulets and the Medieval Book', *SeC* 23 (1999), 253-305, esp. 261ff.

¹⁴⁶ But not of Gregory's works in general, as Bossina claims; see my references to P. Vin-dob. Gr. 29407 and 29788 at the beginning of this chapter.

not know Greek well and certainly did not perform his task with sufficient care; he might also have had difficulty in reading correctly some uncial letters, such as HE, which was read twice as ETE (v. 8 of Gregory's poem). But since this text was written on an amulet, the lack of space (also suggested by the microscopic letters used) or a desire for a somewhat encrypted version of the message might have contributed to the text's abbreviated form.

The text of this amulet is mentioned by Faraone (2004), who cites it as a late example of 'the tradition of chasing the demons into the sea with chants or charms' (see v. 7). In discussing Hipponax fr. 128 West, Faraone says that this tradition 'is reflected in this much later version of the hexametrical fleeformula found in a church in Modoetia'. Faraone cites verses 1-2 as printed in *CIG* 4. 9065 (modified twice) and v. 7 as it appears in Gregory's poem. But, curiously enough, he mentions Gregory only in a footnote, where he says that two scholars (Heim and Furley) 'print a longer version in elegiac couplets found among the works of Gregory Nazianzenus'. So Faraone did not realize that the verse of the amulet is a copy of Gregory's poem.¹⁴⁷ As far as W. D. Furley is concerned, he prints Gregory's text, but does not mention Gregory at all!¹⁴⁸ His only reference is to the amulet.

Several Byzantine authors knew and alluded to Gregory's poems. His influence on Byzantine poetry is very significant, although this has not been realized by several modern scholars. The absence of Gregory from LSJ might have prevented some older editors from identifying allusions to a huge corpus of poems which was itself understudied and not properly edited. But as early as 1978, H. Hunger (1978: 159) wrote: 'Tenor, Gedanken und Motive hunderter größerer und kleiner byzantinischer Gedichte stammen direkt oder indirekt von diesen Werken des Gregorios von Nazianz, freilich ohne dessen Leidenschaft und Ausdruckskraft zu erreichen. Auch mit seinen Vierzeilern (Γνωμικὰ τετράστιχα), deren Lebensregeln und Sentenzen der parainetischen Literature zugehören, wurde der Kappadokier Vorbild für Ignatios Diakonos und andere mittel- und spätbyzantinische Dichter.'

For the purpose of these introductory remarks, it may be worth having a quick glance at some recent editions of Byzantine texts. In his edition of Leon Magistros Choïrosphaktes' (died after 919) *Chiliostichos Theologia*, I. Vassis (2002) refers about fifty times to Gregory's poems; not all these refer-

¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, in n. 55 of his paper he mistakenly says that 'the word "thief" appears among the demons banned by the Christian amulet from Modoetia': in the amulet we get only a 'ψ', which is to be supplemented from Gregory's text (v. 3 κλώψ).

¹⁴⁸ 'Besprechung und Behandlung: Zur Form und Funktion von ΕΠΩΔΙΑΙ in der griechischen Zaubermagie', in G. W. Most, H. Petersmann, and A. M. Ritter (eds.), *Philanthropia kai Eusebia: Festschrift für A. Dihle zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1993), 80-104, at 99-100 (in v. 7 read 'λαῖμα' for 'λεῖμα' [sic]).

ences are meant to be direct allusions or quotations, but in several cases it is obvious that Leon had Gregory's verses in mind and he certainly knew the *Arcana* (esp. I.1.5), as well as *carm.* I.2.10, II.1.11 and II.1.23. Michael Choniates' (1182-1204) phrase *ὀνείρων ἀθύρματα* (*ep.* 59. 28 and 162. 8 Kolovou)¹⁴⁹ could have been inspired by Gregory's *carm.* II.1.19. 75-6, although this is a less certain case than *τᾶλλα δὲ ρείτωσαν ὡς θέλουσιν, λέγει που πατήρ τις κοφός* (*ep.* 70. 43-4 Kolovou) ~ Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.2.33.[934] 87 and II.1.68. [1411] 30 *ρείτωσαν ὡς θέλουσιν*. But for *ep.* 101. 220-1 *ἵππος μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔφη τις, ὀπλῆ μάχεται, ταῦρος κέρατι, κύων στόματι, λόγῳ δέ, ᾧ λόγος τὸ πρόβλημα*, in addition to II.1.34.25-6 (*ὡς οὐδὲν γλώσσης ὀλωτέρων ἐστὶ βροτοῖσιν* | *ἵππος ἀεὶ προθέων, ὄπλον ἐτοιμότατον*) suggested by Kolovou, one can also cite *carm.* I.2.33.[929] 12 *λόγῳ παλαίει πᾶς λόγος, βίῳ δὲ τίς*; The phrase *λόγῳ παλαίει πᾶς λόγος* became proverbial in later times. Most editors of the texts where it appears have failed to locate its origins,¹⁵⁰ but in his recent edition of the works of Theodore Dexios (14th c.) I. Polemis identifies the origins of the phrase.¹⁵¹

Some other cases can be briefly mentioned here. George Pisides (died after 631) knows and imitates Gregory's verses;¹⁵² John Geometres (second half of 10th cent.) was also influenced by Gregory of Nazianzus;¹⁵³ a recent edition of his hexametric and elegiac poems shows that the influence was

¹⁴⁹ F. Kolovou (ed.), *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae* [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 41] (Berlin-New York, 2001).

¹⁵⁰ It occurs in Eust. ad Il. 12. 241f. (III, p. 382.16 Van der Valk): when Hector replies to Polydamas that he will trust the counsel of Zeus and not the signs of the birds, and will fight the Danaans by their ships, Eustathius says that 'χημειοῦνται δ' ἐνταῦθα οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ ὅτι εἰς ἄτοπον ἀπαγωγῆ φιλοσόφως χράται ὁ Ἐκτωρ'; a few lines later he adds: 'Ταῦτα δὲ διαλεκτικῶς ὡς ἀμφοτερόγλωσσοι μεταχειρίζεται ὁ ποιητής, διδάσκων ὡς παντὶ λόγῳ λόγος παλαίει.' Van der Valk notes: 'cf. An. Ox. III 216.15, ubi haec verba pro proverbial accipiuntur'. Cf. also Eust. ad Od. 2.181f (I, p. 91.5 Stallbaum). The phrase is also used several times in the works of Gregory Palamas; in its first occurrence (*Pro hesychastis* I.1.1.11 [I, p. 361 Chrestou] *λόγῳ παλαίει πᾶς λόγος*), Chrestou notes: 'παροιμία συχνάκις χρησιμοποιουμένη ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι συγγράμμασι'. Interestingly, in one case (*Pro hesychastis* I.3.13. 27 [I, p. 423 Chrestou]), we get the whole of Gregory's verse: *λόγῳ γάρ, φησί, παλαίει πᾶς λόγος, βίῳ δὲ τίς*;

¹⁵¹ *Epist.* II. 16.3-4. See Ioannis D. Polemis (ed.), *Theodori Dexii Opera Omnia* [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 55] (Turnhout, 2003). In his *Appellatio* 21. 55-6, Theodore cites Gregory's *carm.* I.1.10.[469] 61 *οὕτω τὸ θεῶσαν καὶ θεωθὲν εἰς θεός* almost verbatim.

¹⁵² See the testimonia in the edition of Pisidis' *De vita humana* by F. Gonnelli in *BollClass* 12 (1991), 118-38. An edition of his *De vanitate vitae* is currently in preparation by W. Hörandner and A. M. Taragna (to appear in the series *Poeti cristiani*).

¹⁵³ See, e.g. F. Scheidweiler, 'Studien zu Johannes Geometres', *BZ* 45 (1952), 277-319; Cameron (1993: 337-8) and L. R. Cresci, 'Note al testo di Giovanni Geometra', *AAP* 45 (1996), 45-52; id., 'Una "Priamel" di Gregorio di Nazianzo in Giovanni Geometra', *VetChr* 36 (1999), 31-7; Lauxtermann (2003: 296).

strong and Gregory's verses were deep in Geometres' mind.¹⁵⁴ Theodore Prodromos (*ca.* 1100-*ca.* 1170) was proud to copy words and phrases from Gregory.¹⁵⁵ John Mauropous (*ca.* 1000-after *ca.* 1075-91) also knew Gregory's poems very well and in one of his letters (17.105-30 Karpozilos) he suspects a scribal error in one of Gregory's orations in the light of what Gregory says at *carm.* I.2.10. 294-99; five lines from the poem are cited in full with a reference: *εὐρήσειε δὲ τοὺς ἰάμβους ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀρετῆς αὐτῶ γεγραμμένοις*.¹⁵⁶ Detorakis (1986: 301) has observed that most of the eminent scholars of the early Palaeologean times (13th-14th c.) wanted to compose autobiographical poems following the example of Gregory: Nicephoros Blemmydes (1197-*ca.* 1269), Gregory II of Cyprus (*ca.* 1241-90), George Pachymeres (1242-*ca.* 1310), Joseph the Philosopher (*ca.* 1280-*ca.* 1330) and Theodore Metochites (*ca.* 1270-1332). I will briefly discuss two of these cases. The patriarchal official and historian George Pachymeres wrote a long autobiographical poem *Τὰ καθ' ἑαυτόν*, in 9 parts, excerpts from which appear in *Rhodonía*, an anthology compiled by Makarios Chrysokephalos (*ca.* 1300-82).¹⁵⁷ Chrysokephalos includes 69 verses, taken from various parts of Pachymeres' poem. The first two verses he cites from part 1 (the beginning of the poem?) are enough to show how heavily influenced by Gregory Pachymeres was:

ὦ μοι ἐγὼ πανάποτμος ὄς' ἔτλην κήδεα **λυγρά**.
Τίπτε με, μήτερ, ἔτικτες ἔης βλάστοντα γενέθλην;

cf. (e.g.) Greg. Naz. *carm.* II.1.1. 467-8 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) and II.1.87.[1433] 1

ὦ μοι ἐγών! Ὡ **λυγρά** καὶ ἄντιτα ἔργα παθοῦσα | ψυχῆ.

¹⁵⁴ Van Opstall (2008). Geometres copies words and phrases from Gregory to such an extent that his poetry can be considered as indirect transmission of Gregory's poems (see, e.g. Van Opstall, 2008: 44-6).

¹⁵⁵ See Simelidis (2006: 87-100, esp. 98-9); several cases are cited in my commentary (see also p. 30, n. 29 above). Christidis (1984: 166) identified an impressive number of imitations of Gregory's poems in the prose writings transmitted by cod. Marc. gr. XI 22, which he attributed to Prodromos' disciple or friend Nicetas Eugeneianos.

¹⁵⁶ See A. Karpozilos, *The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous, Metropolitan of Euchaita: Greek Text, Translation and Commentary* [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 34] (Thessaloniki, 1990), 32-4 and 211. Mauropous, an admirer and imitator of Gregory of Nazianzus, also wrote an encomiastic epigram 'εἰς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Θεολόγου τοὺς μὴ ἀναγνωσκόμενου', which he probably placed at the beginning of his edition of Gregory's orations; that he produced an edition is suggested by vv. 23-4 of his epigram: *ταύτης (sc. τῆς βίβλου) ἀμειπτον τὴν γραφὴν καταρτίσας, | πολλοῖς τρυφὴν προῦθηκα μὴ κενουμένην*. Cf. A. Karpozilos, *Συμβολὴ στῆ μελέτῃ τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Ἰωάννη Μαυρόποδος* [Πανεπιστήμιο Ἰωαννίνων: Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς, Παράρτημα ἀριθ. 18] (Ioannina, 1982), 82-4, 162-6, 177.

¹⁵⁷ The anthology is preserved in codex Marc. gr. 452 (Zanetti), an autograph of Chrysokephalos. See Detorakis (1986: 299-307). Cf. Hunger (1978: II 162).

μητερ ἐμή, τί μ' ἔτικτες, ἐπεὶ πολύμοχθον ἔτικτες;¹⁵⁸

Similar is the case of the statesman and scholar Theodore Metochites, who was inspired by Gregory's poetry in writing his own hexameter verses. Some verbal reminiscences are cited in my commentary.¹⁵⁹ One suggestive piece of evidence is that Metochites, in lamenting his downfall in 1328, starts a poem entitled 'Εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ περὶ τῆς δυσχερείας τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πραγμάτων'¹⁶⁰ with the verse

Δύσμορος οἶα πέπονθα δέδορκα τ' ἐγὼν ἀνόιστα

which echoes the beginning of Gr. Naz. *car.* II.1.45.[1353] 1 ('Θρῆνος περὶ τῶν τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς παθῶν')

Δύσμορος οἶα πάθον; τίς μοι γόος ἄξιος ἔσται;

Indeed, I. Ševčenko has already remarked that 'Metochites knew and admired Gregory of Nazianzus's poetry and imitated it throughout his life. His Poem 1, *To Himself and on the Chora Monastery*, was modelled on Gregory's autobiographical poems, and such expressions in Gregory's poems *Περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν* as *Χριστὲ ἄναξ, Σηρῶν νήματα λεπταλέα, ἀμφαγαπῶντες, θεὸν ὑψιμέδοντα* recur in Metochites's Poem 1 as *Χριστὲ ἄναξ, Σηρῶν νήματα πολύτροφα, ἀμφαγαπάζοντα* and *παῖ θεοῦ ὑψιμέδων*.¹⁶¹ But J. M. Featherstone, the editor of Metochites' poems, concluded that 'though probably written with Gregory Nazianzenus's autobiographical hexameters in mind, Metochites's verses to himself owe little to Gregory'.¹⁶² The meaning of this statement is not entirely clear to me and Paul Magdalino noticed a further similarity, namely that like 'St. Gregory of Nazianzus, Metochites describes his autobiographical poetry as a remedy (*φάρμακον*) for the woes that were the price of his involvement in public affairs'.¹⁶³ This case needs to be studied properly before reaching secure conclusions. I wish to explore this matter in detail at a later time.

¹⁵⁸ I print Detorakis' text (1986: 299-307, at 304); the imitation of Gregory's *car.* II.1.87.[1433] 1 was noticed by Detorakis.

¹⁵⁹ See, e.g., my notes on II.1.19. 1 *Χριστὸν ἄνακτα*; 38 ὁ μοι νόος and 52.

¹⁶⁰ Edited by Featherstone (2000: 20-35). This poem is number 14.

¹⁶¹ Ševčenko (1996: 225-6).

¹⁶² Featherstone (2000: 16). His conclusion is approved by Lauxtermann in his review of Featherstone's edition (*JÖB* 51 [2001], 461-4, at 463): 'apart from a few possible borrowings, Metochites does not imitate the verses of Gregory of Nazianzos'. But Featherstone makes no attempt to study the language or the metre of the poems in any systematic way. In E. M. Jeffreys' words (*BZ* 95 [2002], 158-9), 'a few textual allusions (proverbs, signalled quotations, biblical references) are noted in the apparatus but one suspects more are lurking.' Indeed, the striking example with the *initia* of the two poems which I cite was missed by Featherstone. P. Magdalino (*BMGS* 26 [2002], 339-45) and especially I. Polemis (*Hellenika* 51 [2001], 186-201) have also pointed to several shortcomings in this edition.

¹⁶³ Magdalino, loc. cit. in last note, at 341-2.

In a paper on Gregory and Byzantine hymnography, P. Karavites (1993) comes to the conclusion that 'the often repeated but inadequately researched view that Gregory has served as a source for Byzantine hymnographers, on closer investigation turns out to be correct'; but he goes on to argue that 'it was the speeches of Gregory, not his poetry, which provided the inspiration for the great majority of the Byzantine hymnographers. [...] his long iambic or half-iambic [*sic*] poetry evidently failed to strike their fancy. At any rate, there is little iambic poetry in Byzantine hymnography.' But Gregory did not write only iambic poetry and Karavites does not provide any examples of a hymnographer being inspired by Gregory's verses.¹⁶⁴ Did Karavites search adequately for echoes of Gregory's poetry in Byzantine hymnography and find nothing? I suspect that he did not. One counter-example is the Kontakion on St. Nicholas I (perhaps 9th century), wrongly attributed to Romanos (1ε, 1-2)¹⁶⁵

σταυροτύπως Μωϋσῆς τὸν Ἀμαλὶκ κατέβαλεν
καὶ σὺ διὰ σταυροῦ τὸν διάβολον ἔρηξας

for which compare Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.1.1. 1-3 (ed. Tuilier-Bady)

Χριστὲ ἄναξ, ὃς ἀγαῖς ποτ' ἀειρομένας **παλάμῃσι**
σταυροτύποις Μωϋσῆος ἐπ' οὐρεῖ σοῦ θεράποντος,
ἐκλινὰς Ἀμαλῆκ ὀλοὸν χθένος ὃς τε ταθείαις

The crucial word is, of course, *σταυροτύπως*, a very rare word, used first by Gregory in extant literature and by him only in the context of Moses and Amalek.¹⁶⁶ But more interestingly, the first ode of the Canon for Easter attributed to John of Damascus¹⁶⁷ reads as follows:

θαλάσσης τὸ ἐρυθραῖον πέλαγος
ἀβρόχοις ἴχνεσιν
ὁ παλαιὸς πεζεύσας Ἰσραὴλ
σταυροτύποις Μωσέως χειρὶ
τοῦ Ἀμαλῆκ τὴν δύναμιν
ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ **ἐτροπώσατο**

¹⁶⁴ Apart from 'the reliance of Romanos on Gregory's *Passion of Christ* for the composition of his kontakion of Holy Thursday'. But he is aware that 'the attribution of this work to Gregory is disputed'.

¹⁶⁵ P. Maas-C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica Dubia* (Berlin, 1970), 126 and notes on pp. 204-5. Trypanis estimates that this kontakion belongs to the 9th century at the earliest.

¹⁶⁶ According to TLG, the word is found (usually in similar contexts) twice in Gregory's poems, once in John Chrysostom, twice in John of Damascus, once in Germanos I of Constantinople, once in Nicholaos I Mystikos and once in Psellos.

¹⁶⁷ Ed. Eustratiadis (1932: 94).

and Follieri's *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae* (vol. III [Vatican, 1962], 526-7) include, among others, the following elegiac couplets whose letters consist of the initial letters of the lines of a Canon attributed to Paul Xeropotamenos:

σταυροτύποι παλάμησι ἐπ' οὔρει σῆμα θεοῖο
 Μωσῆς δ' ὁ κλεινός θεσμοθέτης Ἑβραίων
 ὕδασι πικρογόνοις πολυφλοίσβου δ' αὐτε θαλάσσης
 ἐμφαίνει Σταυρὸν Χριστιανῶν τὸ κλέος.¹⁶⁸

The first words of this acrostic are undoubtedly copied from Gregory.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, in the *Τριῶδιον εἰς τὴν μεγάλην παρασκευὴν* attributed to Cosmas of Maiouma (*ode* 9.3; ed. Christ-Paranikas [1871: 195])

τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔκδοτον τὴν ζωὴν
 σὺν τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν | ἀναιρεῖσθαι οἱ ἱερεῖς
 παρέσχον, πληγέντες | **αὐτοφθόνῳ κακίᾳ**,
 τὸν φύσει ζωοδότην, | ὄν μεγαλύτερον

Detorakis (1981-2: 136-7) corrects *αὐτοφθόνῳ* to *αὐτοφόνῳ* and has no doubt that the phrase was taken from Gregory's *carm.* I.2.15.[774] 118 *αὐτοφόνῳ κακίῃ ἔνδοθι τηκομένους*.

A somewhat curious fact in Gregory's imitation in Byzantium may be mentioned here. B. Katsaros (1990) has drawn attention to a work of the 13th or 14th century, in 100 chapters: each chapter consists of four hexameter verses, followed by four iambs and eight anacreontics, and a prose text with scholia in the margin. Considerable portions of the text (although not its beginning) are preserved in Paris gr. 2750A (ff. 1-88) [s. XIII or XIV] and Vatic. gr. 1898 (ff. 342-94) [s. XIV]. The author of the iambs is identified as Andronikos Palaiologos, son of the Sebastokrator Constantine, who was brother of the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-82), a scholar con-

¹⁶⁸ The iambic Canon ('Κανὼν ἰαμβικός εἰς τὴν Ὑψωσιν τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχὶς διὰ στίχων ἠρωελεγειῶν') is ascribed to 'Paul from Xeropotamou' ('Ποίημα Παύλου Ξηροποταμηνού'); I wonder if he is Paul Xeropotamites, 'who is known to have been in Athos in 958' (ODB, s.v. Xeropotamou Monastery). The 'ἀκροστιχίς' and the first three lines of the Canon are published by S. Eustratiadis, 'Ἀγιολογικά', *EEBS* 9 (1932), 117, from a pamphlet published in Athens in 1888.

¹⁶⁹ Although the context here (as also partially in John of Damascus) is the crossing of the Red Sea and the words *σταυρότυπος* and *σταυροτύπως* are often found in the first ode of the Canons, which always sings this story; another parallel from the Canon of the Easter attributed to Theophanes Graptos (ca. 778-845): *ἀρματηλάτην Φαραῶν ἐβύθισε | τερατουργοῦσά ποτε | Μωσαϊκῆ ράβδος | σταυροτύπως πλήξασα | καὶ διελοῦσα θάλασσαν | Ἰερὰ ἡλ δὲ φυγάδα | πεζὸν ὀδίτην διέσωσεν | ἄσμα τῷ Θεῷ ἀναμέλλοντα* (ed. Eustratiadis, 1932: 220).

temporary with the transcription of Paris gr. 2750A and Vatic. gr. 1898.¹⁷⁰ Katsaros shows that most, if not all, of the hexameter verses are either direct borrowings or adaptations of Gregory's verses; he is right to conclude that several of the questions raised by this work (e.g. the identification of the compiler and the remainder of the hexameter verses) cannot be answered before there is a critical edition of the tetrastichs and without taking into account the complete manuscript transmission of Gregory's poems. Furthermore, he notes that the interest of such a text is linked with the ways Byzantine scholars exploited past literary production and the place of Gregory of Nazianzus within this tradition.

Two further cases possibly related to the poems' reception are of particular interest, but also present difficult problems. In his copy of Ps-Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*, Photius (*Bibliotheca* 142b) found the following epigram, placed as a kind of preface to the book:

αἰῶνος πείρημα ἄφυσσάμενος ἀπ' ἐμῆιο
 παιδείης, μύθους γνῶθι παλαιγενέας·
 μηδ' ἐς Ὀμηρεῖην ἐλίδ' ἔμβλεπε, μηδ' ἔλεγείην,
 μὴ τραγικὴν μοῦσαν, μηδὲ μελογραφίην,
 μὴ κυκλίων ζῆτει πολύθρουον στίχον· εἰς ἐμὲ δ' ἀθρῶν 5
 εὐρήσεις ἐν ἐμοὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κόσμος ἔχει.

The epigram is discussed by Alan Cameron (1995: 397-8): in the first line he reads with all editors *σπείρημα*;¹⁷¹ he also prefers Salmasius' plural *σπειρήματ'* and corrects *κυκλίων* (v. 5) to *κυκλικῶν*. He regrets that he had previously classified the epigram as Byzantine (Cameron [1993: 333]) and thinks that it is actually 'early, perhaps even by Ps-Apollodorus himself'. The first couplet is translated as follows: 'Drawing the coils of time from my erudition, learn the myths of old'. But more recently Cameron (2004b: 160-1) discusses this epigram again and reveals that A. Griffiths, in a 'forthcoming' note, 'has drawn attention to *αἰῶνος πείρημα* in a series of vocatives addressed to Christ in a poem of Gregory Nazianzen, which would seem to guarantee the transmitted text (Gregory, who had an excellent knowledge of classical mythology, may well have known the *Bibliotheca*)'.

Alan Griffiths, who does not in fact plan to publish this note,¹⁷² cites Gregory's *carm.* II.1.38.[1326] 7-11

¹⁷⁰ For this identification and Andronikos (ca. 1261/1268-ca. 1325) see D. C. Constantinidis, 'Ἀνδρονίκου Παλαιολόγου: Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. Κριτικὴ ἐκδόση', *Byzantina* 15 (1989), 179-236.

¹⁷¹ The most recent editor is, most probably, R. Henry, *Photius: Bibliothèque* (vol. III, Paris, 1962), 40, and not Cougny (*epigr.* Cougny 186), as Cameron (2004b: 160, n. 202) surmises.

¹⁷² I thank A. Griffiths for kindly sending me a copy of his two-page note.

εἰκὼν ἀθανάτοιο Πατρὸς καὶ σφρηγὶς ἀνάρχου,
 Πνεύματι τῷ μεγάλῳ συμφαές, εὐρυμέδων,
αἰῶνος πείρημα, μεγακλεές, ὀλβιόδωρε,
 ὑψίθρον', οὐράνιε, πανθενές, ἄσθμα νόου,
 νωμητὰ κόσμοιο, φερέσβιε, δημοεργέ

and comments: 'It is not clear to me what Gregory intended the phrase to mean ('O Test of Time'? 'O Trial, Proof, of Eternity?'), but his use surely guarantees its correctness here [in the epigram].' He makes some further changes in the first couplet of the Ps-Apollodorus epigram and reads:

αἰῶνος πειρήματ' ἀφυσσάμενος ἀπ' ἐμεῖο,
 παιδείης μύθους γνῶθι παλαιγενέος,

'Drawing the experience of Time up from my well, learn the tales of ancient culture.'

Griffiths doubts 'that pseudo-Apollodorus was himself the author. It [the poem] does not seem to be Christian, in the sense that there is no explicit disapproval of the material.'¹⁷³ But it may actually be Christian, although in another sense. What does *αἰῶνος πείρημα* mean in Gregory and what does it mean in the epigram in Photius' copy of Apollodorus? Scholars do not attempt to make any connection in terms of meaning between the two cases, and Cameron takes it for granted that Gregory copied the phrase *αἰῶνος πείρημα* from the epigram.

I want to argue that it is actually the other way around: the author of the epigram copies the phrase from Gregory. The phrase in Gregory applies to Christ and *πείρημα* in this context can only mean 'end, limit' (see PGL, s.v. *πείρημα*); this can refer either to Christ's first coming (bringing the termination of the old age)¹⁷⁴ or to His second coming (bringing the termination of all ages).¹⁷⁵ Christ is thus *ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος αἰῶνος* (Clem.Al. *Paed.* 2.8.75); cf. Apoc. 22.13 *ἐγὼ τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὠ, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος*. In this meaning, *πείρημα* (not found elsewhere in Greek literature) would not come from *πειράω*, but from *πέρας* (Ep. *πείραρ*), and a parallel for this formation is *κέβας ~ κέβημα* (*Orphica* fr. 15a D.-K.). The Epic *πείραρ* was preferred here (or in Gregory's lost source of the word) for metrical

¹⁷³ Griffiths also thinks that the composer of this epigram 'obviously had in mind' AP 9. 541 (Antipater of Thessalonika), since 'the message in both epigrams is: *Don't bother with the original book(s) any more, just look at me (us) and you'll find the whole of creation served up in a more user-friendly form.*' But upon reading the Greek text of both epigrams I have not found the similarity close enough to suggest direct influence.

¹⁷⁴ Heb. 9. 26 *νυνὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰῶνων εἰς ἀθέτησιν [τῆς] ἁμαρτίας διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ πεφανέρωται.*

¹⁷⁵ Matt. 24. 3 *καθημένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν προσήλθον αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ κατ' ἰδίαν λέγοντες, Εἶπὲ ἡμῖν πότε ταῦτα ἔσται, καὶ τί το σμειεῖον τῆς σῆς παρουσίας καὶ συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.*

reasons. The author of the epigram in Ps-Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* copied 'αἰῶνος πείρημα' from Gregory's poem and used it as an allusion to his poem, with the meaning which the phrase has in Gregory's poems: 'Having (first) drawn the "end of the age" [= Christ] from my teaching, (now) learn the myths of the pre-Christian (age).' The meaning could be: 'now that you know the end of the pre-Christian age, you can learn its myths', or 'now that you know the end of all ages, you can learn the myths of the pre-Christian age'. παλαιγενής, a rare word, may indeed be used here simply instead of παλαιός, but not in the meaning of 'old'; παλαιός is used of 'pre-Christian beliefs, life, and institutions contrasted with the new dispensation of the gospel' (PGL, s.v. παλαιός 1);¹⁷⁶ it is interesting that this rare adjective is found twice in Synesius' *Hymn* 8, applied to Hades (v. 20 *Αἶδας ὁ παλαιγενής*) and to the time in which Christ lives, i.e. to timeless Eternity (vv. 67-9 *ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀγήραος | αἰῶν ὁ παλαιγενής, | νέος ὦν ἅμα καὶ γέρων*).¹⁷⁷ ἀφυσκάμενος is not as difficult as it seems at first sight: ἀφύσσω is usually used of water and the benefits conferred by Christ have been called 'ὔδωρ τὸ ζῶν' (John 4. 10; cf. NTL, s.v. ὔδωρ 2). But there are closer parallels: Nicetas Stethatos (11th cent.), *or. Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* 24.1-2 (p. 440 Darrouzès) *οὕτως ἀντλήσετε ὔδωρ διδασκαλίας ἐνθέου ἐκ τῶν σωτηρίων πηγῶν καὶ λόγων τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* (cf. Is. 12. 3)¹⁷⁸ and [Rom. Mel.] *cant.* 60.25. 1-2 (On John the Apostle) *ἐξαντλήσας σοφῶς θεολογίας τὰ δόγματα | τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰς γλωσσελογίας κατεπόντισας*.

Thus, the epigram is Christian and suggests that an encounter with ancient mythology is safe, or at least safer, only after one's Christian education. The epigram then goes on to explain that the *Bibliotheca* will provide the reader with a wide range of information and save him from looking into the original sources. But, although the thought that a Christian (esp. a young person) should be free to read anything after receiving a solid Christian education would be perfectly in accordance with common views in Christian circles, the allusion to Gregory's *αἰῶνος πείρημα* may be problematic. This type of allusion (including also the extremely rare, if not *hapax*, *πείρημα*) makes the epigram's text comprehensible only to the person who can bring to mind Gregory's verse and the meaning of the phrase there. In-

¹⁷⁶ PGL cites, among others, Ign. *ep. ad Magnesios* 2.9. 1 (ed. Camelot) *εἰ οὖν οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναστραφέντες*; Just. *dial.* 14. 2 (ed. Goodspeed) *καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἤλθον ἵνα μὴ τὰ παλαιὰ τῆς κακῆς ζῆμης ἔργα πράττητε* (cf. 1 Cor. 5. 8).

¹⁷⁷ J. H. Barkhuizen ('Synesius of Cyrene, *Hymn* 8: A Perspective on his Poetic Art', in Boeft-Hilhorst, 1993: 263-71, at 269): 'Here lives neither Time nor Death, those powers that control mankind; only timeless Eternity is found here, young and old at the same time.'

¹⁷⁸ Cf. [Amphiloch.] *Oratio in resurrectionem domini: πάντες ἀντλήσατε ἐκ τῆς ἀκενώτου πηγῆς τοῦ σωτήρος θεοῦ καὶ εὐφρανθήτε* (ed. S. Lilla, 'La fonte inedita di un'omelia greca sulla Pasqua', *Byzantion* 40 (1970), 68-73, at 71).

deed, the use of *αἰῶνος πείρημα* in the epigram suggests that the author had in mind an audience, or a single person, for whom the epigram was composed, who was aware of this particular phrase in Gregory's verse. A possible scenario (although of course speculative) is the following: the copy of Ps.-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* was offered to a student by his teacher, possibly towards or after the end of their studies. The teacher wrote the epigram and addressed it to this specific student, with whom he had read Gregory's verses, including *carm.* II.1.38.[1326] 9 *αἰῶνος πείρημα*, to which they might have paid particular attention. Thus, the epigram with its obscure opening is not intended to test every reader's ingenuity or interpretative imagination, but is addressed to a specific person who would be able to understand the allusion. The author of the text was certainly learned, but I would not be so eager to get rid of the hiatus in v. 1, since later authors had various degrees of freedom regarding metrical rules; it may be worth noticing that *πολύθροος* (v. 5) is a very rare word, found in its contracted form only at Syn. *Ἦμνη* 5. 54 *πολύθρουον καὶ πολυμήταν*; apart from the two parallels from Synesius already mentioned, cf. also *Ἦμνη* 2. 32 *ὄσα κόσμος ἔχει* (~ v. 6).

A similar explanation may be given in another case, which is, however, more difficult, and we may have to accept that the text in this case is corrupt, as has already been suggested. Theophylact of Ochrid (*ca.* 1050-1126), in the second of his two orations addressed to his former pupils, written when he was still *Μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων* in Constantinople, accuses them of ungratefulness and explains his own reaction to their improper behaviour (p. 155.26-157.2 and 157.7-11 Gautier):¹⁷⁹

ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἴσως καὶ ἐπεξήλθε ταῖς ὕβρεσι καὶ τι πλεόν περιειργάσατο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ προσφοιτᾶν ἀπεκώλυσε καὶ παρρησία πᾶσιν ἀπελογήσατο καὶ τὰ ἐφ' οἷς ὡς ἑτεροκλινῆς, ὡ τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἐνδιαβάλλεται ἀπετρίψατο. [...] Ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλου καὶ παθεῖν καὶ ποιῆσαι, μικροψύχου τάχα καὶ μικρογνώμονος καὶ ζῶντος πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὄνων δόξας. Ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ τοσοῦτον ἔξοι τὰ τῆς παιδείας ὥστ' ἐπὶ τοῖς παιδαρίοις εἶναι τὸ λυπεῖσθαι με καὶ μὴ λυπεῖσθαι, ὅτε δὴ βούλοιντο. ἔχω γὰρ ἀστεμφῶς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ὑπερόπτης εἰμι τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ὑπολήψεως.

What does *πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὄνων δόξας* mean? Gautier translates as 'sur les opinions des ânes'. There is no proverbial use of the phrase *ὄνων δόξαι*, as D. A. Christidis has pointed out, and he wittily (and perhaps rightly) suggested correction to *ἀνθρώπων δόξας*: *ἄνθρωπος* would have been abbreviated as *ἄνος* and this is easily confused with *ὄνος*.¹⁸⁰ This may be the whole

¹⁷⁹ P. Gautier, *Theophylacte d'Achrida: Discours, traités, poésies. Introduction, texte, traduction et notes* [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 16/1] (Thessaloniki, 1980).

¹⁸⁰ D. A. Christidis, «ΟΝΩΝ ΔΟΞΑΙ», *Hellenika* 39 (1988), 155-6.

truth of this story, but it might be worth considering a different scenario. Theophylact had read with his students a very interesting and amusing poem, 'Εἰς εὐγενῆ δύστροπον', written by Gregory; Gregory attacks an aristocrat who was 'ἅπαν κακόν' and also arrogant because of his noble ancestors. Gregory makes it clear to him that it is only his personal virtue which counts; at one point (*carm.* I.2.26.[853] 30-4), he uses an interesting example:

εἰ δὲ σὺ τύφον ἔχεις, τοῦτο τί πρὸς τὸ γένος;
 ἡμιόνοις τί πατήρ ποθ' ὁ κἀνθων ἐστὶν ὄνειδος;
 οὐδέν. Τίς δέ τ' ὄνοις δόξα παρ' ἡμιόνων;
 οἱ δ' ἄετοι τίκτουσι καὶ οὐκ ῥίπτουσι νεοσσούς.
 ὥστε τί μοι πατέρας, αὐτὸν ἀφείς, σὺ λέγεις;

One wonders if Theophylact could be alluding to this verse of Gregory, if the verse was familiar to the recipients of his letter. If this was the case, when Theophylactos says that he does not belong to those living *πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὄνων δόξας*, he means that he does not expect any glory from his pupils. Everyone is to be judged according to his own merit, and indeed Theophylact goes on to say *ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ τοσοῦτον ἔξοι τὰ τοῖς παιδείας ὥστ' ἐπὶ παιδαρίοις εἶναι τὸ λυπεῖσθαι με καὶ μὴ λυπεῖσθαι, ὅτε δὴ βούλοιντο*. However, the text is not easy, and although we should not expect every allusion to be successful, it may indeed be preferable to emend to *ἀνθρώποις*. On the other hand, the two phrases are very close and could perhaps be related.

Theophylact starts the first of these two *orations* (*πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς ἀτακτήσαντας*) with a sentence of Gregory 'ποῦ ποτέ εἰσὶν οἱ τὸ αὐστηρὸν ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζοντες' (cf. Gregory's *or.* 33: *ποῦ ποτέ εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν πενίαν ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζοντες*) and Gautier finds some more borrowings and allusions to Gregory in these two orations, including p. 165.4-5 *ἀλλ' ὡς εὐεργέτην ἀναστηλώσετε ἕκαστος, στήλαις οὐχ ἰσταμένας, στήλαις οὐ φθειρομένας ~ Gr. Naz. ep. 154. 4 τὴν εὐδοξίαν καὶ τὸ ἀνάγραπτοι τυγχάνειν ἐν ταῖς ἀπάντων ψυχαῖς, στήλαις οὐκ εὐκινήτοις (ἀκινήτοις codd.)*. However, this is neither surprising nor suggestive, since Gregory's orations and letters were very widely read and imitated by Byzantine writers. Interestingly, Theophylact also wrote a small amount of poetry; some of his verses could have been inspired by Gregory, but the style is different and I did not immediately find any clear allusion or direct borrowing. A thorough investigation of the reception of Gregory's *Carmina* in Byzantium will put us in a better position to discuss cases like this one.

2.2 The Poems and the School Curriculum

Apart from the paraphrases, the exegetical corpus on Gregory's poems includes two commentaries and four lexica.¹⁸¹ One commentary is transmitted by Vat. gr. 1260 (s. XII): 'Cυναγωγὴ καὶ ἐξηγητικὴ ὧν ἐμνήσθη ἱστοριῶν ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος ἐν τοῖς ἐμμέτρως αὐτῷ εἰρημένοις ἔκ τε τῆς θεοπνεύστου Γραφῆς καὶ τῶν ἕξωθεν ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων· Κοσμᾶ Ἱεροσολυμίτου πόνημα φιλορηγορίου'. The text has recently been edited by G. Lozza (2000), while Každan (1999: 118-24) has discussed the problems of its date and authorship.¹⁸² The second commentary is that by Nicetas David Paphlagon (late 9th-early 10th cent.) on seventeen poems; this work 'limits itself to the field of the Old and New Testament, mentioning the "Hellenic philosophers" only in a very vague context'.¹⁸³

Three lexica have been edited by Dionysios Kalamakis (1992 and 1995). The compilation of Lex. Cas. in particular was most probably dependent entirely on Paraphrase A, transmitted for the poems of Group I.¹⁸⁴ This fact invites a re-examination of the numerous corrupt lines of this lexicon; in the light of the material that served as its source, I have been able to identify and restore many corrupt words (see Simelidis, 2009). Kalamakis (1992: 4 and 111) places the lexica's composition 'in the general lexicographical circle of Photius' and after the commentaries by Cosmas and Nicetas David. According to him, the lexica have no relation to other Byzantine lexica, such as Hesychius' *Lexicon* or the *Lexicon Cyrilli*.¹⁸⁵ But this question seems to be worth further investigation: one of the corrupt glosses of Lex. Cas. (β 20) appears also as Hesychius β 1051; the gloss in Lex. Cas. is restored with the help of Paraphrase A as: β 20 βραμμοῖκιν (II.1.1. 173)· τοῖς κει<μοῖκ>. The form βραμμοῖκι occurs only twice in extant Greek literature: in Gregory's

¹⁸¹ For a description of this corpus see Lefherz (1958: 149ff.). A very useful study of the various exegeses on the *Poemata Arcana* has recently been conducted by J. Attar, 'Recherches sur la tradition des *Arcana* de Grégoire de Nazianze avec traduction annotée et édition des paraphrases, scholies, et gloses', doctoral thesis (Université de Caen Basse-Normandie, 2005). I became aware of this work too late to take it into account.

¹⁸² If the text was composed in the eighth century, then Cosmas (Melodus?), by aiming to *χεδιάζειν* ('expound') Gregory's poems, became the forerunner of the later *χέδη* (Každan, 1999: 124). For a later dating to the 10th century see C. Crimi-Kr. Demoen, 'Sulla cronologia del *Commentario* di Cosma di Gerusalemme ai *Carmi* di Gregorio Nazianzeno', *Byzantion* 67 (1997), 360-74.

¹⁸³ Každan (1999: 120); the commentary on *carm.* I.1. 1-5 has been edited by C. Moreschini and I. Costa, *Niceta David: Commento ai Carmina Arcana di Gregorio Nazianzeno* (Naples, 1992). The rest is available in E. Dronke (1840), reprinted in M. 38.681-842.

¹⁸⁴ For the 20 groups of Gregory's poems see Werhahn in Höllger (1985: 17-34). Cf. p. 88.

¹⁸⁵ For the case of Lex. alph. Kalamakis (1992: 110) cites K. Latte, *Hesychie Alexandrini lexicon* (vol. I, Copenhagen, 1953), xxxvii: '... glossarium cod. Coisl. in Gregorii Nazianzeni carmina (gl. Greg.), cuius nulla est affinitas cum glossis Gregorianis Hesychie et Cyrilli'.

II.1.1. 173 and in Theod. Met., *carm.* 14. 264 (ed. Featherstone) *βραχυοῖσι θ' ἄλλοις ἠδέ τε θυέλλῃσι δειναῖς*. The word is rare in classical Greek with the meaning 'earthquake'.

A fourth lexicon is transmitted by MS. Gr. class. f. 114 (s. XI), a codex unknown to Kalamakis. In her recent catalogue Barbara Crostini Lappin identifies the lexicon with the *Ordine Alphabetico* edited by Kalamakis.¹⁸⁶ But on closer examination it turns out that this lexicon is not actually the *Ordine Alphabetico* as Crostini thought, but a different one, which includes all or at least many of the lemmata transmitted also by *Lex. alph.* I have informed Kalamakis of this and he has expressed interest in working on this lexicon.

Apart from the commentaries and the lexica, most of the manuscripts of the poems also transmit a paraphrase (see details in next section). P. Parsons (1970: 138) has observed that 'we can distinguish two general kinds of paraphrase: one is an aid to the comprehension of the poet paraphrased; the other is an end in itself, a substantive literary production. Quintilian draws the distinction (*Inst.* 10.5. 5): *neque ego paraphrasin esse interpretationem tantum volo, sed circa eosdem sensus certamen atque aemulationem*. Of course there is no fixed boundary.' Keeping as close as possible to the word-order of the original and replacing the difficult words by plainer equivalents are the main characteristics of the first kind; retelling the original text in an elaborate rhetorical way and giving a new version significantly longer than the original is typical of the second.¹⁸⁷ The three paraphrases which will be discussed in the next section are all of the first general type, but they also have some elements of the second.

An elementary paraphrase was always needed in the classroom. Rutherford (1905: 336ff.) discusses the old fashion of paraphrasing poets in schools and its pedagogic value. 'Homer was the great school classic; and Homeric paraphrases of both kinds appear in papyri' (Parsons [1970: 139]). The school character of Gregory's paraphrases is stressed by the layout of most of Gregory's manuscripts, which are arranged in two columns, one for the poem and a second for the paraphrase. Each verse of the poem and its corresponding line of the paraphrase are usually divided into two parts. D (Coislinianus 56) has two paraphrases, Paraphrase B as a second column and Paraphrase A as interlinear glosses; in some cases Paraphrase C is added under the title *ἑτέρα ἐξήγησις* (see Gertz [1986: 93]). Marginal scholia are also found, though their number is usually not significant. The general layout looks very like some manuscripts of the *Iliad* which associate text

¹⁸⁶ B. Crostini Lappin, *A catalogue of Greek Manuscripts Acquired by the Bodleian Library since 1916, Excluding those from Holkham Hall* (Oxford, 2003), 50.

¹⁸⁷ In the paraphrase of Homer found in the Bodleian Greek Inscription 3019, a wooden schoolbook from Roman Egypt, 'the new version, four times as long as the original, scores the rhetorical points which Homer missed' (Parsons [1970: 141]).

and paraphrase: Ambrosianus gr. 502 (L 116 sup.) [s. XIII], Ambrosianus gr. 355 (F 101 sup.) [s. XIII] and Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 64 (s. XV) are characteristic examples;¹⁸⁸ the case of Parisinus gr. 2766 (s. XIII) is also worth attention: 'text and paraphrase occupy parallel columns on the top half of the page, while the lower half contains scholia.'¹⁸⁹ The codex Oxoniensis Clarkianus 12 (s. X) of Gregory's poems has many mythological and linguistic comments in its margins, some of which come from the commentary of Cosmas of Jerusalem (see Kalamakis [1992: 62-3]). It is also worth mentioning that Vb (Vaticanus gr. 497) transmits the long poems II.1.19 and II.1.16 (104 verses each) and their Paraphrase B in two sections: a first section of about 40 verses with its paraphrase is followed by the rest of the poem and its paraphrase (ff. 253^r-255^r and 260^v-262^v); such units look very like the arrangement of material in modern schoolbooks.

Another interesting case is the very useful indirect information we draw from Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 92 (s. XIV). Vassis (2002b) has recently discussed the codex, which is a schedography of the Comnenian age and several of its *σχέδη* are actually paraphrases of extracts from classical and Byzantine texts. Among them is a paraphrase of Gregory's *carm.* II.1.55, which belongs to the *Gedichtgruppe I*.¹⁹⁰ Most interestingly, there is an indication of the source of this paraphrase: «Τοῦ Περιβλεπτηνοῦ κυροῦ Νικήτα τὸ βιβλίον ὁ θεολόγος». Vassis' conclusion that Nicetas Perivleptinos wrote or compiled a book with paraphrases of Gregory the Theologian's texts is certainly right and the codex also gives the information that a similar corpus of paraphrases had been produced for Lucian and Libanius by Michael Atticos and an anonymous metropolitan of Corinth.¹⁹¹ We can hardly avoid relating such works to school education and Vassis speaks for 'μὴ πρακτικὴ ποῦ προφανῶς θὰ διευκόλυνε τοὺς διδασκάλους στὸ ἔργο τους, ἀφοῦ μὲ τὸν τρόπο αὐτὸ ἐξασφάλιζαν μὴ σημαντικὴ παρακαταθήκη διδακτικοῦ ὕλικου'. Other paraphrases are to be found in florilegia, and it is striking that, as in the case of II.1.55 in Vat. Pal. gr. 92, they are often different from those transmitted with the poems' text: for example, Florilegium of Patmos 12. 28

¹⁸⁸ See Vassis (1991: 82-5, 104-6, with plates 2, 3 and 7).

¹⁸⁹ See Wilson (1984: 110). Wilson refers to L. Holtz, 'La typologie des manuscrits grammaticaux latins', *RHT* 7 (1977), 247-67 (with plate X), who first drew attention to this book. Cf. Vassis (1991: 46-9, with plate 6).

¹⁹⁰ Vassis (2002b: 61) cites the first and the last words of this paraphrase and I have found that they are different from those offered for the same poem by Pc (Paraphrase A), Vb (Paraphrase B) and Ma (Paraphrase C). For Pc, Vb and Ma, see Sigla (p. 101).

¹⁹¹ «Τοῦ κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ βιβλίου Λουκιανοῦ» (ff. 188^{r-v}), «Τοῦ Κορίνθου τὸ βιβλίον Λιβανίου» (ff. 200^v-1). See Vassis (2002b: 44, 56-8 and 60).

and 29 (ed. Sargologos)¹⁹² are a paraphrase of I.2.16, different from the three paraphrases transmitted for this poem as part of *Gedichtgruppe I* (see p. 81); the paraphrase of I.1.12 found in the Antiochos manuscript at Keio University¹⁹³ is also different from the ones offered by Laurentianus 7,18 [La] (Par. A), Mosquensis Bibl. Synod. gr. 156 [Mq] (Par. B) and Marcianus gr. 82 (coll. 373) [Ma] (Par. C).

In addition to these facts, there is corroborative evidence from the Renaissance. Demetrios Chalcondyles' (1423-1511) statement that the Church destroyed Greek erotic poetry and replaced it with the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus (see Wilson, [1996: 12-13]) is revealing in this respect: it acknowledges that Gregory's poems were read in schools, and it may also have an element of truth in its second part; some degree of replacement of erotic pagan poetry with Christian poetry seems plausible, at least for the conservative part of the Christian congregation. The Church might have presented Gregory's poems as both pleasing and didactic, although any kind of actual destruction of erotic poetry by the Church is unlikely to have happened, given its general policy towards classical texts.¹⁹⁴ In Wilson's words, the first part of the statement of Chalcondyles 'cannot safely be counted as anything but the product of the Renaissance conception of a dark age clouded by ecclesiastical bigotry'.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² É. Sargologos, *Un traité de vie spirituelle et morale du XI^e siècle: le florilege sacro-profane du manuscrit 6 de Patmos: Introduction, texte critique, notes et tables* (Thessaloniki, 1990), 337-9.

¹⁹³ The first and last words of this paraphrase have been printed by C. Rapp, 'The Antiochos Manuscript at Keio University: A Preliminary Description', in T. Matsuda (ed.), *Codices Keionenses: Essays on Western Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Keio University Library* (Tokyo, 2005), 11-29, at 18. This 12th century manuscript transmits Antiochos' *Pandects*; a long prayer by Antiochos; a short address by Antiochos to Eustathios, abbot of the monastery of Attalike in Ancyra; a short biography of Antiochos; a poem on the *Pandects* by Arsenios (edited by P. Odorico, 'La sanzione del poeta: Antioco di S. Saba e un nuovo carme di Arsenio di Pantelleria', *ByzSlav* 49 [1988], 1-22); a short poem by Moschos Markoleon; four paraphrases of Gregory's poems (I.1. 12, 13, 19, 14) and a short text by Maximus Confessor, *περί ἐγκαταλείψεως* ('Title: Τοῦ ἁγίου μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ περί ἐγκαταλείψεως: ἔλεγεν ὁ γέρων, ὅτι πέντε τρόποι εἰς ἐγκαταλείψεως τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς'). Rapp was not able to identify this text; the first words she prints ('Πρῶτος ὁ κατ' εὐδοκίαν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄβραάμ') correspond clearly (but not verbatim) to *Quaestiones et Dubia* 83.3-4 (p. 66 Declerck).

¹⁹⁴ See Wilson (1970) and cf. *id.* (1996: 13-4 and 276).

¹⁹⁵ See Wilson (1996: 276). R. Janko (*Aristotle on Comedy* [London, 1984], 119, n. 119), who seems to accept Chalcondyles' statement, cites in support the 'banning of comedy by the Eastern Church in AD 691, *Acta Concil. in Trullo*, canon LXII'. However, a careful reading of this text (M. 137. 728A), as well as of the interpretation given by Zonaras (M. 137. 732B), does not suggest that the banning of *προσωπεῖα κωμικὰ ἢ κατυρικὰ ἢ τραγικὰ* in this canon refers to a 'banning of comedy'. Apart from mimes or music-hall acts (see Wilson, *ibid.*), the canon may also refer to some kind of carnival celebrations, during which people used masks similar to those of comedy. Many people still revive these customs in Greece over the two weeks before the beginning of Lent; there are performances of impromptu sketches, sometimes with the use

Gregory himself states in *carm.* II.1.39.[1332] 39-41 that one of the reasons why he wrote poetry was to offer to young people a *τερπνὸν [...] φάρμακον, | πειθοῦς ἀγωγὸν εἰς τὰ χρησιμώτερα, | τέχνη γλυκάζων τὸ πικρὸν τῶν ἐντολῶν* (see p. 25). But his poetry is meant to be only supplementary to its Classical and Hellenistic models and many of Gregory's allusions presuppose the reader's familiarity with earlier pagan and sometimes erotic verse. The gnomic and didactic character of a significant part of Gregory's poetry made it perfectly suitable for the classroom.¹⁹⁶ McGuckin (2001: 376) has pointed out that Gregory's didactic memory-verses were 'written for the education of children in grammatical schools'; he refers to 'the verse synopses of the Old Testament miracles, and the Gospels' (*carm.* I.1.12-28). This argument is supported by the fact that these poems, which form Group III, are included in the Group for which Paraphrase A is transmitted;¹⁹⁷ and as I have explained, *Lex. Cas.* is entirely dependent on this paraphrase. These are all clear indications of the use of a text in schools (cf. Wilson [1996: 22]).¹⁹⁸

Further evidence may be provided by detailed examination of the contents of the manuscripts which transmit Gregory's poetry. One example illustrates this: Urbanus graecus 157 (s. XI) contains St. Cyril's lexicon followed by a supplement; etymologia alphabetica; Homeric lexicon; lexica minora; and Gregory's poem II.1.1 (from the *Gedichtgruppe I*) with Paraphrase A in the usual two-column arrangement.¹⁹⁹

2.3 The Anonymous Paraphrases

Many of the manuscripts of Gregory's poems transmit a paraphrase of the poems. For *Gedichtgruppe I* three different paraphrases have been identified. These paraphrases are very helpful to the editor of the poems, since they provide indisputable evidence for the classification of the manuscripts and may preserve or support good readings for the text of the poems.²⁰⁰ They are also invaluable as evidence for the circulation and use of the text,

of masks. What always annoys the Church are the obscene language and the occasional mocking of religion during these events (cf. Zonaras' comments in *M.* 137. 732). People always provide the same excuse: *ἐκ τῆς συνηθείας ταῦτα τελείσθαι* (*M.* 137. 732B).

¹⁹⁶ For the gnomic poetry as a school text see J. Barns, *A New Gnomologium: With Some Remarks on Gnostic Anthologies*, *CQ* 44 (1950), 126-37 and *CQ* 45 (1951), 1-19.

¹⁹⁷ See Gertz (1986: 17-8).

¹⁹⁸ McLynn (2006: 235) wonders 'whether Nicoboulus [Gregory's great-nephew] acted as a channel for the transmission of Gregory's verse into the schools'.

¹⁹⁹ See Naoumides (1975: 15-6, with plate II) and Gertz (1986: 167).

²⁰⁰ See, e.g., Gertz (1986: 126) on II.1.1. 335. However, Gertz only occasionally pays attention to the actual text of the paraphrases.

as well as for the degree to which it was understood. Their additional importance for the study of the development of the Greek language is more than obvious. However, the paraphrases have not been published and studied so far²⁰¹ and Lucia Bacci was the first editor to include in her edition of *carm.* II.2.6 two different paraphrases of this poem with an introductory note (Bacci [1996: 141-52]).²⁰²

In an appendix I offer Paraphrases A and B for the poems I edit (1-4 in the list below) and also Paraphrase C for poems 1, 2 and 4 of the same list.²⁰³ But in the discussion of the paraphrases in this chapter I have also taken into account the paraphrases for five more poems (5-9 in the list below). References to these poems in this chapter will be given only by their serial number in the following list and the verse number:

1.	I.2.17.[781-6]	Διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοί	vv. 66
2.	II.1.10.[1027-9]	Πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἱε- ρέας καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν	vv. 36
3.	II.1.19.[1271-9]	Σχετλιαστικὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ παθῶν	vv. 104
4.	II.1.32.[1300-5]	Περὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιότητος καὶ ἀπι- τίας καὶ κοινοῦ πάντων τέλους	vv. 60
5.	II.1.42.[1344-6]	Θρήνος διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ μόγων καὶ πρὸς Χριστὸν δέησις περὶ λύσεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ βίου	vv. 31
6.	II.1.43.[1346-9]	Πρὸς ἑαυτὸν κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν	vv. 31
7.	II.1.16.[1254-61]	Ἐνύπνιον περὶ τῆς Ἀναστασίας ἐκκλη- σίας, ἣν ἐπήξατο ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει	vv. 104
8.	I.2.16.[778-81]	Περὶ τῶν τοῦ βίου ὁδῶν	vv. 40
9.	I.2.5.[642]	Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν κοινοβίῳ μοναχοῦς	vv. 15

²⁰¹ The sporadic references usually include only brief descriptions. Publications include: L. A. Muratori, who in *Anecdota Graeca* ([Patavii, 1709], 208-10) published an anonymous paraphrase of *carm.* II.1.1 and D. M. Searby, 'A Paraphrase of Gregory of Nazianz, *Carmen de virtute* 2.9, in an Uppsala Ms.', *OrChrP* 69 (2003), 341-53. Professor Carmelo Crimi (Catania) has announced that he is working on an edition of the Byzantine paraphrases on Gregory's poems (see <<http://www.unict.it/flett/docenti/crimi.htm>>, accessed 30 January 2008).

²⁰² *Carm.* II.2.6 does not belong to Group I, but to Groups VIII, XVIII and V (see Werhahn in Höllger [1985: 20]). According to Gertz (1986: 18), the poems of Group VIII are also accompanied by Paraphrase A, but neither of the two paraphrases edited by Bacci can be identified as Paraphrase A, as I know it from Group I.

²⁰³ Par. C is only offered by manuscripts Pi and Ma, which do not transmit *carm.* II.1.19 (3rd in my list).

In what follows I comment briefly on their transmission, the edition in the appendix and their style and language.

Paraphrase A is a common element of class α of the *Gedichtgruppe I*. Pc, S, La and Ri transmit this paraphrase, which is also found with some alterations in B, Vm, E and Gu.²⁰⁴ This paraphrase existed in the hyparchetype α of the class (see Gertz [1986: 18]). The oldest extant manuscript with Paraphrase A is Pc (dated to 1028/29).

Paraphrase B is a characteristic of family ϵ and is found in Vb,²⁰⁵ I (= Hierosolymitanus Taphos 254), Mq, Mn (= Monacensis gr. 488), D²⁰⁶ and partially in N.

Paraphrase C is only found in Pi and Ma.²⁰⁷ Curiously enough, the paraphrase transmitted in Ma for *carm.* I.2.5 is almost identical to Paraphrase B for that poem.

Editing a paraphrase is not an easy task; this kind of text is usually encrusted with later additions, since scribes often feel free to make alterations of any kind. In Naoumides' words, 'because of the free borrowing and continuous revisions and alterations of such texts by their users or copyists, relationships between two or more works can be determined on the level of individual versions or even manuscripts rather than of a presumed archetypal text.'²⁰⁸ The text in the appendix is a transcription from one manuscript with only occasional deviations from it. I consulted other manuscripts only to confirm some readings or to find a solution in cases where the main manuscript offered an obviously corrupt text. I used Pc as the main source for Paraphrase A, D for Paraphrase B and Ma for Paraphrase C. Pc and Ma are the oldest witnesses of A and C respectively, while D contains a full version of Paraphrase B (Vb is not written as carefully and clearly as D, and Mq was not available to me when I chose D; cf. p. 92, n. 235). Some minor corrections of punctuation and orthography have been introduced silently. The

²⁰⁴ A. M. Bandini (*Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* [vol. I, Florence, 1764], 257-61) printed the first and the last words (for each poem) of the paraphrase found in La.

²⁰⁵ R. Devreesse (*Codices Vaticani Graeci II. Codices 330-603* [Vatican, 1937], 325-9) printed the first and the last words (for each poem) of the paraphrase transmitted in Vb.

²⁰⁶ D transmits Paraphrase B in a second column, but there are also many interlinear glosses which come from Paraphrase A.

²⁰⁷ A. M. Zanetti and A. Bongiovanni (*Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca Codicum Manuscriptorum* [Venice, 1740], 56-8) printed the first words of Paraphrase C in Ma. E. Mioni (*Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum: Codices Graeci Manuscripti I. Thesaurus Antiquus, Codices 1-299* [Rome, 1981]) printed both the first and the last words of the paraphrase found in the same codex, but there are many mistakes in his transcription; the first and the last words of the paraphrase for poem 1 (see pp. 261-2) are printed by Mioni (p. 123) as follows: 'paraphrasis inc. Μακάριος ὅστις ἐρημιτικόν, expl. ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι'.

²⁰⁸ Naoumides (1975: 50).

few variants cited in the apparatus aim in most cases only to indicate how the manuscripts differ.

W. G. Rutherford (1905: 336) has noted (with reference to the fashion of paraphrasing poets at schools) that 'the marvel is not that such a thing was done but that the renderings should so often have been held deserving of preservation.' It is not difficult to see why three or more paraphrases were preserved in the case of Gregory's poems: their language is not easy and a re-phrasing in readily understandable Greek would be very helpful and thus a highly appreciated feature of a book containing Gregory's poems. This phenomenon has early Christian parallels: the Septuagint version of Ecclesiastes 'is written in a style quite foreign to Greek literature' and Gregory Thaumaturgos (3rd century AD) wrote a paraphrase of it.²⁰⁹ The usefulness of his paraphrase is underlined by the fact that the commentaries of Origen and Dionysius of Alexandria on Ecclesiastes have only survived in a few fragments, but Gregory's paraphrase is still extant.

Although there is evidence that some of the paraphrases of Gregory's poems were published independently of the poems' text (see pp. 77-8), there is no doubt that in the case of his poems these simplified paraphrases as a rule accompanied the text of the poem and helped the reader to understand it. Byzantine simplified versions of classical and Byzantine texts survive and the most notable examples come from the Palaeologan period;²¹⁰ they include, among others, various paraphrases of the *Iliad*;²¹¹ a prose version of the *Odyssey* by Manuel Gabalas;²¹² the 'Imperial Statue' of Nicephoros Blemmydes, paraphrased by George Galesiotes and George Oinaïotes;²¹³ and metaphrases of Nicetas Choniates' *History* and parts of the *Alexiad* by Anna Comnene.²¹⁴ Recent studies of the examples of Choniates and the *Alexiad*

²⁰⁹ John Jarick, *Gregory Thaumaturgos' Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes* [Septuagint and Cognate Studies, 29] (Atlanta, 1990), 5.

²¹⁰ Ševčenko (1981: 309, n. 70) offers several examples, including Gregory's poems. For the paraphrases in the context of Byzantine scholarship see A. Garzya, 'Per l'erudizione scolastica a Bisanzio', in *Byzantino-sicula III: miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Bruno Lavagnini* [Quarterni, 14] (Palermo, 2000), 135-147, at 146.

²¹¹ Vassis (1991: 1-32).

²¹² R. Browning, 'A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version of the "Odyssey"', *DOP* 46 [Homo Byzantinus: Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan] (1992), 27-36.

²¹³ ODB, s.v. Blemmydes, Nikephoros. Cf. H. Hunger-I. Ševčenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριὰς und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaïotes. Ein weiterer Beitrag zum Verständnis der byzantinischen Schrift-Koine* [Wiener Byzantinische Studien, 17] (Vienna, 1986) and A. Pignani, 'Parafrasi o metafrasi (A proposito della Statua Regia di Niceforo Blemida)?', *AAP* 24 (1976), 219-25.

²¹⁴ See J. L. van Dieten, 'Bemerkungen zur Sprache der sogenannten vulgargriechischen Niketasparaphrase', *ByzF* 6 (1979), 37-77; J. Davis, 'A Passage of the "Barbarograeca" Metaphrase of Niketas Choniates' *Chronike Diegesis*: Retranslated or Revised?', *Σύμμεικτα* 10 (1996), 127-142 and H. Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI-XIII. Ein*

have showed that the “simplified” style still belongs very firmly within the range of the written norms of its period’ (Horrocks [1997: 196-200]).²¹⁵ Erich Trapp explains these paraphrases in the following terms: ‘we may suppose that at least during the last centuries of Byzantium, when the distance between the rhetorically Atticized language of most writers and spoken language had become too great, the necessity arose to transpose some of the most interesting, but not easily understandable, texts into a simpler form: Anna Komnene, Nicetas Choniates, and so on.’²¹⁶ However, the need for a simplified paraphrase of texts as difficult as the Homeric poems or Gregory’s poems must have arisen much earlier and this is reflected in the dates of the earliest surviving manuscripts with paraphrases of these texts.²¹⁷

2.3.1 Paraphrase A

Paraphrase A is a word-for-word translation of the poems; even the word-order remains the same. Two or even three synonyms are often cited in *asyndeton* to explain one word of the original: 4.35 αἱματόεντι ~ αἱματώδει πορφυρῶ; 3.40 ὠϊόμην ~ ἐνόμιζον ὑπελάμβανον; 3.54 ὑπέειξα ~ ὑπέειξα ὑπεχώρησα ἠκολούθησα. Further lexical explanations may be offered parenthetically: 3.94 λέκτριος ~ κλινήρης (λέκτρον γὰρ ἢ κοίτη); 4.33 φρεσίν ~ ταῖς διανοοίαις, ὃ ἔστιν τῆ φαντασίᾳ. Mistakes or misunderstandings are not absent:

<i>Carm.</i> 4.5	ἄθηρον
Paraphrase A	ἄθήρευτον
Paraphrase B	θηρσίν ἀκοινώνητον
<i>Carm.</i> 8.14	ῥώμη καὶ σὺς ἀγροτέρου
Paraphrase A	ἰσχὺς σὺς ἀγριοτέρου
Paraphrase B	ἡ ῥώμη τοῦ σώματος καὶ σὺν ἀγρίων πλεονέκτημα

Beitrag zur Erschliessung der byzantinischen Umgangssprache [Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 15] (Vienna, 1981).

²¹⁵ Ševčenko (1981: 310) has argued that if ‘we view the work of the authors of the paraphrases as an attempt to bring the high style down to a norm, we should be able to reconstruct elements of the standard vocabulary of the Byzantine “usual” prose by examining what words were consistently used to replace expressions of the high-style models’. Cf. the response to his remarks on the paraphrases (esp. by H. Hunger and R. Browning) and his additional remarks in *JÖByz* 32.1 [XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Wien, 4.-9. Oktober 1981. Akten, II. Teil, 1. Teilband] (1982), 211-38, esp. 211-14 and 222-3.

²¹⁶ E. Trapp, ‘Learned and Vernacular Literature in Byzantium: Dichotomy or Symbiosis?’, *DOP* 47 (1993), 115-129, at 116.

²¹⁷ For the paraphrases of the *Iliad* see Vassis (1991: 16-28). The oldest one is the ‘Paraphrasis Sinaitica’, in the fragments of a 9th-century manuscript from the new findings at St. Catherine’s Monastery (1975).

In 4.25 the rare *ρίκνός* is explained as *ἐρρυσώμενος*, a rare participle; cf. *Etymologicum Magnum* p. 523, 7 Kallierges (ed. Gaisford) *ἐπὶ τοῦ παρεφθαρμένου καὶ ἐρρυσωμένου* and *ἐρρυσος* meaning 'somewhat wrinkled, subrugose Dsc. 3.105' (see LSJ, s.v.).

2.3.2 Paraphrase B

Paraphrase B has a freer word-order, but it does not present significant deviations from the original text. Its most interesting characteristics are the following:

(a) a generally clear text with successful renderings:

<i>Carm.</i> 3.14	<i>ἀμφαδὸν ἢ λοχόωσι</i>
Paraphrase B	<i>φανερῶς ἐπιτιθεμένοις καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐνεδρεύουσι</i>
Paraphrase A	<i>φανερῶς ἐνεδρεύουσι</i>
<i>Carm.</i> 2.12	<i>ἄστεος εὐσεβίῃ πρῶτα χαρασσομένου</i>
Paraphrase B	<i>ὑπὲρ ἄστεος ἄρτι μεταμανθάνοντος τὴν εὐσέβειαν</i>
Paraphrase A	<i>τῆς πόλεως τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ πρῶτον χαρασσομένης καὶ κτιζομένης</i>
<i>Carm.</i> 8.13	<i>οἱ δὲ λόγοι περόεντες</i>
Paraphrase B	<i>οἱ λόγοι πτεροῦ δίκην ἀφιπτάμενοι</i>
Paraphrase A	<i>οἱ δὲ λόγοι ταχεῖς</i>

While *ἔδος* is translated by Paraphrase A as *ἔδρασμα* in both 7.59 and 2.4, Paraphrase B reads *τέμενος* in the first case and *ἔδαφος* in the second, taking into account the context of each case. For a possible source of these interpretations cf. Hesychius ε 498 (ed. Latte) *ἔδος· *ἔδαφος (Δ 406) Σ. γῆ. ἰερόν νγ. ἄγαλμα. θρόνος. [λόγος. φρόντισμα, ὦρα.] ἢ βάσις. βρέτας. βᾶθρον. τέμενος. ἀσφάλισμα. *ἔδρασμα (E 360). καθέδρα (I 194).*

Again, mistakes or misunderstandings are not absent:

<i>Carm.</i> 2.5	<i>προφέρουσα</i>
Paraphrase B	<i>διαφέρουσα</i>
Paraphrase A	<i>προέχουσα</i>
<i>Carm.</i> 7.85	<i>ἀλήμονες</i>
Paraphrase B	<i>ξένοι</i>
Paraphrase A	<i>πλανῆται</i>

(b) a general tendency to elaborate retelling and occasional literary bursts:

<i>Carm.</i> 3.22	<i>θαλίῃσι λύων φρένα</i>
Paraphrase B	<i>ἀφροσύναις ἐπιτραπεζίοις ἀνεθείς</i>

Paraphrase A	<i>εὐωχέαις λύων τὴν διάνοιαν</i>
<i>Carm.</i> 4.1	<i>ἤθελον ἠὲ πέλεια τανύπτερος, ἠὲ χελιδῶν ἔμμε- ναί</i>
Paraphrase B	<i>ἤθελον ἢ περιστερᾶς ἢ χελιδόνος πτερωτὴν φύσιν ἀναλα- βεῖν</i>
Paraphrase A	<i>ἤθελον ἢ περιστερὰ ταχύτερος ἢ χελιδῶν εἶμαι</i>
<i>Carm.</i> 7.1-2	<i>εὐδον δὴ γλυκὺν ὕπνον· Ἀναστασίαν δὲ τ' ὄνειρος στήσεν</i>
Paraphrase B	<i>ὕπνον ἐκάθευδον ἠδιστον, ὄναρ ἐπέστη μοι γλύκιστον· Ἀνα- στασία τὸ φίλον ἐνύπνιον</i>
Paraphrase A	<i>ἐκάθευδον δὴ ἠδὺν ὕπνον, τὴν Ἀναστασίαν δὲ ὄνειρος ἔστη- σε</i>
<i>Carm.</i> 8.12	<i>πολιὴ λυπρὰ λύσις (v1. δύσις) βιότου</i>
Paraphrase B	<i>ἢ πολιά δύσις βίου καὶ πέρας ἠδύτητος (litotes)</i>
Paraphrase A	<i>ἢ λευκὴ θριξ λυπηρόν, τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου.</i>
<i>Carm.</i> 7.33	<i>οἱ μὲν πάλλοντο καὶ ἦνεο</i>
Paraphrase B	<i>οἱ μὲν ἐπήδων, ἐπήνουν, ἐκρότου, εὐφήμουν</i>
Paraphrase A	<i>οἱ μὲν ἐκινούντο καὶ ἐπήνουν</i>

(c) use of literary, biblical and patristic words or phrases:

- 3.7 *πέμψει ~ προήκομαι*. Cf. Prov. 1. 23 and Suda s.v. *προήκομαι* (π 2422).
- 6.1. *πτερόεντες ~ ἐκπετήσιμοι*. Cf. Ar. Av. 1355 and fr. 599.2 K.-A. (= Pol-
lux, *Onomasticon* 2.18.4); also, e.g., Claudius Aelianus, Procopius, Michael
Italicos' *orationes*, Eustathios.
- 6.6 *ἐς τάφον ἦλθον ~ τάφω συνεσχέθησαν*. Cf. Theodore Daphnopates
(10th c.) *epist.* 8. 77 (ed. Darrouzès-Westerink) *οὔτε τάφω [καὶ] σφραγίδι συν-
εσχέθη*. The use of this verb may also reflect a troparion of the famous Cos-
mas Melodos' *Canon for Holy Saturday* beginning with the following sen-
tence: *συνεσχέθη, ἀλλ' οὐ κατεσχέθη, | στέρνοις κητώοις Ἰωῶα*.²¹⁸ Cf. also 3.11
*εἰ μὴ καὶ λαγόνεσσιν ἐνὶ σκοτίῃσι πέδησας ~ ἵνα μὴ λέγω ὅτι καὶ μητρὸς με
λαγόσι σκοτειναῖς καὶ ἀφεγγέσι δεσμώτην συνέσχηκας* and 8.1 *ἐπεὶ δέ με γαῖα
καθέξει ~ γῆς δὲ λαγόσι συσχεθείς*. For the phrase *λαγόσι γῆς*, found in Chry-
sostom, Procopius and Theodoretus, cf. Aesopos, *Fab. Theophyl.* (*Fabulae
Theophylacti Simocattae scholastici*) 2. 10-11 (ed. Hausrath-Hunger) *ὁ μύρ-
μηξ ἐν τοῖς λαγόσι τῆς γῆς*.
- 2.6 *ἀστεροεῖς ~ κατάστερος* (~ Paraphrase A: *ὁ ἀστερας ἔχων*). Cf. Theo-
dore Prodromos, *Carm. Hist.* 11. 153 *οὐρανὸς κατάστερος* (ed. Hörandner).

²¹⁸ See *Τριῶδιον* (Rome, 1879), 731 and Christ-Paranikas (1871: 198).

— 2.32 ἐν σταθερῷ πείσμα βάλλον λιμένι ~ ἐν ἀκλύτῳ προσωρμισάμην λιμένι καὶ γαλήνης γέμοντι. The phrase λιμὴν ἀκλυτος is found in Arrian, in *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, in Manuel Philes and in hymnography (θεῖε λιμὴν ἀκλυτε in *Canones Aprilis*).²¹⁹

— 1.10 ἀρκ' ἀποσειάμενοι ~ τὸ σαρκικὸν πάχος ἀποσειάμενοι. Cf. Eustathios, *Sermones* 9. 157. 20 (ed. Wirth) ἀλεσθῶμεν κατὰ πνεῦμα τὸ σαρκικὸν ἀποθέμενοι πάχος.

— 1.26 ὅστις ἔχει ζωὴν ἐνθάδε πενθαλέην ~ καὶ τὴν ἐνταῦθα διανύων ζωὴν ἐν πένθει διηνεκεῖ. Cf. Chrys., *In epistulam ii ad Corinthios* (M. 61.426. 42-3) μακάριοι γάρ, φησίν, οἱ πενθοῦντες, τουτέστιν, οἱ διηνεκῶς τοῦτο ποιοῦντες and especially Jo. Clim. 7 (M. 88.808 D) ὅστις ἐν πένθει διηνεκεῖ κατὰ Θεὸν πορεύεται, οὗτος καθ' ἡμέραν ἐορτάζων οὐ παύεται.

— 1.32 μεγάλου κύδεος ~ δόξαν ἀκατάλυτον. The phrase ἀκατάλυτος δόξα occurs in similar contexts in Ephraem Syrus (three times), John Chrysostom (once), Hesychius Presbyter (three times).

— 1.44 ἀλλὰ τύφος καὶ τοὺς πολλὰκι θῆκε κάτω ~ ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους πολλὰκις τύφος ἐταπείνωσε καὶ κάτω κατέσπασεν. Cf. Chrys., *In illud: Vidi domini* 3.3. 68 (ed. Dumortier) ἡ δὲ ὑπερηφανία δύναμιν ἀσώματον κατέσπασεν καὶ κατέβαλεν ἄνωθεν. Cf. 4 Reg. 23. 12; 23. 15 and 2 Par. 33. 3.

(d) some additions by the paraphraser, which in most cases confirm his familiarity with biblical and patristic texts:

<i>Carm.</i> 3.92	νηῶ τ' ἐνὶ δάκρυα λείψας
Paraphrase B	ὁ δακρύσας καὶ τὸ στήθος πατάξας ἐν τῷ ναῶ (cf. Luke 18. 13)
Paraphrase A	ὁ ἐν τῷ ναῶ δάκρυα σκεπάσας
<i>Carm.</i> 3.92	ἀλλ' ἐθέωσε νόον
Paraphrase B	ἄτε θεώσας τὸν νοῦν καὶ μετάρσιον ἐργασάμενος. Cf. Chrys. <i>Expositiones in Psalmos</i> 4. 5 (M. 55.47. 31-33) δέον πτεροῦν τὴν σάρκα καὶ μετάρσιον ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάγειν.
Paraphrase A	ἀλλ' ἀπεθέωσε τὸν νοῦν
<i>Carm.</i> 4.27	εἰν ἄϊδαο
Paraphrase B	ἐν ἄδου τοῦ στυγεροῦ καὶ θρήνων γέμοντος. Cf. <i>Etymologicum Gudianum</i> s.v. στυγνός (p. 513.53 Sturz) and Matt. 8. 4.
Paraphrase A	ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἄδου

²¹⁹ For this phrase see also A. Kambylis, 'Lexicographie und Textkritik', in W. Hörandner-E. Trapp (eds.), *Lexicographica Byzantina: Beiträge zum Symposion zur byzantinischen Lexikographie* (Wien, 1.-4.3.1989) [Byzantina Vindobonensia, 20] (Vienna, 1991), 159.

<i>Carm.</i> 3.53	κείνω θεσμός ἔδωκεν
Paraphrase B	νόμος ἐκείνω τὴν ποιμαντικὴν καθέδραν δέδωκε
Paraphrase A	ἐκείνω ὁ νόμος ἔδωκεν
<i>Carm.</i> 4.2	ὡς κε φύγοιμι βροτῶν βίον
Paraphrase B	ὡς ἂν διαπτάς βίον ἀνθρώπων ἐκφύγοιμι
Paraphrase A	ὅπως φύγοιμι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν βίον

When more than one synonym is used to explain a word of the original, *asyndeton* (found in Paraphrase A) is usually avoided; e.g. 3.11 *σκοτήρι ~ σκοτειναῖς καὶ ἀφεγγεῖς*, 3.51 *ἀθερίξα ~ οὐκ ἀπεδοκίμασα οὐδὲ ἐμυκτήρισα*. However, there are also cases where Paraphrase B overlooks words of the original (e.g. 8.71 *ἠϋγένειος*, 8.73 *φιλοξενίου φυτοῦ*, 8.92 *κουφοτέρων*) or shortens the text of the poems:

<i>Carm.</i> 3.23-4	ἢ τις εὐκρέτω κιθάρη ἐπὶ δάκτυλα βάλλον, φθόγγοις οὐ λαλέουσιν, ἐμῶν ἀχέων ὀαριστής,
Paraphrase A	ἢ τις ποτε εὐήχῳ κιθάρᾳ ἐπιβάλλον τοὺς δακτύλους, φωναῖς μὴ λαλούσαις ἄλλοις τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν ὀμιλητῆς ἀφηγητῆς λέκτης,
Paraphrase B	ἢ κιθαριστής, φθόγγοις ἀλαλήτοις χορδῶν μέλους ὑπόθεσιν τὰς ἐμας ἀλγηδόνας ποιούμενος

Stylistic variation is employed in order to render the eleven repetitions of *ὄλβιος* in the first poem (1.2.17): *οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν μακαριζομένων ἔκπτωτος, ὃς [...]. Τί δὲ ὁ [...]; Καὶ οὗτος δηλαδὴ μακαριώτατος. Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὁ [...], καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ ὄντι μακάριος. [...] Ἄξιος μακαρίζεσθαι καὶ ὁ [...]. Μακαρίζω κάκεινον, τὸν [...].*

2.3.3 Paraphrase C

Paraphrase C falls between A and B, but its style is closer to B. Each line of this paraphrase almost always corresponds to one verse of the original, but the word-order is freer within the sentences. *ἔδος* (2.4) is translated freely as *πόλις*, and the last two words of poem 1 *Γρηγορίοιο νόμοι* are paraphrased as *ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι*. Not surprisingly, its author was also familiar with the New Testament and patristic texts: *Χριστόν* in 1.5 is rendered as *τὸν τίμιον μαργαρίτην Χριστόν* (cf. Matt. 13. 46 and Greg. Naz. *or.* 19. 1. (M. 35. 1045. 5) *πάντων ὧν ἔχω τὸν τίμιον ὠνησάμενος μαργαρίτην*); in addition, *τῆς σαρκὸς τὰς ὀρέξεις* (1.10) and *σαββατίζουσιν* (1.24) occur in many patristic texts; but *ὀγκούμεθα* and *ὀγκούμενος* ('puff up with vanity or pride') at 4.11 and 29, although found in patristic texts, are more common in tragedy (see e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 623). The paraphraser adds a sentence of his own after 4.16: *τί οὖν εἶδον; Ὅτι πολλοὶ θαυμαζόμενοι ἐν τῷ βίῳ κατήνησαν εἰς οὐδέν* and summa-

rizes before 4.57: *ύμεϊς μὲν οὖν οἱ ἔμοι παῖδες τοῖς ἔμοις πειθόμενοι λόγοις οὕτως ἄγοιθε*. For *κατεψυγμένον* at 4.25 cf. Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica* 8. 1 (II p. 325.3-4 Puschmann) *κατεψυγμένον εἶναι σοι φαίνεται καὶ ἀθενῆς τὴν δύναμιν*.

3. The Transmission of the Poems

The manuscript transmission of Gregory's poems has been studied at the University of Münster since 1981. Prof. Dr. Martin Sicherl undertook the task of editing the whole corpus of Gregory's poetry, while a group of scholars in Louvain-la-Neuve began work on the orations of Gregory and particularly on their medieval translations.²²⁰ Several of Prof. Sicherl's doctoral students worked on the transmission of groups of poems or on commentaries on individual poems. These studies have appeared in the series 'Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums: NF Reihe 2, Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz' (Paderborn: Schöningh). Three groups of poems were studied by Höllger (1985), including Werhahn's catalogue of the 20 groups and their manuscripts, and by Gertz (1986). Prof. Dr. Sicherl has now thoroughly revised these studies and hopes to complete his work on the transmission of all the poems soon.

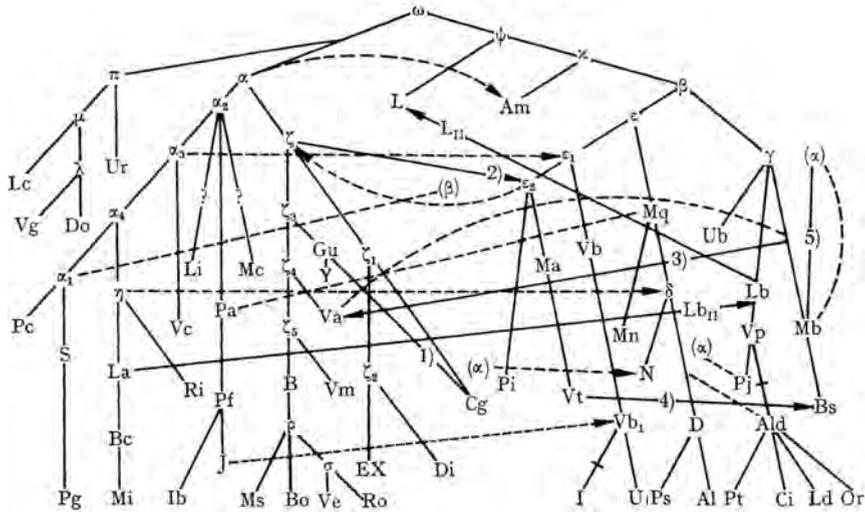
The quality of the transmission is generally high for the 20 groups of Gregory's poems. Classification of manuscripts in families is often based on external elements only: the sequence of the poems and the three anonymous paraphrases which are transmitted together with the poems in many manuscripts. Collations are needed in order to verify the families and to indicate the specific relations between the members of each family. But this task is not easy, because there are not many important errors to be found and contamination has obscured the relations between the manuscripts. An initial specimen of 1280 lines proved insufficient for Gertz's work on Group I and Höllger's results for manuscripts common to Groups XX and XI were not always transferable to Group I. It was thus surprising to find A. Tuilier (in Tuilier-Bady [2004]) offering a stemma for the entire corpus without individual examination of each group.²²¹ Some of the proposed relationships are likely to change after a complete study of the transmission of Gregory's poems. If it becomes possible to draw a stemma for the entire corpus, it may not be possible to accommodate some manuscripts, because they appear to

²²⁰ See M. Sicherl-J. Mossay-G. Lafontaine, 'Travaux préparatoires à une édition critique de Grégoire de Nazianze', *RHE* 74 (1979), 626-40 and cf. Mossay (1994). Cf. also p. 57, n. 120.

²²¹ See Simelidis (2004: 446-7). Tuilier's work on the manuscripts and their relationships is built upon Höllger's and Gertz's studies.

be contaminated from various sources. One example will suffice to illustrate this: according to Gertz (Group I — see his stemma below)²²² and A. Tuilier (entire corpus), Mb belongs to γ , but only Gertz indicates contamination from α . However, S (α) and Mb come from the same hyparchetype for the *Poemata Arcana* (Moreschini, p. xvi) included in both codices, and indeed Prof. Dr. Martin Sicherl has corrected Gertz's stemma in this respect.²²³

Das Stemma der Gedichtgruppe I



A Syriac translation of many poems constitutes an important part of their indirect transmission.²²⁴ It is transmitted by Vaticanus syr. 105 [Syr(V)] and a few folia of five British Library manuscripts (Add. 14547,

²²² I thank Dr. Hans J. Jacobs from Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh for granting me the right to reprint Gertz's stemma (letter of 13 February 2008).

²²³ 'Das von Gertz und mir erarbeitete Stemma der Gedichtgruppe I hat im Laufe meiner Arbeit am 3. Band der "Handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz" einige Korrekturen erfahren. Am wichtigsten dürfe für Sie sein, dass der Textzeuge Mb= Marcianus graecus 83 über S aus α , stammt, aber tiefgreifend mit Lb kontaminiert ist, [...]' (letter of 19 January 2004).

²²⁴ I am grateful to Prof. Sebastian Brock for supplying information about the Syriac translations and also going through *car. m.* I.2.17 with the Syriac translation that is available for this poem. The only secondary literature of which I am aware is C. Crimi, 'Fra tradizione diretta e tradizione indiretta: note alla versione siriana dei «carmi» di Gregorio Nazianzeno', in A. Valvo (ed.), *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e medievale. Forme e modi di trasmissione. Atti del Seminario Nazionale (Trieste, 19-20 settembre 1996)*, (Alessandria, 1997), 83-93 and Tuilier's introductory section on the Budé edition of *car. m.* II.1.1-11 (2004: clxiv-clxviii).

18821, 14549, 14613 and 18815).²²⁵ Sebastian Brock informs me that the names of three translators of the poems are known from secondary sources: Candidatus ('Chididatus') of Amid translated 17 poems in 665, according to Vat. Syr. 96; Theodosius of Edessa, a monk of Qenneshre monastery (on the Euphrates), wrote translations in 805, according to Barhebraeus (*Ecclesiastical History I*, col. 363); and a certain Gabriel, mentioned by Timothy I of Baghdad (727-823) in his *Letter* 24. According to Brock²²⁶ 'at present, at least, it does not seem possible to allocate any of the surviving translations to one or the other translator.' Syr(V) 'seems to be ca. 8th century'²²⁷ and the date of the Syriac translation in this MS is 'probably 6th/7th century on linguistic grounds' (on more general grounds Brock would opt for the 7th century). 'In the case of the British library MSS, on the basis of overlaps, it seems that Add. 18815 represents the earlier version and Add. 14549 and 18821 two slightly different 7th cent. revisions.'

The Syriac translations have been used selectively by Tuilier-Bady and can be helpful to the editor, especially when it comes to difficult decisions. However, the direct transmission of the poems is diverse and extensive and the quality of the transmitted text generally good, so the use of the Syriac translations is not vital for a critical edition. In the case of *carm.* I.2.17 the Syriac translation of Syr(V) reads *οὐρανίοιο* at v. 15, confirming that this variant reading, which I consider inferior to *ἐν προνόμοις*, predates the surviving MSS. The Syriac translator also either misunderstood v. 25 or his Greek text offered *ὁς πτωχὸς* for the *ὄν πτωχὸν* of the manuscript transmission.

Among the Byzantine manuscripts, Lb (dated 1280) is a collection of hexameter poetry, excluding Homer but including Hesiod (*Theogony* and *Works and Days*), Theocritus, Apollonius, Nicander, Triphiodorus and several poems by Gregory. For Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* it is our sole authority. The manuscript was partly written by Maximos Planudes²²⁸ and it might have served as a textbook for his teaching.²²⁹ But perhaps the most interesting and valuable is L (s. XI), although it has been argued that some of its good

²²⁵ They have been edited by Böllig (1895) and Gismondi (1896); the second volume is available online from the Syriac Studies Reference Library of Brigham Young University and the Catholic University of America: <<http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/u?/CUA,79343>>, accessed 13 March 2008.

²²⁶ Letter of 8 March 2008.

²²⁷ In the Budé edition (p. ccxviii) the MS is mistakenly dated to the 'XVI^e s.'

²²⁸ A detailed description and discussion of this manuscript (with plates) is offered by A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy* (vol. I, Urbana, 1972), 28-39.

²²⁹ See E. Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261-c. 1360)* (Leiden-Boston-Cologne, 2000), 229 and C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204-ca. 1310)* (Nicosia, 1982), 79.

can be supportive of good readings, but they should not be uncritically trusted. In the only case where I am not satisfied by the transmitted text (II.1.19. 24 *ῥὸ λαλέουσιν*)²³² the transmission is unanimous.

The poems I edit belong to the 'Gedichtgruppe I'²³² studied by Gertz.²³³ This group consists of the following 26 poems: II.1.1; I.2.1; I.2.2; I.2. 5; II.1.45; II.1.19; II.1.17; II.1.32; II.1.42; II.1.43; II.1.16; II.1.13; II.1.10; I.2.14; I.2.15; I.2.16; I.2.17; II.1.2; II.1.46; II.1.54; II.1.85; II.1.55; II.1.49; II.1.81; I.2.12 and I.2.13. Editions and/or commentaries for four poems of this group have followed Gertz's study: II.1.1 (v. 634) was edited with introduction, translation and commentary by R.-M. Huertas-Benin (1988);²³⁴ an introduction and commentary on vv. 215-732 of I.2.1 (v. 732) was published by K. Sundermann (1991); a commentary on I.2.2 (with introduction and contribution by M. Sicherl) was published by F. E. Zehles and M. J. Zamora (1996) and I.2.14 was edited with translation and commentary by K. Domiter (1999). The second and the third of these studies were conducted within the framework of the Münster project.

I have used Gertz's stemma to eliminate the *apographa*. A table with the manuscripts I have collated for each poem is given at the end of this chapter.²³⁵ Gertz examined 70 manuscripts which transmit the whole of or parts of Group I. Subsequently, Carmelo Crimi has detected poems of that group in one more codex: Atheniensis 2198.²³⁶ Gertz collated *carm.* II.1.1 (v. 634) and vv. 325-468 from *carm.* I.2.2 (G., xi). He also used a collation done for II.1.45 (v. 350) by B. Lorenz, for I.2.14 (v. 132) by U. Beuckmann and for

²³² Group I comprises 3,700 verses, about 20 per cent of Gregory's poetic corpus.

²³³ An earlier version of this study was submitted as Dissertation to the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Münster in the winter semester of 1980-1. In this chapter Gertz's book is referred to by his name (given as 'G.') and page number only.

²³⁴ Huertas-Benin's debt to M. Sicherl and N. Gertz is acknowledged on p. 329 (n. 4) of his unpublished thesis.

²³⁵ I am grateful to the scholars who helped me to acquire reproductions of Cg and Mq. I wish to thank Mgr. Paul Canart for his interest in my attempts to order a copy of Cg from Pontificio Collegio Greco in Rome; indeed, the Rector of the College, archimandrite P. Manel Nin, replied to my letters only after Canart's intervention, but only to say that they are not able to provide any reproductions of their manuscripts. I finally borrowed the copy held at Münster and I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Martin Sicherl. The Manuscripts Department of the State History Museum in Moscow was closed for more than two years; when it reopened on 27 October 2003, Prof. Andrei Rossius, who was aware of my earlier unsuccessful attempts to contact the Museum, ordered a microfilm of Mq himself and sent it to me (without the invoice) in late November 2003; I wish to thank him very much for his interest in my work and his generosity.

²³⁶ See C. Crimi, 'Un codice inesplorato del Christus patiens e di carmi del Nazianzeno: l'Atheniensis 2198', in A. di Benedetto Zimbone-F. Rizzo Nervo (eds.), *Kavickiv: Studi in onore di Giuseppe Spadaro* [Medioevo romanzo e orientale: Studi, 12] (Soveria Mannelli, 2002), 43-49. The codex transmits II.1.1, I.2.1 (vv. 1-681), I.2.2 (vv. 408-689), I.2.5 and II.1.45 and was placed by Crimi next to Ms, Bo, Ve and Ro, all *apographa* of B (see G., 83-4).

I.2.15 (v. 164) by M. Oberhaus, all participants in the Münster project. However, over the course of his study he found this specimen insufficient and so used 'complete collations of independent witnesses of the text' presented by three other contributors to the Münster project: B. Koch, F. E. Zehles and K. Sundermann (G., 9). Although Gertz notes that he tested and supplemented the collations by Lorenz, Beuckmann and Oberhaus, he does not give this assurance or any further information about those by Koch, Zehles and Sundermann.

Apart from the sequence of the poems and the paraphrases (G., 8 and 11), Gertz sometimes used even more external elements as evidence, such as the numeration of the poems or the origin of the manuscripts;²³⁷ the combination of such similarities is always convincing. Gertz exploited the collations only in order to verify general classes and families and to indicate the specific relations among the members of each family. But the *errores separativi* and the *errores coniunctivi* were rare (G., 9-10). Gertz admits that 'die Beschränkung auf Trennfehler im strengen Sinn wäre in den Gedichten Gregors oft gleichbedeutend mit dem Verzicht auf die stemmatische Einordnung eines Textzeugen, besonders wenn er nur ein einziges oder wenige Gedichte enthält' (G., 13). He produced the stemma which appears on p. 89.

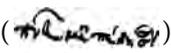
Contamination is not absent from the transmission of Gregory's poems; Gertz's stemma is no less complicated than that proposed by Müller for Petronius' *Satyricon*, which reminded Robert Browning of the sort of diagrams to be found in textbooks on crystallography.²³⁸ But the real problem is that Gertz makes no serious attempt to evaluate the manuscripts. He makes every possible attempt to place all manuscripts in the stemma, but references to correct or good readings are only occasional. Moreover, he often bases his conclusions on frail evidence; he includes in his lists differences without probative value (*v* moveable, simplification of the double consonants etc.).²³⁹ Indeed, for some cases at least his decision to determine a specific stemmatic position was too ambitious. Perhaps he needed even more collations to give a clearer picture, but there is another possible reason for the problems he met: on close examination it appears that the collations used by Gertz contained many inaccuracies. During the course of my work I noticed more than fifty mistakes or inaccuracies. Given the thorough revision undertaken by Martin Sicherl, I do not think it necessary to mention all these mistakes here. I have sent the list to Prof. Sicherl who has taken them

²³⁷ See, e.g., the impressive case of Mq, D and N in G., 108.

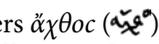
²³⁸ See CR 12 (1962), 219. For the stemma see *Petronii Arbitri Satyricon, cum apparatu critico edidit Konrad Müller* (Munich, 1961), xxxv.

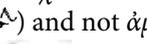
²³⁹ Although he is aware that such corruptions can be developed independently in the transmission (G., 10).

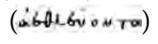
into account in his forthcoming study. I cite a few examples only (with an image of the manuscript itself in some cases):²⁴⁰

1. (G., 27) in II.1.19. 95 Pa transmits *πνεῦμ' ἐπέδησεν* () and not *πνεῦμα πέδησεν*; the latter is also transmitted by Pj and Mb.

2. (G., 27) in II.1.32. 51 Pa has *τῆδ'* and not *δεῦρ'*;²⁴¹ the latter is also transmitted by E. Thus these cases (1 and 2) should be transferred to the list of those indicating the deviation of Pa from α₃ (G., 28).

3. (G., 71) in II.1.16. 66 B offers *ἄχθος* () and not *ἄχος*.

4. (G., 79) in II.1.43. 20 Va offers *ἀναιδέειν* () and not *ἀμαιδέειν*.

5. (G., 155) in II.1.19. 32 L has *ἀεθλεύοντα* () and not *ἀεθλεύοντα*.

In addition, I would make two major remarks as follows:

1. Almost all the evidence cited by Gertz to support his argument that Vm is not a copy of B (see G., 81)²⁴² is inaccurate: both B and Vm have *ἰμάτιον* and *καὶ* at II.1.32. 4, omit *σκοπιῆς* at II.1.32. 8, offer *θηροφρόνων* at II. 1.32. 22, *έμοις* at II.1.43. 15, *φέροίτο* and *ἤδη μεληδών* at II.1.43. 17. Moreover, a closer examination of the two codices has shown that it is almost certain that the scribe of Vm did copy II.1.32, II.1.43 and I.1.15 from B.²⁴³

Vm transmits (ff. 90^r-94^r) four poems of Gregory: *epit.* 119 [M. 35.72-5] (= AP 8.2-11b); II.1.32. 1-31; II.1.43 and I.1.15.²⁴⁴ The first is an epigram which is transmitted by many manuscripts with poems of this group (see Gertz's tables). B transmits only the last five verses of this epigram (fol. 314^v) and its text differs considerably from that of Vm. B is certainly not the source of

²⁴⁰ More examples are cited in my D.Phil. thesis (pp. xc-xcix), which is available in the Bodleian library.

²⁴¹ The verse reads: *δεῦρ' ἄγε, κόσμον ἅπαντα, καὶ ὀππόσα τῆδ' ἀλάληται*. Gertz refers to *τῆδ'*. The first word *δεῦρ'* is transmitted by all manuscripts apart from Di, which reads *δῶρ'*.

²⁴² B is dated to the XIII century, while Vm to the XIV/XV (see the descriptions of Gertz in G., 53-4 and 58-9). B transmits [Gregory of Nazianzus'] *Χριστὸς πάσχων* (ff. 12v-56r), the *Χρονικόν* of Constantinos Manassis (ff. 56v-64) and Gregory's *Carmina* of Group I (ff. 153r-318v). Vm has miscellaneous patristic and other Byzantine texts.

²⁴³ However, we cannot exclude the possibility that the original of Vm was an apograph of B now lost (cf. M. D. Reeve, 'Eliminatio Codicum Descriptorum: A Methodological Problem', in N. Grant (ed.), *Editing Greek and Latin Texts* [New York, 1989], 1-35). This would better explain quite a few additional mistakes in Vm in a relatively short amount of text copied (see reason iv below), but a striking common feature of B and Vm (cited in reason vi below) seems to me a clear indication that B is very likely to have been the actual original used by the scribe of Vm.

²⁴⁴ Gregory's poems are followed by Manuel Philes' *Πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν* (*ἰδοὺ τὸ τέρμα τοῦ πολυμόχθου βίου. | ἰδοὺ τὸ κέρδος τῶν προλαβόντων πόνων. | μάτην τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν πόνοις ἐτρυχόμεν. | ἐπὶ κενοῖς ἔδραμον, ὦ ψυχὴ, πάλαι. [...]*), similar in content to II.1.32. and II.1.43.

Vm for this epigram. But the other three poems transmitted by Vm must have been copied from B for the following reasons:²⁴⁵

i) both codices transmit only verses 1-31 of II.1.32 (vv. 60)²⁴⁶ and then II.1.43 begins without any special indication.²⁴⁷ Both codices are the only ones to omit II.1.32. 18-19 and II.1.43. 19 and to transmit II.1.43. 6 after II.1.43. 7.

ii) the titles of B and Vm for II.1.32 are unique (see p. 113), and the title of Vm could have been derived from the title of B (<ἐτ>εροι πάλιν κτίχοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν <τίν'> ἄν εἴποι τις εὐχὴν B : κτίχοι εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ὡς εὐχὴ Vm).

iii) Vm has all the many mistakes of B, which appear in B but not in the rest of the tradition. I cite only some striking examples (cf. the cases cited on p. 94, in the first paragraph of these remarks on Vm and B):

II.1.32. 2	βροτοῦ BVm : βροτῶν cett.
6	ιέρα BVm : ἴδριν cett.
7	βίαιο BVm : βίω cett.
10	ρόῃς BVm : ροιῆς cett.
11	ζώνοντες BVm : ζώνοντε Ph : ζώνοντες cett.
14	πάντων BVm : πάντας cett.
26	ἦβη B : ἦβη Vm ²⁴⁸ : ἔβη cett.
II.1.43. 7	τεῖν BVm : τῆς cett.
9	ἀλλοτρίοισιν BVm : ἀλλοτρίοις Gu : ἀλλοτρίης cett.
17	τῆς BVm : τιτθῆς Ph : τυτθῆς cett.
18	εἶτα BVm : εἶ τε cett.
	τις τὸ BVm : τις cett.
24	μόνος ἐγὼ BVm : ἐγὼ μόνος cett.
25	ἀλλά με BVm : ἀλλ' ἅμα cett.
26	ἄπο] om. BVm : ἀπὸ Vc : ἄπο cett.
27	σποδί' BVm : σπουδίη Pc : σποδιή vel σποδίη cett.
29	πυρρόεντας BVm : πυρόεντας cett.
31	ἄρ'] om. BVmPh : ἄρ' cett.
	ἀμείψης BVm : ἀμείψας cett.

The first letter of each verse is written in B in bigger letters.²⁴⁹ These letters seem to have been added later and the person(s) responsible failed to fill in the right letter in some cases:

²⁴⁵ I cite evidence only from the two poems (II.1.32 and II.1.43) that belong to Group I. A quick collation of B and Vm for I.1.15 also gives the impression that the two codices have a very close affinity.

²⁴⁶ In G., 81 instead of 'II.1.32. 32-50' read 'II.1.32. 32-60'. Cf. G., 71.

²⁴⁷ There is a small dash in front of the first verse of II.1.43 in Vm, but the paper reprint I have for B lacks the very beginning of several pages, including the one in question.

²⁴⁸ Vm and B are also the only manuscripts to have the following punctuation for this verse (II.1.32. 26): γῆρας· ἦβη· τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἀπέπτατο·

- Π.1.19. 47 τὸν B : cὸν¹ cett.
77 ὁ B : ἦ cett.

The two cases of such a mistake that occur in Π.1.32. 1-31 and Π.1.43 in B are repeated by Vm:

- Π.1.43. 16 ἄ BVm : ἦ Ph : ἦ¹ cett.
Π.1.43. 27 ὄπου BVm : ἦ που Ph : εἴ που cett.

iv) Vm has even more mistakes than B, as is generally the case with *apographa*.²⁵⁰

- Π.1.32. 1 ἦ Vm : ἦè B cett.
9 βροτέον Vm : βρονταῖον B cett.
31 οὔτως Vm : οὔτος B cett.
Π.1.43. 2 διώλωλες Vm : διώλωλε PcBE : διόλωλεν Vb Ph : διόλωλε cett.
8 ἔλασε Vm : ἦλασε B cett.
16 φίλεος Vm : φίλος B cett.
28 δέδια Vm : δήδια B : δεῖδια cett.

Two of these mistakes might have been caused by the way the scribe of B often writes the letter η:

	B	Vm
ἦλασε		ἔλασε
δήδια		δέδια

v) Vm seems to correct B three times. These corrections could easily have been made by its scribe:

- Π.1.43. 1 πτερόεντος B : πτερόεντες Vm cett.
(*ποῦ δὲ λόγοι πτερόεντες; ἐς ἡέρα*)
6 τάφων B : τάφον Vm cett.
(*ἦδὲ κασιγνήτων ἱερῆ δυάς; ἐς τάφον ἦλθον*)
15 ὄσοις B : ὄσοις cett.
(*τίς δ' ὄσοις μινύθουσιν ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δάκτυλα θήσει*. The paraphrase in the next column reads *τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς* and it could have confirmed the correction for the scribe or even led him to make the correction).

²⁴⁹ I have only reprints on paper and am not able to discern whether there is any difference in the ink.

²⁵⁰ These additional mistakes in a relatively short amount of text copied may explain why the scribe of Vm was able to correct only three of the innumerable mistakes of B (see v below).

vi) the scribe of Vm not only kept the convenient two-column form for the text of the poems and that of the paraphrase; he also kept the exact arrangement of each verse in two lines (always for the text of the poems and in many cases for the paraphrases as well).²⁵¹ I transcribe a few lines (II.1.43.14-16) from each manuscript:

Parisinus gr. 2875 (= B), fol. 243^v, lines 9-14:

τίς γῆ· τίς δε τάφος με φι	τίς γῆ· τίς τάφος φιλόξενος
λόξενος ἀμφικαλύψει	περικαλύψει
τίς δ' ὄσοις μινῦθουσὶν ἐ	τίς δὲ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
μοῖς ἐπὶ δάκτυλα καλύψ(ει)	ἐπιθήσει τοὺς δακτύλους
ἄρα τίς εὐσεβέων χῶ φίλος	ἄρα τίς εὐσεβῶν τῶ χῶ
ἢ ῥὰ κάκιστος	φίλος ἄρα κάκιστος

Vaticanus gr. 573 (= Vm), fol. 93^r, lines 13-18:

τίς γῆ· τίς δὲ τάφος με φι	τίς γῆ· τίς τάφος φιλό
λόξενος ἀμφικαλύψει·	ξενος περικαλύψει·
τίς δ' ὄσοις μινῦθουσὶν ἐ	τίς δὲ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
μοῖς ἐπὶ δάκτυλα καλύψει·	ἐπιθήσει τοὺς δακτύλους·
ἄρα τίς εὐσεβέων χῶ φίλεος	ἄρα τίς εὐσεβῶν τῶ χῶ φίλος
ἢ ῥὰ κάκιστος·	ἄρα κάκιστος

2. Although Gertz (p. 52) counts the poems of Gregory in Li accurately, in the next paragraph he fails to include I.2.17 in the poems of Group I and in general considers that Li does not transmit this poem (cf. G., 6). Apart from this mistake, which limits the already small evidence for that codex, Gertz fails to give an accurate account of this manuscript. Li, like B, has too many unique errors. The countless faults of orthography and the simplification of the double-consonant forms (12 cases in I.2.17 and I.2.16 alone) may indicate that the scribe of this manuscript was not well educated. However, the above-mentioned mistakes together with some cases of false separation of words, words left incomplete and duplicated syllables, suggest that Gregory's poems in Li may have been copied from dictation.²⁵² Many of Li's mistakes might have been the result of the scribe's failure to hear what was dictated or to understand and remember the exact phrase he had heard. I cite only a few examples:

²⁵¹ For the paraphrases he seems to have been more interested in the exact correspondence of the text and its paraphrase in each line.

²⁵² For earlier times see T. C. Skeat, 'The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production', in J. K. Elliott, *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat* [Supplements to *Novum Testamentum*; 113] (Leiden-Boston, 2004), 3-32, esp. 28-9 and 31-2 [originally published in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 42 (1956), 179-208].

- 1.2.17. 3 πολύ Li : πολλοῖς cett.
 21 κληρώματα Li : πληρώματα cett.
 23 ἀρετῆς om. Li
 25 μέγ' Li : μέγα cett.
 26 πενθανόην Li : πενθαλέην cett.
 32 χρηστοῖο Li : χριστοῖο cett.
 35 στάθμε Li : σταθμά cett.
 36 μειζότεροις Li : μειοτέροις cett.
 38 κλινήν Li : κλεινὸν B: κλεινήν cett.
 39 φαρισαῖοι ὁ Li: φαρισαῖος B : φαρισσαῖοιο Mc Ma : φαρισαῖοιο cett.
 41 καὶ Li : ναὶ cett.
 45 μετρέων δὲ Li : μετρέοντες cett.
 53 ἀειρομένη Li : ἀρηρεμένη L α, BX PiMaMq^{ac} D : ἀνηρεμένον Di : ἀρηραμένη cett.
 64 ἐπερχόμενον] ~~ἐπερ~~ ἐπερχόμενον Li
 65 τελέως ἴοις] τελεωσιοῖο Li
- 1.2.16. 2 ἀνιστάμε Li : ἀνισταμένης Pa : ἀνιστάμενος cett.
 5 πολυτλείτοιο Li : πολυτλήτοιο cett.
 6 ἄλλοι Li : ἄλλη cett.
 17 ἀγοραὶ Li : ἀγοραὶ cett.
 22 γέλος Li : γέλως cett.
 24 κόνης Li : κόνις cett.
 28 νόσει Li : νόσις cett.
 29 τόγε Li : τόδε cett.
 εὐδρομί Li : γενέτωρ vel γενέτωρ cett. (cf. v. 28)
 ἀστατέον τὰ Li : ἀστατέοντα cett.
 32 θνητῶν σὺδ' οὐδὲν Li : θνητῶν δ' οὐδὲν cett.

In the light of these examples it is obvious why some of the cases cited by Gertz (p. 52) have no probative value for Li's relationships to other manuscripts. As for the other cases he cites, II.1.49 has no title in Li and Gertz is not accurate in his information for I.2.16. 12: to the list of the manuscripts offering *δύσις*, should be added L, N, D, Pj and Lb; Lb does read *δύσις* (𐀠𐀢𐀶𐀶)²⁵³ and not *λύσις*, a reading found also in S. Gertz also refers to the title of I.2.16 without giving any further information about it. The truth is that this title, as well as that of I.2.17, is not helpful for discovering Li's place in the stemma:

I.2.17 tit. μακαριςμοὶ βίων διάφοροι Pa: μακαριςμοὶ διαφόρων βίων Di: διαφόρων ἀνθρώπων μακαριςμοὶ B: περὶ διαφόρων βίων μακαριςμοὶ X: διαφόρων βίων μακαριςμοὶ cett.: om. Vc

²⁵³ Cf. δὲ! in I. 2. 16. 10: 𐀠𐀢𐀶

I.2.16 tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ Γρηγορίου περὶ τῆς τῶν παρόντων ματαιότητος Li: τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς τῶν παρόντων ματαιότητος Ri: περὶ τῆς τῶν παρόντων ματαιότητος cett.

Although Li is very likely to belong to class α, it seems that there is insufficient evidence for locating it any more precisely. It can be placed in class α with confidence, since it transmits the *lectio difficilior ἐν προνόμοισιν* at I.2.17. 15 and follows some members of α₂ and ζ in other readings as well:

- I.2.17. 15 ἐν προνόμοισι PaBXDi Li PiMa S^{Nic} : ἐν προνομεῦσι Mc : οὐρανίσις Vb : οὐρανίσιος cett. : om. LaLb
 13 λαοῖς B Li : λαοῖσι Va : λαοῖο cett.
 37 ἔχχε ζ Ma : ἔχχεν Va Lb Li : ἔχχον Ri : ἔχχε Mq NDPj : ἔχχεν cett.
 49 ἐλαφροῖς La Li Vb Lb : ἐλαφρῆς Ri : ἐλαφραῖσι X : ἐλαφραῖς cett.

Table The manuscripts I collated for each of the 4 poems in this edition

	I.2. 17	II.1. 10	II.1. 19	II.1. 32
1.	-	-	-	Am
2.	B	B	B	B (vv. 1-31)
3.	-	Cg	Cg	Cg
4.	D	D	D	D
5.	Di	Di	Di	Di
6.	-	-	E	E
7.	-	-	-	Gu
8.	L	L	L	L
9.	La	La	La	La
10.	Lb	Lb	Lb	Lb
11.	Li	-	-	-
12.	Ma	Ma	-	Ma
13.	Mb	Mb	Mb	Mb
14.	Mc	-	-	-
15.	Mq	Mq	Mq	Mq
16.	N	N	N	N
17.	Pa	Pa	Pa	Pa
18.	Pc	Pc	Pc	Pc
19.	-	-	-	Ph (vv. 1-45)
20.	Pi	-	-	-
21.	Pj	Pj	Pj	Pj
22.	Ri	Ri	Ri	Ri
23.	S ²⁵⁴	S	S	S
24.	Va	Va	Va	Va ²⁵⁵
25.	Vb	Vb	Vb	Vb
26.	Vc	Vc	Vc	Vc
		(vv.25-36)		
27.	-	-	Vh (vv. 91-8)	Vh (vv. 10, 12-3, 51-3, 55, 57-8) ²⁵⁶
28.	-	-	-	Vm (vv. 1-31)
29.	X	X	-	-
	22	20	20	25

²⁵⁴ S transmits I.2.17 twice, once with Nicetas David's commentary (S^{Nic}) and once (S) together with the rest of the poems of Group I (cf. pp. 91-2 and 102).

²⁵⁵ Va transmits II.1.32. 18-25 twice, once with the rest of the poems (Va) and once in isolation in f. 49^v (Va²). The second occurrence of the text has been crossed out.

²⁵⁶ II.1.32 is on f. 170^v of the codex, but was missed by Gertz (1986: 7).

Sigla

Am	Ambrosianus gr. 433 (H 45 sup.)	X	microfilm
B	Parisinus gr. 2875	XIII	paper
Cg	Romanus Collegii Greci 8	XV	microfilm
D	Coislinianus 56	XIV/XV	microfilm
Di	Dionysiou 214	XV	microfilm
E	Emmanuel College 32 (I. 2. 11)	XV	autopsy
Gu	Gudianus gr. 97	XIII	paper
L	Laurentianus 7,10	XI	microfilm
La	Laurentianus 7,18	XII	microfilm
Lb	Laurentianus 32,16	1280	microfilm
Li	Lincoln College gr. 1	XIV	autopsy
Ma	Marcianus gr. 82 (coll. 373)	XIII	microfilm
Mb	Marcianus gr. 83 (coll. 512)	1327	microfilm
Mc	Monacensis gr. 201	XIII	paper
Mq	Mosquensis Bibl. Synod. gr. 156	XII	microfilm
N	Borbonicus gr. 24 (II. A. 24)	XV	microfilm
Pa	Parisinus gr. 39	XIII	paper
Pc	Parisinus gr. 990	1028/29	microfilm
Ph	Parisinus gr. 998	XVI	paper
Pi	Parisinus gr. 1054	XV/XIV	autopsy
Pj	Parisinus gr. 1220	XIV	paper
Ri	Riccardianus 64	XIV	microfilm
S	Baroccianus gr. 96	XIV	autopsy
Va	Vaticanus gr. 482	XIV	Cd-rom
Vb	Vaticanus gr. 497	XIII	Cd-rom
Vc	Chisianus gr. 16	XIV	Cd-rom
Vh	Vaticanus gr. 485	XIII	Cd-rom
Vm	Vaticanus gr. 573	XIV/XV	Cd-rom
X	Baroccianus gr. 34	XV/XIV	autopsy
Syr(V)	Vaticanus syr. 105	VIII	Ed.Bollig (1895)

α	PcSLaRiVcPaBXDi [†]
α₁	PcS
α₂	PcSLaRiVcPa
α₃	PcSLaRiVc
α₄	PcSLaRi
ζ	BEXDiCg [†]

ε	PiMaVbMq [†]
ε _i	PiMaVb [†]
γ	LbMb

[†] X not in II.1.19 and II.1.32; E not in I.2.17 and II.1.10; Cg not in I.2.17; Pi only in I.2.17; Ma not in II.1.19.

Caillau	The Maurist Edition ('post operam et studium monachorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti e Congregatione sancti Mauri; edente et accurante D. A. B. Caillau', Paris, 1840), reprinted in M. 37-8 (Paris, 1858-62).
S ^{Nic}	The text of the poems which accompanies Nicetas David's commentary in S. For the cases which I cite the text of S agrees with that of Cusanus gr. 48 (s. X), as reported by Dronke (1840).
Nicetas David?	Readings of S ^{Nic} which could be changes to the text introduced by Nicetas himself (see p. 91).

τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου

- α' (I.2.17) Διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοί
- β' (II.1.10) Πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἱερέας καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν
- γ' (II.1.19) Σχετλιαστικὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ παθῶν
- δ' (II.1.32) Περὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιότητος καὶ ἀπιστίας καὶ κοινοῦ πάντων τέλους

I.2.17

Διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοί

- Ἔλβιος, ὅστις ἔρημον ἔχει βίον οὐδ' ἐπίμικτον
τοῖς χαμαὶ ἐρχομένοις, ἀλλ' ἐθέωσε νόον.
- 782A Ἔλβιος, ὃς πολλοῖσι μεμιγμένος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς
στροφᾶτ', ἀλλὰ Θεῷ πέμπεν ὄλην κραδίην.
Ἔλβιος, ὃς πάντων κτεάνων ὠνήσατο Χριστὸν
καὶ κτέαρ οἶον ἔχει σταυρόν, ὃν ὕψι φέρει. 5
Ἔλβιος, ὃς καθαροῖσιν ἐοῖς κτεάτεσσιν ἀνάσσων
χεῖρα Θεοῦ φέρει τοῖς ἐπιδευομένοις.
Ἔλβιος ἀζυγέων μακάρων βίος, οἱ θεότητος
εἰς πέλας καθαρῆς σάρκ' ἀποσεισάμενοι. 10
Ἔλβιος, ὃς θεσμοῖσι γάμου τυτθὸν ὑποεἶξας
πλειοτέρην Χριστῷ μοῖραν ἔρωτος ἄγει.
Ἔλβιος, ὃς λαοῖο φέρων κράτος εὐαγέεσσι
καὶ μεγάλας θυσίας Χριστὸν ἄγει χθονίοις.
Ἔλβιος, ὅστις ἐὼν ποιμένης τέκος ἐν προνόμοις 15
χώραν ἄγει, Χριστοῦ θρέμμα τελειότατον.
783A Ἔλβιος, ὃς καθαροῖο νόου μεγάλῃσιν ἐρῳαῖς
οὐρανίων φαέων δέρεται ἀγλαίην.
Ἔλβιος, ὃς χεῖρεσσιν πολυκμήτοισιν Ἄνακτα
τίει καὶ πολλοῖς ἐστι νόμος βίτου. 20
(Πάντα τάδ' οὐρανίων πληρώματα ἔπλετο ληνῶν,
αἱ καρποῦ ψυχῶν δέκτρια ἡμετέρων,

L PcSLaRiVcPaBXDi McVa Li PiMaVbMq LbMb NDPj S^{Nic} Syr(V)

tit. μακαρισμοὶ βίων διάφοροι Pa : μακαρισμοὶ διαφόρων βίων Di : διαφόρων
ἀνθρώπων μακαρισμοὶ B : περὶ διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοὶ X : om. Vc : διαφόρων βίων
μακαρισμοὶ cett. 1 ἐρήμον Vc 3 ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ζ Va PiMa πολλοῖς] πολὺ
Li : πολλοῖσιν X 4 στροφᾶται L PaX^{pc}Va MaVbMq NDPj : στροφᾶται X^{ac} Di Pi :
στροφάτε Li : στροφᾶτ' La Lb 5 om. B ὠνήσατο Ri 6 ὕψι φέρει PcB
D : ὕψι φέρει RiXDⁱ Mb 7 κτεάνεσσιν Pj : κτεάνεσσιν Mb : κτημάτεσσιν Vb
8-11 om. B 8 φέροι PcBDi ἐπιδευομένοις SLaDi Lb 13 λαοῖο] λαοῖς
B Li : λαοῖσι Va 15 ἐὼν] ἐὸν Va VbMq Mb ND^{ac}Pj : ἐκὼν B ἐν προνόμοις]
ἐν προνομεῦσι Mc : οὐρανίοις Vb : οὐρανίοιο L α, RiVc Va Mq Mb NDPj Syr(V) : om.
La Lb 16 χώραν] δῶρον B 19 πολυτμήτοισιν PiMa : πολυμήτησιν B :
πολυκμήτοισιν Syr(V) cett. (πολυκμήτησιν Li) 21 ληνων XDⁱ : λίνων B

	ἄλλην ἀλλοίης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ χώραν ἀγούσης· πολλὰ γὰρ πολλῶν εἰσι μοναὶ βιότων).	
	Ἵλβιος, ὃν πτωχὸν παθέων μέγα Πνεῦμ' ἀνέδειξεν· ὅστις ἔχει ζωὴν ἐνθάδε πενθαλέην·	25
	ὅστις ἐπουρανίης αἰὲν ἀκόρετος ἐδωδῆς, ὅστις ἐνηεῖη κληρονόμος μεγάλων·	
784A	ὅς σπλάγχνοισιν ἐοῖσι Θεοῦ μέγαν οἶκτον ἐφέλκει, εἰρήνης τε φίλος καὶ καθαρὸς κραδίην·	30
	ὅς πολλὰ Χριστοῖο μεγακλέος εἶνεκ' ἀνέτλη ἄλγεα καὶ μεγάλου κύδεος ἀντιάσει.	
	Τούτων, ἣν ἐθέλεις, τάμνε τρίβον. Εἰ μὲν ἀπάσας, λώϊον· εἰ δ' ὀλίγας, δεύτερον· εἰ δὲ μόνην, ἔξοχα· καὶ τὸ φίλον. Σταθμὰ γε μὲν ἄξια πᾶσι,	35
	τοῖσι τελειότεροις τοῖσι τε μειότεροις. Καὶ Ῥαᾶβ οὐκ εὐκοσμον ἔχεν βίον, ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ τὴν κλεινὴν ἀκροτάτη θῆκε φιλοξενίη.	
	Ἐκ δὲ μόνης πλέον ἔσχε φαρισαῖοιο τελώνης τῆς χθαμαλοφροσύνης, τοῦ μέγ' ἀειρομένου.	40
	Βέλτερον ἀζυγίη, ναὶ βέλτερον· ἀλλ' ἐπίμικτος κόσμῳ καὶ χθονίῃ, χειροτέρῃ δυάδος σώφρονος. Ἀκτεάνων αἰπὺς βίος οὐρεσιφοίτων, ἀλλὰ τύφος καὶ τοὺς πολλάκι θῆκε κάτω.	
785A	Οὐ γὰρ ἐὶν ἀρετὴν ἄλλοις μετρέοντες ἀρίστοις, ἄκριτον ἐν κραδίῃ ὕψος ἔχουσιν, ὅτε πολλάκι καὶ ζεῖοντι νόψ, πῶλοισιν ὁμοῖα θερμοτέρους, νύσσης τῆλε φέρουσι πόδα.	45

L PcSLaRiVcPaBXDi McVa Li PiMaVbMq LbMb NDPj S^{Nic} Syr(V)

25 ὃς πτωχὸς ... πνεῦμ' Syr(V)	27 αἰὲν] αἰεὶ Nicetas David?	28 ἐνη- εἰη] ἐνεῖη Mc : ἐνήσει Vb : ἐνήσει XDi : ἐνήη Pc : ἐνήη B
30 τε] om. XDi PiMa	31 μέγα κλέος X Li	29 ἀφέλκει XDi εἶνεκ' ἀνέτλη] εἶνεκαν ἔτλη Ri :
εἶνεκεν ἔτλη Vb	33 ἦν] ὄν B	τέμνε La Lb N
34 μόνην] μόνον RiVc Li	35 ἄξια πᾶσι] ἐξαπασι Di : ἐξ ἀπᾶσι X	
37 ἔχεν] ἔχε Mq NDPj : ἔχον Ri : ἔσχε ζ Ma : ἔσχεν Va Li Lb	ἄρα καὶ τὴν] ἀρετὴν B	
39 φαρισαῖοιο Mc Ma : φαρισαῖοι ὁ Li : φαρισαῖος B : φαρισαῖοιο cett.	43 σῶ- φρων ἀκτ- Nicetas David?	
44 ἀλλὰ τύφος] ἀλλ' ὕψος N	45 μετρέο- ντες ἀρίστοις] μέτρον ἔτασ' ἀρίστον B	
46 ἔχουσιν B	ὅτε] ὅτ' Ri : οὗτοι B	
47 πολλάκις LaB Li Lb	ὁμοῖα RiVc Mc XDi εἰ	48 θερμοτέρων BDi :
θερμοτέρας Mc : θερμοτέρου X		

	Τοῦνεκεν ἢ πετερυγεσσιν ἀεῖρεο πάμπαν ἐλαφραῖς ἢ ἐ κάτω μίμωνων ἀσφαλέως τροχάειν,	50
	μή που βριθοσύνη κείο πετερόν ἐς χθόνα νεύει μηδὲ πέσης ἀρθεῖς πτώμ' ἐλεεινότατον.	
	Νηὺς ὀλίγη γόμοφοισιν ἀρηραμένη πυκνιοῖσιν φόρτον ἄγει μεγάλης πλείονα τῆς ἀδέτου.	
	Στεινὴ μὲν πυλεῶνος ὁδὸς θεῖοιο τέτυκται, πολλαὶ δ' ἀτραπιτοὶ ἐς μίαν ἐρχόμεναι.	55
	Οἱ μὲν τὴν περόφωεν, ὅσοις φύσις ἐνθάδε νεύει, οἱ δ' ἑτέρην, κτεινῆς μοῦνον ἐφαπτόμενοι.	
786Α	Οὔτε μίη πάντεσσιν ὁμῶς φίλον ἔπλετ' ἐδωδὴ οὔτε Χριστιανοῖς εἰς βίος ἀρμόδιος.	60
	Δάκρυα πᾶσιν ἄριστον, ἀϋπνίη τε πόνοι τε, καὶ λύσσαν παθέων ἀργαλέων κατέχειν, αἰχμάζειν τε κόρον, Χριστοῦ θ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα κραταιῆν κεῖσθαι καὶ τρομέειν ἡμᾶρ ἐπερχόμενον.	
	Εἰ δ' ἄκρην τελέως ἴοις τρίβον, οὐκ ἐτι θνητός, ἀλλὰ τις οὐρανίων. Γρηγορίοιο νόμοι.	65

L PcSLaRiVcPaBXDi McVa Li PiMaVbMq LbMb NDPj S^{Nic} Syr(V)

53 ναῦς XDi ἀρηραμένη L α, BX PiMaMq^{ac} D : ἀνηραμένον Di πυκνιοῖσι S :
ποικνιοῖσι Vc 56 ἀτραπιτοὶ α₄(S^{ac})Pa^{pc} Li Mc γ Pj ἐς] εἰς RiVcPaBX Mc
Li MaVb Lb Pj 57 περόφωεν] περόφω ἐν Pc : περώων B : περώων Li : πετερώων X
Mc : πρόφωεν Caillau ὅσοις] ὅσον B 58 ἑτέρην] ἕτεροι B : ἑτέραν Li
ἐφ' ἀπτόμενοι PcLa : ἐφαπτομένοισιν Lb : ἀφαπτόμενοι Caillau 59 μίη] ἦη La
Mc ζ Pa Lb N S^{Nic} : ἦη Ri : ἦη Vc Li PiMa : ἴω Vb ὁμωσ BX 61 ἀϋπνίη]
ἀπνίη XDi : ἀνυπνίη Mc 63 κρατεῖν X Vb 65 ἄκρην] ἄκραν Li
οὐκ ἔτι Laζ Mc ε₁ 66 νόμοις La^{an ac?}RiVcPa Li Mc Lb D S^{Nic} : νόμος Va ζ MaVb :
νόμοι Syr(V) cett.

Π.1.10	Πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἱερέας καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν	
1027A	<p>Ἵ ἑσθίας πέμποντες ἀναϊμάκτους, ἱερῆς, καὶ μεγάλης μονάδος λάτριες ἐν Τριάδι· ὦ νόμοι, ὦ βασιλῆες ἐπ' εὐσεβίῃ κομόντες, ὦ Κωνσταντίνου κλεινὸν ἔδος μεγάλου, ὀπλοτέρη Ῥώμη, τόσσον προφέρουσα πολίων, ὄσκατιον γαίης οὐρανὸς ἀστερόεις·</p> <p>ὕμεας εὐγενέας ἐπιβώσομαι, οἷά μ' ἔοργεν ὁ φθόνος, ὡς ἱερῶν τῆλε βάλεν τεκέων δηρὸν ἀεθλεύσαντα, φαεσφόρον οὐρανόισι δόγμασι καὶ πέτρης ἐκπροχέαντα ῥόν.</p> <p>Ποία δίκη μόχθον μὲν ἔμοι καὶ δεῖμα γενέσθαι, ἄστεος εὐσεβίῃ πρῶτα χαρασσομένου,</p>	5
1028A	<p>ἄλλον δ' αὖ μόχθοισιν ἔμοις ἔπι θυμὸν ἰαίνειν ἀρθέντ' ἐξαπίνης θῶκον ἐπ' ἀλλότριον, οὐ με Θεοῦ τ' ἐπέβησε Θεοῦ τ' ἀγαθοὶ θεράποντες; Ταῦτα νόσος στυγερή, ταῦτα Θεοῦ θέραπες, οἱ δῆριν στονόεσσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἔχοντες, Χριστὲ ἀναξ, οὐ μοι ταῦτα νοσοῦσι φίλα. Οὐ γὰρ ἰῆς γενόμενῃ μοίρης θρασύς ἀσπιδιώτης οὐδ' ἔθελον Χριστοῦ ἄλλο τι πρόσθε φέρειν.</p> <p>Ἀμπλακίη δ' ὅτι μηδὲν ὁμοῖον ἤμπλακον ἄλλοιο μηδ' ὡς νηῦς ὀλίγη φορτίδι συμφέρομαι. Ἵσ καὶ κουφονόοισιν ἀπέχθομαι, οἳ ῥ' ἀνέηκαν βῆμα τόδ' οὐχ ὀσίως καὶ ῥοθέουσι φίλοις.</p>	10 15 20

L PcSLaRiPaBXDiCg Va MaVbMq LbMb NDPj

tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτερον εἰς ἐπισκόπους ἐν ἠρωελεγ(εἰοῖς) Cg : om. Vb : εἰς ἐπισκό-
πους cett. : πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἱερέας, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν Caillau
5 τόσσον] τόστων L B 6 γαίης] αἴης ζ 7 εὐγενέας] εὐσεβέας Va^{yp} Lb
8 τῆλε βάλε MaMq : τῆλ' ἔβαλε α : τῆλ' ἔβαλε La Va Mb τεκέων] τεμέων Di :
τοκέων B 10 ἐκπροχέοντα L SLaPaB Mq^{ac} DPj : de Ri non liquet
11 δεῖγμα BXDi MaVb 15 τ'] om. L RiPaCg ε Lb NDPj τ'] τε La
16 θέραπες] θεράποντες Sζ ε Mb Pj 18 ταῦτα Va φίλω ζ 19 ἰῆς]
ἰης Pc^{ac} γενοίμην α,La^{ac}Di : non legitur Ri 21 ἀμπλακίη] ἀμπλακίην B
μηδὲν] οὐδὲν Pa 22 φορτίδι] φροντίδι ζ Pj 24 καιροθέουσι LaXDICg
ε, N : καὶ ῥοθέοισι Mb : καιροθέοισι L Pa Va Mq Lb DPj

	Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν λήθης κεύθοι βυθός. Αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε	25
1029A	ἔνθεν ἀφορμηθεὶς τέρψομαι ἀτρεμίῃ, πάντ' ἄμυδις, βασιλεία καὶ ἄστεα καὶ ἱερῆας ἀσπασίως προφυγών, ὡς πόθειν τὸ πάρος, εὔτε Θεός μ' ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἐννουχίοισιν ὄνειροι καὶ πόντου κρυεροῦ δείμασιν ἀργαλείοις.	30
	Τοῦνεκα καγχαλόων φθόνον ἔκφυγον, ἐκ μεγάλου δὲ χείματος ἐν σταθερῷ πείσμα βάλον λιμένι, ἔνθα νόου καθαροῖσι νοήμασι θυμὸν ἀείρων, θύσω καὶ κιγῆν, ὡς τὸ πάροιθε λόγον. Οὗτος Γρηγόριοιο λόγος, τὸν θρέψατο γαῖα Καππαδοκῶν Χριστῶ πάντ' ἀποδυσάμενον.	35

L PcSLaRiVcPaBXDiCg Va MaVbMq LbMb NDPj

27 πάνθ' Caillau 28 τοπάρος SLa^{Pc}Vc DiCg Va Vb γ NPj 29 μ' ἐκά-
λεσε Di VbMq Mb ND : με κάλεσε La Pj : με κάλεσεν Ri 34 κιγῆ B τὸ
πάροιθεν LaRiB : τοπάροιθε SVc Va γ NPj : τοπάροιθεν Di λόγων B : λόγου Pj
35 Γρηγόριοιο Pj : Γρηγορίου Pa

Π.1.19 Σχετλιαστικὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ παθῶν

- 1271A Πολλάκι Χριστὸν ἄνακτα κακοῖς μογέων μεγάλοισιν
 ὠνοσάμην· καὶ γάρ τις ἄναξ θεράπωντος ἔνεικε
 δούλιον ἐν στομάτεσσι λαλεύμενον ἡρέμα τρυσιμόν,
 ὡς δὲ πατήρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἄφρονος υἱὸς ἐοῖο
 πολλάκις ἀμφοδίῳ ἐπέων θράσος ἢχ' ὑπέδεκτο· 5
 τοῦνεκα καὶ σὺ λόγοισιν ἐμοῖς Θεὸς ἴλαος εἶης,
 οὓς τοι ἀκηχεμένη κραδίη, ἀγανώτατε, πέμψει.
 Βαῖδον ἄκος παθέεσσι ἐρευγομένη φρενὸς ὠδία.
 Χριστὲ ἄναξ, τί τόσοις με κακοῖς διέπερσας ἄνωθεν,
 ἐξότε μητρὸς ὄλιθον ἐμῆς ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν; 10
 Εἰ μὴ καὶ λαγόνεσσι ἐνι σκοτίησι πέδησας,
 1272A τίπτε τόσοις ἀχέεσσι καὶ εἰν ἀλί καὶ κατὰ γαῖαν,
 ἐχθροῖσιν τε φίλοισι τε καὶ ἡγεμόνεσσι κακίτοισι,
 ξείνοισι ἡμεδαποῖσι τε καὶ ἀμφοδὸν ἢ λοχόωσι,
 μῦθοισι τ' ἀντιθέτοισι καὶ λαϊνέαισι νιφάδεσσι 15
 βέβλημαι; Τίς ἅπαντα διακριδὸν ἐξαγορεύσει;
 Μοῦνος ἐγὼ πάντεσσι ἀοίδιμος οὐτ' ἐπὶ μῦθοισι
 οὐτ' ἐπὶ κάρτεϊ χειρὸς ἔχων περιώσιον ἄλλων,
 ἄλγεα δὲ στοναχὰς τε περισταδόν, ὥστε λέοντα 20
 πάντοθεν ἀμφυλάουσι κακοὶ κύνες, οἰκτρὸν ἄεισμα,
 ἀντολίη τε δύσει τε. Τάχ' ἂν ποτε καὶ τὸ γένοιτο,
 ἢ τις ἀνὴρ θαλίησι λύων φρένα ἢ τις ὀδίτης
 ἢ τις εὐκρέκτω κιθάρῃ ἐπι δάκτυλα βάλλων
 φθόγοισι †οὐ λαλέουσιν† —ἐμῶν ἀχέων ὀριστύς—

L PcSLaRiVcPaBEDiCg Va VbMq LbMb NDPj

tit. εἰς ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον SLaPaζ Mq γ NPj : εἰς ἑμαυτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνο-
 δον L PcRi : εἰς ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον. ἐπεκτείνεται δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ εἰς ἕκαστον
 εὐχαρίστω φέροντα τὰ πρὸς θεόν, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπως αὐτῶ συμβαίνουσι καὶ ὅπως δεῖ
 εὐχεσθαι D : εἰς ἑαυτὸν Va : om. Vc Vb : σχετλιαστικὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ παθῶν cett.
 2 ἔνεικεν L Vc Va : ἔνεκεν E : ἔνηκεν Cg : ἔνεγκε(ν) α₄BVbNPj : ἦνεγκεν Di
 5 ἀμφοδίην PcVb : ἀμφοδίην B : ἀμφοδίῳ EDiCg 11 om. Vb λαγόνεσσι
 SRiEDi 13 ἐχθροῖσι τε Vc Mq ND : ἐχθροῖσι τε Vb : ἐχθροῖσι καὶ ζ Va
 φιλοῖσι Cg Va Vb 17 οὐτ' οὐδ' Caillau 20 ἀμφ' ὑλάουσι LaRiDi : ἀμφ'
 ὑλάουσιν Vc : ἀμφιλάουσι Vb 24 οὐ λαλέουσιν] ἀπενθαλέουσιν? ὁ ἀρι-
 στύς VcBE Vb Pj : ἀριστύς Pc : ἀριστήης Lb

- 1273A Γρηγορίου μνήσαιτο, τὸν ἔτρεφε Καππαδόκεσσιν 25
 ἢ Διοκαισαρέων ὀλίγη πτόλις. Ἄλλ' ἐπίμοχθον
 ἄλλοις πλοῦτον ὄπασσας ἀπείριτον, υἱέας ἄλλοις
 ἐσθλοῦ· κάλλιμος ἄλλος, ὁ δ' ἄλκιμος, ὃς δ' ἀγορητής.
 Αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ κλέος ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἄλγεσιν· ἐς δ' ἐμὲ πάντας
 σῆς γλυκερῆς παλάμης πικροὺς ἐκένωσας οἰστούς. 30
 Ἄλλος Ἰῶβ νέος εἰμί· τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἐθ' ὁμοίων.
 Οὐ γὰρ ἀεθλεύοντά μ' ἄγεις, μάκαρ, ὥς τιν' ἄριστον
 ἀντίον ἀθλητῆρος ἀπηνέος — ἀλκι πεποιθῶς —,
 ὥς κεν ἀριστεύσαντι γέρας καὶ κῦδος ὄπασσῃς.
 Οὐπω τόσσος ἔγωγ' οὐδ' ἄλγεσι κῦδος ἔπεστι. 35
- 1274A Ποιὴν δ' ἀμπλακίης τίνω τάδε. Τίς δέ θ' ἀμαρτὰς
 διζήμι' ἐν πλεόνεσσιν, ὃ σοὶ πλέον ἔχθεται ἄλλων.
 Ἐξερέω πάντεσσιν ὃ μοι νόος ἐντὸς ἐέργει·
 ἢ τάχα κεν δρῦψειεν ἀμαρτάδα μῦθος ἀναυδος. 40
 Ἰσιόμην (ὅτε δὴ σε φίλον λάχος οἶον ἐδέγμην
 πάντ' ἄμυδις βιότιοιο ἀφυσγετὸν εἰς ἄλα ρίψας
 καὶ νόον ὕψι βιβάντα τεῆ θεότητι πελάζων
 σαρκὸς νόσφιν ἔθηκα, νόος δέ μοι ἠγεμόνευε)
 πάντων μὲν κρατέειν, πάντων δ' ὑπερ αἰθέρα τέμνειν
 χρυσεῖαις περύγεσσι· τό μοι φθόνον αἰνὸν ἄγειρε 45
 καί με κακαῖς ἐνέδησεν ἀφυκτοτάτησι τ' ἀνίαις.
- 1275A Σὸν κλέος ὑψός' ἄειρε, κλέος δὲ σὸν ἐς χθόν' ἔθηκεν.
 Αἰὲν ἀγνηνορήσιν, ἀναξ, κοτέεις μεγάλῃσι.
 Κεῖνό γε μὴν αἴτιοιτε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι γράφοιτε,
 λαοὶ θ' ἠγεμόνες τε, ἀπεχθέες, εὐμένεες τε, 50
 πατρὸς ἐμοῦ μέγαλοιο φίλον θρόνον οὐκ ἀθέριξα·
 Οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδ' ἐπέοικε Θεοῦ θεσμοῖσι παλαίειν.

L PcSLaRiVcPaBEDiCg Va VbMq LbMb NDPj

26 πτόλις α, Pj : πόλις cett. 29 ἐς] εἰς ζ Va Vb δέ με Vc 31 ὁ-
 μοιον Riζ Vb 32 ἀεθλεύοντά L Pa Vb : ἀεθλεύσαντά PcRiVcζ : ἀειθλεύσαντά
 Pj 33 ἀθλευτήρος α, Mb ἀλκή LaVc Va N^{pc}Pj 36 ἀμπλακίαις Lb
 37 ἄχθεται Di Lb Pj 38 ἐέργει] ἔεργε Caillau 39 ἀναυδῆς α, B : ἀναιδῆς
 EDiCg 40 ὄτε] ὄτι Vb 43 νόος] λόγος L Pa VbMq γ NDPj : νόμος
 Caillau 46 κακαῖς] κακοῖς L Pa Mq Lb ND ἐνέδυσεν EDiCg : ἐπέδησεν L
 SPa VbMq Lb ND ἀφυκτοτάτησι τ'] -αἰσί τ' Vb : -οἰσί τ' Mb Pj : -ῆσιν LaRiVc Va
 ECg : -οἰσιν S^{an} pc²B : ἀφυκτωτάτοις PcS^{an} ac² : ἀφικτοτάτοις Di ἀνοῖαις Pc
 47 ὑψος ἄειρε(ν) α, ζ Pj : ὑψος' ἄειρε Mb χθόν' ἔθηκεν] χθόνα θῆκε EDiCg Va :
 χθόνα θῆκε B

Κεῖνω θεσμὸς ἔδωκεν· ἐγὼ δὲ τε χειρὶ γεραῖῃ
 χεῖρα νέην ὑπέρεια, πατρὸς δ' ὑπόειξα λιτῆσι,
 πατρὸς ἐμοῦ, τὸν ἔτισε καὶ ὄς μάλα τηλόθι μάνδρησ
 ἀζόμενος πολὴν τε καὶ ἤλικα πνεύματος αἴγλην. 55

1276A Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ζωῆς σημάντορι καὶ τόδ' ἔαδεν
 ἡμετέρης, ἄλλοις με Λόγον καὶ Πνεῦμ' ἀναφῆναι,
 ξεῖνοις, τρηχαλέοισιν, ἀκανθοφόροις ἀρούραις,
 βαιῆ μὲν ψεκὰς εἶμι, πολὺν δὲ τε λαὸν ἐπῆρσα. 60

Καὶ τόδε γ' αὖθις ἔαδε παλίμπορον ἐνθάδε πέμψαι
 νούσῳ τε στυγερῇ καὶ ἀργαλέαις μελεδῶναι
 τηχθέντ' ἐξαπίνης· ἰὸς δὲ τε ἀνδρὶ μέριμνα.
 Βαῖον δὲ χρόνον ἔσκειν ἐμοῖς μελέεσσιν ἀρηγῶν,
 ποιμενὴν κύριγγα, βοηθὸν ἐσθλὸν ὀπάσσας, 65
 μή τις ἐμοῖς μήλοισιν ἀσημάντοισιν ἐπελθῶν
 ἐχθρὸς ἐὶν πλήσειεν ἀναιδέα γαστέρα φορβῆς.

1277A Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δονέοντο ἀγοὶ δονέοντο δὲ λαοὶ
 ἡγεμόνος τε ποθῆ καὶ θήρεσιν οὐλομένοισιν,
 οἳ Θεὸν ἀνδρομέοισιν ἐνὶ σπλάγχχοις παγέοντα 70

ἔκνοον ἤτορ ἔχουσι νόου δίχα μορφώσαντες,
 πολλοὶ μὲν τρύζεσκον ἐμοῖς παθέεσσιν ἄπιστοι,
 καὶ μ' ὑπεροπλίησι θεουδέα λαὸν ἀτίζειν
 ἢ φάσαν ἢ νόος εἶχε· Θεῶ γε μὲν ἄλγος ἔφαινον.
 Πολλοὶ δ' αὖ νυχίοισιν ἐμὲ κρίνεσκον ὄνειροις, 75
 ζωγράφος ὧν πόθος ἦεν, ἀθύρματα πολλὰ χαράσων·

Ἦ Θεὸς ἐξεκάλυπτεν, ἐμοὶ τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζων,
 ὄφρα κε μὴ χαλεπῆσι σὺν ἐλπωρῆσι δαμείην,
 ἐξοδίην κακότητα ἐφεσκάμενος βιότοιο.
 Τοῦνεκεν αὐχέν' ἔκαμψα, τεῆν δ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα κραταιήν 80
 δέσμιος ἔρχομ' ἔγωγε· δίκη δ' ἄλλοις μεμήλοιο.
 Οὐδὲν ὄνειαρ ἔμοιγε δικαζομένης βιότητος.

L PcSLaRiVcPaBEDiCg Va VbMq LbMb NDPj

55 μάνδρας PcB Va 59 τρηχαλέησιν EDiCg Lb : τροχαλέοισιν B Va
 ἀκανθηφόρησιν Va : ἀκανθοφόροις L^{ac} : ἀκανθοφόροις B 64 ἀρηγῶν Vc :
 ἀρηγῶν L La^{ac}RiPaζ Va Mq γ NDPj : ἀρωγῆν Vb 65 om. B ποιμενικήν L
 VbMq γ DPj : ποιμενείην Vc βοηθόν α,La Mb NPj ἐσθλόων Pj
 68 ἀγοὶ] ταγοὶ Di 69 ἡγεμόνες τε ποθοὶ B : ἡγεμόνες τε ποθῆ L Ri
 θήρεσσιν L PaBDi VbMq ND : θήρευσιν Pc 73 ὑπεροπλείησι Mq Lb D :
 ὑπειροπλίησι Mb 74 γε μὲν] γε μην B : γ' ἐμὸν Caillau 76 πολλὰ]
 καινὰ B : κενὰ Va^{ac} Vb : om. Cg πολλὰ χαράσων] καταχαράσων EDi

- 1278A Τῆ νῦν, Χριστέ, φέροις με ὅποι φίλον. Ἄλγεσι κάμφθην.
 Κητείαις λαγόνεσσι τετρυμένος εἰμὶ προφήτης.
 Κοὶ παρέχω ζωῆς τόδε λείψανον. Ἄλλ' ἐλέαιρε 85
 νεκρὸν ἔτι πνεύοντα. Τί μ' ἄλγεσι τόσσον ἐλαύνεις;
 Οὐτ' ἀγαθοῖσι μόνοις θάνες, Θεός, εὐτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
 ἤλυθες (ἦ μέγα θαῦμα, Θεὸς βροτὸς αἵματι ραίνων
 ψυχὰς ἡμετέρας καὶ σώματα), οὔτε κάκιτος 90
 μόνος ἐγώ. Πολλοῖσι χερεῖοσι κύδος ὄπασσας.
 Τρεῖς βίβλοισι τεῆσι μεγακλέες εἰς τελῶναι,
 Ματθαῖός τε μέγας, νηϜ τ' ἐνὶ δάκρυα λείψας,
 Ζαχαῖός τ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν· ὁ τέτρατος αὐτὸς ἔοιμι.
 Τρεῖς δ' ἄρα λυσιμελεῖς, ὁ τε λέκτριος, ὅς τ' ἐπὶ πηγῆ,
 ἦν τε πνεῦμ' ἐπέδησεν· ὁ τέτρατος αὐτὸς ἔοιμι. 95
- 1279A Τρεῖς δέ σοι ἐκ νεκῶν φάος ἔδρακον, ὡς γὰρ ἄνωγας·
 ἄρχοντας θυγάτηρ, χήρης πάϊς, ἐκ δὲ τάφοιο
 Λάζαρος ἡμιδάϊκτος· ὁ τέτρατος αὐτὸς ἔοιμι.
 Καὶ νῦν φάρμακ' ἔχοιμι' ὀδυνήφατα καὶ μετέπειτα 100
 ζωῆν ἄτροπον, ἐσθλέ, τεϜ μέγα κύδει γαίων.
 Ποίμνης ἠγεμόνευσα θεόφρονος. Εἰ δὲ λυθειῆν,
 ποιμένος οἶδε τύχοιεν ἀρείονος· εἰ δ' ἄρ' ὁμοίως,
 ἦσσανος ἐν παθέεσσι, μακάριστε· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε
 τὸν νούων ἐλατῆρα κακοῖς ἀχέεσσι παλαίειν.

L PcSLaRiVcPaBEDiCg Va VbMq LbMb NDPj Vh(vv. 91-8)

83 με ὅποι] με ὅπη L BEDi Vb Lb : μ' οὐ σοι SLaRiVcPa : μ' οὐ σοι Pc 84 λα-
 γόνεσσι Va : λαγόνεσι RiB Vb 85 ζωῆς τόδε] τόδε ζωῆς SPaBEDi Va^{ac}
 86 νεκρὸν] μικρὸν B Va Mq γ DPj 92 δάκρυ' ἀλείψας Vb 93 τ'] om.
 PaBECg Va τέταρτος LaRiPaDi Mb 94 πηγὴν α₁RiVc : γῆ Vb
 95 πνεῦμα πέδησεν α₃, E^{an} pc^c Mb Pj τέταρτος LaPaBDi Mb 97 χήρας La
 98 τέταρτος LaPaDi Mb 99 ἔχοιμι L SRiPaζ Va Mb Pj 100 ἄτρο-
 πον] ἄτροπον N : ἄτροπον SLa 104 ἀχέεσσι] ἀχθεσι α₃

Π.1.32	Περὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιότητος καὶ ἀπιστίας καὶ κοινοῦ πάντων τέλους	
1301A	Ἦθελον ἠὲ πέλεια τανύπτερος ἠὲ χελιδῶν ἔμμεναι, ὥς κε φύγοιμι βροτῶν βίον, ἢ τιν' ἔρημον ναιετάειν θήρεσσιν ὁμέστιος (οἱ γὰρ ἕασι πιστότεροι μερόπων) καὶ ἡμάτιον βίον ἔλκειν νηπενθῆ, νήποινον, ἀκηδέα· ἐν τόδ' ἄθηρον μοῦνον ἔχειν, θεότητος ἴδριν νόον, οὐρανοφοίτην, ὥς κε γαληνιῶντι βίῳ φάος αἰὲν ἀγείρω. Ἦ τιнос ἠερίης σκοπιῆς καθύπερθεν ἀερθεῖς βρονταῖον πάντεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν αὔσαι· Ἦ ἄνθρωποι θνητοί, ροίης γένος, οὐδὲν ἕοντες, οἱ θανάτῳ ζῶντες ἐτώσια φυσιώμεν, μέχρι τίνος ψεύστηρι καὶ ἡματίοισιν ὄνειροι παιζόμενοι, παίζοντες ἐπὶ χθονὶ μὰψ ἀλάληθε; Ἦ θρεῖ δὴ πραπίδεσσιν τεαῖς ἐπὶ πάντα ὀδεύων, ὥς καὶ ἐγώ· δὴ γάρ με Θεὸς μέγας ἴδριν ἔθηκεν ἐσθλῶν τε στυγερῶν τε, νόος δ' ἐπὶ πάντα φορεῖται. Οὗτος ἔην θαλερός τε καὶ ἄλκιμος, εὖχος ἐταίρων, ὑψὶ βιβὰς, μελέεσσιν ἐριζώοισι πεπηγῶς. Οὗτος κάλλιμος ἦεν, ἕωςφόρος, ὄμματα πάντων ἔλκων, εἶαρος ἄνθος ἐν ἀνδράσιν. Οὗτος ἀγῶσι κύδιμος· ἔντεσιν οὗτος ἀρήϊος· οὗτος ἄριστος θηροφόνων σταδίοισι καὶ οὔρεσι κάρτος ἐγειρών.	5 10 15 20

Am L PcSLaRiVcPaB(vv. 1-31)Vm(vv. 1-31)EDiCg Gu Va MaVbMq LbMb NDPj
Ph(vv. 1-45) Vh(vv. 10, 12-3, 51-3, 55, 57-8)

tit. <ἔτ>εροι πάλιν στίχοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν <τίν> ἂν εἴποι τις εὐχὴν B
(litteras evanidas supplevi) : στίχοι εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ὡς εὐχὴ Vm : εἰς ἑαυτὸν Va :
παραινετικά Vh : om. VcCg : περὶ εὐτελείας τοῦ ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπου cett. : περὶ τῆς τοῦ
βίου ματαιότητος καὶ ἀπιστίας καὶ κοινοῦ πάντων τέλους Caillau 3 οἱ] οἱ Vc
Ph Caillau 4 πιστότατοι α₃E ε₁ 6 ἔχειν] ἔχων Vm 7 ἀγείρων L
PcLa RiVcPaE ε ND : ἀγείρειν BVm : ἄγειρον Cg Va γ Pj Ph 9 αὔσαι Ri Cg
Gu Mb : αἰεταὶ BVm : αἰεταὶ Va : ἀῆσαι Di : βοήσω E : αὔσω cett. 10 ροίης
codd. Caillau 15 μέγαν BCg Mq LbMb^{pc} NDPj Ph 18-19 om. VmB
18 ὑψὶ βιβὰς Am α₁LaPa Gu MaMq γ : ὑψὶ βιβὰς Di : ὑψιβὰς E : ὑψιβιβὰς cett.
πεπηγῶς] τεθελῶς L B Va^{29p} Mq Lb ND Ph 22 θηροφόνων S : θηροφρόνων
L PcBVm Gu^{an ac?}

- Οὗτος δ' αὖ θαλίησι καὶ εἰλαπίνησι μεμηλωῶς,
 γαίη καὶ πελάγεσσι καὶ ἠέρι γαστέρα φέρβων,
 νῦν ῥικνός καὶ ἄναλκις (ἀπήνηθηεν γὰρ ἅπαντα), 25
 γῆρας ἔβη, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἀπέπτατο· νεκρά τὰ γαστρός.
 Βαῖον ἔτ' ἐν μερόπεσσι· τὸ δὲ πλέον εἶν αἴδαο.
 Οὗτος δ' αὖ μύθοις πνεύων μέγα παντοδαποῖσιν·
 οὗτος δ' εὐγενέτης τύμβοις φρονέων μεγάλοισιν
 ἢ δέλτοις ὀλίγησι νεόγραφον αἶμα λελογχῶς. 30
 1303A Οὗτος καρτερόμητις, ἐνὶ πτολίεσσι μέγιστος,
 πανδήμοις στομάτεσσι βοώμενος· οὗτος ἄμετρον
 πλοῦτον, τὸν μὲν ἔχων, τὸν δὲ φρεσὶν ἔνδον ἀέξων.
 Οὗτος δ' ὑψηθρόνοιο δίκης πλάστιγξι γέγηθεν.
 Οὗτος δ' αἱματόεντι ῥάκει δεσμῶ τε καρήνου 35
 γαίης κάρτος ἔχων καὶ οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἀτίζει,
 θνητὸς ἐν οὐ θνητῆσι μετήρορος ἐλπωρῆσι.
 Νῦν τάδε, μικρὸν ἔπειτα κόνις καὶ πάντες ὁμοῖοι,
 δμῶες, σκηπτροφόροι, θῆτες, πλούτῳ κομῶντες·
 εἷς ζόφος, εἷς δὲ δόμος· τόσσον πλέον ὄφρυόεσσι, 40
 ὅσσον κλεινοτέραιο γόου τύμβου τε τυχήσαι,
 οὐνομά τ' ἐν λάεσσι λιπεῖν ἐπικήδιον οἰκτροῖς·
 ὄψ' ἐ μὲν, ἔμπα δὲ πᾶσιν ἴσον θνητοῖσι τάλαντον.
 1304A Ὅστεά πάντες ἀφαιρά, σεσηρότα, γυμνά κάρηνα.
 Λῆξε τύφος· πενήνη δὲ μόγος λίπε· νοῦκος αἴτιος· 45
 ἔχθος, ἀτασθαλίη, πλεόνων πόθος, ὕβρις ἀτειρή,
 πάντ' ἔθανε φθιμένοισιν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα μέμυκεν,
 μέχρις ἀνεγρομένοισι συνέμπορα ἔνθεν ἴκηται.
 Ταῦτ' οὖν εἰσορώντες ἐμοῖς πείθεσθ' ἐπέεσσι,
 παῖδες ἐμοὶ (παῖδες γάρ, ὅσων πλέον εἴρυσα Πνεῦμα), 50
 δεῦρ' ἄγε κόσμον ἅπαντα καὶ ὀππόσα τῆδ' ἀλάληται

Am L PcSLaRiVcPaB(vv. 1-31)EDiCg Gu Vm(vv. 1-31) Va MaVbMq LbMb NDPj
 Ph(vv. 1-45) Vh(vv. 10, 12-3, 51-3, 55, 57-8)

- 24 φέρβων] βόσκων Am 27 ἔτ'] τ' α₃E MaVb : om. BVm : ἔτος Am
 30 ὀλίγησι] -γησιν PcRi : -γοισι E^{an} pc^c Vm Va Ma Pj : -γοισιν Am B Ph
 36 κράτος Am ἀτίζειν Pc 37 θνητοῖσι Am PcLa^{ac}ζ Gu Va MaMq NDPj
 Ph 38 ὁμοῖοι Am α₁RiEDiCg Gue₁ 39 σκηπτοφόροι VcCg Mb NPj Ph
 41 κλεινοτέρου τε Ma 42 ἐπικήδειον E Va MaVb Ph 48 μέχρις ἂν
 ἐγρομένοισι PcPa Va^{pc} Mq Mb NDPj : μέχρις ἂν ἐγειρομένοισι(v) SDi : μέχρις
 ἀνεγειρομένοισιν La : μέχρις ἂν ἀγειρομένοισιν Va^{ac} : ἄχρις ἂν ἐγρομένοισι Lb
 49 ἐμοῖς πείθεσθ'] ἐμοῖσι πίθεσθ' Cg Gu 50 ὅσων] ὅσων DiCg Ma^{ac}VbMq γ
 NDPj : ὅσω Va 51 τῆδ'] δεῦρ' α₃E MaVb

	ρίψαντες, κακότητος ἐπιχθονίου βασιλῆος —ἄρπαγος ἀλλοτρίων, δηλήμονος, ἀνδροφόνοιο—, πλοῦτον, ἐϋκλείην, θώκους, γένος, ὄλβον ἄπιστον, προτροπάδην φεύγωμεν ἐς οὐρανόν, ἥχί τε πολλὰ	55
1305A	κάλυφα μαρμαίροντα φάος πέρι τριστόν, ἄφραστον. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περσοῖσιν ἐοικότες ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα πίπτοιεν, περσῶν τε κυλίμασι τέρψιν ἔχοιεν ἢ δνοφερὴν σκοτόμαιναν ἐοῖς ἐπικείμενοι ὄρσοις τοίχους ἀμφοφώντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἴοιεν.	60

Am L PcSLaRiVcPaB(vv. 1-31)EDiCg Gu Vm(vv. 1-31) Va MaVbMq LbMb NDPj
Ph(vv. 1-45) Vh(vv. 10, 12-3, 51-3, 55, 57-8)

52 κακότητος Cg Gu Vh : κακότητα Va : om. Di 55 ἥχί τε πολλὰ] ἀστερό-
εντα Vh 58 περσῶν τε] περσῶντες Gu : πεπυγῶτες Cg κυλίματι Pc
59 σκοτόμαιναν Am L α Va VbMq^{pc} γ ND Pj 60 ἀλλήλοισιν] ἀλλήλοισι δ' Am
α,RiVc EDiCg Gu MaVb D

Commentary

α' Διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοί

1.1 Outline

- 1-32 *Beatitudes of specific ways of life and virtues*
The celibate and eremitical life is the best choice, since it enables a man to devote his entire self to Christ. Happy and blessed is the man who does charitable work; who lives a sorrowful life; who is honest, hardworking and a friend of peace; whose heart is pure.
- 33-54 *Exhortation with a condition*
The reader is advised to follow even just one of the blessed ways of life presented in the previous verses. The virtuous married life is better than celibacy, if the latter leads to pride.
- 55-66 *Conclusion*
There are many different Christian ways of life. In fact, what really matters is to choose the small gate and the narrow road: a life full of tears and privation, struggle against passions and fear of the Last Judgement.

1.2 Literary Characteristics

The poem seems to have been partially inspired by the Beatitudes (Matt. 5. 3-12; Luke 6. 20-23) of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5-7). Beatitudes are also common in the Old Testament, especially in the Psalms, which begin with the words: *μακάριος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλή ἁβεβῶν* (Ps. 1. 1), as well as in *Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides*.¹ It is interesting to notice that all the reminiscences of the Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount are gath-

¹ Cf. e.g. Ps. 31. 2; 33. 9; 39. 5; 40. 2; 93. 12; 111. 1 and *Ecclus.* 14. 1; 14. 20; 25. 8-9; 50. 28. The lines of the *Psalms* that begin with *μακάριος* are rendered into similar *ἄλβιος* hexameters by the author of the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*: e.g. Ps. 1.1 *ἄλβιος, ὃς τις ἀνὴρ ἀγορήν δ' οὐ νίκετ' ἀλιτρῶν*; 31.1 *ἄλβιοι, οἳ τ' ἀνέδειχθεν ἐλεύθεροι ἀμπλακιάων ~ μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομία;* 127.1 *ἄλβιοι, οἳ μεμῆλε μετὰ σφίσι δεῖμα θεοῦ ~ μακάριοι πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον*). The text has been edited by A. Ludwich (*Apolinarii Metaphrasis Psalmorum* [Leipzig, 1912]). The attribution of this text to Apollinaris from Laodicea is dubious and its relationship to Gregory is also unclear; see pp. 60-1.

ered together in vv. 25-32,² which seem to comprise a special group of beatitudes under one *ὄλβιος*. It is more interesting, however, to find in the *Elegiae* transmitted under the name of Theognis three elegiac couplets that begin with *ὄλβιος*.³ All of them have pederastic content and they belong to advice given to Cyrnus. The *Suda* (θ 136) mentions as the third of the works of Theognis *γνώμας δι' ἐλεγείας [...] πρὸς Κύρνον, τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενον*. The similarity in the formation of Gregory's verses with these [Theognis'] verses is striking:

ὄλβιος, ὧι παῖδές τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι
 θηρευταί τε κύνες καὶ ξένοι ἀλλοδαποί.⁴
 ὄλβιος, ὅστις ἐρῶν γυμνάζεται οἴκαδε ἐλθῶν,
 εὐδενὶ σὺν καλῶι παιδί πανημέριος.
 ὄλβιος, ὅστις παιδὸς ἐρῶν οὐκ οἶδε θάλασσαν,
 οὐδέ οἱ ἐν πόντῳ νύξ ἐπιούσα μέλει.

Thgn. 1253-4, 1335-6, 1375-6

Gregory certainly knew Theognis and directly attacked his advice on the matter of poverty (*carm.* I.2.10. 393-5 [ed. Crimi], with Kertsch's note):

ληρεῖ δέ μοι Θεόγνις ὡς λῆρον πλατύν,
 κρημονοὺς προτιμῶν τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ βυθοῦς,
 κακῶς τε Κύρνω νομοθετῶν εἰς χρήματα.

[Theognis] (175-6) wrote: *ἦν (sc. πενήην) δὴ χρῆ φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς μεγακήτεα πόντον | ῥιπτεῖν καὶ πετρεῶν Κύρνε κατ' ἠλιβάτων*.⁵ However, this does not mean that the Theognidea as a whole should be condemned by Christians (Gr. Naz. *ep.* 13. 1):

ἐπαινῶ τὸ Θεόγνιδος, ὃς τὴν μέχρι πότων καὶ τοῦ ἡδέος φιλιᾶν οὐκ ἐπαινῶν, ἐπαινεῖ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων· τί γράφων;

Πολλοὶ πὰρ κρητῆρι φίλοι γίνονται ἐταῖροι,
 ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι, παυρότεροι.⁶

Gregory chose for this poem the accepted gnomic style and this shows his awareness of the gnomic tradition.⁷ If my suspicion is right that he also

² See Moreschini et al. (1994: 183, n. 4).

³ There is also one pentameter, Thgn. 934: *ὄλβιος, ὃς τοῦτων ἀμφοτέρων ἔλαχεν*.

⁴ Cf. Solon fr. 23 West.

⁵ This is the text according to West (*Iambi et Elegi Graeci* [vol. I, Oxford, 1989]); but there is a variant *βαθυκήτεα* (for *μεγακήτεα*), printed by Van Groningen and Young and, according to West, transmitted by 'A Plut. 1039f Luc. (ter) Porph. Clem. Stob.^{av}'. It is likely that Gregory too had in his mind the reading *βαθυκήτεα* (~ Gregory's *βυθός*). Young refers to Gregory's verses in his testimonia.

⁶ Thgn. 643-4.

adopted the linguistic formula of the erotic verses of the Theognidea cited above, then he found not merely a nice way to express his beatitudes, but also a very poetic way to attack the pederastic content of these verses: by using the same style in order to provide his Christian view of *ἄλβος* as a response. Gregory also addresses a young man in v. 33, as [Theognis] addresses Cynrus. The suspicion that the Theognidea served as a stylistic model and perhaps as a source of inspiration for Gregory is strengthened by the following verbal similarities:

χειμάρρῳι ποταμῶι, *πάντ' ἀποσειάμενος* (Thgn. 348)
 εἰς πέλας καθαρῆς, *ἀρκ' ἀποσειάμενοι* (v. 10)
 δύσλοφον, ἀργαλέον μνήμα *φιλοξενίης* (Thgn. 1358)
 κλεινὴν ἀκροτάτη θῆκε *φιλοξενίη* (v. 38)
 ὦρη, σὺν δ' ἤβη γίνεται *ἀρμοδία* (Thgn. 724)⁸
 οὔτε Χριστιανοῖς εἰς βίος *ἀρμόδιος* (v. 60)

In the corpus of Greek elegiac or hexameter verse only [Theognis] and Gregory use the participle *ἀποσειάμενος*.⁹ There are overall many clear reminiscences of the Theognidea in Gregory, but the presence of this text is particularly vivid in his gnomic poetry:¹⁰ the Theognidea are one of the main classical models for the gnomic style and they also happen to provide many thoughts that could easily be praised and adopted by Christians.

Apart from [Theognis'] pederastic couplets, Theocritus also envies the judge in the boys' kissing-contest in honour of the Megarian hero Diocles, who gave his life for his friend (*Id.* 12. 34): *ἄλβιος ὅστις παιεὶ φιλήματα κεῖνα δαιτᾶ*. Additional parallels for *ἄλβιος*, not necessarily erotic, may also be

⁷ Demoen (1996: 62) also classifies as gnomologies ('parenthetic alphabets and other acrostics, and also sequences of gnomes or definitions') the poems I.2.17; 20-3; 30-4. The Greek gnomic tradition and Gregory's verse is discussed by S. Azzarà, 'Fonti e rielaborazione poetica nei «Carmina moralia» di Gregorio di Nazianzo', in M. S. Funghi (ed.), *Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico* [Studi / Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere La Colombaria, 218] (Florence, 2003), 53-69. For a brief discussion of *γνώμαι*, didactic poetry and Wisdom literature, and their educational purpose, see P. W. van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides. With Introduction and Commentary* (Leiden, 1978), 77-80.

⁸ Cf. Stob. 4.33. 7; Plut. *Sol.* 2. 3.

⁹ Gregory also in *carm.* II.1.17.[1269] 104 and in I.2.29. 314 (ed. Knecht). In the second case the phrase *πάντ' ἀποσειαμένη* occurs at the same metrical *sedes*.

¹⁰ Davids (1940) studied four of Gregory's gnomic poems (I.2.30-3) and the number of parallels with [Theognis] that he noticed is remarkable. It may be that references to the Theognidea are second only to the biblical references. Cf. also Wyss (1983: 842-3) and Q. Cautaudella, 'Ancora su οὐ μοι πίναται οἶνος (261-266) e su altri versi di Teognide', *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 9 (1967), 165-76. Demoen (1993: 239) says that Gregory wrote in general 'hexameters in the Homeric and Callimachean tradition, distichs like those of Theognis, trimeters imitating Euripides'.

added to Gregory's possible sources of inspiration, such as Bion, fr. 12 Reed:¹¹

ὄλβιοι οἱ φιλέοντες ἐπὴν ἴσον ἀντεράωνται.
 ὄλβιος ἦν Θησεὺς τῷ Πειριθῷ παρεόντος,
 εἰ καὶ ἀμειλίκτοιο κατήλυθεν εἰς Αἶδαο.
 ὄλβιος ἦν †χαλεποῖσιν ἐν ἀξείνοισιν† Ὀρέστας
 ὄνεκά οἱ ξυνὰς Πυλάδας ἄρητο κελεύθωσ.
 ἦν μάκαρ Αἰακίδας ἐτάρω ζῶοντος Ἀχιλλεύς.
 ὄλβιος ἦν θνάσκων ὅτι οἱ μόρον αἰνὸν ἄμυνεν.

Gregory imitates Bion in at least two places, as J. D. Reed has recently shown in his commentary on Bion's *Adonis*: *Adonis* 42 *πάχεας ἀμπετάσασα* ~ *AP* 8.30. 3 *χειράσ δ' ἀμπετάσασα*; *Adonis* 44 *χείλεα χεῖλεσι μείζω*¹² ~ *AP* 8.53. 4 *οὔποτε χεῖλεα μίξας ἀνάγνοις χεῖλεσιν ἀγνά*; see also Reed on *Adonis* 21 and my note on *πενθαλέην* (v. 26).

In the introductory chapter about Gregory and Hellenistic poetry, I referred in passing to two allusions that occur in this poem (pp. 42, 44). The first case is in v. 22: Gregory speaks here of the heavenly wine-vats which receive the fruit of Christians' souls. He uses the word *δέκτριαι* to mean 'receiving'. The word is very rare and this is only the third time it appears in extant Greek literature. [Archilochus] had first referred to a prostitute who welcomes strangers: *κυκῆ πετραίη πολλὰς βόσκουσα κορώνας, | εὐθήησ ξείνων δέκτρια Πασιφίλῃ* (fr. 331 West).¹³ In a scoptic epigram against *grammatikoi* (*AP* 11.400. 6), 'Lucian' speaks ironically of the *πάντων δέκτρια Γραμματική*: as the prostitute Pasiphile welcomes strangers, in the same way Grammar 'welcomes' all, even incompetent people, to teach it.¹⁴ If a simile for a harlot is indeed behind Gregory's spiritual, heavenly simile, this is very impressive, though not surprising: 1 Cor. 6. 16-17 [*ἡ*] *οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ὁ κολ-*

¹¹ See also, e.g., *hCer.* 480 (with Richardson's note).

¹² But cf. also Bion's model, cited by Reed: Theoc. 12. 32 *προσμάξῃ γλυκερώτερα χεῖλεσι χεῖλῃ*.

¹³ D. E. Gerber (*Greek Iambic Poetry* [Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1999], 292-3) translates as follows: 'Like a fig tree on rocky ground that feeds many crows, good-natured Pasiphile takes on strangers'. Gerber notes that the couplet is probably Hellenistic and the ascription to Archilochus is frequently rejected. The couplet is transmitted indirectly by Athenaeus (594c-d).

¹⁴ See R. Aubreton (ed.), *Anthologie Grecque. Première partie: Anthologie Palatine* (v. 10 [book 11], Paris, 1972), 288, n. 6 (on p. 215). Cf. also G. Nisbet, *Greek Epigram in the Roman Empire: Martial's Forgotten Rivals* (Oxford, 2003), 171-2. Nisbet discusses the question of whether Lucian of Samosata is the author of the epigrams under the name 'Loukianos'; on p. 165 (n. 1) he writes: 'Geffcken's particular strategy is to attribute most of the *Anthology's* 'Lucianic' poems to Loukillios, while attaching the *AP* 10 poems to a hypothesized moralist, also called Lucian/Loukianos. He asserts the latter to be of the school of Gregory of Nazianzen. The breathtaking summariness of his procedures is probably to be explained by the low esteem in which he holds these poets.'

λώμενος τῇ πόρῃ ἐν κῶμά ἐστιν; ἔχονται γάρ, φησίν, οἱ δύο εἰς κάρκα μίαν. ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν πνευμᾷ ἐστιν.

The second allusion is when the poet mentions one of the common characteristics of all Christian ways of life, confidence in Divine Providence (vv. 63-4): *αἰχμαΐζειν τε κόρον, Χριστοῦ θ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα κραταιήν | κείσθαι*. Saint Peter advised (1 Pet. 5. 6-7): *ταπεινώθητε οὖν ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ὑψώσῃ ἐν καιρῷ, πᾶσαν τὴν μέριμναν ὑμῶν ἐπιρίψαντες ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν*, and the phrase *κραταιὰ χεῖρ Κυρίου* occurs very often in the Septuagint, e.g., Ezech. 3. 14 *ἡ κραταιὰ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Κυρίου) χεῖρ ἐβοήθησέ μοι*.¹⁵ However, the phrase as it is expressed and metrically placed here naturally recalls the Homeric formula *μοῖρα κραταιή | (Il. 5. 629; 16. 853; 19. 410; 24. 209)*. It is also worth noting that it is in fact the χεῖρ of God, Divine Providence,¹⁶ which replaced pagan *μοῖρα* for Christians.¹⁷

1.3 Place in Gregory's Life and Thought

The adoption of a pleasing classical model of speech, as well as the selective acceptance of thoughts expressed by a classical author, is in accordance with the central idea of the Cappadocians that pagan literature is not to be rejected as a whole. Gregory and Basil think that Christians should accept and exploit the useful elements of classical literature, while rejecting and avoiding the dangerous or useless: *ἀλλ' ὅσον χρήσιμον αὐτῶν καρπούμενοι πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν καὶ ἀπόλασιν ὅσον ἐπικίνδυνον διαφεύγομεν* (Gr. Naz. or. 43.11. 10-12 [ed. Bernardi]; cf. Wilson [1975: 40]). In this poem we see that Gregory has a completely different view from Theognis about *ἄλβος*, but also fully agrees with him on the matter of *κόρος* (see my comment on v. 63 *αἰχμαΐζειν τε κόρον* and cf. Gregory's two direct references to Theognis quoted on p. 118). He in fact both rejects and adopts sayings of the same unmentioned author in the same poem.¹⁸ Of course what Gregory does in his poetry goes beyond this and we have seen Gregory exploiting even erotic verse and assuming that his readers would be well read in it (see p. 44).

¹⁵ Cf. Exod. 13. 3, 13. 9, 13. 14; Deut. 5. 15, 6. 21; Ps. 135. 12; Jer. 39. 21.

¹⁶ Gregory talks about Divine Providence in chapters 32-3 of his 14th oration (M. 35.900-4).

¹⁷ Gregory uses the formula *χεῖρα κραταιήν* twice more at the same metrical *sedes*: II.1.1. 581-2 (ed. Huertas-Benin) *τεῖν δ' ἐπὶ χεῖρα κραταιήν | πέμψειας* (Tuilier and Bady print here for *τεῖν* an unmetrical *χήν* [cf. Simelidis, 2004: 449]) and at II.1.19.[1977] 80-1 *τεῖν δ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα κραταιήν | δέσμιος ἔρχομ' ἔγωγε*.

¹⁸ For another case of Gregory's disapproval of an unmentioned author see Demoen (1993: 243-4).

If one reads the poem very carefully, one realizes that Gregory insists on some points in a way that hints at a dispute or at least at the existence of different opinions. He does not simply say that there are many different ways of living a Christian life (vv. 56-8) but goes on to emphasize that there is *not* one single way which is acceptable, in the same way as there is no single kind of food suitable or pleasant to all (vv. 59-60).¹⁹ In v. 41 he says 'βέλτερον ἀζυγίη, ναὶ βέλτερον· ἀλλ'...'. This perhaps means: 'yes, I agree with you. The celibate life is indeed better, but...'. He speaks as if some people suggested that there is only one route to salvation or overemphasized the superiority of celibate life.

This is not the only occasion when Gregory points out with emphasis that there are many different ways of living a Christian life and he presents a list of some of them. He refers to the same idea in at least four of his orations (14, 19, 32, 27), as well as in his long autobiographical poem (II.1.11), and from one of these cases it does become clear that he is responding to contrary views. His argument is that even one virtue is welcomed by God and is a valid Christian way of life with the power to save man. Of course it is perfect if someone possesses more than one, since he will have a better place in paradise. But some virtues and Christian ways of life are very demanding and dangerous for most people. He specifically refers to participation in theological discussions and involvement in disputes on faith and points out that the tendency of most people to *θεολογεῖν* should be checked and that those presenting this virtue as the only way of achieving salvation are wrong. Why do they forget all other virtues? Why pass over the safer virtues for a more splendid, but also a more dangerous one? He says that he prefers for himself a safe, humble way over one that is a glorious but dangerous.

In *carm.* II.1.11. 1208-31 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) Gregory refers to this idea as one of the rules he advocates in his teaching.²⁰ If the wise alone had faith, nothing would be poorer than God:

ἄλλος τις οὗτος τῆς ἐμῆς παιδεύσεως
νόμος, σοφῶς τε καὶ καλῶς γεγραμμένος·
μὴ μίαν ὁδὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας εἰδέναι
τὴν εὐκόλον τε καὶ κακὴν γλωσσαλίαν,
.....

1210

¹⁹ John of Damascus has cited a paraphrase of vv. 59-60 (*οὔτε μία πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐπιτηδεῖα ὑπάρχει τροφή, οὔτε Χριστιανοῖς εἰς βίος ἀρμόδιος*) together with a passage from *or.* 2.30 (see note on 46-8) under the title *Περὶ διαφορᾶς καὶ ἀνομοίου καταστάσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων* in his work *Eic τὰ ἱερά παράλληλα* (M. 95. 1381).

²⁰ McLynn (1998: 463) thinks that vv. 1220-3 refer to Gregory's career in Constantinople, 'which includes constant mortification of the senses'; but Gregory here enumerates the virtues which he considers safer than *θεολογεῖν* and recommends them to the majority of Christians.

ἀλλ' ἐντολαῖς μὲν ὡς μάλιστα εὐσεβεῖν
 πτωχοτροφοῦντα, ξενοδοχοῦντα, ταῖς νόοις
 ἀρκοῦντα, καρτεροῦντα, καὶ ψαλμωδίας, 1220
 εὐχαῖς, στεναγμοῖς, δάκρυσιν, χαμευνίας,
 γαστρὸς πιεσμοῖς, ἀγχόνας αἰσθήσεων,
 θυμοῦ γέλωτος χειλέων εὐταξία
 τὴν σάρκα κοιμίζοντα πνεύματος κράτει.
 Πολλὰ γὰρ εἰς αἰ σωτηρίας ὁδοί, 1225
 πᾶσαι φέρουσαι πρὸς θεοῦ κοινωνίαν,
 ἃς χρὴ σ' ὀδεύειν, οὐ μόνην τὴν ἐν λόγῳ.
 Λόγος γὰρ ἀρκεῖ καὶ ψιλῆς τῆς πίστεως,
 μεθ' ἧς ἀτεχνῶς τὸ πλεόν σφίζει θεός.
 Εἰ δ' εἰς σοφοῦς ἔπιπτεν ἡ πίστις μόνον, 1230
 θεοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἦν πενέστερον.

In his oration 14 (*Περὶ φιλοπτωχίας*), usually dated between 365 and 372,²¹ Gregory wants to decide which is τῶν ἀρετῶν ἡ νικῶσα (14. 1; M. 35.860. 13). He spends three chapters (2-4) counting virtues and giving biblical exempla for each of them (see a quotation in my note on vv. 37-8). Each virtue is mentioned after the word καλόν (e.g., καλὸν ἐρημία καὶ ἡσυχία· καὶ διδάσκει με [...] καλὸν ἡ ἀκτημοσύνη καὶ χρημάτων ὑπεροψία· καὶ μαρτυρεῖ...), a turn of phrase that is parallel to ὄλβιος in this poem. Gregory wants to conclude that Christ himself and Saint Paul considered love the highest of all virtues and thinks that love's best part is that addressed to poverty. However, before coming to his conclusion, he opens with this very interesting parenthesis (*or.* 14.5 [M. 35.864. 15-25]):

τούτων ἕκαστον μία τις σωτηρίας ὁδὸς καὶ πρὸς τινα τῶν μονῶν πάντως φέρουσα
 τῶν αἰώνιων καὶ μακαρίων· ἐπειδὴ ὡςπερ διάφοροι βίων αἰρέσεις, οὕτω καὶ μοναὶ
 πολλαὶ παρὰ Θεῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστῳ μεριζόμεναι τε καὶ διαιρούμεναι· καὶ ὁ
 μὲν τήνδε κατορθούτω τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὁ δὲ τήνδε, ὁ δὲ πλείους, ὁ δὲ τὰς πάσας, εἰ
 οἶόν τε· μόνον ὀδεύετω καὶ ἐφιέσθω τοῦ πρόσω καὶ κατὰ πόδας ἐπέσθω τῷ καλῶς
 ὀδηγοῦντι καὶ κατευθύνοντι καὶ διὰ τῆς στενῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ πύλης ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος
 ἄγοντι τῆς ἐκείθεν μακαριότητος.

There is almost nothing in this paragraph which is not mentioned in the poem.

In *or.* 32, composed in 379,²² Gregory speaks 'Περὶ τῆς ἐν διαλέξει εὐταξίας, καὶ ὅτι οὐ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐδὲ παντὸς καιροῦ τὸ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ θεότητος'. He argues (32.32) that the present bad situation in which everyone speaks for God (τῆς νῦν κατεχούσης φιλολαλίας καὶ ἀρρωστίας) should stop and most people should cultivate other safer kinds of virtue (ἐπ'

²¹ See Holman (2001: 145-6).

²² See Moreschini's introduction to *or.* 32 in his *Sources chrétiennes* (318) edition (1985: 10-11).

ἄλλο τι τρέπειν ἀρετῆς εἶδος ἀκινδυνότερον). He closes his speech as follows (or. 32.33 [ed. Moreschini]):

εἰ μὲν γάρ, ὡσπερ «εἰς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα, εἷς Θεός, ὁ Πατήρ πάντων, καὶ διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν», οὕτω καὶ μία τις ἦν σωτηρίας ὁδός, ἢ διὰ λόγου καὶ θεωρίας, καὶ ταύτης ἐκπεσόντας ἔδει τοῦ παντός ἀμαρτεῖν καὶ ἀπορριφθῆναι Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐλπίδος,²³ οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν οὔτε τοῦ συμβουλευεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε τοῦ πείθεσθαι σφαλερώτερον. Εἰ δέ, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις, **πολλοὶ διαφοραὶ βίων καὶ προαιρέσεων**, μειζόνων τε καὶ ἡττόνων, λαμπροτέρων τε καὶ ἀφανεστέρων, οὕτω κἀν τοῖς θεοῖς **οὐχ ἓν τι τὸ σωζόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲ μία τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁδός, ἀλλὰ πλείονες, καὶ τὸ πολλὰς εἶναι μόνας παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ**, —τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλλούμενον κἀν ταῖς πάντων κείμενον γλώσσαις—, οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ τοῦτο αἴτιον, **τὸ πολλὰς εἶναι τὰς ἐκεῖσε φερούσας ὁδοὺς**, τὰς μὲν ἐπικινδυνότερας τε καὶ λαμπροτέρας, τὰς δὲ ταπεινότερας τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρας —**τί τὰς ἀσφαλεστέρας ἀφέντες ἐπὶ μίαν ταύτην τρεπόμεθα, τὴν οὕτως ἐπισηφαλή καὶ ὀλισθηρὰν καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι φέρουσιν**;

Ἡ τροφή μὲν οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατάλληλος, ἄλλω δὲ ἄλλῃ κατὰ τὴν διαφορὰν καὶ τῶν ἡλικιῶν καὶ τῶν ἔξων, βίος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς πᾶσι συμφέρων ἢ λόγος; Οὐκ ἔγωγε τοῦτο εἶποιμ' ἂν οὐδὲ προσθοίμην τοῖς λέγουσιν. Εἴ τι οὖν ἐμοὶ πείθεσθε, νέοι καὶ γέροντες, ἄρχοντες λαῶν καὶ ἀρχόμενοι, μονασταὶ καὶ μιγάδες, τὰς μὲν περιττὰς καὶ ἀχρήστους φιλοτιμίας χαίρειν ἔακατε· αὐτοὶ δὲ διὰ βίου καὶ πολιτείας καὶ λόγων τῶν ἀκινδυνότερων τῷ Θεῷ πλησιάζοντες τεύξεσθε τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἀληθείας καὶ θεωρίας, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, «ὧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας». Ἀμήν.

The similarities with our poem are again striking, but Gregory here clearly refers to those who taught that there was only one way of achieving salvation: that *διὰ λόγου καὶ θεωρίας*, the one which passes through discussion and contemplation. Gregory thinks that such an *ὁδός*, though *λαμπροτέρα*, is *ἐπισηφαλής*, *ὀλισθηρὰ* and *ἐπικίνδυνος*. There are many other *ταπεινότεραι τε καὶ ἀσφαλέστεραι ὁδοί*, which he recommends. Who were the people who, according to Gregory, presented *περιττὰς καὶ ἀχρήστους φιλοτιμίας* as the only way of salvation?

In or. 27.7, composed in 380,²⁴ he speaks of the same 'disease' (*ἡ τοσαύτη περὶ τὸν λόγον φιλοτιμία καὶ γλωσσεαλία; ἡ καινὴ νόσος αὕτη καὶ ἀπληστία*), which has led to contempt for all other virtues. Gregory wonders: *τί τὰς χεῖρας δῆσαντες τὰς γλώσσας ὠπλίσσαμεν*; Then, in a flood of *asyndeta* and rhetorical questions (or. 27.7. 5-23), he reminds Christians of about 25 neglected virtues, many of which are also among those presented in this poem. In the next chapter of the speech Gregory presents his argument for the

²³ Moreschini places a semi-colon here, but this separates the conditional clause from the apodosis. I prefer to put a comma.

²⁴ See Ruether (1969: 178) and Gally's introduction to his *Sources chrétiennes* (250) edition (1978: 13-4).

value of many different possible ways of life using the dialectical method (*or.* 27.8 [ed. Gallay]):

καίτοιγε, ὦ διαλεκτικὲ καὶ λάλε, ἐρωτήσω σέ τι μικρόν· «Cὺ δὲ ἀπόκριναι», φησὶ τῷ Ἰωβ ὁ διὰ λαίλαπος καὶ νεφῶν χρηματίζων. Πότερον **πολλοὶ μοναὶ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ**, ὅπερ ἀκούεις, ἢ μία; Πολλοί, δώσεις δηλαδή, καὶ οὐ μία. [...] Ἐπειδὴ τοῦθ' ὠμολογήσαμεν, κάκεινο προσεξετάσωμεν. Ἔστι τι τὸ ταύτας προσξενούν τὰς μονάς, ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, ἢ οὐδέν; Ἔστι πάντως. Τί τοῦτο; **Τὸ διαφόρου εἶναι πολιτείας καὶ προαιρέσεις, καὶ ἄλλην ἀλλαχοῦ φέρειν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, ὅπερ καὶ «ὁδοῦς» ὀνομάζομεν.** Πάσας οὖν ὀδευτέον, ἢ τινὰς τῶν ὁδῶν τούτων; **Εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε τὸν αὐτόν, ἀπάσας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅτι πλείστας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τινὰς· εἰ δὲ μὴδὲ τοῦτο, μέγα κἂν εἰ μίαν διαφερόντως, ὡς γέ μοι φαίνεται.** Ὅρθως τοῦτο ὑπολαμβάνει. [...] **Τί οὖν, ὦ βέλτιστε, εἴπερ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὥσπερ τινὰ πενίαν καταγνόντες τοῦ ἡμετέρου λόγου, πάσας τὰς ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἀφέντες, πρὸς μίαν ταύτην φέρεσθε καὶ ὠθεῖσθε τὴν διὰ λόγου καὶ θεωρίας, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ οἴεσθε, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ φημι, ἀδολεσχίας καὶ τερατείας;** Ἐπιτιμάτω Παῦλος ὑμῖν, τοῦτο πικρῶς ὀνειδίζων μετὰ τὴν ἀπαριθμησιν τῶν χαρισμάτων, ἐν οἷς φησιν· «Μὴ πάντες ἀποστολοὶ; μὴ πάντες προφήται;» καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

Gregory continues by stressing how dangerous *θεολογεῖν* is for most people and how absurd the behaviour of those organizing *λογίων ἀμαθῶν πολλὰ συνέδρια* is (*or.* 27.9. 7). This oration, the first of his five Theological Orations, is entitled 'Πρὸς Εὐνομιανούς προδιάλεξις' and a central issue in the controversy with Eunomius was the possibility of knowing and talking about God; according to Gregory, God is beyond our grasp and comprehension (*or.* 28.5. 11 [ed. Gallay] *ἄληπτός τε καὶ ἀπερίληπτος*).²⁵ Gallay notes at the end of *or.* 27.8: 'les Eunomiens, selon Grégoire, ouvrent à tout chrétien comme unique voie salutaire non pas foi en son dynamisme théologique, mais la théologie comme technique de la spéculation et du discours.' This is what Gregory fights against, and his opposition to it is also the main idea behind his poem and one of the reasons for its composition.²⁶ Eunomius, born in *ca.* 335 in Cappadocia, was leader of the Anomoeans (or 'Neo-Arians') and is reported to have argued that God is completely intelligible.²⁷ Eunomius was present in Constantinople when Gregory went there (Vag-

²⁵ For the Eunomian controversy and Gregory's apophatic language see F. M. Young, 'The God of the Greeks and the Nature of Religious Language', in W. R. Schoedel-R. L. Wilken (eds.), *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition: in Honorem Robert M. Grant* (Paris, 1979), 45-74.

²⁶ It is worth mentioning that Moreschini in *or.* 32.33 refers to the similarity with *or.* 27.8, but neither Gallay nor Moreschini makes any reference to our poem. Norris (1991: 96-7) in his commentary on *or.* 27.8 seems to have missed Gregory's point.

²⁷ Socrates (*HE* 4.7. 13 [p. 234.20 Hansen]) ascribes to him the assertion that God does not know more of his essence than we do: *ὁ θεὸς περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίας οὐδὲν πλέον ἡμῶν ἐπίσταται.* Cf. Vaggione (2000: 256-7). For a general discussion of Neo-Arians as Gregory's opponents see Norris (1991: 53-68).

gione [2000: 317]), and both Basil and Gregory of Nyssa replied extensively to his work. Panagiotes Chrestou has argued²⁸ that by stressing the many ways of achieving salvation, Gregory targets, apart from the Anomoeans, the Messalians; the Messalians or *Εὐχίται* ('praying people'), a pietistic sect which originated in Mesopotamia in the fourth century and spread to Syria, Asia Minor, Thrace and Egypt, claimed that only intense and ceaseless prayer can lead to salvation.²⁹

There is one more oration where we find the same argument developed in a similar way to the poem (*or.* 19.7-8; *M.* 35.1051.40-1052.22):

ἕκαστος, ὃ τι ἂν οἶός τε ἦ, καρποφορεῖτω τῷ Θεῷ ἐν καιρῷ παντί, καὶ ἰδέα πάσῃ καὶ βίων καὶ περιστάσεων, κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς παρούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμει, κατὰ τὸ δοθὲν αὐτῷ χάρισμα· ἵνα πᾶσι μέτροις τῆς ἀρετῆς, πάσας τὰς ἐκείθεν μονὰς πληρώσωμεν, τοσοῦτον θερίσαντες, ὅσον ἐσπείραμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐναποθέμενοι ταῖς θεαῖς ληνοῖς, ὅσον ἐγεωργήσαμεν. Εἰσφερῆτω τις, ὃ μὲν χρήματα, ὃ δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν· ὃ μὲν τὸ προθυμεῖσθαι, ὃ δὲ τὸ τὸν προθυμούμενον ἀποδέχεσθαι· ὃ μὲν πρᾶξιν ἐπιαντιῆν, ὃ δὲ θεωρίαν εὐστοχον· ὃ μὲν λόγον καιρίον, ὃ δὲ καιρὸν εὐλογον· ὃ μὲν τις διδασκαλίαν ἀπταιστον καὶ βίον μὴ ἀνθιστάμενον, ὃ δὲ ἀκοὴν εὐπειθῆ καὶ εὐγνώμονα· ὃ μὲν παρθενίαν ἀγνήν καὶ κόσμου παντελῶς ἀποτέμνουσαν, ὃ δὲ γάμον σεμνὸν καὶ μὴ πάντῃ Θεοῦ χωρίζοντα· ὃ μὲν νηστείαν ἄτυφον, ὃ δὲ ἀπόλαυσιν μὴ ἀκόλαστον· ἄλλος τὸ ἐν προσευχαῖς ἀπερίσπαστον καὶ ὕμνοις πνευματικοῖς, ἄλλος τὸ ἐν προστασίᾳ τῶν δεομένων· πάντες δάκρυα, πάντες κάθαρσιν, ἀνάβασιν πάντες καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι. [...] Οὐδὲν οὕτω μικρὸν τῶν εἰσφερομένων Θεῷ, κἂν ἐλάχιστον ἦ, κἂν παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἀξίας λειπόμενον, ὃ μὴ προσίεται πάντως καὶ ἀποδέχεται, εἰ καὶ σταθμίζειν οἶδε τῇ δικαίᾳ κρίσει τὸ ἔλεος.

This is the same line of thought as at vv. 49-64 of our poem.

The poem is thus a versification of some paragraphs of Gregory's orations. The diction is in many cases almost the same. But I hope that my previous chapter about the poem's literary characteristics, and my commentary which follows, show that this is a truly poetic version of the ideas expressed elsewhere in his prose.³⁰ When he writes the poem, Gregory is not only a theologian and a preacher; he also becomes a poet, inspired to make clever

²⁸ In his introduction to the Modern Greek translation of *or.* 32. See Ἱερογίου τοῦ Θεολόγου: Ἄπαντα τὰ ἔργα, vol. II (Thessaloniki, 1986), 13.

²⁹ For more details see Columba Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart: The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts, and Language to AD 431* (Oxford, 1991) and Daniel Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 2002), 83-125.

³⁰ Keydell (1951) has argued for the dependence of the *Poemata Arcana* on Gregory's theological orations; Sykes (1970: 41-2) argued in response for the independence of the verse and prose forms. Keydell (1953: 138) has also described Gregory's didactic verse as following: "Aber der gedanke 'was ich sonst in Prosa gesagt hätte, will ich nun im Versen ausdrücken'". But, surprisingly, he overlooked Gregory's use of allusion and other literary characteristics of his poems; he also argued that Gregory had no predecessors and no imitators.

use of poetic allusion. A Hellenistic poet who is known to have versified prose models and sometimes to have kept close to the language of the original is Aratus; his *Phaenomena* is a poetic paraphrase of earlier works in prose, but Aratus used 'a complex technique of imitation and variation'.³¹

While reading the poem, those familiar with Gregory's thought and theology may notice further minor points that reflect his personal ideas and his sensitivities. 'One of Gregory's peculiarities is that he often repeats his own formulas, verses or even whole passages or chapters.'³² It is reasonable to think that he repeated what he personally liked. Let us continue to focus on the main idea presented in this poem and wonder why he decided to compose it and repeat these specific thoughts. Is there any other reason for Gregory's liking for these ideas, apart from their importance in his preaching and anti-heretical struggle? I suspect that these thoughts might also have had an apologetic function in relation to his own life. This does not mean that he uses them consciously with an apologetic purpose, but it may explain why he seems to like them particularly. Gregory avoided official duties many times: immediately after his ordination (361-2), he ran away to the hermitage of Basil in Iris; he refused to accept offices and become an assistant of Basil in Caesarea (370); in Sasima he neither celebrated the liturgy nor stayed there, after his enforced ordination as bishop of this village (372); he left Nazianzus to live for periods as a hermit (372, 373 and 375); he thought of leaving Constantinople many times (380-1). He always wished to flee the world and lead an ascetic life.³³ His hesitation about, and his arguments against, undertaking pastoral work encountered the strong opposition of his father and his friend Basil, who were largely responsible for his worldly career.³⁴ It seems that when Gregory insists on the many *different* ways of life from which one should choose according to *προαίρεσις*, he does so as if he needs to justify some of his own actions; those which were considered opposite to what he *should* have done and had even been the reason for his being accused of insensitivity and selfishness.³⁵ In his *Farewell Oration* (*or.* 42.22. 22-3 [ed. Bernardi]) Gregory stresses the fact that he does not belong to those who tread a path merely because others do so (*οὐ τὰ πολλὰ συμφέρομαι τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν βαδίζειν ἀνέχομαι*). In his long autobiographical poem (II.1.11. 474-5 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]), he asks Basil to

³¹ D. Kidd, *Aratus: Phaenomena, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge, 1997), 26-7. Cf. Hutchinson (1988: 214-15).

³² Demoen (1993: 236, n. 5).

³³ See Otis (1961). Cf. Van Dam (2002: 138).

³⁴ Basil was involved even in Gregory's going to the capital city, as Gregory himself revealed in his funeral oration for Basil (*or.* 43.2). See Papadopoulos (1991: 99) and McGuckin (2001: 236).

³⁵ See *Gr. Naz. ep.* 48-9 (ed. Gallay) and cf. Papadopoulos (1991: 78 and 99).

exact a *different* kind of ‘magnanimity’ from him than the acceptance of his election to the bishopric of the wretched Sasima (ἄλλην ἀπαίτει μ’ ἦν θέλει εὐψυχίαν, | τὴν δὲ πρότεινε τοῖς ἐμοῦ κοφωτέροις). This also helps us understand the declaration of a man who was one of the greatest theologians of his age that he prefers the humbler but safer ways of life; Gregory stressed this preference when he defended his flight to Pontos after he was ordained priest (*or.* 2.100-1 [ed. Bernardi]).

One final point: in *or.* 27.7. 5-23 (see pp. 124-5) and in our poem he refers to many virtues whose possession is more than enough for salvation. He stresses that even one virtue is adequate for salvation, it is μέγα (*or.* 27.8. 18), ἔξοχον and φίλον (v. 35).³⁶ The step-by-step style in both passages is paralleled in the *Sermo Catecheticus in Pascha* of John Chrysostom (?) (M. 59. 721-2):

εἴ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος, ἀπολαυέτω τῆς καλῆς ταύτης πανηγύρεως· εἴ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων, εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτοῦ· εἴ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων, ἀπολαβέτω νῦν τὸ δηνάριον· εἴ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης ὥρας εἰργάσατο, δεχέσθω σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα· εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν, εὐχαριστῶν ἑορτάσῃ· εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην ἔφθασε, μηδὲν ἀμφιβαλλέτω· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιούται· εἴ τις ὑπέστησεν εἰς τὴν ἑνάτην, προσελθέτω μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων· εἴ τις εἰς μόνην ἔφθασε τὴν ἑνδεκάτην, μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν βραδυτῆτα. Φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ Δεσπότης δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθάπερ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον· ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἑνδεκάτης ὡς τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης· καὶ τὸν ὑστερον ἐλεεῖ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον θεραπεύει· κἀκείνῳ δίδωσι καὶ τοῦτῃ χαρίζεται. Καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾶ καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ.

This impressively tolerant and sympathetic attitude towards human imperfection and weakness differentiates these two Church Fathers from previous stricter and uncompromising opinions expressed, for example, by Origen and Clement of Alexandria. There is no need to seek *μεῖζόν τι σωτηρίας* (*or.* 32.25. 20 [ed. Moreschini]) and salvation is simpler than some think: *ὁμολόγησον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ πιστεύσον ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται καὶ σωθήσῃ* (*or.* 32.25. 16-18 [ed. Moreschini]).³⁷

³⁶ This does not mean that someone is free to practise the vices corresponding to the virtues he cannot possess. In *or.* 19.7 (quoted on p. 126) Gregory has made his position clear: if you do not have the virtue of teaching infallibly, then you should listen very carefully and with gratitude to your teacher; if you do not belong to those who fast without pride, you should belong to those who enjoy pleasure but without dissoluteness (ὁ μὲν νηστεῖαν ἄτρυφον, ὁ δὲ ἀπόλασιν μὴ ἀκόλαστον).

³⁷ ‘Et c’ est précisément contre ce genre de théologie que luttait Origène, en faisant spécialement référence au passage que Grégoire utilise pour recommander la simplicité de la foi.’ See Moreschini’s introduction to *or.* 32 in his edition (1985: 18).

1.4 Comments on the Text

1-2. Cf. *carm.* II.1.28.[1287] 1 ὄλβιος ὅστις ἄσκαρον ἔχει βίον, οὐδ' ἐπίμικτον. Gregory's love of the solitary life and of flight from all worldly anxieties is perhaps the main characteristic of his personality.

ἔρημον ... βίον: for the same use of this phrase, cf. Gr. Nyss. *bapt. diff.* (M. 46.428. 44) and Chrys. *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* (M. 52.437. 15). The variant of Vc ἐρήμον is found at Homer (*Il.* 10. 520). Gregory always writes ἔρημος.

ἐπίμικτον: the word first occurs at Nic. *Th.* 528. Cf. *carm.* I.2.9. 17 (ed. Palla) οὐδ' ἐπίμικτα |, 23 οὐδ' ἐπίμικτος |.

χαμαὶ ἐρχομένοις: *Il.* 5. 442 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων (cf. *h. h.* 29. 2; Hes. *Th.* 272; Plut. *Mor.* 1074f. 7). The phrase was proverbial by Gregory's time (Luc. *Icar.* 6. 3; Hld. *Aethiopica* 3.16.3. 1-2; Gr. Nyss. *Eun.* 3.8.3. 25), and he also uses it in his letters, orations and other poems. For later occurrences see, e.g., Proc. G. *ep.* 81. 9 (ed. Garzya-Loenertz); Psellus *orat.* 4. 87 (ed. Littlewood); Michael Choniates, *ep.* 63. 4 (ed. Kolo-vou); Nicephoros Gregoras, *ep.* 38. 1 (ed. Leone).

ἔθέωσε νόον: cf. *carm.* II.1.19. 42 καὶ νόον ὑψιβιβάντα τεῆ θεότητι πελάζων.

3-4. *μεμιγμένος* corresponds to ἐπίμικτον (v. 1), Θεῶ to ἔθέωσε (v. 2).

ἐπὶ πολλοῖς | στρωφᾶτ': 'wrapped up in many things'; cf. Q. S. 1. 464-5 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἔργα | στρωφῶντ' ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλα. The same construction in Hes. *Op.* 526-7 means 'roam about'. The preposition ἐνὶ (ζ Va PiMa) indicates the place where the action of the verb happens, e.g. Q. S. 6. 350-1 ἐν δὲ Κυδοιμὸς | στρωφᾶτ' ἐν μέσσοις and Aret. SA 1.4.3. 8 (p. 39.7 Hude) γλώσσα μὲν στρωφᾶται ἐν τῷ στόματι.

Θεῶ πέμπεν ὄλην κραδίην: cf. *carm.* II.1.1.[991] 281 ψυχὰς τε Θεῶ πέμποντες ἐν ὕμνοις and II.2.1.[1455] 45 Θεῶ πέμποντες ὄλον νόον.

5-6. Matt. 16. 24 εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖτω μοι (cf. Mark 8. 34; Luke 9. 23).

There is a chiasmic word arrangement and a further parallelism between the two sentences of this couplet:

πάντων κτεάνων	ὠνήσατο	Χριστὸν
κτέαρ οἶον	ἔχει	σταυρόν

πάντων κτεάνων ὠνήσατο Χριστὸν: 'he bought Christ for (the price of) all his possessions'. The *contra metrum* variant of Ri ὠνήσατο perhaps is due to the o/w fluctuation; cf. ὄνησα (*Il.* 1. 503) and ὠνήσαν (9. 509).

Demoen (1996: 342) thinks that Gregory here perhaps alludes to the rich young man of the Gospel (Matt. 19. 16-22; cf. Mark 10. 17-22; Luke 18. 18-23) and the parable of the treasure hidden in a field (Matt. 13. 44). The latter is

more likely than the former, but it is even more probable that Gregory has in mind the parable of the fine pearl (Matt. 13. 45-6): *εὐρῶν δὲ ἓνα πολὺτιμον μαργαρίτην ἀπελθὼν πέπρακεν πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν καὶ ἠγόρασεν αὐτόν.*

ὑψι φέρει: perhaps because of pride; cf. Gal. 6. 14 *ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται κἀγὼ κόσμῳ.* P^c, B and D have *ὑψιφέρει*. The only other possible case of *ὑψιφέρω* occurs in Gregory's *carm.* II.1.45.[1371] 261: *ὑψιφέρουσαι* |; however, we should also read *ὑψι φέρουσαι* here; cf. I.2.2.[596] 236 and II.2.3.[1485] 74 *ὑψι φέρεσθαι* |; I.2.2.[606] 350 *ὑψι φέρηαι* |, and II.1.50.[1390] 72 *ὑψι φέρων* |.

7-8. Cf. Eph. 4. 28 *ὁ κλέπτων μηκέτι κλεπτέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ κοπιᾶτω ἐργάζομενος ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἵνα ἔχη μεταδιδόναι τῷ χρεῖαν ἔχοντι.*

καθαροῖσιν ... κτεάτεσσιν: 'property earned by honest means'; the exact use and meaning of *καθαρός* here is unparalleled, but the word has various meanings according to context; cf. A. *Eu.* 313 *καθαράς ... χεῖρας* 'pure' or 'free from guilt' (cf. also *Od.* 22. 462 *καθαρῷ θανάτῳ*, despite its unclear meaning), Plb. 31. 25. 9 *περὶ τὰ χρήματα ... καθαρότητι* 'honesty in money matters' and *POxy* 67. 6 (AD 338).

For *ἐοῖς κτεάτεσσιν* cf. *Od.* 1. 218 *κτεάτεσσιν ἐοῖς*. *πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἐοῖσιν* is a Homeric formula (*Od.* 1. 430; 14. 115, 452; 15. 483); cf. *Orac.Sib.* 13. 114. The dative of *κτεάνων* is *κτεάνοις* and not *κτεάνε(ς)ιν* (Mb Pj), a form that occurs (with double c) only in Theodore Prodromos (*Carm. Hist.* 38. 44, 65 [ed. Hörandner]). *κτεάνε(ς)ιν* could have been caused by the occurrence of *κτεάνων* two lines above. *κτημάτεσσιν* (Vb) never occurs; it was perhaps a mistaken copy of a gloss *κτημασι* (cf. Par. A and C).

χεῖρα Θεοῦ φέρει: *χεῖρα θεοῦ* also at *carm.* I.2.1.[566] 586 (cf. Sundermann [1991: 185]) and II.2.2.[1480] 30. The indicative, offered by the majority of the manuscripts, is in agreement with the surrounding verbs.

The expression *χεῖρα (ἐπι)φέρειν* is used in a hostile sense in Homer (see LSJ, s.v. *χεῖρ* 5 d), and by Gregory at *AP* 8.105. 6; 211. 2; 235. 2. However, the meaning is the opposite at *carm.* II.1.1. 18 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *ἔλθ' ἐπὶ χεῖρα φέρων, Θεὸς Ἰλαος, ὡς με σαώσης* (with Bernardi's note) and II.2.4. 140-1 (ed. Moroni) *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κέλομαί σε τὰ μὲν κάλλιστα ποθεῦντι | ἔσπεσθαι καὶ χεῖρα φέρειν, πάτερ.* The context makes the positive meaning clear, but nevertheless the use of this expression by Gregory is peculiar. The positive meaning is probably colloquial and late; it is also related to the later phrase *δίδωμι χεῖρα (βοηθείας)* = help, e.g. Ephr. *Εὐχαὶ τῆς Θεοτόκου* 7 (VI, p. 392.13 Phrantzolas) *Θεοῦ Μήτηρ δός μοι χεῖρα βοηθείας ἀπορουμένω;* Gr. Naz. *ep.* 141. 3 *δός μοι χεῖρα χαμαὶ κειμένη.* This expression ('give me a hand') is found in several modern languages.

ἐπιδευομένοις: cf. *carm.* II.2.2.[1479] 22 *ξυνή δέ τ' ἀρωγή | τοῖς ἐπιδευομένοισι* and *Orac.Sib.* 2. 76 *ὀρφανικοῖς χήραις ἐπιδευομένοις δὲ παράσχου. ἐπιδε-*

ομένοις (SLa Di Lb) can have the same meaning, but it is here *contra metrum*.

Gregory devoted a whole oration (14) to *φιλοπτωχίαν*, in which he particularly stresses this beatitude (see ch. 38 of this oration, M. 35.908-9). He also says that St Paul and Christ himself regarded *ἀγάπη* as the highest of all virtues and *ταύτης* (sc. *τῆς ἀγάπης*) *τὸ κράτιστον εὕρισκω φιλοπτωχίαν* (or. 14. 5, M. 35.864. 28-9). On Gregory's oration in its Cappadocian context see Holman (2001: 135-67).

9-10. ἄζυγέων: 'unwedded'. The word *ἄζυγῆς* is first used in this context (and with this meaning) by Gregory (missed by DGE, but see PGL, s.v.); cf. also e.g. *AP* 8.161. 3; I.2.2.[567] 598; II.1.1. 612 (ed. Tuilier-Bady). For its earlier use as a medical term cf. R. J. Durling, *A Dictionary of Medical Terms in Galen* (Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1993), 10. The words *ἄζυξ* and *ἄζυγος*, however, were already used with the meaning 'unwedded'.

Θεότητος | ... καθαρῆς: cf. *carm.* II.1.45.[1373] 289 *Θεοῦ καθαροῖο* and PGL, s.v. *καθαρός* IA. Cf. also *καθαροῖσιν* in v. 7; in both verses 7 and 10 there is a *parechesis* of sigma.

ἄρκ' ἄποσειάμενοι: 'having shaken off the flesh'. They refuse to consent not just to sinful sexual pleasures, but even to sexual activity in marriage (which is acceptable). Cf. *carm.* II.1.19. 42 *καὶ νόον ὑψιβιβάντα τεῆ θεότητι πελάζων, | σαρκὸς νόσφιν ἔθηκα*.

For the similarity to Thgn. 348, see p. 119. *ἀποσειώ* is used often with this meaning by the Fathers of the Church; cf. Gr. Naz. or. 24.3. 8 (ed. Bernardi) *πάντα πόθον ἀπεσειάμην*, ep. 228. 1; Clem. *paed.* 1.6.28. 1; Clem. ep. 5.2. 2. For the source of this thought, cf. Gal. 5. 24: *οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ] τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις*.

11-12. Cf. Matt. 10. 37 *ὁ φιλῶν υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος*; see also Luke 14. 26.

θεσμοῖσι γάμου τυτθὸν ὑποείξας: cf. *carm.* II.2.6. 22 (ed. Bacci) *κοφίη δὲ γάμου θεσμοῖς ὑποείκειν*; also Philo Jud. *De specialibus legibus* 3. 61 and 63 (p. 94 and 86 Mosès) *τοὺς ἐπὶ γάμοις θεσμούς*; Opp. *H.* 4. 25 *γάμων ἐξεύξασθε θεσμούς*; [Man.] *Aprot.* 6. 218 *θεσμῶν τε γάμοιο*; Opp. *H.* 3. 331 *τυτθὸν ὑπείξεται* and Nonn. *D.* 41. 337.

The last syllable of *τυτθὸν* should be treated as long; see p. 55, my note on *αἰέν* (v. 27), and cf. e.g. II.2.4. 145 (ed. Moroni) *πλέον ἦ* (— —). Cf. also Call. *Del.* 238 *αἰφνίδιόν ἔπος εἶπη* | (at the same *sedes*).³⁸

³⁸ Mineur (1984: 42, n. 34): 'There can be no question of the digamma still being effective here [...], the irregularity being far better explained as an imitation of such expressions as *ἄλιον ἔπος* (Il. 18, 423) and *ὑπερφιάλῳ ἔπος* (Od. 4, 503).'

μοῖραν ... ἄγει: a similar thought at *carm.* II.1.45.[1374] 294-5 ὁ Λόγος κρείσσονα μοῖραν ἄγων | *σαρκὸς νόσφιν ἔθηκε*; cf. Pi. P. 12. 12 *λαοῖσι τε μοῖραν ἄγων* ('bringing doom to the people').

13-14. Gregory refers to clergymen, and mainly to the hierarchy of the Church.

λαοῖο φέρων κράτος: cf. Gregory speaking of τὸ κράτος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας that came upon Basil, who τὸν λαὸν ἤγεν (*or.* 43.33. 4 [ed. Bernardi]). φέρων is used in tragedy as 'stronger than ἔχω' (LSJ, s.v. φέρω A. I.; cf. Friis Johansen-Whittle on A. *Suppl.* 994-5), but here it may also convey the sense of 'bearing' a responsibility.

εὐαγγέεcci: 'holy' or 'pure'; cf. e.g. *carm.* II.1.1. 417 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *θυσία καθαρήσι καὶ εὐαγγέεcci γέρηραν.*

θυσία Χριστὸν ἄγει χθονίοις: for *χθονίοις* cf. Lex. alph. χ 27 *χθονίων· τῶν ἐπιγείω<ν>* and Hesych. χ 436. *θυσίαις* refers to the bloodless sacrifice that takes place each time the Eucharist is celebrated; cf. Greg. Naz. *ep.* 171. 3 *ὅταν ἀναιμάκτῳ τομῇ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τέμνης δεσποτικόν, φωνὴν ἔχων τὸ ξίφος.* By taking communion, man is united with Christ; cf. John 6. 56 ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ and 1 Cor 10. 17 *εἷς ἄρτος, ἐν σῶμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν, οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν.* Gregory refers to the same idea at *carm.* II.1.34.[1314] 93-4 *γλῶσσαν καὶ θυέεccin ἀγνήν ἀγνοῖσι φυλάξω, | οἷσιν Ἄνακτα μέγαν εἰς ἐν ἄγω χθονίοις.*³⁹

15-16. Ὀλβιος ... ἄγει: 'happy is the junior member of the flock who has a place among the best.'

ἐν προνόμοις χώραν ἄγει: Gregory had earlier explained in his *or.* 1.7 (ed. Bernardi) the main duty of the *ποιμνιον*: devotion to their shepherd, who protects them from any stranger's voice which may divert them from true belief in the Holy Trinity. Being a humble member of the Church is not at all incompatible with being one of its best members: *εἴ τις θέλει πρῶτος εἶναι ἔσται πάντων ἔσχατος καὶ πάντων διάκονος* (Mark 9. 35); *ὁ γὰρ μικρότερος ἐν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχων οὗτός ἐστιν μέγας* (Luke 9. 48). The poet will also clarify later (vv. 33-6) who is *τελειότερος*.

ἐν προνόμοις (PaBXDi Li PiMa S^{Nic}), the *lectio difficilior*, should be preferred over *οὐρανίοιο*; the latter could have been used (cf. mainly vv. 21-3, but also v. 18 and 27) to replace the rare and difficult *προνόμοις*. But I must

³⁹ 'I will keep my tongue pure also for the pure sacrifices [I have to perform], with which I make Christ and men one body' (the poem is entitled 'Εἰς τὴν ἐν ταῖς νηστεῖαις σιωπῆν'). The priest should be very careful to keep his priesthood pure and undefiled; cf. *καθαρὰν καὶ ἀκίβδηλον τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἐφύλαξα* (Greg. Naz. *or.* 42.19. 14-15 [ed. Bernardi]) and *καθαρῶς τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ λατρεύοντες* (Greg. Naz. *or.* 17.12; M. 35.980.15). I do not agree with the translation of this distich by White (1996: 171): 'My tongue I shall keep pure by means of pure sacrifices, | so as to reconcile the great King to mortal creatures'.

admit that *οὐρανίοιο* could only have been conjectured by a learned scribe or scholar; why would he have needed to replace *ἐν προνόμοις*? Perhaps *ἐν προνόμοις* was not easy to read in his copy and he made a conjecture. Both variant readings predate the surviving manuscripts. Nicetas David read *ἐν προνόμοις*, but it is not entirely clear how he understood it (p. 106.21-2 Dronke = M. 38.765): *τὴν τῶν προνόμων χώραν λαχὼν καὶ τῶν ὑφειμένων καθηγούμενος* (the latter phrase meaning ‘being the leader of the juniors’, i.e. ‘the last of all’?). *οὐρανίοιο* is attested by Pc and L and, interestingly, is also supported by the Syriac translation (cf. p. 90), which reads: ‘Blessed is he who, being a child of the heavenly flock...’ (cf. Paraphrase A and C); M. takes *οὐρανίοιο* with *χώραν* and places a comma after *τέκος* (cf. Paraphrase B); this is probably influenced by the phrase *οὐράνιος/ἐπουράνιος/ὑπερουράνιος χώρα*, which is common in patristic texts, but it is not possible here because *οὐρανίοιο* and *χώραν* do not agree.

Gregory also uses *πρόνομος* in poem II.2.5. 238 (ed. Moroni), where he asks a young relative of his to be the light of eloquence to his teachers so that they will count him among their best pupils (*μύθων δ’ ἡγητήρι πέλοις φάος, ἐν προνόμοις δὲ | αὐτίκ’ ἀριθμήσειαν ἐμὸν πᾶν, Ἰσα τέκεσσι | τίοντες*). In both these cases the meaning of *πρόνομοις* is ‘those who are in the front of a group’ or ‘who are the best members of the group’. It is worth mentioning that *πρόνομος* has been considered so far to be a *harax*, in Aeschylus, *Supplikes* 691/2 meaning ‘grazing forward’ (see LSJ, s.v.): *πρόνομα δὲ ἴβρότατος πολύγωνα τελέθει*.⁴⁰ In the light of the use of *πρόνομος* by Gregory, I have argued that *πρόνομα* refers in Aeschylus to the best cattle; I also proposed the emendation *δ’ ἀβρότατα* for the *δὲ ἴβρότατος* of M (= Mediceus Laurentianus 32.9) and read in *Supplikes* 691/2: *πρόνομα δ’ ἀβρότατα, πολύγωνα τελέθει*.⁴¹ In a supplementary note I offer additional evidence for the use of *ἀβρότ* in the same context as *Supplikes* 691/2 (see Simelidis [2003] and [2005]).

For B’s *δῶρον* cf. *carm.* II.1.17.[1263] 22 *δῶρον ἄγει, Χριστοῦ σαρκὶ χαριζόμενος*. This is a mysterious coincidence in a codex full of strange mistakes.

Χριστοῦ θρέμμα: cf. Gr. Naz. *or.* 3.6. 4 (ed. Bernardi); 14. 15 (M. 35.876. 41). The phrase is also used by Eusebius (*Historia ecclesiastica*), Epiphanius of Constantia (*Panarion*) and other later authors.

17-18. Cf. Matt. 5. 8 *μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται* and Gr. Naz. *or.* 23.15. 1-3 and 9-11 (ed. Moreschini) «*φῶς μὲν ὁ Θεός*», καὶ *φῶς τὸ ἀκρότατον, οὗ βραχεῖά τις ἀπορροή καὶ ἀπαύγασμα κάτω φθάνον, φῶς ἅπαν, κἂν ὑπέρλαμπρον φαίνεται. [...] φῶς δὲ ὁμιλήσει φωτὶ, αἰε*

⁴⁰ M. L. West (Teubner edition, Stuttgart, 1998) prints Wecklein’s *βοτὰ τοῖς* for *ἴβρότατος*.

⁴¹ In her edition of *carm.* II.2.5, Moroni (2006: 269-70) finds my conjecture convincing.

πρὸς τὸ ὕψος ἔλκοντι διὰ τῆς ἐφέσεως, καὶ νοῦς πλησιάσῃ τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ κεκαθαρμένος. Moreschini refers to 1 John 1. 5 and 1 Tim. 6. 16.

καθαροῖο νόου: cf. e.g. *carm.* II.1.1. 43 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) οἱ δὲ Θεὸν καθαροῖο νόου λεύσσαντες ὁπωπαῖς; II.1.10. 33 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) and II.1.17.[1264] 35-6. For *καθαροῖο* cf. v. 7 and 10. The phrase *καθαρός νόος/νοῦς* is common in antiquity, especially in later philosophers and Church Fathers. However, given Gregory's game with the Theognidea in this poem (see pp. 118-19), one is tempted to cite here the earliest occurrence of this expression in Greek literature (Thgn. 87-90; cf. 1082c-f):

μή μ' ἔπεσιν μὲν στέργε, νόον δ' ἔχε καὶ φρένας ἄλλῃ,
εἷ με φιλεῖς καὶ σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος.
ἦ με φίλει **καθαρόν** θέμενος **νόον**, ἦ μ' ἀποειπὼν
ἔχθαιρ' ἀμφοδίην νεῖκος ἀειράμενος.

ἔρωαῖς: 'forces' or 'desires' (see LSJ, s.v.); Lex. Cas. ε 210 (= Lex. alph. ε 345) *ἔρωαῖς· ὄρμαῖς*. Cf. *carm.* I.2.2.[578] 6 (to a virgin on the dangers of arrogance) *μή σε νόος τρώσειεν ὑπερνεφέουσαν ἔρωαῖς*; II.1.17.[1266] 55-6 *ῥῶμα μὲν ἐν σπλάγγχοισι· νόος δ' ἀδέτοιцин ἔρωαῖς | βήσεται, οἷ κ' ἐθέλει, καὶ περ ἐεργόμενος*.

οὐρανίων φαέων: God is described as *φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον* (1 Tim. 6. 16). Cf. *carm.* II.2.1.[1465] 185-6 *κλίμακα, τήνδ' ἀνιών, ὡς κεν Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἴδῃται, | πηγὴν ἀκροτάτην οὐρανίων φαέων*; *or.* 37.4. 17 (ed. Gallay) *ὑπὲρ φῶς εἶ, καὶ φῶς ὀνομάζῃ*; *or.* 44. 3 (M. 36.609. 13-37). See also PGL, s.v. *φῶς* II and NTL, s.v. *φῶς*.

19-20. χεῖρεςσι πολυκμητοῖσιν: 'hands toiling hard', as at Q. S. 8. 397 *πολυκμητῶν ἀπὸ χειρῶν*, 9. 173 *πολύκμητοι ἀλιῆες*. Cf. also vv. 7-8 (with note) and 2 Thess. 3. 10 *εἰ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω*. For *πολυκμητοῖσιν* (PiMa) 'much-cut' cf. AP 11. 66 (Antiphil.) *πολυκμητοῖο παρειῆς*.

νόμος βίτου: 'παράδειγμα τοῦ βίου' (Par. A); 'νόμον καὶ ὑπόδειγμα βίου μετρίου καὶ σώφρονος' (Par. B); 'εἰς μίμησιν ἀγαθοῦ βίου' (Par. C). Cf. *carm.* II.1.2. 29 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) and Philo Jud., *De virtutibus* 194. 3: *νόμοι δέ τινες ἄγραφοι καὶ οἱ βίοι τῶν ζηλωσάντων τὴν ἀρετὴν*.

21-24. 'All these (*sc.* different virtues and kinds of a blessed Christian life) are the fillings of the heavenly wine-vats, which receive the fruit of our souls. Every virtue leads to a different place. Thus, there are many places, which correspond to the many ways of life.' This four-verse parenthesis separates the previous beatitudes from those following, which form a special group recalling the Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount. However, this separation does not seem to imply that the virtues described after the parenthesis are more important.

πάντα τάδ': at the beginning of hexameters only at *Il.* 15. 158; *Od.* 15. 156; Thgn. 833 and Gregory's *carm.* II.1.34.[1317] 139.

ἔπλετο: frequently at this metrical *sedes* in Homer; cf. also A. R. 1. 113 ἔπλετο νηῶν |.

ληνῶν: ‘wine-press’, often used metaphorically in Christian contexts, e.g. Gr. Nyss. *Pss. titt.* B 5 (ed. McDonough) ἐν γὰρ τῇ ληνῶ τῆς ἐκάστου ψυχῆς (ληνός δέ ἐστιν ἡ συνείδησις) ὁ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων βότρυς τὸν οἶνον ἡμῖν εἰς τὸν ἐφεξῆς ἀποθίγεται βίον; Athan. *exp. Ps.* (M. 27.80. 51-4) μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν κλήσιν πολλοὶ ληνοί· αὐταὶ δὲ ἂν εἶεν αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι, αἱ τοὺς τῶν κατορθούντων ἐν θεοσεβείᾳ δεχόμεναι καρπούς; [Chrys]. *prodig.* 1 1. 34 (M. 59.517. 38-9) ὅπου τῆς ἀγνείας ὁ βότρυς οὐ ληνοπατεῖται, ἐκεῖ λιμὸς ἰσχυρός. See additional examples in PGL (s.v. ληνός), which does not, however, record the use of the word in the context of the Last Judgement. Gregory uses the word in this context in two other cases: *carm.* II.2.1.[1462] 153-4 ἡμετέροις χοροῖσιν ἐὸν στάχυν ἐγκαταλέξας, | ἔλπομαι, ὡς ληνῶν ἄξιον οὐρανίων and II.2.31. [913] 33-4 θέσθε νόον, βιότῳ μὲν ὄσους γάμος ἀγνός ἔδησε, | ληνοῖς οὐρανοῖς πλείονα καρπὸν ἄγειν.

ψυχῶν: Gregory wrote a dogmatic poem *Περὶ Ψυχῆς* (I.1.8, ed. Moreschini, with Sykes’ commentary).

δέκτρια: see comment on pp. 120-1.

ἄλλην ἀλλοίης: *parechesis*; cf. **πολλαὶ γὰρ πολλῶν** (v. 24) and *carm.* I.1.7. 24 (ed. Moreschini) ἄλλην ἄλλος ἔχοντες ἐπιτασίην.

βιότων: *βίωτος* (= *βίος*) is Homeric, but the gen. pl. occurs only here.

μοναί: Gregory alludes to John 14. 2: ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου μοναὶ πολλαὶ εἰσιν. Christ says to his disciples that he is going to prepare a place for them in his Father’s house, where there are many permanent abodes.⁴² However, though ‘there is no suggestion here of any grading according to status or merit, in other words, of *different dwellings*’ (Schnackenburg [1982: 61]), such a suggestion is explicit in Gregory in v. 23.⁴³ A grading may, nevertheless, be already implied in Matt. 5. 19 ὃς δ’ ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ, οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν.

25. Cf. Matt. 5. 3 μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι with Symeon Neos Theologos, *Catecheses, or.* 2. 183-6: οἱ δὲ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι οὐδεμίαν, ὡς εἴρηται, πρὸς τὰ παρόντα προσπάθειαν ἔχουσιν, οὔτε τὸν λογισμὸν πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐμπαθῶς συνδυάζονται, κἂν ψιλῶς ἠδυνόμενον. But the verse could also be a

⁴² C. Barret (*The Gospel According to St John: An introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek text* [2nd edn., London, 1978], 456), notes: ‘*μονή* is the noun corresponding to the common and important Johannine verb *μένειν*, and hence it will mean a permanent, not a temporary, abiding place (or, perhaps, mode of abiding).’

⁴³ Schnackenburg (1982: 410, n. 42) notes that ‘the rabbis believed that there were seven classes or departments, graded according to merit, in the heavenly Gan Eden (of souls). [...] Ideas of this kind were also common in the early church.’ He refers to Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5. 36 (II, p. 428 Harvey), Augustine, *In Jo. tr.* 67. 2 (CC 495) and Thomas Aquinas, *In Jo. 14 lect.* 1. 3 (no. 1853f Cai).

reminiscence of Gal. 5. 24-5 *οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ] τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν*, where again the Holy Spirit guides Christians. Cf. also Luke 6. 20; Col. 3. 5 *νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, πορνείαν, ἀκαθαρσίαν, πάθος. πάθος* ('experience of strong desire', 'passion', see NTL and PGL, s.v.) 'in its wider sense, included all which might distract the soul from approach to God' (Sykes in Moreschini [1997: 95]).

πτωχὸν παθέων: the construction of *πτωχός* with gen. occurs only at AP 9.258. 2 (Antiphanes, 1st century AD) where a spring mourns the loss of its water: *ἡ πάρος εὐδύροισι λιβαζομένη προχοαῖσι | πτωχὴ νῦν νυμφῶν, μέχρη καὶ εἰς σταγόνα* (LSJ translates *πτωχός* with gen. as 'beggared of, poor in'). However, the loss of passions in Gregory makes a man *δλβιον*.

The Syriac translator writes: 'Blessed is he who has shown his soul (to be) big, (being) destitute of passions'. This would represent *ὅς πτωχός* and *πνεῦμ'* with lower case π ('soul' or 'spirit'). This could make sense, but is not as satisfactory as that transmitted in the Greek, especially in the light of Gal. 5. 24-5 (cited above); a reference to the *μέγα πνεῦμα* of a Christian would also be peculiar in a line that essentially renders *μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι*. It may be added that *Πνεῦμα* is qualified as *μέγα* eight times in Gregory's poems (e.g. *carm.* I.1.3. 3 [ed. Moreschini] *Πνεῦμα μέγα τρομέωμεν*; I.2.1.[524] 28 *Πνεύματι σὺν μεγάλῳ* I.2.3.[632] 688 *μέγα Πνεῦμα*); on the single occasion the adjective qualifies *πνεῦμα* (I.1.7. 92 [ed. Moreschini] *πνεῦμα μέγα*), the latter does not refer to the soul, but to a powerful breath. It is not at all certain that the Syriac translator did read *ὅς πτωχός* in his text; he could have misunderstood the text of his manuscript.

26. Cf. Matt. 5. 4 *μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες*. Cf. also Luke 6. 21 and Jac. 4. 9 *ταλαιπωρήσατε καὶ πενθήσατε καὶ κλαύσατε· ὁ γέλως ὑμῶν εἰς πένθος μετατραπήτω καὶ ἡ χαρὰ εἰς κατήφειαν*.

πενθαλέην: first attested at Bion, *Adonis* 21 (with Reed's note). Gregory knew Bion (see p. 120), but the word must have been more common, as suggested by its occurrences at GVI 711.8 (Andros, first century AD); *Orac. Sib.* 14. 304; [Man.], *Apot.* 3. 142, 6. 409; *The Apparition (POxy 416)* 11⁴⁴ and EG 372.30 (= SEG 6.140.6-7 and 23) [Phrygia, fourth century AD].⁴⁵ These are the only occurrences of the word before Gregory, but it is later used by Nonnus.

⁴⁴ 3rd cent. AD; now edited with introduction, translation and commentary by S. A. Stephens-J. J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (Princeton, 1995), 409-15.

⁴⁵ IG 3. 1416 (Athens) *μορφᾶς εἰκόνα πενθαλέης* is likely to be earlier (from the Roman period).

27. Cf. Matt. 5. 6 *μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην*. Cf. Luke 6. 21. For the diction cf. *Il.* 19. 167 *ὄς δέ κ' ἀνήρ οἴνοιο κορρῆσάμενος καὶ ἔδωδῆς*.

ἔπουρανίης ... ἔδωδῆς: this refers to Communion and the Scriptures. Cf. Matt. 4. 4 *οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνω ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ*. Christ is ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς (John 6. 35). Cf. Gr. Nyss. *Melet.* 9.447. 12–15 (ed. Spira) *κιβωτὸς γὰρ ἦν, ἀδελφοί, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος· κιβωτὸς, περιέχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια. ἐκεῖ ἡ στάμνος ἡ χρυσῆ, πλήρης τοῦ θεοῦ μάννα, πλήρης τῆς οὐρανοῦ τροφῆς*.

αἰέν: in the text of the poem transmitted with Nicetas David's commentary we read *αἰεί* (cf. p. 91). This is certainly an attempt by a learned scribe or a scholar (Nicetas himself?) to 'correct' the metre. But there are examples in Gregory of syllables with a short vowel treated as long before *ν* (or *ς* and *ρ*); see p. 55 and cf. e.g. *τυτθὸν ὑποείξας* (v. 11, with my note); *Il.* 1.1. 102 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὑπάλυξα* and *Call. Del.* 263 *βαθὺς Ἴνωπὸς ἐλιχθεῖς* | (where *-θὺς* is treated as long, at the same *sedes*). But in the case of *αἰέν* one is tempted to correct to *αἰεί*, as Gregory uses this form elsewhere at the same metrical *sedes* of the hexameter (e.g. *carm.* I.2.2.[607] 370, [613] 441;⁴⁶ *Il.* 2.1. [1464] 173) and there is no reason why he would have written *αἰέν* for *αἰεί* in this case. For the time being I prefer to follow the manuscripts, but more work on Gregory's metre may suggest a correction to *αἰεί*.⁴⁷

28. Cf. Matt. 5. 5 *μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν*.

ἐνηεῖη: an epic noun meaning 'gentleness'; it describes Patroclus' character at *Il.* 17. 670. Cf. *Lex. alph.* ε 182 *ἐνηεῖη· πραότητι*. Gregory uses the noun and the adjective (*ἐνήης, ἐς*) several times, e.g. *carm.* II.2.3.[1502] 311 *τίκτει γὰρ θράσος ὕβρις, ἐνηεῖη δέ τε φειδώ*.

29. 'Who draws the great compassion of God with his own mercy'. Cf. Matt. 5. 7 *μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται*; cf. Luke 6. 36 and 1 John 3. 17. The thought is also part of the Lord's Prayer: *καὶ ἄφεσ ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν* (Matt. 6. 12)

σπλάγχνοις: the use of *σπλάγχνον* (without the genitive *ἐλέου* or *οἰκτιρμοῦ*) in the sense of 'pity' or 'mercy' is Christian (cf. LSJ and NTL, s.v.): *Phil.* 2. 1 *σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοί* 'compassion and sympathy'; cf. 1 *Clem.* 23. 1 *ἔχει σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτόν*; *Hermas, Pastor* 101. 2; *Prov.* 12. 10 *δίκαιος οἰκτῖρει ψυχὰς κτηνῶν αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ σπλάγχνα τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνελεήμονα*, where *σπλάγχνον* is the 'seat of feelings, affections' (SL, s.v. *σπλάγχνον*).

⁴⁶ Zehles-Zamora (in their commentary of I.2.2) report no variant reading for *αἰεί*.

⁴⁷ Prof. Dr. Sicherl (letter of 1 April 2008) would prefer to correct *αἰέν* to *αἰεί* even on the basis of the current evidence.

Θεοῦ μέγαν οἶκτον: the Christian God is *ὁ πατήρ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως* (2 Cor. 1. 3) and *πολύπλαγχνος* (Jac. 5. 11).

30. Cf. Matt. 5. 9 *μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.* For *καθαρὸς κραδίην* cf. vv. 17-18 (with note). X, Di, Pi and Ma and omit *τε*, but this is *contra metrum* (*φίλος*). *κράδιη* is the Epic form of *καρδία* (see LSJ, s.v.).

31-2. Cf. Matt. 5. 11-12 *μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν ὀνειδίωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν ῥῆμα καθ' ὑμῶν ψευδόμενοι ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ. χαίrete καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.* Cf. Luke 6. 22.

μεγακλέος: *μεγακλής* is used by Euphorion and the author of the *Cyngetica* in the sense 'very famous, acc. (as if from *μεγακλής*) *μεγακλέα* [Opp.] C. 2. 4, gen. *-κλέος* Euph. in Suppl.Hell. 416. 1' (LSJ) and Revised Supplement, s.v.). In Gregory we meet the forms *μεγακλέος*, *μεγακλεῖ*, *μεγακλέεσ* and *μεγακλέεσ* qualifying, among other nouns, *Χριστόν*, *σταυρόν* and *νίκη*.

πολλά ... ἀνέτλη | ἄλγεα: cf. Ar. *Pax* 1035 *πόλλ' ἀνατλάς*, A. R. 2. 179 (= 4. 1091) *πήματ' ἀνέτλη* |, Q. S. 2. 114 *ἄλγε' ἀνέτλη* |, 7. 638 *ἄλγε' ἀνατλάς* |.

κύδεος ἀντίαει: 'δόξης μεθέξει, μεταλήψεται' (Par. A); 'ἔσται κληρονόμος ἀγαθῶν' (Par. C). The gen. *κύδεος* occurs first in Gregory, who uses it 14 times. It is also found in Michael Syncellos, *Carmen anacreonteum* 79 (ed. Crimi), and in two later epigrams (*epigr.* Cougny 2.489. 2 and 4.104. 18).

33-5. ἦν ἐθέλεις, τάμνε τρίβον: cf. e.g. *carm.* I.1.37.[520] 4 *τῆνδε τέμνω τρίβον* and Call. *Aet.* fr. 43. 65 Pfeiffer *ῥοφὰ τὰμ[ωσιν ὀ]δοῦς*. B has innumerable mistakes and hence one doubts that its unmetrical *ὄν* represents Gregory's original, even though there are a few cases (E. Or. 1251, 1258, *El.* 103, *Plu. Arat.* 22) where the noun is treated as masculine (see LSJ, s.v.). The misunderstanding of the relative pronoun *ἦν* as the adverb *ἦν* (normally followed by subjunctive) lead to *ἐθέλης* (L α,LaX Li Mq Mb D); cf. *Il.* 9. 429 and 692. The Epic form *τάμνε* is preferable to *τέμνε* (La Lb N).

Εἰ μὲν ... φίλον: there are three possibilities. The best is to follow all the virtuous ways of Christian life mentioned. It has already been made clear that one can only achieve this through celibacy (vv. 5-6; 9-10). The second choice is to follow some of these ways of life, and the last one is to possess just one virtue (while being either celibate or married). The poet says that this is also excellent and welcome.

μόνην: *μίαν* is implied; *μόνον* (RiVc Li) is due to the influence of the neighbouring *λώϊον*, *δεύτερον* and *φίλον*.

ἔξοχα: this is used frequently in Homer as an adverb meaning 'especially, above others' (LSJ, s.v.); here we could imply a comparison with the possession of no virtues and understand the word as meaning something like 'better than nothing'. But this does not make good sense in our context, and the adverb means 'this is also satisfactory' (cf. Kriaras VI, s.v. *ἔξοχα*, adv. meaning *ικανοποιητικά*) or even 'excellent' (cf. LSJ, s.v. *ἔξοχος* II); cf. *or.* 27.8.18-19

(ed. Gallay) *μέγα κᾶν εἰ μίαν* (sc. ὁδὸν ὀδευτέον) διαφερόντως, ὥς γέ μοι φαίνεται (discussed on pp. 124-5).

καὶ τὸ φίλον: ‘even this is welcome’; notice the Homeric use of τὸ as ‘a purely anaphoric pronoun, conveying some degree of emphasis’ (Monro, 1891: 224). καί (‘even’) stresses further this emphasis (see Denniston, 1950: 293); cf. *carm.* I.2.5.[643] 12-14 εἰ δὲ καὶ οἶος | ναιετάειν ἐθέλοις Χριστῷ ξυνούμενος οἶω, | καὶ τὸ φίλον.

35-6. Σταθμά ... μειότεροι: Gregory rephrases what he said in vv. 23-4. For σταθμά (= μοναί) cf. Pi. I. 7. 45-6 ἐθέλοντ’ ἐς οὐρανοῦ σταθμοῦς ἐλθεῖν. Gregory’s scansion of σταθμά here (– –) is an example of his use of false quantities; he himself scans the word – ∪ at *carm.* I.2.2.[610] 409 and II.2.1.[1467] 219; for this kind of ‘metrical lengthening’ in Homer see West (1982: 38-9).

γε μὲν: several times in Homer at the same metrical *sedes*. But the affirmative sense found here is very rare (see Denniston, 1950: 387-8); one of the passages cited by Denniston also contains ἔξοχα in the metaphorical sense ‘excellent’ (Renehan, 1982: 68), and thus one wonders if Gregory had in mind Hes. *Op.* 772 δύω ... ἤματα μηνός | ἔξοχ’ ἀεξομένοιο βροτήσια ἔργα πένεσθαι, | ἐνδεκάτη τε δωδεκάτη τ’ ἄμφω **γε μὲν** ἐσθλαί.

With the trochaic caesura in the 4th foot Gregory infringes Hermann’s Bridge, but the offence is mitigated by word-end in the fourth princeps; a similar violation occurs at II.1.19. 47 κλέος δὲ σὸν and 74 Θεῶ γε μὲν.⁴⁸ For Hellenistic and later parallels see West (1982: 155 and 178-9). Agosti-Gonnelli (1995: 383) cite also *carm.* II.1.1.[976] 82 ἢ χθονός ἢ Θεοῖο. Νόμος δὲ ἐπέσπετ’ ἀλιτρός, but in this case the transmitted (and original) text is ἢ χθονός ἢ Θεοῖο· νόμος δ’ ἐπέσπετ’ ἀλιτρός (ed. Tuilier-Bady, 2004).

μειότεροι: = *μείοι*. First at A. R. 2. 368.

37-40. The story of the prostitute Rahab who offered hospitality to the Israelite spies at Jericho is found at Jos. 2. 1-21 (cf. also 6. 17 and 23). The parable of the Pharisee and the Publican is in Luke 18. 10-14. Gregory uses the same examples in *or.* 40.19. 24-34 (ed. Moreschini) to justify the claim that a small achievement when facing difficult circumstances is often more important than a big one when everything is favourable: *τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ Ραᾶβ τὴν πόρνην ἐν ἐδικαίωσε μόνον, ἢ φιλοξενία, τᾶλλα οὐκ ἐπαινουμένην· καὶ τὸν τελώνην ἐν ὑψωσεν, ἢ ταπεινώσας, οὐδὲν ἄλλο μαρτυρηθέντα· ἵνα σὺ μάθης, σεαυτοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀπογινώσκειν.* Cf. also: *καλὸν ἢ φιλοξενία· καὶ μάρτυς ἐν μὲν δικαίαις, Λῶτ ὁ Κοδομίτης, καὶ οὐ Κοδομίτης τὸν τρόπον·*

⁴⁸ We should not treat as offences against Hermann’s Bridge cases such as II.1.19. 43 νόος δέ μοι, 53 ἐγὼ δέ τε, 60 πολὺν δέ τε, 63 ἰός δέ τε, since μοι and τε are enclitics. However, Bacci (p. 56) and Moroni (p. 65), in their editions of II.2.6 and II.2.4-5 respectively, cite such cases as offences.

ἐν δὲ ἀμαρτωλοῖς, Ῥαὰβ ἢ πόρνη τὴν προαίρειν, διὰ φιλοξενίαν ἐπαινεθεῖσά τε καὶ σωθεῖσα (or. 14.2 [M. 35.860. 29-33]). For Rahab as an example of justification by works cf. Jac. 2. 24-5 ὁρᾶτε ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ῥαὰβ ἢ πόρνη οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ὑποδεξαμένη τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐτέρᾳ ὁδῷ ἐκβαλοῦσα; For the rhetorical function of these exempla cf. Demoen (1996: 84).

37-8. ἀλλ' ἄρα ... φιλοξενίη: Par. A: 'ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ταύτην ἔνδοξον ἢ ἀκροτάτη ποίησεν φιλοξενία'.

ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ τὴν: probably inspired by *Il.* 19. 95-7:

καὶ γὰρ δὴ νύ ποτε Ζεὺς ἄσατο, τὸν περ ἄριστον
ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ θεῶν φας ἔμμεναι· **ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ τὸν**
Ἴηρη θῆλυς εἶουσα δολοφροσύνης ἀπάτησεν,

ἄρα marks the impression made by this interesting example; 'a word to be felt rather than translated' (Denniston, 1950: 32-3). *καὶ τὴν* means 'even her'; cf. v. 35 *καὶ τό* (with note). *ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ* 9 times in Gregory, at the same metrical *sedes*.

ἀκροτάτη: cf. Lex. alph. α 141 *ἀκροτάτην· ὑψηλοτάτην* and Hesych. α 2623 *ἀκροτάτων· ὑψηλοτάτων, ἀνωτάτων*.

39-40. The structure is: *πλέον ἔσχε τινὸς (φαρισσαῖοιο) ἔκ τινος (μόνης τῆς χθαμαλοφροσύνης)*.

φαρισσαῖοιο: only Mc and Ma offer the double *c* form; the usual is *φαρισσαῖος*, but Byzantine writers and scribes are familiar with the double *c* form: it occurs, for example, at Psellos, *Opusc. theol.* 106. 27 (ed. Gautier) and *Λόγος εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν* A. 720-1 (or. *hag.* 3 [ed. Fisher]); Theodore Prodromos, *Epigrammata in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (ed. Papagianis) Luc 248.a. 4 and Act Ap 272.b. 4 (cf. Luc 239.a. 2 *Φαρισσαϊκή*), as well as in Michael Choniates, Nicephoros Blemmydes and Nicolaos Mesarites. It is also attested as a v.l. in several Byzantine manuscripts of the New Testament: the detailed reports for Luke in the Oxford edition (2 vols.; Oxford, 1984 and 1987) offer the double *c* form as the reading of several witnesses (dated s. X-XIV) in 7 out of 10 occurrences of the word in Luke.

Theodore Prodromos is likely to have seen the word in Gregory's poetry;⁴⁹ it is also found at I.1.26.[498] 20 and I.1.27.[505] 93. It is possible that for some reason early Christian poets considered the iota of *φαρισσαῖος* short by nature; Nonnus in the *Paraphrasis* always uses the single *c* form in short syllables. Gregory could have allowed a false quantity, especially with a Biblical name, but it may be that he found *Φαρισσαῖος* elsewhere or coined it

⁴⁹ For Theodore's knowledge of Gregory's verse see Simelidis (2006). For similar forms in Theodore's tetrasticha on the Old and New Testaments (e.g. *Ἀβεσσαλώμ - Ἀβεσαλώμ*) see G. Papagiannis, *Theodoros Prodromos: Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments (Meletemata 7/1, Wiesbaden 1997)*, 168-75.

himself, exactly as Homer uses both *Ἀχιλεὺς* and *Ἀχιλλεύς*; modification of a proper name to fit the metre is a licence used by Greek poets (see R. Kassel, 'Quod versu dicere non est', *ZPE* 19 [1975], 211-18 and West, 1982: 26-7). Gregory always uses the normal form *φαρκαῖος* in prose and once in verse (II.1.1. 393 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]), where the metre requires *-ρι-*. Cases of *φαρκαῖος* in later writers would be consistent with earlier uses of this form and I consider it very likely that Gregory was one of the sources for later use of this form. But we cannot be certain since either form in Gregory's poems could be due to scribal 'correction'.

χθαμαλοφροσύνης: *χθαμαλός* is often used by Gregory, who also created a compound verb and noun which are not found elsewhere: *χθαμαλοφρονέω* (*carm.* I.2.9. 130 [ed. Palla] *ἦν χθαμαλοφρονέης, πλάσμα Χριστοῦ τέτυξαι*.) and *χθαμαλοφροσύνη* (only in our verse). Cf. Kertsch's comment in Palla's edition of I.2.9.

ἄειρομένον: *ἄειρομένον· ἐπαιρομένον* (Lex. alph. α 54).

41-54. The two necessary conditions which ought to be maintained together with celibacy are: (a) solitude, seclusion and, still better, flight from the world; (b) humility. It is commonplace in the Greek Fathers and later *Apophthegmata Patrum* for monks to suffer from the insidious temptation of vanity (*κενοδοξία*).

41-3. Βέλτερον ἄζυγίη, ναὶ βέλτερον: the Greek Fathers *ἐπαινοῦσιν* marriage, but *θαυμάζουσιν* only the celibate life. Cf. Gr. Naz. *or.* 37.10 (M. 36.293. 33-5) *καλὸν ὁ γάμος· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ ὑψηλότερον παρθενίας. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἦν τι μέγα ἢ παρθενία, μὴ καλοῦ καλλίων τυγχάνουσα* and Chrys. *virg.* 10. 13-14 (ed. Grillet-Musurillo [SC 125]) *καλὸν ὁ γάμος; Οὐκοῦν διὰ τοῦτο ἢ παρθενία θαυμαστὸν ὅτι καλοῦ κρείττων.*

ἄζυγία is used to mean celibacy first in Gregory (see DGE and PGL); cf. also, e.g., *carm.* I.2.1.[537] 187, [575] 699, and my note on *ἄζυγέων* (v. 9). For the Ionic form, cf. *ἀϋπνίη* in v. 61 and the form *κυζυγίη*, which occurs frequently in Gregory's verse.

ἄλλ' ἐπίμικτος ... κόφρονος: 'but earthly and mixed with the world, the celibate life is worse than self-controlled marriage'; cf. vv. 1-2. Moreschini et al. (1994: 184, n. 14) thought that there is a possible allusion here to cases of male and female virgins living together; such cases had been strongly condemned by Chrysostom and Jerome, among others. For the reading *κόφρων* (to be taken with *βίος* later in the line), found in the text of Nicetas David, see p. 91.

43-4. Ἄκτηάνων ... οὐρεσιφοίτων: a clear reference to the monastic and eremitical life. Par. A: 'τῶν ἀκτημόνων ὑψηλὸς <ὁ> βίος τῶν ἐν ὄρεσι φοιτῶντων'.

οὐρεσιφοίτων: cf. Hesych. ο 1849 'οὐρεσίφοιτος· ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι πλανώμενος (Greg. Naz. c. 1, 2, 17, 43)'. The adjective *οὐρεσίφοιτος, ον* (*passim* in Non-

nus), used here as a noun, is not found elsewhere in Gregory. He also twice uses *ὀυρεσιφοίτης* (*carm.* II.2.7.[1571] 264 and I.2.1.[544] 289, with Sundermann's note); for similar *ὀυρεσι-/ὄρεσι-* compounds cf. LSJ, s.v., and E. Trapp, 'Bemerkungen zu den Prodomes', *JÖByz* 36 (1986), 67-71, at 67.

τῦφος: 'vanity, arrogance' (see LSJ, s.v.). The word is common in Gregory or Fathers of the Church. *ὑψος* (N) could be due to influence from v. 46 or a gloss introduced into the text.

καὶ τοὺς: 'even them', cf. *καὶ τὸ* in v. 35 and note.

45-6. Cf. St Paul referring to rival apostles in 2 Cor. 10. 12-13: *οὐ γὰρ τολμῶμεν ἐγκρίναι ἢ συγκρίναι ἑαυτοὺς τισιν τῶν ἑαυτοὺς συνισταπόντων· ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς μετροῦντες καὶ συγκρίνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς οὐ συνιαῖν. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα καυχηόμεθα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος οὗ ἐμέριεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μέτρον, ἐφικέσθαι ἄχρι καὶ ὑμῶν.*⁵⁰

ἐν κραδίῃ ὑψος: for *ὑψος* cf. v. 44 (with note) and Did. 5.1. 5 (ed. Audet) *θρασύτης, ὑψος, ἀλαζονεία*. Cf. also Prov. 18. 12 *πρὸ συντριβῆς ὑψοῦται καρδιά ἀνδρός, καὶ πρὸ δόξης ταπεινοῦται* and Greg. Naz. *or.* 4.32. 4-8 (ed. Bernardi) *καὶ πρὸ μὲν συντριβῆς ἡγείται ὕβρις, αἱ Παρομιμαὶ καλῶς φασι, πρὸ δὲ δόξης ταπεινώσι· ἢ, ἵνα σαφέστερον εἶπω, ὕβρις μὲν ἔπεται συντριβῆ, ταπεινῶσι δὲ εὐδοξία. «Κύριος γὰρ ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν».* Gregory is going to speak soon about such a *συντριβή*.

ἄκριτον: 'countless' ('after Homer in poets', LSJ, s.v.) or 'subject to no judge' (LSJ, s.v.), with 'judgement' being in Gregory's case the comparison with someone *ἄριστος*; cf. St Paul's *εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα* above. The word was translated by Moreschini et al. (1994: 184) as 'senza confronti'.

46-8. ὅτε | πολλάκι ... πόδα: M. prints *ὑψος ἔχουσιν ὅτε. | Πολλάκι*. But *ὅτε* is 'used like *ποτέ* at the beginning of two corresponding sentences' (e.g. *ὅτε μὲν...*, *ὅτε δὲ...*, or *ὅτε μὲν...*, *ἄλλοτε...*; cf. LSJ, s.v.), and almost all the manuscripts transmit *ὅτε. ὅτε* here introduces a temporal sentence, denoting time that coincides with that of the principal verb: 'when (at the same time), with their minds also excited, they often go far from the turning (or winning) post (i.e. from their goal), like colts which are too warmblooded'. *ὅτε* with the indicative can express things continually happening (cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅτε A.I.1b).

Gregory uses the proverbial phrase *κέντει τὸν πᾶλον περὶ τὴν νύσσαν* in *or.* 38.10. 16-17 (ed. Moreschini) and 45. 10 (M. 36.363B). This proverb is

⁵⁰ 'For we do not dare to class or compare ourselves with some of those who commend themselves. They, measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves with themselves, are without understanding. We however shall boast in no unmeasured way, but only according to the measure of the province God dealt out to us as our measure, that we might reach as far as you.' The translation is that proposed by C. K. Barrett in his *Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (London, 1973), 262-5, where a detailed analysis of this difficult chapter is provided.

cited in the *Suda* (κ 1331) and interpreted by Apostolius in the following way: ἤτοι πρὸς τὸ προκειμένον ἐπάνηκε. Νύσσα δὲ ἔστιν ὁ καμπτός, καθ' ὃν οἱ ἰππεῖς δρόμῳ φθάνοντες ἔκαμπτον καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑσπληγκα ἐπάνηρχοντο. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος φθάσας ἐταινιοῦτο (Apostol. 9. 65). Cf. *carm.* II.2.1.[1459] 106-8 οἶά τ' ἀπὸ νύσσης πῶλος ἀεθλοφόρος | τῆλε φέρων ἐὰ γούνα and II.1.11. 414-15 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) τί, θυμέ, βράζει; εἶργε τὸν πῶλον βίᾳ. | Πρὸς νύσσαν αὔθις οἱ λόγοι. Gregory has explained elsewhere that οἱ μὲν δέονται κέντρων, οἱ δὲ χαλινοῦ. Οἱ μὲν γάρ εἰσι νωθεῖς καὶ δυσκίνητοι πρὸς τὸ καλόν, οὓς τῆ πληγῆ τοῦ λόγου διεγερτέον, οἱ δὲ θερμότεροι τοῦ μετρίου τῷ πνεύματι καὶ δυσκάθεκτοι ταῖς ὀρμαῖς καθάπερ πῶλοι γενναῖοι πόρρω τῆς νύσσης θεόντες, οὓς βελτίους ἂν ποιήσειεν ἄγχων καὶ ἀνακόπτων ὁ λόγος (*or.* 2.30. 5-11 [ed. Bernardi]).

ζείοντι νόψ: ζείω is a later form for ζέω; it occurs first at Call. *Dian.* 60 χαλκὸν ζείοντα καμινόθε and A. R. 1. 734, and 4. 391 ἀναζείουσα βαρὺν χόλον. For its metaphorical use cf. also S. OC 434 ὀπηνίκ' ἔξει θυμός; Act. 18. 25 ζέων τῷ πνεύματι and Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.85.[1431] 6 χόλου ζείοντος ἐρωαῖς.

ὁμοῖα: the Epic form is preferable to ὁμοῖα, as at II.1.32. 38 and II.1.19. 31.

49-50. For the image of a monk flying cf. Evagr. Pont. *De octo spiritibus malitiae* (sub nomine Nili Ancyran) 7 (M. 79.1152. 36-42) ἀκτῆμων μοναχὸς ἀετὸς ὑψιπέτης, [...] καὶ μετέωρος ἐξάιρεται, ἀναχωρεῖ τῶν γῆινων καὶ συμπεριπολεῖ τοῖς ἄνω· πτερὸν γὰρ ἔχει κοῦφον, φροντίσι μὴ βαρυνόμενον. Gregory agreed to serve his father ὡςπερ ἀετῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ὑψιπέτει νεοσκόσ οὐκ ἄχρηστος ἐγγύθεν συμπαριπτάμενος (*or.* 12.5. 14-15 [ed. Calvet-Sebasti]). It is interesting that Evagrius Ponticos was a disciple of Gregory in Constantinople (see McGuckin [2001: 276-7]; for another similarity with Gregory see my note on βριθοσύνη in v. 51). Cf. also the image of the winged soul in Plato's *Phaedrus*; when the soul is perfectly winged, it travels above the earth and has the greatest share in the divine: τελέα μὲν οὖν οὐσα καὶ ἐπτερωμένη μετεωροπορεῖ τε καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον διοικεῖ, [...] κεκοινώνηκε δὲ πη μάλιστα τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ θείου (246 b-e).

τοῦνεκεν ἢ ... ἡέ: a typical Gregorian introduction of a two-fold conclusion; cf. I.1.29. 39 (ed. Knecht); I.2.2.[607] 365 and 413-15.

πτερύγεσσι ... πάμπαν ἔλαφραῖς: not simply a reference to the state of self-chosen poverty (ἀκτημοσύνη) and to freedom from worldly anxieties (ἀμεριμνία; cf. 1 Cor. 7. 32-5), but also a hint at another closely related and fundamental virtue⁵¹ with similar powers: ἡ ταπεινοφροσύνη ὑψιπετεῖ καὶ ἀεροπόρον ἀποτελεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον (Antiochos Mon. [7th cent.] *hom.* 70 [M.

⁵¹ ματαῖα πᾶσα ἄσκησις, πᾶσα ἐγκράτεια, πᾶσα ὑποταγή, πᾶσα ἀκτημοσύνη καὶ πᾶσα πολυμάθεια ταπεινοφροσύνης ἐστερημένη (Ephr. Πρὸς καθάρειν ὑπερηφανίας [I, p. 84.1-2 Phrantzolas]); cf. also, e.g., Apophth. Patr. (M. 65.172c).

89.1637A]). For *ἐλαφραῖς* cf. *carm.* I.2.1.[543] 283 *ὥς ῥα καὶ ἀζυγέες μὲν ἐπεὶ ζῶουσιν ἐλαφροί* (with Sundermann's note).

For similar images and diction in earlier poetry cf. e.g. *Pi. I.* 1.64-5 *εἶη νιν εὐφώνων πετερυγέσσιν ἀερθέντ' ἀγλααῖς | Πιερίδων*; *A. R.* 1. 220 *σεῖον ἀειρομένω πτέρυγας, μέγα θάμβος ιδέσθαι*; *Orac.Chald.* 217. 6 *ἦξεν ἀειρόμενος ψυχῆς κούφαις πετερυγέσσιν*.

τροχάειν: Epic form of *τροχάζω* 'run quickly' (see LSJ, s.v.); 'τρέχειν' (Par. A); 'τὸν βίον διάβαινε' (Par. B). For the infinitive used like the second person of the imperative see Goodwin (1889: §1536).

51-2. 'lest by chance your wing inclines towards the earth because of your weight, and you fall, having risen, and suffer the most pitiful fall'. Cf. *or.* 28.12. 13-14 (ed. Gallay) *πίπτειν ἐκ τῆς ἐπάρσεως πτῶμα πάντων ἐλεινότατον* (cf. *or.* 32.24. 6-13 [ed. Gallay]) and *carm.* II.1.67.[1408] 4-5 *εἰ δ' ἐπαρθείην ἔτι, | αὐθις πέσοιμι πτῶμα καὶ συντρίμματος*. Nicetas Eugeneianos was probably aware of our poem when he wrote (*ep.* 6. 2-4 [ed. Christidis]): *τῷ ὑψηγῶρω πτερῷ τῶν ἐπαίνων σου κουφισθείς, καὶ κατέπεσον ἄν πτῶμα οὐκ ἐλεούμενον τῷ τῆς ἐπάρσεως καύσωνι χαννωθέντος οἶον εἰπεῖν τοῦ κηρωτοῦ συνδέσμου τῶν πτερωμάτων*.

For this image cf. also the legend of Icarus, who escaped Minos' prison on waxen wings with his father Daedalus. Icarus flew too close to the sun, his wings melted and he fell into the sea which has since had the name *Ἰκάριον Πέλαγος* (see OCD, s.v. Daedalus).

βριθοσύνη: the weight of both *μέριμναι* and *ὑπερηφανία* (see notes on 49-50). For the latter cf. Evagr. Pont. *De octo spiritibus malitiae* (sub nomine Nili Ancyran) 17 (M. 79.1161. 41-3) *ὥσπερ βάρος καρποῦ καταράσσει κλῶνα, οὕτω ὑπερηφανία ἐνάρετον καταβάλλει ψυχῆν*.

ἐς χθόνα νεύει: a common phrase in Gregory, used in various contexts. For the diction cf. *Ar. V.* 1110 *νεύοντες εἰς τὴν γῆν*; for a similar thought in Gregory cf. I.2.1.[576] 707-11

ὥς ἄρα συζυγίη μὲν ἔφιν χθονός, ἀζυγίη δὲ
Χριστοῦ παμβασιλῆος ὁμόζυγος. Ἄλλὰ καὶ ἔμπης
παυράκι παρθενίη μὲν ἐπὶ χθόνα νεύει βαρεῖα,
συζυγίη δ' ἦϊξε πρὸς οὐρανόν, ἔνθεν ἀέλπτως
ἄμφω ψευδόμεναι, ἡ μὲν γάμον, ἡ δὲ κορείην.

μηδὲ πέσει: M. prints *μηδὲ*, but the two sentences are clearly connected with the very common combination *μη... μηδὲ... Πίπτω* has the meaning 'fall into sin' or 'fall from a state of grace' (see NTL and PGL, s.v.). Allusion to sexual immorality is possible: *πίπτω* is often used by the Greek Fathers without complement with that meaning (see PGL, s.v. B. 4), the earlier *κάτω* (v. 50) may refer to the married life, and *ἀσφαλέως* (also v. 50) to the safety which marriage provides against sexual impurity (cf. 1 Cor. 7. 2 *διὰ δὲ τὰς*

πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω, καὶ ἐκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα ἐχέτω). But it is also possible that Gregory hints at other ‘falls’, since ὑπερηφανία is both a reason for a fall and itself a fall: καὶ τί πτώμα τοιοῦτο οἶον ἐπάρχει περιπαρῆναι καὶ μὴ γνῶναι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀναβάσεως τὴν ταπεινῶσιν καὶ ὄσον ἔτι λείπεται τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ὕψους ὁ πάντων ἀνώτατος; (Gr. Naz. or. 32.24. 10-3 [ed. Moreschini]).

53-4. A small ship represents a life with limited ambition for advanced spiritual fulfillments; the married life with its many worries and troubles is an example. A life with high aims is depicted as a big ship.⁵² Gregory says that a well-built small ship (= the Christian married life or those possessing safe virtues) can carry more cargo (= spiritual fruits) than an ‘unbound’ big one (= the celibate life with pride and worldly anxieties). Gregory has explained in his orations that some of the most splendid virtues are dangerous and should be tried only by those who have the necessary spiritual equipment to do so safely: in or. 2.100-2 (ed. Bernardi) he refers to John 14. 28-30 τίς γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν θέλων πύργον οἰκοδομῆσαι οὐχὶ πρῶτον καθίσας ψηφίζει τὴν δαπάνην, εἰ ἔχει εἰς ἀπαρτιμόν; ἵνα μήποτε θέντος αὐτοῦ θεμέλιον καὶ μὴ ἰσχύοντος ἐκτελέσαι πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντες ἄρξωνται αὐτῷ ἐμπαίξιν λέγοντες ὅτι Οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἵσχυεν ἐκτελέσαι. However, in *carm.* I.2.1.[543-4] 278-84 Gregory says that celibates need less help from God than married Christians do, and in this case he compares celibates to small ships which need only a soft breeze to sail and married people to big ships which need strong winds.

νηὺς ὀλίγη: for a possible allusion to Callimachus here see p. 38 (cf., however, Hes. *Op.* 643 [cited in n. 52]); at *carm.* II.1.10. 22 (with my note) Gregory compares himself to a small ship (νηὺς ὀλίγη).

γόμεφοισιν ἀρηραμένη πυκνοῖσι: cf. A. R. 1. 369 ἴν’ εὖ ἀραροῖατο γόμεφοις and Pl. *Ti.* 43a3 πυκνοῖς γόμεφοις. According to LSJ (s.v. ἀραρῖκω) ἀρηράμενος is ‘later incorrectly written’ as pass. pf. part. instead of the correct ἀρηρεμένος or ἀρηρέμενος, which is used three times by Apollonius Rhodius (1. 787; 3. 833; 4. 677). The form ἀρηράμενος is found twice in the *Cynegetica* (2. 384 and 3. 493) and appears eleven times in the manuscripts of Quintus Smyrnaeus’ *Posthomerica*. In one of these cases (14. 475 ἀρηράμεν’) there is a variant ἀρηρέμεν’ in Ω and Albert Zimmermann in his edition (Teubner: Leipzig 1891) changed all eleven forms to the form found in Apollonius (see note in his *Kritische Untersuchungen zu den Posthomerica des Quintus Smyrnaeus: Erläuterung zu einer demnächst erscheinenden Textausgabe* [Leipzig, 1889], 50). Francis Vian followed him in his edition (cf. his *Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrne* [Paris, 1959], 167). However,

⁵² Hesiod (*Op.* 643-5) associated big ships with trade: νῆ’ ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν, μεγάλη δ’ ἐνὶ φορτία θέσθαι | μείζων μὲν φόρτος, μείζων δ’ ἐπὶ κέρδει κέρδος | ἔσσεται.

the form *ἀρηράμενος* seems to have been in use in later periods and this explains the appearance of the form both in the *Cynegetica* and Gregory⁵³ and the variant *ἀρηραμέναι* (PE) for *ἀρηρεμέναι* (LAS) in A. R. 1. 787. I prefer to read in Gregory *ἀρηραμένη* and not *ἀρηρεμένη* (L α, BX Pi MaMq^{ac} D), which seems to be due to scribal correction. The form *ἀρηράμενος* perhaps came from a late med. and pass. pf. **ἀρήραμαι*, which may have been formed by confusion with the act. pf. *ἄρηρα*.

For *ποικινοῖσι* (Vc) cf. Suda π 3086 *ποικινός λόγος: ὁ πυκνός* and Lex. Cas. π 65 *†ποικινόφρονος· συνετοῦ*.

55-6. For the Narrow Gate see Matt. 7. 13-14 *εἰσέλθατε διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης· ὅτι πλατεῖα ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ πολλοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς· τί στενὴ ἡ πύλη καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτήν*. Cf. Gr. Naz. ep. 4. 5. 1-2 *ἐπαινῶ καὶ τὴν στενὴν καὶ τεθλιμμένην ὁδόν*. For the image of the narrow and wide gates in Gregory see B. Lorenz, 'Das Bild der Zwei Wege im carm. II 1, 45 des Gregor von Nazianz und der Widerhall im "Gregorius" des Hartmann von Aue', *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Gorres-Gesellschaft* 20 (1979), 277-85.

στενὴ ... ὁδός: cf. A. R. 4. 1576 *στενὴ τελέθει ὁδός* and Il. 23. 419 *στεῖνος ὁδοῦ κοίλης*.

πολλὰ δ' ἀτραπιτοί: several manuscripts (α, S^{ac} Pa^{bc} Li Mc γ Pj) have the unmetrical *ἀτραπιτοί*, a form that occurs only in Aelius Herodianus and Pseudo-Herodianus' *Partitiones* and the *Lexica Segueriana*.

57-8. Par. A: *οὔτοι μὲν ταύτην περῶεν, ὅσοις φύσις ἐνταῦθα κλίνει, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλην, τῆς στενῆς μόνον ἐφαπτόμενοι*; Par. B: *καὶ οἱ μὲν τήνδε τεμνέτωσαν, ὅσοι πρὸς ταύτην ἐπιρρεπῶς ἔχουσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλην, μόνον τῆς στενῆς ἐφαπτέσθωσαν*.

οἱ μὲν τὴν περῶεν: 'let them pass along this path'. The Maurists have *πρώεν* (possibly a misprint for *περῶεν*), while M. printed *προῖωεν*. However, neither do these forms exist in the manuscripts, nor do they belong to any Greek verb; the subjunctive of *πρόειμι* (*εἶμι*) would be *προῖωσι* and the optative *προῖοιεν*, while the corresponding forms of *προῖημι* would be *προῖωσι* and *προῖείεν*. Almost all manuscripts transmit *περῶεν*, a form not found elsewhere in Greek literature apart from Gregory's *carm.* I.1.5. 65-70 (ed. Moreschini) *ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν περῶεν ἐὴν ὁδόν, ἦν περ ἔταξε | Χριστὸς ἀναξ [...]. | ἡμεῖς δ' ἡμετέστην ὁδὸν ἀνιμεν* and II.1.13.[1243] 205-6 *ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν περῶεν ἐὴν ὁδόν· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε | ζητῶ Νῶε κιβωτόν, ὅπως μόρον αἰνὸν ἀλύξω*. This word is perhaps the result of Gregory's attempt to form the present optative of *περάω*, which would normally be *περῶεν* (from **περάοι-*

⁵³ The use of this participle by Gregory has been omitted by the DGE (s.v. *ἀραρίσκω*).

εν).⁵⁴ However, *περάω* has a late Epic part. *περώων* and Homer uses the form *περώωσι*(ν) four times. Gregory seems to keep the stem *περό-*, adding the contracted optative ending *-ωεν*. Sykes in Moreschini's edition of the *Poemata Arcana* has no comment on *περώωεν* (*sic*) in *carm.* I.1.5. 65 and he translates it as a present indicative.⁵⁵ However, optative in all these cases clearly expresses an exhortation with an implication of consent or permission (cf. Par. B cited above).

ὄσοις ... νεύει: 'those whose nature has an inclination to that'. Cf. 1 Cor. 7. 7: *θέλω δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἶναι ὡς καὶ ἐμᾶυτόν (i.e. celibates)· ἀλλὰ ἕκαστος ἴδιον ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ, ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὁ δὲ οὕτως*, and Christ's reference to the choice of celibacy (Matt. 19. 11-2): *οὐ πάντες χωροῦσιν τὸν λόγον [τοῦτον], ἀλλ' οἷς δέδοται. [...] ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρεῖτω*.

στενῆς μοῦνον ἐφαπτόμενοι: the neuter of *μόνος* (*μοῦνος*) is the only form used by Homer, Hesiod and Herodotus) can be used as an adverb (with the meaning 'alone, only'), frequently with imperative (see LSJ, s.v. *μόνος* B. 2). M. printed *ἀφαπτόμενοι* ('being hung on'), but this does not exist in the manuscripts nor is this verb ever used by Gregory. Gregory uses *ἐφαπτόμενος* 8 times in his verses, e.g. *carm.* II.2.1.[1454] 30 *ἄζυγες, κόσμου βαιὸν ἐφαπτόμενοι*.

The meaning of the phrase is that a way of life is acceptable if it can be *ὁδὸς σωτηρίας*: 'but they should be sure that (by following these paths) they reach the narrow gate' or 'provided that they reach the narrow gate (through these paths)'.⁵⁶ Cf. *or.* 24.8. 1-2 (ed. Mossay) *μνησθήσομαι δὲ τοῦ προτέρου βίου καὶ ἦτις αὐτῷ γέγονε σωτηρίας ὁδὸς καὶ τίς ἡ κλήσις*.

59. φίλον ἔπλετ' ἔδωδή: for neuter substantive predicate and subject of a different gender see NTG (§ 131), Gildersleeve (1900: 57-8) and cf., e.g. D. 19. 336 *μὴ λέγ' ὡς καλὸν εἰρήνην*.

μῆ: the fem. of *εἶς* is *μίᾱ* and Homer has fem. *ἴᾱ*; LSJ says 'μῆ only in late Ion. Prose', but cf. also *Orac.Sib.* 14. 353 *ἀλλὰ μῆ φιλότης τε καὶ εἶς τρόπος εὐφρονι δῆμω*; Greg. Naz. *carm.* II.2.5. 116 (ed. Moroni) *οὔτι μῆ βιότοιο πέλει τρίβος, ὧ τέκος, οὔτι. μῆ* is transmitted by L, P_c, as well as S Va M_q Mb DP_j.

⁵⁴ The optative of *περάω* is found only in later Byzantine authors, such as Nicetas Choniates and Georgios Pachymeres.

⁵⁵ Moreschini prints *περώωεν* (without iota subscript). Sykes gives the following translation for the quotation I cite for the first case of *περώωεν* (*carm.* I.1.5. 65-70): 'But the stars pursue their own path which Christ the King has assigned to them [...]. We shall take our upward path'. I would suggest: 'But let the stars pursue their own path'. Sykes (in Moreschini 1997: 192) comments on vv. 65-71: 'Stars and men both have allotted courses to follow, but they are independent of each other.'

⁵⁶ For this function of *μοῦνον* cf. *or.* 14.5 (quoted on p. 123). This use of *μοῦνον* is very common in Modern Greek, e.g. *διάλεξε ὅποια ζακέτα θέλεις, μόνο να εἶναι ζεστή ἢ πῆγαινε ὅπου θέλεις, μόνο να προσέχεις*.

61-4. Tears of repentance (see PGL, s.v. *δάκρυον*), vigil as an ascetic exercise (see PGL, s.v. *ἀγρυπνία*), the sufferings of spiritual struggle (see PGL, s.v. *πόνος*), the control of *πάθη*, the fight against *κόρος*, belief in God's providence and fear of the Day of Judgement are common elements which should be present in all the different Christian ways of life.

For *δάκρυα*, *ἀϋπνία* and *πόνοι* cf., e.g., Acts 20. 19 *δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ δακρύων*; 2 Cor. 6. 4-5 *ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ συνιστάνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ὡς θεοῦ διάκονοι, ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ, ἐν θλίψεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν στενοχωρίαις, ἐν πληγαῖς, ἐν φυλακαῖς, ἐν ἀκαταστασίαις, ἐν κόποις, ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις, ἐν νηστείαις*; Ps. 6. 7 *ἐκοπίασα ἐν τῷ στεναγμῷ μου, λούσω καθ' ἐκάστην νύκτα τὴν κλίνην μου, ἐν δάκρυσίν μου τὴν στρωμνὴν μου βρέξω*; Sap. 3. 15 *ἀγαθῶν γὰρ πόνων καρπὸς εὐκλείης*, as well as Ps. 38. 13 and 41. 4. Cf. also *carm.* I.2.3.[636] 39-40 *Θεοῦ σε φόβος πηγνύτω, νηστεία σε κενούτω, | ἀγρυπνία, προσευχαί, δάκρυα, χαμευνία.*

πᾶσιν ἄριστον: cf. e.g. Thgn. 411-12 *καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος | ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώπων* and [Pythagoras], *carm. aureum* 38 *μέτρον δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστον* |.

ἀϋπνία: the form *ἀϋπνία* (instead of *ἀϋπνία*) occurs only here and twice in Aretaeus of Cappadocia (SD 2.6.7. 2 and CD 1.3.7. 2 [p. 73.18 and 150.20 Hude]), who wrote in Ionic in imitation of Hippocrates; cf. *ἀζυγία* (v. 41) and *μίη* (v. 59). Cf. also Lex. Cas. α 255 *ἀϋπνία τε· καὶ ἀγρυπνία τε.*

παθέων ἀργαλέων: cf. notes on v. 25; cf. also *carm.* II.1.45.[1366] 181-2 *καὶ Χριστοῦ παθέσσειν ἐναντία μητιόωντες, | οἷσιν μ' ἐκ παθέων εἰλκυεν ἀργαλέων* and [1373] 286; II.1.46.[1380] 30. Philo Jud. (*De specialibus legibus* 3. 28. 6) refers to *ζηλοτυπία* as *πάθος ἀργαλεώτατον*.

αἰχμάζειν: *hapax* in Homer (*Il.* 4. 324), but found in tragedy and later, e.g. Nonn. *D.* 35. 178; cf. Hesych. α 2191 *αἰχμάζειν· πολεμεῖ, μάχεται.*

κόρον: cf. Thgn. 153 *τίκτει τοὶ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῶι ὄλβος ἔπηται | ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦι*; 1175 *ἔστι κακὸν δὲ βροτοῖσι κόρος, τῶν οὐ τι κάκιον*; 693 *πολλοὺς τοὶ κόρος ἀνδρας ἀπώλεσεν ἀφραίνοντας*; 596 and 605. The Cappadocian Fathers used this word very often with the meaning it has in the Theognidea, sometimes with a clear reference to these verses; examples from Gregory include *carm.* I.2.16.[779] 15 *ὑβρις δὲ κόρος*; I.2.32.[924] 103 *οὐδεὶς κόρος πέφυκε σωφρόνως ἔχειν*; I.2.50.[1393] 111 *καὶ κόρος ὑβρίζει*; *or.* 4.31. 12 (ed. Bernardi) *καὶ ὁ κόρος δι' ὃν ὑβρίσαμεν*; *or.* 2.4.3. 11-3 (ed. Mossay) *γαστρὸς ἡδοναὶ καὶ κόρος πατήρ ὕβρεω.*

τρομέειν ἡμᾶρ ἐπερχόμενον: cf. *carm.* II.1.34.[1313] 90 *καὶ τρομέης ἡμᾶρ ἐπερχόμενον*. Christians should be always in a state of preparedness, since they do not know when the Second Coming or their death will happen. See Mark 13. 35 *γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται, [...], μὴ ἐλθῶν ἐξαίφνης εὕρη ὑμᾶς καθεύδοντας. ὃ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω, πᾶσιν λέγω, γρηγορεῖτε*; 1 Thess. 5. 2 *οἴδατε ὅτι ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς κλέπτῃς ἐν νυκτὶ οὕτως ἔρχεται*; cf. also Matt. 24. 42, 25. 13 and 2 Pet. 3. 10.

65-6. ‘If you reach the absolute farthest end of the path, you are not any more a mortal, but a heavenly being. These are the laws of Gregory’. Cf. Matt. 10. 22 (= Matt. 24. 13; Mark 13. 13) ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται. For the self-naming cf. pp. 150-2.

νόμοι: some MSS (Va ζ MaVb) have νόμος, while others transmit νόμοις (La^{ac?}RiVcPa Li Mc Lb D S^{Nic}). νόμος would refer only to this last thought, which was not, however, conceived or expressed only by Gregory. νόμοις would require the phrase to be part of the previous sentence, and it could indicate the agreement of the last thought with Gregory’s rules. I prefer νόμοι (L α,La^{pc} PiMq Mb NPj Syr[V]), which refers to all the beatitudes, thoughts and exhortations mentioned in this poem (cf. p. 151). Their collection here constitutes a Gregorian *θέσπιμα* (Par. B for νόμοι: ‘θεσπίματα’).

β’ Πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἱερέας καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν

2.1 Outline

- 1-15 *A lament for the missed see and the flock*
 Gregory addresses the clergy of Constantinople, the rulers of the city and the city itself and contemplates with grief how envy removed him from his flock. Another person took his place suddenly and enjoys the fruits of Gregory’s own pains.
- 16-24 *The reasons for his removal*
 The poet is clearly disappointed when he refers to quarrels between some servants of God, who were also hostile towards him. He himself would never become embroiled in disputes such as theirs, and he is much saddened by the behaviour of some friends.
- 25-36 *The new life*
 In a completely different mood, glad and delighted, the poet announces his new way of life. He will now enjoy the equanimity of which he was always dreaming and offer his silence as a sacrifice, as previously he offered his speech.

2.2 Literary Characteristics

The most interesting literary characteristic of this poem lies in its last couplet:

οὗτος Γρηγορίου λόγος, τὸν θρέψατο γαῖα
 Καππαδοκῶν, Χριστῷ πάντ' ἀποδυσάμενον.

Gregory mentions his name, his geographical origin and his way of life. The stress may be on the fact that this is *his own* account. Gregory refers in this poem to his sufferings. When he closes the poem he reminds his readers of the fact that it was he who suffered and also stresses his Cappadocian origin. Cf. vv. 17-26 of *carm.* Π.1.19, where again he speaks of his pains and sorrows and again cites his name and origins (ἢ τις ... | Γρηγορίου μνήσαιο, τὸν ἔτρεφε Καππαδόκεσσι | ἢ Διοκαίσαρέων ὀλίγη πτόλις). But is there any need to remind his readers of his sufferings in this way? St Paul closed his epistle to the Colossians with the following sentence: ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῆ ἐμῆ χειρὶ Παύλου. Μνημονεύετέ μου τῶν δεσμῶν (Col. 4. 18) and Gregory has asked his flock to remember his stoning in a similar way: *or.* 42.27. 20-1 (ed. Bernardi) μέμνησθέ μου τῶν λιθασμῶν. 'The request to remember (cf. 1 Thess 2. 9; 2 Thess 2. 5) is a call to reflect on all of Paul's labour, but may also be inviting the Colossians to pray for him.'⁵⁷ This brings to mind St Paul's exhortation μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ (Hebr. 13. 7) and a request for prayer clearly lies behind Gregory's *AP* 8.84. 2: ἀλλά, φίλος, μνώεο Γρηγορίου, | Γρηγορίου, τὸν μητρὶ θεόδοτον ὠπάσε Χριστός.

However, the meaning of this self-naming in our poem (οὗτος Γρηγορίου λόγος) may also be: 'this is Gregory's version of the above-mentioned events. You may hear other versions as well, but bear in mind that this is what I believe happened.' Gregory was much concerned about his reputation in Constantinople after his resignation. We can imagine a dispute over what really happened there. In this scenario, Gregory replies here to his accusers, and he closes his speech in the Homeric way of naming the speaker after his speech (ὡς φάτο at e.g. *Il.* 1. 245 and 5. 493 is followed by the name of the speaker).

The self-naming found in this poem is not unique in his *Carmina*. The first poem edited in this book closes as follows (*carm.* Π.1.17. 65-6):

εἰ δ' ἄκρην τελέωσ' ἴοις τρίβον, οὐκέτι θνητός,
 ἀλλά τις οὐρανίων. Γρηγορίου νόμοι.

This is a clearly gnomic and didactic poem. Gregory closes with the statement that 'these are the laws of Gregory.' This reminds us again of St Paul's 2 Thes. 3. 17: ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῆ ἐμῆ χειρὶ Παύλου, ὃ ἐστὶν σημεῖον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ· οὕτως γράφω. Paul uses his own handwriting to close many of his

⁵⁷ M. Y. MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians* [Sacra Pagina Series, 17] (Collegeville, 2000), 184.

epistles, ‘a mark of both authentication and affection’.⁵⁸ ‘This does not however imply that forgeries were actually in existence, but on the vague chance that there may have been some this provides reassurance.’⁵⁹ In the case of Gregory we should not think of forgeries at all; we should, however, think of Gregory’s own attempts to protect his flock from heresies and make them devoted to their shepherd (see, e.g., *or.* 1. 7). When he says that ‘these are the laws of Gregory’, he may mean that ‘these are my laws and, since you know who I am, take them seriously and keep them carefully.’ There is, however, another possibility. The argument of II.1.17, even if based on the teaching of the Gospels, to an extent reflects Gregory’s own ideas; one might wonder how he could include personal thoughts in what he presents as a guide to achieving salvation, without taking any responsibility for this teaching; perhaps he does so by closing this poem with the statement that this is what *he* thinks.

Gregory often refers to himself in his epigrams; one of these cases is *AP* 8.147. 6: *Γρηγορίου τόδε σοι μνημήιον, ὃν φιλέεσκες*. This brings to mind the old signed epigrams of Hipparchus frs. 1-2 (Diehl):

μνήμα τόδ’ Ἰππάρχου· στεῖχε δίκαια φρονῶν.
μνήμα τόδ’ Ἰππάρχου· μὴ φίλον ἐξαπάτα.

In Greek poetry, Hesiod was the first to name himself ‘out of simple pride’ (West 1966: 161), when he described his vision of the Muses (*Th.* 22-3):

αἶ νύ ποθ’ Ἥσιδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδίην,
ἄρναι ποιμαίνονθ’ Ἑλικῶνος ὑπο ζαθέοιο.

‘The “signature” is a later development, perhaps suggested by Hesiod: cf. *Theognis* 22, *Alcm.* 39, etc.’ (West, *op. cit.*). In *Theognis* 19-24 we read:

Κύρνε, σοφιζομένωι μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω
τοῖςδ’ ἔπεσιν—λήσει δ’ οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα,
οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοῦσθλοῦ παρεόντος,
ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· ‘Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη
τοῦ Μεγαρέως· πάντας δὲ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός·
ἄστοῖσιν δ’ οὔπω πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναμαι·

⁵⁸ N. T. Wright, *The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians and to Philemon: An Introduction and Commentary* [The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries] (Leicester, 1986), 162.

⁵⁹ E. Best, *A Commentary on the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* [Black’s New Testament Commentaries] (London, 1972), 347.

There are many interpretations of Theognis' seal and many discussions of the relationship of this example with other similar examples.⁶⁰ Gregory's case is different from all these,⁶¹ although some of the previous cases might have inspired his self-naming. In addition, if it is true that 'the seal transforms Theognis' poetry into a *mnēma*, "memorial"', implying 'that the corpus of Theognis stands to be read as a *stèle* is read' (Ford [1985: 95]), then the end of a short poem by Gregory, which describes his life very briefly, offers a close parallel (*carm.* II.1.92.[1447-8] 11-12):

οὗτος Γρηγορίοιο βίος· τὰ δ' ἔπειτα μελήσει
Χριστῷ ζωοδότῃ. Γράψατε ταῦτα λίθοις.

2.3 Place in Gregory's Life and Thought

The poem belongs to a group composed shortly after Gregory's resignation from the Council and the see of Constantinople in June 381.⁶² Gregory left the city some time in late June.⁶³ Gregory's resignation followed the late arrival of the Alexandrian and the Illyrian bishops. They joined the Council in early or mid June 381, and the Egyptians challenged Gregory's installation by the Council as bishop of Constantinople. They argued that according to the fifteenth Canon of the Council of Nicaea a bishop should not be translated from one see to another. Gregory had been ordained bishop of Sasima and thus his installation at Constantinople was not valid. Gregory was forced to resign, but he tried later to defend the legitimacy of his installation in Constantinople.⁶⁴ He also presented his resignation as being in ac-

⁶⁰ See the most recent discussions in Ford (1985), Edmunds (1997) and H. Friis Johansen, 'A Poem by Theognis (Thgn. 19-38)', *C&M* 42 (1991), 5-37, at 7-19, and *C&M* 47 (1996), 9-23, at 14-18.

⁶¹ One must be very careful in identifying similarities, even when considering only the archaic cases. 'The various putative *sphragides* in archaic poetry must be analysed in relation to their own genres before they can be assimilated to one another' (Edmunds, 1997: 31).

⁶² This Council, the Second Ecumenical Synod, was summoned in early May 381. Gregory succeeded Meletios of Antioch as president of the Council following Meletios' death shortly after its opening. For more details about Gregory's presence at this Synod see McGuckin (2001: 348-60) and Papadopoulos (1991: 142-73). The exact date of his resignation is not known; see Papadopoulos (1991: 171). Elm (2000: 411) notes that Gregory was bishop of Constantinople until 9 July 381. But that was the last day of the Council's proceedings and Gregory had already submitted his resignation in front of the Council (perhaps towards the middle of June), which then elected his successor.

⁶³ McGuckin (2001: 366) and Papadopoulos (1991: 181-2); cf. p. 155, n. 70 below.

⁶⁴ See McGuckin (2001: 358-9) and Papadopoulos (1991: 166-71).

cordance with his real will,⁶⁵ though he was sure that he would never persuade the power-loving (*carm.* II.1.11. 1824-8 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]):

ἔρρηξα δεσμὰ τήν τ' ἀφορμὴν ἀκμένωσ
—οὐκ ἂν πείσαιμι τοὺς φιλάρχους οὐποτε,
εὐδελόν ἐστι, πλὴν ἀληθές— ἦρπασα.
Καιρὸς γὰρ ἦν μοι· καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς μέσουσ
τάδ' εἶπον·

In his last appearance before the Council, Gregory told the bishops that he was not responsible for the confusion the Council had got into; he was not glad at being enthroned and he was leaving willingly (*οὐτ' ἐνθρονίσθην ἄκμενοσ, καὶ νῦν ἐκὼν | ἄπειμι*). On leaving the Council and the city, he expressed the same mixed feelings of joy and disappointment as he does in our poem (*carm.* II.1.11. 1856-70 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]):

ταῦτ' εἶπον. Οἱ δ' ὠκλαζον· ἐξῆιν δ' ἐγὼ
μέσοσ χαρᾶσ τε καὶ τινοσ κατηφίασ·
χαρᾶσ τῷ παῦλαν τῶν πόνων λαβεῖν τινα,
λύπησ τῷ λαὸν ἀγνοεῖν οἱ κείσεται.
Τίσ δ' οὐ σπαράσσετ' ὄρφανούμενοσ τέκνων; 1860
Ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτωσ· οἱ δ' ἴσασι καὶ Θεόσ,
εἰ μὴ τι πλεῖον τοῦμμέσω τὸ λάθριον·
νεῶν ὄλεθροσ καὶ σπιλάδεσ, λόχοι βάθοσ.
Ἄλλοι λέγουσι ταῦτα, σιγήσω δ' ἐγὼ.
Οὐ γὰρ εἰσολή μοι πλεκτὰ γινώσκειν κακά, 1865
τήν ἀπλότητα καρδίασ ἀσκουμένω
ἐξ ἧσ τὸ σῶζεσθ' οὐ μόνου πᾶσ μοι λόγοσ.
Ὅμωσ τόδ' οἶδα· πλεῖον ἢ καλῶσ ἔχει
ἄφνω τετίμημ' εὐκόλω συναίνεσει.
Τοιαῦτα πατρισ τοῖσ φίλοισ χαρίζεται. 1870

McGuckin (2001: 361) notes that 'despite all that he so often says about being unwilling to accept the throne at Constantinople, he clearly regarded it as a wonderful honor, which had been taken from him in a shameful,

⁶⁵ Gregory had already grasped a similar opportunity to leave Constantinople (*καὶ τῆσ ἀφορμῆσ ἀκμένωσ δεδραγμένωσ*), but the strong reaction of his flock made him change his mind (*carm.* II.1.11. 1044-1112 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]) and stay only for a while on the coast outside Constantinople. This event followed the failed attempt of Gregory's close friend Maximos to be ordained bishop of Constantinople in secret. He was actually ordained one night (perhaps in May or June 380) by Egyptian bishops and with the support of Peter of Alexandria. However, he was rejected by the people of Constantinople and Theodosius himself, whom Maximos met in Thessaloniki. For the Maximos incident see McGuckin (2001: 311-24), Van Dam (2002: 139-42) and Papadopoulos (1991: 117-27). The episode has been thoroughly examined by R. E. Snee in her unpublished Ph.D. thesis 'Gregory Nazianzen's Constantinopolitan Career, AD 379-381' (University of Washington, 1981).

ungrateful, and disparaging manner.’ Gregory also believed that much remained for him to do in Constantinople: *carm.* Π.1.15.[1251] 15 ἦν δρόμος, ἀλλά μ’ ἔπεμψε φθόνος καὶ νοῦσος ὀπίσσω. But what seems to have really hurt Gregory was the fact that his resignation was accepted with alacrity: ἄφρων τετίμημ’ εὐκόλῳ συναινέσει (Π.1.11. 1869, cited above).⁶⁶ He complains with chagrin: *σήμερον σύνθρονοι καὶ ὁμόδοξοι, ἂν οὕτω φέρωσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ ἄγοντες· αὐρίον ἀντίθρονοι καὶ ἀντίδοξοι, ἐὰν ἀντιπνεύσῃ τὸ πνεῦμα* (*or.* 42.22. 8-10 [ed. Bernardi]). In this Farewell Oration he asks his colleagues to elect his successor according to the prevailing taste among them and to let him enjoy seclusion, his rural retreat, and God: *ἄλλον προστήσαθε τὸν ἀρέσοντα τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐμοὶ δὲ δότε τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ τὴν ἀγροικίαν καὶ τὸν Θεόν, ᾧ μόνῳ καὶ διὰ τῆς εὐτελείας ἀρέσομεν* (*or.* 42.24. 14-16).⁶⁷

As for the time of the composition of this poem, Van Dam (2002: 241, n. 37) thinks that it was composed ‘during his departure from Constantinople’. McGuckin (2001: 371) places it in a series of poems (‘all aimed at episcopal hypocrisy’) which were written ‘on his way back home, and over the first few years of his time in Nazianzus’.⁶⁸ Papadopoulos (1991: 182, 188-9) thinks that the poems Π.1.4-10, as well as Π.1.11-13, were composed shortly after his return to Nazianzus when he was still deeply agitated by the events in Constantinople. He argues against their composition in Constantinople on the assumption that Gregory would hardly have been able to write long prosodic poems in days of great confusion and turmoil. However, not all these poems are long and Papadopoulos himself admits that Π.1.12 seems to have been written before the election of Nektarios. For our poem he says that vv. 13-14 and 32 imply that Nektarios had been elected and Gregory had settled in Nazianzus. But in v. 24 Gregory refers to the podium of the synod as *βῆμα τόδε*. Does this mean that he was still in the city? In the case of this poem, v. 32 clearly supports the view that the poem was at least completed back in Nazianzus. I suggest that perhaps Gregory started some of these poems in his last days in Constantinople and revised or completed them shortly after settling in Nazianzus.⁶⁹ This would explain the possible disagreement between *βῆμα τόδ’* and *ἐν σταθερῷ πεῖσμα βάλλον λιμένι* (32). At

⁶⁶ Cf. Papadopoulos (1991: 170-3); McGuckin (2001: 361) and Elm (2000: 413).

⁶⁷ For a discussion of whether this oration was delivered in Constantinople or not, see Papadopoulos (1991: 176-7). McGuckin (2001: 361) suggests that what has been transmitted as *or.* 42 was prepared for publication later by Gregory; cf. Elm (2000: 412 and 417).

⁶⁸ ‘Most of his poetry of this period shows a high degree of self-examination of all that had gone on in the turbulent time of his administration’ (McGuckin, 2001: 372). McGuckin refers to Π.1.11 (*De vita sua*), Π.1. 5-10, Π.1.12-15, Π.1.16-18 and Π.1.40.

⁶⁹ This idea of a gradual and piecemeal composition is reinforced by the fact that in *carm.* Π.1.50.[1389] 53-4, dated to the very end of his life, Gregory seems to wonder who is going to continue the semi-finished poems: *εὐρῶς δ’ ἀμφὶ βίβλοισιν ἐμαῖς, μῦθοι δ’ ἀτέλεστοι, | οἷς τίς ἀνήρ δώσει τέρμα, φίλα φρονέων;*

least in the first months following his departure from Constantinople we could easily imagine Gregory feeling as if he was still there and reliving his last days in the capital; in this way we can perhaps explain how *βῆμα τόδε* could have been written or remained altered when he was back home. The disdainful reference to his successor in vv. 13-14 implies that Gregory either knew him or was at least aware of the favourite candidates, and the latter could easily have been the case even before he left the city.⁷⁰

2.4 Comments on the Text

1. Gregory uses the same verse to begin *carm.* II.1.13.[1227], which is entitled *Εἰς ἐπισκόπους* (cf. p. 154, n. 68).

Θυσίας πέμποντες ἀναιμάκτους: the phrase is used to describe both Christian worship in general and the Eucharist in particular (see PGL, s.v. *ἀναιμάκτος*). Gregory also once wrote *ἀναίμους θυσίας* (*carm.* II.1.83.[1430] 32). *πέμπω* or *ἀναπέμπω* would be better used in Classical Greek with *ἰκεσίαν*, *εὐχὴν* or *λιτάς* (e.g., *S. Ph.* 495 *ἰκεσίους πέμπων λιτάς*), while for bloody sacrifices *θυσία* would be combined with *ἔρδω*, *ἐπιτελῶ*, *ἀνάγω*, *ἄγω*, *ποιῶ* or *θύω*; so this is a further indication that *θυσία* here is closer to *ἰκεσία*.

ἱερῆς: the Homeric form (e.g. *Il.* 24. 221). Gregory addresses his poem primarily to the priesthood of Constantinople. It is worth mentioning that some bishops, acting in concert with the priests of Constantinople, invited him to the city. Gregory speaks of *πολλῶν καλούντων ποιμένων* (*carm.* II.1. 11. 596 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]) and *κύλλογοί τε ποιμένων* (*carm.* II.1.12. 81 [ed. Meier]); Papadopoulos (1991: 98-9 and n. 8) is right to suggest that II.1.11. 1128 [ed. Tuilier-Bady] *οἱ δ' ὡς ἑαυτῶν ἔργον εἶχον ἀμένως* (on how some people in Constantinople were proud of his achievements there) means that the people who felt like this had been instrumental in his coming.⁷¹

2. **μονάδος ... ἐν Τριάδι:** one of the first reactions against Gregory's teaching on the Holy Trinity in Constantinople was the claim that he proposed polytheism (*carm.* II.1.11. 654-9 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]):

πρῶτον μὲν ἐξέζεε καθ' ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις
ὡς εἰσαγόντων ἀνθ' ἑνὸς πλείους Θεοῦς.
Θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· ἦσαν οὕτως ἡγμένοι,
ὥστ' ἀγνοεῖν παντάσῃν εὐσεβῆ λόγον,

⁷⁰ Papadopoulos (1991: 182, n. 110) follows Gallay (1943: 211) in the view that Gregory left Constantinople before the election of Nektarios. He does not refer to any source for this and there seems to be no firm evidence. Cf. McGuckin (2001: 366).

⁷¹ Jungck (on II.1.11. 1128) also cites *or.* 36.3. 9-10: *ἐμοὶ δοκεῖτε μάλιστα μὲν, ὡς αὐτοὶ καλέσαντες ἡμᾶς, οἰκεία βοηθεῖν κρίσει [...]*. Cf. McLynn (1998: 474-5) and Papadopoulos (1991: 135).

πῶς ἢ μονὰς τριάξεθ' ἢ τριάς πάλιν
ἐνίξετ' ἄμφοϊν ἐνθέως νοουμένοι.

Gregory summarized his Trinitarian theology as follows (*or.* 20.5. 19-23 [ed. Mossay]): *προσκυνοῦμεν οὖν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὰς μὲν ιδιότητες χωρίζοντες ἐνοῦντες δὲ τὴν θεότητα· καὶ οὔτε εἰς ἓν τὰ τρία κυναίφομεν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν Καβελλίου νόσον νοσήσωμεν, οὔτε διαιροῦμεν εἰς τρία ἕκφυλα καὶ ἀλλότρια, ἵνα μὴ τὰ Ἀρείου μανῶμεν.*

3. Cf. Greg. Naz. *or.* 4.96. 16 (ed. Bernardi) *ὁ νόμοι καὶ νομοθέται καὶ βασιλεῖς.*

βασιλῆς: cf. the epic form *ἱερῆς* (v. 1). A reference to Theodosius I (379-395), 'the staunchest supporter of Orthodoxy', see ODB (s.v.).⁷² 'Il plurale è frutto di *amplificatio* retorica' (Crimi in Crimi-Costa [1999: 72, n. 2]).

ἐπ' εὐσεβίῃ κομῶντες: cf. the Homeric formula *κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί* ('long-haired Achaeans'). *κομάω* with (*ἐπι* +) dative means 'plume oneself (on sth)' or 'give oneself airs' (see LSJ, s.v.), e.g. Ar. V. 1317 *ἐπι τῷ κομᾶς*; Plu. *Caes.* 45. 3 *κομῶντας ἐπι κάλλει*; Gr. Naz. *carm.* Π.1.32. 39 *πλούτῳ κομῶντες.*

4. Constantine is called *μέγας* by Eusebius (*h. e.* 10.8.2. 6) and Epiphanius (*Panarion*). He inaugurated Constantinople as his capital in 330.

5-6. **ὀπλοτέρη Ῥώμη:** 'New Rome'; cf. Crimi-Costa (1999: 72-3, n. 3); *carm.* Π.1.11. 15 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *Ῥώμη νεουργῆς, 1510 Ῥώμης δευτέρας* and 563-8:

δύω μὲν οὐ δέδωκεν ἡλίους φύσις,
διττὰς δὲ Ῥώμας, τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης
λαμπτήρας, ἀρχαῖόν τε καὶ νέον κράτος,
τοσοῦτο διαφέροντε ἀλλήλων ὅσον
τὴν μὲν προλάμπειν ἡλίου, τὴν δ' ἐσπέρας,
κάλλει δὲ κάλλος ἀντανίχγειν συζύγως.

ὀπλότερος is found at the beginning of early and later hexameters, e.g. *Il.* 2. 707 and A. R. 4. 971 *ὀπλοτέρη Φαέθουσα θυγατρῶν Ἥελίοιο.*

τόσσον ... ὀσκάτιον: only at Nic. *Th.* 570-1 (on the Nile hippopotamus) *τόσσον ἐπιστεῖβων λείπει βυθὸν ὀσκάτιόν περ | ἐκνέμεται γενύεσσι παλίεσσοντον ὄγμον ἐλαύνων* and then three times in Gregory, also at *carm.* I.1.7. 51-2 (ed. Moreschini) *τόσσον πρωτοτύποιο καλοῦ πέλας, ὀσκάτιόν περ | αἰθὴρ ἡέλιοιο* and II.2.3.[1492] 175-6. *τόσσων* (L B) is a mistake due to *πολήων*.

γαίης οὐρανός: cf. *Il.* 8. 16 *τόσσον ἔνερθ' Αἰδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης* and Hes. *Th.* 720 *τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης*; cf. also Frangeskou (1985: 16). The supposed distance between earth and heaven is proverbial for a very long distance; e.g. Is. 55. 9 *ὡς ἀπέχει ὁ οὐρα-*

⁷² For all Gregory's references to him see Hauser-Meurys (1960: 167-8).

νός ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, οὕτως ἀπέχει ἢ ὁδός μου ἀπὸ τῶν ὁδῶν ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ διανοή-
ματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας μου.

γαίης is Homeric (see LSJ), s.v. γαῖα, poet. for γῆ), as is πολλήων.

οὐρανός ἄστεροίς: cf. the Homeric formula οὐρανὸν ἄστερόεντα (e.g. *Il.* 15. 371, 19. 128; *Od.* 9. 527, 11. 17).

7-8. ὑμέας εὐγενέας: ὑμέας is the Ion. form for ὑμᾶς used by Homer, who also uses the ending -έας for the acc. pl. masc. and fem. of adjectives of the consonant declension with stems in εσ (see Smyth [1959: 292D]). For εὐγενέας cf. also Thgn. 183-4 καὶ ἵππους | εὐγενέας. These two words here (with this unusual *homoioteleuton*) may be an ironic reference to the ‘civilized’ lords and people of Constantinople; Gregory was accused of being a rustic even by orthodox people (cf. Papadopoulos [1991: 180]), and one of the advantages attributed to his successor Nektarios was that it would be easier for him to communicate with the emperor (cf. McGuckin [2001b: 176]).

ἐπιβόσμαι: Ion. and Ep. for the fut. ἐπιβοήσομαι of ἐπιβοάω (see LSJ, s.v.); when constructed with the accusative it means ‘to invoke’ or ‘call upon’. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 1. 378 (= 2. 143) ἐγὼ δὲ θεοὺς ἐπιβόσμαι αἰὲν ἐόντας |, and Hesych. ε 4664 ἐπιβόσμαι· ἐπικαλέσομαι (n), ἐπιβοήσομαι (α 378).

οἶα μ’ ἔοργεν | ὁ φθόνος: ‘what envy has done to me’. οἶα introduces here an ‘indirect exclamation’, giving the reason for what precedes (see LSJ, s.v. οἶος, *Il.* 2). ἔοργεν is the poet. pf. of ἔρδω. Gregory appeals to the clergy, rulers and people of Constantinople to confirm that envy was the reason for what he suffered in their city so as to safeguard his reputation. ‘The mockery of his reputation in the city should cease’ (McGuckin 2001b: 161, n. 7, with reference to *carm.* *Il.*1.11. 1919-43). Gregory usually ascribes his resignation to the jealousy of his colleagues and to his illness: ἀλλ’ οἱ καλοὶ τε κάγαθοὶ συμποίμενες | φθόνῳ ραγέντες [...] | καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν λαβόντες ἔκγονον πόνων | ἀρρωστίαν συνεργόν [...] (*carm.* *Il.*1.12. 136-40 [ed. Meier]) and ἡττή-
θην τοῦ φθόνου (*ep.* 96. 2 [ed. Gallay]). He also asked the emperor to let him resign and μικρὸν εἶξαι τῷ φθόνῳ (*carm.* *Il.*1.11. 1889 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]). Why did he think that they envied him?

ἀλλὰ λόγος μ’ ἐχάλεψεν ἀτάκθαλος· οὐ μὲν ἔγωγε
πρόσθε τόδ’ ὠϊόμην, ἀλλ’ ἐχάλεψεν ὄμω.
πάσι μ’ ἔθηκε φίλοις ἐπίφθονον. Ὡ φθόνε, καὶ cὺ
ἐξ ἐμέθεν τι λάβης. Ἴσχεο, γλώσσα φίλη·
Βαῖον δ’ ἴσχεο, γλώσσα· τόδ’ ἐς τέλος οὐ σε πεδήσω.

carm. *Il.*1.34.[1320-1] 187-91⁷³

⁷³ M. prints τε instead of σε in the last verse, but this is clearly a misprint. The Latin translation in M. reads te. Papadopoulos (2001: 169) also refers to *Il.*1.37. 5-9.

φθόνος is one of the most frequent words in Gregory's writings. He uses the word either to preach against jealousy and envy (cf. 1 Petr. 2. 1 ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πάντα δόλον καὶ ὑποκρίσεις καὶ φθόνους; Gal. 5. 26; Tit. 3. 3) or to refer to his own sufferings in Constantinople, as we have already seen. In connection with the second it is tempting to recall that Pilate (in Matt. 27. 18) knew that διὰ φθόνον παρέδωκεν αὐτόν (sc. τὸν Χριστόν). St Paul 'bore the marks of Jesus branded on his body' (Gal. 6. 17 ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστᾶζω) and he was also happy to suffer for his flock and in this way to 'complete' in his flesh those of Christ's afflictions which were still to be endured: νῦν χαίρω ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου (Gal. 1. 24; cf. 1 Petr. 2. 19-24). Gregory seems to have had similar feelings about being envied: *carm.* I.2.31.[910] 22 χάρις φθονεῖσθαι, τὸ φθονεῖν δ' αἰσχος μέγα.

ὡς ἱερῶν τῆλε βάλε τεκέων: *ὡς* ('how') as relat. and interrog. (see LSJ, s.v. *ὡς* A c.). *τῆλε βάλλω* occurs several times in Gregory's verse, e.g. I.1.4. 88 (ed. Moreschini) *τῆλε βάλε Τριάδος*.

In *carm.* Π.1.50.[1387-8] 29-40, dating to the end of his life (see Papadopoulos [1991: 201-2]), Gregory still laments because of the loss of his flock, which listened to him thirstily. He uses an impressive simile to express this separation (vv. 33-8):⁷⁴

νῦν γε μέν, ὡς λιπόμαστος ἐν ἀγκαλίδεσσι τεκούσης
νηπίαχος θηλὴν ἔσπασεν αὐαλέην
χείλεσι διψαλέοις, πόθον δ' ἐψεύσατο μήτηρ,
ὡς ἄρ' ἐμήσ γλώσσης λαὸς ἀποκρέμαται,
ἰσχανόνων πηγῆς πολλοῖς τὸ πάροιθε βρούσης,
ἧς νῦν οὐδ' ὀλίγην ἰκμάδα οὔατ' ἔχει.

9-10: 'after struggling all too long, bringing light with the heavenly creeds and pouring forth a stream from a rock'. Gregory refers to the revival of the orthodox faith in Constantinople, due in significant measure to his own hard-fought struggle. When Gregory arrived in Constantinople, the orthodox Christians were so few that they assembled in a small private church called 'Anastasia'. All the churches of the city were occupied by Arians. Gregory managed to attract more and more people with his speeches in

⁷⁴ Cf. *carm.* Π.1.6.[1023-4] 7-10. In *or.* 26 (ed. Mossay), which was delivered in the summer of 380, when Gregory came back to Constantinople after his short stay outside the city following the Maximos affair (see p. 153, n. 65), he explains why he missed his flock despite the troubles and pains he suffered when he was among them: he hints at the Parable of the Lost Sheep (*or.* 26.2. 15-25 [ed. Mossay]; cf. Luke 15. 1-7 and Matt. 18. 12-14) and says that he was afraid of the wolves and the dog that might harm his flock (3. 1-3); he means Maximos and the Egyptian clergy who came to consecrate him.

‘Anastasia’⁷⁵ and drew a violent reaction from the Arians (see Papadopoulos 1991: 106-13). The final restoration of the orthodox faith and the return of the churches to the Orthodox was brought about only through an imperial decree issued by Theodosius; the emperor personally turned the Church of the Holy Apostles over to Gregory and told him (according to Gregory) that ‘δίδωμι [...] τὸν νεῶν | θεὸς δι’ ἡμῶν σοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πόνοις’ (*carm.* II.1.11. 1311-12 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]).⁷⁶

ἀεθλεύσαντα: Lex. Cas. α 22 ἀεθλεύσαντα· κακοπαθήσαντα, ἀγωνιζόμενον.

φαεσφόρον οὐρανίοις | δόγμασι: Gregory called himself *φαεσφόρον* also at *carm.* I.1.3. 46 (ed. Moreschini): *τρισεὴ γὰρ θεότης με φαεσφόρον ἐξαντέλλεν*. Sykes (in Moreschini [1997: 129]) notes that here Gregory may recall 2 Pet. 1. 19 *ἕως οὗ ἡμέρα διαυγάσει καὶ φωσφόρος ἀνατείλη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν*: ‘Gregory speaks of himself as a “bearer of light” in a derivative way: he is one who has been enlightened by baptism.’ But in our case the light clearly comes from the ‘heavenly creeds’. Cf. also *ὁ λόγος ὁ θεοῦ, [...] ἡ πρὸ ἕωσφόρου φωσφόρος φωνή* (Hipp. *haer.* 10.33. 11 [ed. Marcovich]).

The phrase *οὐράνια δόγματα* first occurs at Orig. *sel. in Ps.* 147. 13 (M. 12. 1677. 8); cf. id. *Jo.* 10. 106 (II, p. 446. 24-5 Blanc) *δογμάτων περὶ τῶν ἐπουρανίων*. It is possible that *φαεσφόρον οὐρανίοις* also recalls earlier uses of *φαεσφόρος* with *οὐρανός*, *ἥλιος* or *ἠώς*, e.g. A. R. 4. 885 *ἦμος δ’ ἄκρον ἔβαλλε φαεσφόρος οὐρανὸν ἠώς*; PMG fr. 7a.1. 2 [*φ*]αεσφόρ[ο]ν ἀελ[ίου] δρόμον and Q. S. 2. 186 *φαεσφόρου Ἥριγενείης* |.

πέτρης ἐκπροχέαντα ῥόνος: M. and Tuilier-Bady (cf. Simelidis [2004: 447]) print *ἐκπροχέοντα* (L SLaPaB Mq^{ac} DPj), but the aorist (PcXDi Cg Va MaVbMq^{pc} LbMb N) certainly fits both the meaning and the context (*ἀεθλεύσαντα*).

This is a clear reference to the miraculous gushing of water from a rock in Ex. 17. 1-7 (6 *καὶ πατάξεις τὴν πέτραν, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ἐξ αὐτῆς ὕδωρ, καὶ πίεται ὁ λαός μου. ἐποίησεν δὲ Μωυσῆς οὕτως*); cf. Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.1.38.[522] 4 (a prayer to Christ): *ἐκ δὲ πέτρης πηγὴν ἔβλυσας ἀκροτόμου*. However, Gregory’s reference to a stone cannot but have further implications. Gregory twice had the experience of being stoned in Constantinople. The first was when he entered the city for the first time; he was stoned by groups of

⁷⁵ Gregory was proud of his speeches in Constantinople; Van Dam (2002: 142) refers to *carm.* II.1.6.[1023] 4-6: *πενθῶ δ’ ἔγωγε λαὸν οὐχ ὀρώμενον | ἐμοὺς ῥέοντα πρὸς λόγους, ὡς ἦν ποτε | Κωνσταντινούπολις τε καὶ ξένων ὄσον | ἐνδημον, οἷς ἤστραπτεν ἡ φίλη Τριάς*.

⁷⁶ Gregory was not happy with the use of troops by the emperor in order to break the resistance of the Arians. ‘Gregory insisted that the proper method was instead to persuade people to change their thinking voluntarily, presumably through the sort of preaching that he himself was offering, and he was clearly uncomfortable with the use of force against heretics, even when that coercion enhanced his own standing’ (Van Dam [2002: 145]).

Arians and he refers often to that, e.g. *carm.* Π.1.12. 102-4 (ed. Meier): *πλὴν ἔν γε τοῦτο, τῶν κακῶν ἐφειράμην, | ὑφ' ὧν λιθασθεῖς εἰσόδου προοίμιον | ἐκαρτέρησα; carm.* Π.1.33.[1306] 12 *λίθοις ἐδέχθην ὡς τις ἄλλος ἄνθεσι; carm.* Π.1.11. 665-7 (ed. Tuilier-Bady). The second time was during the Easter night service in 379, when groups of Arian monks, virgins and beggars entered the Church of Anastasia and assaulted the orthodox congregation. Gregory describes this event in his *ep.* 77 (ed. Gallay) and he refers specifically to stoning.⁷⁷ Gregory also closes his 42nd oration and his 95th letter with the phrase *μέμνησθέ μου τῶν λιθασμῶν* (cf. p. 150).

11. *ποία δίκη* (*sc. ἐστὶ*) (= *πῶς δίκαιόν ἐστι*) *μόχθον ἐμοὶ καὶ δεῖμα γενέσθαι* (= *μοχθῆσαι ἐμοὶ καὶ δεδιέναι*). Par. B: 'ποῦ δίκαιον μοχθῆσαι μὲν ἐμὲ καὶ ὑποστῆναι φόβον καὶ κίνδυνον'. *μόχθος* and *δεῖμα* are found together elsewhere only at Pi. I. 8. 11 *ἀτόλματον Ἑλλάδι μό- | χθον. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δεῖμα μὲν παροιχομένων*.

12. **ἄστεος εὐσεβίη πρῶτα χαρασσομένου**: 'at the time the city was stamped by piety for the first time (i.e. after a long period of heresy)' or 'had just started being converted to orthodoxy'. For *εὐσέβεια* with the meaning 'right belief, orthodox faith' see PGL (s.v. *εὐσέβεια*, D). Gregory complains that they compelled him to leave New Rome just when his efforts bore fruit. His metaphorical expression here with *ἄστυ* and *εὐσέβεια* seems to pick up Hesiod's literal description of iron (*Op.* 387): (*sc. Πληιάδες*) *φαίνονται τὰ πρῶτα χαρασσομένοιο σιδήρου*.

13. *θυμὸν ἰαίνω* is a common poetic way of saying 'I warm my heart' (see, e.g., Hom. *Od.* 15. 379; Thgn. 1. 1122; Theoc. *Id.* 7. 29 *θυμὸν ἰαίνει* |; A. R. 2. 306 *θυμὸν ἰαίνων* |). For the same structure (with *ἐπί* + dat.) cf. Mosch. *Eurota* 72 *οὐ μὲν δηρὸν ἔμελλεν ἐπ' ἄνθεσι θυμὸν ἰαίνειν* (with Campbell's note). Nektarios enjoys the fruits of Gregory's own labour. Though it is not certain that Gregory knew the name of his successor at the time he composed this verse, there is no doubt that such a scornful reference would indicate his feelings for Nektarios.⁷⁸ *αὖ* is undoubtedly a hint at the earlier Maximos affair (see p. 153, n. 65).

14. This verse would better describe the case of Maximos (see p. 153, n. 65). Nektarios' elevation to the throne was not so sudden (Gregory himself

⁷⁷ Papadopoulos (1991: 104, n. 26). Papadopoulos clearly distinguishes these two events and gives full evidence from Gregory's writings. He notes that Gallay (1943: 183) confuses these two cases and other scholars have followed him. He also refers to *carm.* Π.1.30.[1295] 125 *ὦ βήματ', ὦ λιθαμάτων τε καὶ πόνων ὄλων*. For the second case of stoning cf. Van Dam (2002: 139).

⁷⁸ For Nektarios in Gregory's writings see Hauser-Meury (1960: 126-8) and cf. ODB (s.v. *Nektarios*). For Gregory's first reactions to the election of Nektarios see McGuckin (2001: 374-5). Nektarios, was 'a man who had no training and was not even baptized, and whose life hitherto had nothing to commend it in terms of his record for the defense of the Church'. 'The choice of Nektarios, another married and wealthy socialite, the former Praetor of the city, is taken by him as yet one more slap in the face of ascetic bishops' (McGuckin, *loc. cit.*).

resigned first) and his election was in accordance with the ecclesiastical canons. However, it is certain that Gregory was very much annoyed by the fact that Nektarios was not even baptized at the time of his election and that he passed through all the ranks of priesthood very quickly. This is perhaps what *ἐξαπίνης* refers to and if this is true, then Gregory knew his successor at the time of the composition of these verses.⁷⁹ Neil McLynn also suggests⁸⁰ that by using this language Gregory might in fact have invited his audience to draw a connection between Maximos and Nektarios.

ἀρθέντ' ἐξαπίνης: cf. e.g. the Homeric formula | ἐλθόντ' ἐξαπίνης (*Il.* x 3).

15. Though Gregory has elsewhere rejected the accusations about the legitimacy of his election to the see of Constantinople (cf. p. 152, with n. 64), he prefers here to stress the recognition he enjoyed from the flock of the capital. In *or.* 43.27. 7-10 (ed. Bernardi) he describes the ideal bishop in the following terms: οὐ κλέψας τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐδὲ ἀρπάσας οὐδὲ διώξας τὴν τιμὴν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς διωχθεὶς, οὐδ' ἀνθρωπίνην χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ θεῖαν δεξάμενος.

Θεός τ' ... Θεοῦ τ': *parechesis* and *polyptoton*.

16-18. 'These things, these are what a hateful disease and the servants of God did to me; these people have grievous strife with one another and, O King Christ, they are not friendly to me in this matter.'

With v. 17 Gregory refers to the plots and the quarrels of the bishops; cf. *carm.* II.1. 1. 22-4 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) καὶ δῆρις στονόεσσα καὶ αἰθομένον πυρὸς ὀρμῆ, | πάντα κακοὶ τελέθουσι βίου δηλήμονες ἄνδρες, | οἳ ῥα Θεὸν φιλέοντας ἀπεχθαίρουσι μάλιστα.

Verse 18 seems to have puzzled the paraphrasers and some scribes. B, X, Di and Cg read *φίλωσ* for *φίλα*, and Paraphrase A either reads *φίλωσ* or takes *φίλα* as an adverb ('ὦ Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ, οὐδαμῶς μοι ταῦτα ἐννοῦνται φίλωσ'); Paraphrase B is not accurate: 'οὐ μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὦ Χριστέ, ταῦτα καλῶς ποιεῖν'. However, we can take *ταῦτα* as an accusative of respect, *φίλα* as a noun (object) and translate: 'they are not friendly to me in this matter'. Cf. Jul. *Epist.* 61c. 57 ὅστις ἐμοὶ φίλα νοεῖ τε καὶ πράττει and Ael. *NA* 5. 48 φίλα δὲ ἀλλήλοις νοοῦσι φάτται τε καὶ πέρδικες.

ταῦτα ... ταῦτα: emphatic *anaphora*.

νόκος στυγερή: cf. *Il.* 13. 670 νοῦσόν τε στυγερήν. In Gregory it is a reference to *φθόνος*; cf. Gr. Nyss. v. *Mos.* 2.257. 4-5 φθόνος τὸ θανατηφόρον κέντρον, τὸ κεκρυμμένον ὄπλον, ἢ τῆς φύσεως νόκος.

⁷⁹ Cf. Crimi (in Crimi-Costa, 1999: 73, n. 7) commenting on *ἐξαπίνης*: 'Potrebbe essere benissimo Nettario, il quale venne proiettato all'altissima carica ecclesiastica senza neppure essere battezzato. In quest'ottica si comprenderà meglio la valenza dell'espressione *θῶκον ἐπ' ἀλλότριον* «ad una cattedra estranea», che Gregorio usa, a ben vedere, in maniera molto accorta.'

⁸⁰ Private communication.

θέραπες: *θέραψ* (= *θεράπων*) is a poetic noun (E. *Ion.* 94; *Supp.* 762), rare in the singular.

δῆριν στονόεσσαν: the phrase occurs twice in Gregory (also at Π.1.1. 21 [ed. Tuilier-Bady] | *καὶ δῆρις στονόεσσα*) and five times in Quintus of Smyrna (e.g. 1. 408 *δῆριν ἐπὶ στονόεσσαν*).

ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἔχοντες: cf. e.g. the Homeric formula (11 x *Il.*) *ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες* |, and *carm.* Π.1.32. 60 *ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἴοιεν* |.

Χριστὲ ἄναξ: a common phrase in Gregory (cf., e.g., Π.1.19. 1 and 9), who was also the first to use it. It is found in later poets, such as John Geometres (see Van Orstall, 2008: 138), Theodore Prodromos and Theodore Metochites.

19-20. 'I did not become an audacious warrior of one party, nor did I like to put anything before Christ.' McGuckin (2001: 372) comments on these verses: 'He tried his best not to belong to either party at war with the other, and for that he became the enemy of all.'

ἰῆς: M. and Tuilier-Bady print *ἰῆς* (Pc^{ac}), which is not, however, a grammatically recognizable form. All other manuscripts transmit *ἰῆς* (*ἰός, ἰά, ἰόν: one*, commonest in fem.; see LSJ, s.v.) which makes perfect sense and was used several times by Gregory.

θραυὸς ἀσπιδιώτης: probably copied from Theoc. *Id.* 14. 67 *τολμασεῖς ἐπιόντα μένειν θραυὸν ἀσπιδιώταν*; not found elsewhere in Greek literature. For *ἀσπιδιώτης* cf. Hom. *Il.* 2. 554 and 16. 167 *ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας* |.

οὐδ' ἔθελον: cf. e.g. *Il.* 14. 51 | *οὐδ' ἐθέλουσι*; 21. 366 | *οὐδ' ἔθελε*.

πρόθε φέρειν: the phrase is found 4 times in Gregory's verse.

21-2. 'My mistake was that I did not make the same mistake as others, nor do I, being a small ship, join battle with a cargo ship'. In his farewell oration in Constantinople, Gregory refers to an accusation against him from members of his own congregation. They accused him of not taking revenge upon the Arians for tormenting the Orthodox in the past (*or.* 42.23. 1-20 [ed. Bernardi]):

σκοπεῖτε γὰρ καὶ ἡμῶν τὰ ἐγκλήματα. Τοσοῦτος χρόνος, φησίν, ἐξ οὗ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἄγεις [...] τί τῆς μεταβολῆς ἡμῖν ἐπεσήμηνε; [...] Τί δεινὸν οὐ πεπόνθαμεν; Οὐχ ὕβρεις; Οὐκ ἀπειλάς; Οὐ φυγὰς; [...] Οὐχ ὅ τι ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν δεινῶν; Ὡν τί τοῖς πεποηκόσιν ἀντιδεδώκαμεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν εὖ ποιοῦν ἀντεστράφη, καὶ παιδεύειν ἔδει τοὺς ὕβρισταί; [...] Γεγόναμεν ἰσχυρότεροι, καὶ διαπεφεύγασιν οἱ διώκοντες.

The second verse of this couplet seems to be an ironic reference by Gregory to some of his fellow bishops, who claimed leading roles and starred in the synodical quarrels. Gregory always kept a low profile and felt out of place

during such disputes. He finally came to the conclusion that all synods are useless (see Papadopoulos [1991: 192-3]).⁸¹

ἀμπλακίη: several times first word in A. R., and also at Call. *Del.* 245.

συμφέρομαι: the word at this metrical place perhaps recalls AP 12.105. 4 (Asclep.) οὐ πολλοῖς, εὐκράς δ' εἶς ἐνὶ συμφέρομαι, known to Gregory (see p. 43).

23-4. κουφονόοισιν ἀπέχθομαι: a very strong way to express his feelings about his fellow-bishops and particularly some friends among them. For *κουφονόοισιν* cf. e.g. A. *Pr.* 385 *κουφόνουν τ' εὐηθίαν*; S. *Ant.* 617 *κουφονόων ἐρώτων*.

οἱ ῥ' ἀνέηκαν | βῆμα τόδ' οὐχ ὀκίως: 'who impiously abandoned this podium' (i.e. ceased expressing their views through the podium). *ἀνίημι* + acc. was used in later Greek with the meaning 'abandon or desert someone' and 'give up or cease from doing something'; e.g. Heb. 13. 5 (quotation from Deut. 31. 6) οὐ μὴ σὲ ἀνω οὐδ' οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω (cf. NTL, s.v. *ἀνίημι*); Plu. *Alex.* 70. 6 *καὶ τοῦτο δείξας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνήκε τὴν ὄργην*.

καὶ ῥοθέουσι φίλοι: 'and raise clamours against friends'. Cf. S. *Ant.* 290 *ἄνδρες μόλις φέροντες ἐρρόθουν ἐμοί | κρυφῆ*, 'men who find it hard to bear me have been murmuring against me'⁸² and *ibid.* 259 *λόγοι ... ἐρρόθουν κακοί* ('there was a noise of angry words', see LSJ, s.v. *ρόθέω*). Griffith (on *Ant.* 290) notes that *ρόθέω* is used of human voices at 259, but nowhere else in extant Greek, though cf. 413-14n., E. *Andr.* 1096 *ἐχώρει ῥόθιον ἐν πόλει κακόν*, A. *Pers.* 406, Hes. *WD* 220 (*ρόθος*). The sense of noise, uproar and clamour is in perfect accordance with Gregory's descriptions of the Council.⁸³

Gregory seems much annoyed by the behaviour of some friends who, instead of presenting their views openly and plainly, preferred conspiracies and uproar. He has revealed elsewhere that the reason for the resignation he offered to the Emperor was that he became tired of being hated by all, even by friends: *κέκμηκα πᾶσι καὶ φίλοις μισούμενος | τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι πρὸς τι πλὴν θεοῦ βλέπειν* (*carm.* II.1.11. 1891-2 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]). He has also asked to be remembered as a person who suffered at his friends' hands: *πλὴν μέμνησθέ μου | τοῦ πολλὰ μοχθήσαντος ἐν φίλων τρόποις* (*carm.* II.1.12. 831-2 [ed. Meier]), and in his valedictory speech he writes: *κέκμηκα τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἐγκαλούμενος. Κέκμηκα καὶ λόγῳ καὶ φθόνῳ μαχόμενος, καὶ πολεμίοις καὶ ἡμετέροις* (*or.* 42.20. 16-18 [ed. Bernardi]).⁸⁴ All these references to friends

⁸¹ On the bishops in Gregory's autobiographical poems see Demoen (1997).

⁸² The translation is by H. Lloyd-Jones (in *Sophocles*, [vol. II, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1994], 31). M. Griffith (*Sophocles: Antigone* [Cambridge, 1999], 173-4) translates *ἐρρόθουν ἐμοί* as 'were in uproar against me'.

⁸³ See *carm.* II.1.11. 1546-59 and 1804-9 (ed. Tuilier-Bady).

⁸⁴ Cf. McGuckin (2001: 356).

are anonymous and may not all hint at the same individuals. In connection with our verse it is tempting to recall Gregory's surprise at the almost unanimous and immediate acceptance of his resignation by his fellow bishops (see p. 154); this may have made him think that some of his friends had supported behind his back the motion calling into question the legitimacy of his installation in Constantinople. It is also possible that Gregory hints at the behaviour of some of his friends in the Council while he was away pleading sickness.⁸⁵

M. and Tuilier-Bady print *καιροθέοι* (L Pa Va Mq Lb DPj) and there is an entry in PGL 'καιρόθεος, *time-serving*, Gr.Naz. *carm.* 2.1.10. 24 (M. 37. 1028A)',⁸⁶ cf. also Hesych. κ 267 ἡκαιροθέοι· κρατοῦσι. προτρέχουσιν. M.'s translation: 'qui sedem hanc | nefarie tradiderunt temporis amicis'. This is how the passage has usually been understood,⁸⁷ and this meaning makes sense, since Gregory refers with strong irony to opportunist bishops who took the floor of the Council in *carm.* Π.1.11. 1724-32 (ed. Tuilier-Bady); moreover, he has generally accused his colleagues of opportunism (see *or.* 42.22. 8-10 [ed. Bernardi], quoted on p. 154). But the syntax of *ἀνίημι* with the accusative and the dative is unusual, and there is no need to read *καιροθέοι* as a *hapax* here. *καὶ ῥοθέουσι* makes very good sense and it is also much better to understand *φίλοι* as yet another reference by Gregory to what he suffered as a result of the insidious behaviour of some of *his own* friends. Last but not least, *καὶ ῥοθέουσι* (Pc S Ri B; *καιροθέουσι* LaXDICg ε₁ N) is transmitted by most manuscripts (coming from both branches of transmission) and among them is Pc, perhaps the oldest witness for this poem.

25-6. Alliteration of *θ* in the first verse of this couplet is followed by an alliteration of *ρ*.

λήθης ... βυθός: cf. Gr. Naz. *or.* 44.1 (M. 36.608. 10-11) ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλὰ, μηδὲ παραρρύη λήθης βυθοῖς ἀμαυρούμενα. The

⁸⁵ For Gregory's absence from the proceedings of the Council see McGuckin (2001: 358) and Papadopoulos (1991: 168-9).

⁸⁶ Detorakis (1981-2: 155-6) puts 'καιρόθεος: PG 37, 1028A (II. I. I', 24). Ἀθησαύριστον LSJ' in a list with 'Ἀέξεις γνωστοὶ ἐξ ἄλλων συγγραφέων, ἀπαντῶσαι καὶ εἰς τὸν Γρηγόριον'; but he does not indicate where else he found this word.

⁸⁷ Cf. Hauser-Meury (1960: 127-8): 'Tatsächlich trat nach seiner Ansicht das Gegenteil ein, Gregors Sitz wurde den *καιρόθεοι* überlassen (ca. 1028, 23f.) und unvermittelt einer auf den Thron gehoben, [...]'. Crimi (in Crimi-Costa, 1999: 73), however, translates as follows: 'che empicamente abbandonarono questo santuario agli opportunisti'. This is a reference to the sanctuary and the priesthood, which perhaps goes too far. But Abrams Rebillard's (2003: 71-2) perspective is different: 'the sacred nature of the bema allows Gregory to lament his enemies' betrayal of him, and thereby of Nicene Orthodoxy and God, in terms of a betrayal of the bema. [lines 23-4 cited]. As the bema is the place of the priest's speech, it should be reserved as a place for holy words. In these lines Gregory separates himself from those who treat the bema in an unholy manner as a terrestrial commodity.'

phrase *λήθης βυθοῖς παραρρῶ* or *ἀμαυροῦμαι* became proverbial in the Byzantine period; see, for example, Arethas, *Scripta minora* 37 (p. 292.24 Westerink); Psellos, *Chronographia* 6.22. 11; Anna Comnena, *Alexias* 1.1. 10; Maximus Confessor, *Scholia in Ecclesiasten* 2. 159; Leo Diaconos, *Historia* 5. 9 (p. 92.6 Hase); Nicephoros Gregoras, *Historia romana* (I p. 65.14 Bekker-Schopen).

αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε: the phrase is used by Classical and Hellenistic poets to introduce the final sentence or the final part of a poem. See H. Lloyd-Jones, 'The seal of Poseidippus', *JHS* 83 (1963) 92 (= *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion, and Miscellanea: The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* [Oxford, 1990], 185); see also p. 189 (on II.1.19. 29 *αὐτὰρ ἐμοί*).

ἔνθεν ἀφορμηθεῖς: cf. e.g. Iamb. in *Nic.* (p. 105.16-17 Klein) *ἔνθεν ἀφορμηθεῖς τιμαιογραφεῖν ἐπεχείρει* and Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.2.1.[1456] 66 *ἔνθεν ἀφορμηθεῖς ἄστεος ἐξ ὀλίγου*.

27-8. πάντ' ἄμυδις: cf. *Il.* 12. 385; *Od.* 12. 413 *κὺν δ' ὅστε' ἄραξε | πάντ' ἄμυδις κεφαλῆς*. M. reprints a misprint of the Maurist edition: *πάνθ' ἄμυδις*.

ἀσπασίως προφυγών: cf. Orp. *H.* 1. 471 *ἀσπασίως προφυγόντες, ὑπεῖρ ἄλα καρχαλόωντες*; *Il.* 11. 327 *ἀσπασίως φεύγοντες ἀνέπνεον Ἴκτορα δῖον*.

τὸ πάρος: 'formerly' = *τὸ πάροιθε* (see LSJ, s.v. *πάρος* A. I and *πάροιθε* II. 2). M. printed *τοπάρος* and also *τοπάροιθε* in v. 34. A large number of manuscripts transmit *τὸ πάρος* (L PCLa^{ac}RiPaBX MaMq D) and *τὸ πάροιθε(ν)* (L PCLaRiPaBXCg ε D); they include Pc and L. For *τὸ πάρος* cf. *Il.* 19. 42; 23. 480; for *τὸ πάροιθε(ν)* cf. *Od.* 1. 322; 2. 312; 18. 275; Hes. *Th.* 666. All recent editors of Gregory's *Carmina* print *τὸ πάρος* and *τὸ πάροιθεν*.⁸⁸

29-30. 'when God called me through night-dreams and the painful fears caused by the frightening sea'. Gregory refers to two events decisive for his life: the first is his vision of Virginity and Chastity, which happened in Athens and drew him *ρήϊδίως ἐκ πόθον ἀφθορίης*. Gregory describes this event in *carm.* II.1.45.[1369-72] 229-270: *Ἄγνεία* and *Χαοφροσύνη* came to his dreams and asked him to follow them and stand in the brightness of the Immortal Trinity.⁸⁹ The second event happened when Gregory travelled

⁸⁸ Cf., e.g., *carm.* I.1.1. 17 (ed. Moreschini), I.2.9. 62 (ed. Palla), I.2.29. 189 (ed. Knecht), *AP* 8.23. 1 (ed. Beckby). Generally, *τοπάρος* is only found four times in M.'s edition of Gregory's *Carmina*, while *τοπάροιθεν* is printed in the editions of Pseudo-Zonaras' *Lexicon* (κ 1157), in the *Scholia* in Pindarum (*P* 4, 459c) and in Manuel Philes' *Carmina* (5.26. 57, 76).

⁸⁹ See McGuckin (2001: 67ff.). There is one more vision related to his calling by God. His mother saw his male sex and his divine calling in a dream, before she gave birth to him. She then dedicated Gregory to God as 'a new Samuel' (see *carm.* II.1.11. 68-92 and II.1.1. 424-32 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]). Gregory often refers to these two events, e.g. at *carm.* II.1.45.[1367] 200-2; *AP* 8.79. 5; 83. 1; 84. 3-4. Most of Gregory's general references to dreams, however, are negative; see e.g. *ep.* 29. 2; 178. 9; *or.* 2.49. 22-3 (ed. Bernardi); 10.2. 1-2 (ed. Calvet-Sebasti); 14.19 (M. 35.881. 23); *carm.* I.2.32.[926] 133-4; II.1.88.[1437] 53. Nevertheless, there are dreams sent by God and these have beneficial effects (*or.* 18.12 [M. 35.1000. 6-8]). He also describes in a poem

from Alexandria to Athens in November 348. A tremendous storm broke out when Gregory's ship was close to Cyprus and the passengers came close to death many times. Gregory became frightened of the consequences of dying at this moment, particularly because he had not yet been baptized. In his prayers during this terrifying experience, he promised to devote himself to God, if he were saved (*carm.* Π.1.11. 124-210 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]).⁹⁰

ἐννουχίοισιν ὄνειροις: cf. E. *HF* 113 ἐννούχων ὄνειρων; *Hel.* 1190-1 ἐννούχοις πεπεισιμένη | στένεις ὄνειροις; A. R. 4. 664 νυχίοισιν ὄνειραϊν; 4. 1732 ὄνειρα-τος ἐννουχίοιο |. Gregory uses the same phrase when he refers to his mother's dream (see p. 165, n. 89) at *AP* 8.83. 1 ἔκ με βρέφους ἐκάλεσσε Θεὸς νυχίοισιν ὄνειροις and Π.2.3.[1505] 344 μῆτερ ἐμή, σὺ δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἐννουχίοισιν ὄνειροις; cf. also Π.1.19. 75 (with my note).

πόντου κρυεροῦ: 'icy-cold' or 'frightening' sea; *κρυερός* is used in Homer only metaphorically. Cf. *carm.* Π.1.50.[1387] 28 καὶ πόντου κρυεροῦ ῥύσατο καὶ παθέων; *AP* 7.496. 5-6 (Simonides) νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἐν πόντῳ κρυερόν νέκυς, οἱ δὲ βαρεῖαν | ναυτιλίην κενεοὶ τῆδε βοῶσι τάφοι.

δείμασιν ἀργαλείοις: cf. A. R. 2. 643-4 εὔτε πέλεσθε | ἔμπεδοι ἀργαλείοις ἐνὶ δείμασιν; Q. S. 6. 41-2 τί ἦ νύ σε δείμα κιχάνει | ἀργαλέον.

31-3. 'For that reason I escaped envy with exultation and leaving the mighty storm I cast my stern cable in a stable harbour, where by elevating my mind with pure thoughts...'. For the image of life as a sea journey in Gregory see B. Lorenz, 'Zur Seefahrt des Lebens in den Gedichten des Gregor Von Nazianz', *Vigiliae Christianae* 33 (1979), 234-41.

καγαλώων: cf. e.g. [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1. 523 | ὡς ὁ γε καγαλώων ὠκύς θόρεν.

φθόνον ἔκφυγον: cf. Gorgias, fr. 6. 10 φυγῶν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φθόνον.

πέϊσμα βάλον: cf. A. R. 4. 894 πέϊσμα βάλοιτο; 2. 925 ἐκ δὲ βαλό-ντες πέϊματ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ (cf. also 1. 1020; 4. 662).

νόου ... ἀείρων: cf. *carm.* Π.1.17.[1264] 35 ἀλλὰ νόον καθαροῖσι νοήμασιν αἰὲν ἀέζων and S. *OT.* 914-15 ὑψοῦ γὰρ αἴρει θυμὸν Οἰδίπους ἄγαν | λύπαισι παντοίασιν.

of 104 verses (*carm.* Π.1.16.[1254-61]) his dream of the Anastasia Church after he left Constantinople.

⁹⁰ McGuckin (2001: 372) comments on vv. 25-33 of our poem: 'Perhaps God had used the sorrowful events to call him back to the quiet life that had always been his deepest joy and his first calling, when God spoke to him directly "in dreams of the night and through the terrors of the deeps" and first confirmed his Christian vocation. Now he has had to flee again from another storm, but this time in silence and contemplation he shall find a safe haven out of the swell of the sea.'

34. 'I will offer my silence as a sacrifice, as previously I offered my speech.' Cf. *ep.* 119 (Παλλαδίω): *Χριστῶ συνενέκρωσα τὴν γλῶσσαν ἡνίκα ἐνήστευον, καὶ ἀναστάντι συνήγειρα. Τοῦτό μοι τῆς σιωπῆς τὸ μυστήριον, ἴν', ὡσπερ ἔθυσα νοῦν ἀνεκκάλητον, οὕτω θύσω καὶ λόγον κεκαθαυμένον.*⁹¹

35-6. **Οὗτος ... Καππαδοκῶν:** 'this is the account of Gregory, whom the land of Cappadocia nourished.' The translation is by Van Dam (2002: 153), who adds: 'after his many years of education overseas, his long interludes of ascetic seclusion in Pontus and Isauria, and his ecclesiastical service in Constantinople, in the end he still thought of himself as a Cappadocian.' For the attachment of the Cappadocians to their land see Chrestou (1961: 118).

Θρέψατο γαῖα: cf. *E. Ph.* 626 *τὴν δὲ θρέψασάν με γαῖαν καὶ θεοὺς μαρτυρομαι* and *A. R.* 1. 761-2 *ὄν ῥ' ἔτεκέν γε | δῖ' Ἐλάρη, θρέψεν δὲ καὶ ἄψ ἐλοχέσατο Γαῖα.*

Χριστῶ πάντ' ἀποδυσάμενον: 'who stripped off everything for Christ'. *ἀποδύω* is often used by the Greek Fathers with a metaphorical meaning; they also use it to denote the setting aside one's 'old self' through baptism (see PGL, s.v. *ἀποδύω* 2. b), e.g. Didym. *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (11-12) 336. 16 *τὸν παλαιὸν ἄν(θρωπ)ον ἀποδυσάμενοι ἐνδυσόμεθα τὸν νέον. καινὴν ζωὴν ἔχομεν.*⁹² Cf. my note on *Π.1.19.* 41 *βιότοιον ἀφυσγετὸν εἰς ἄλλα ρίψας.* Cf. also *Gr. Naz. carm.* *Π.1.1.* 341-2 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *ψυχὴ καὶ ποθέει ποτ' ἐλεύθερον ἡμᾶρ ιδέσθαι | πάντ' ἀποδυσάμενῃ* and *Luc. Herm.* 7. 15-17 *πλούτους δὲ καὶ δόξας καὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ ὅσα τοῦ σώματος ταῦτα πάντα κάτω ἀφείκεν καὶ ἀποδυσάμενος ἀνέρχεται.*

γ' Σχετλιαστικὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ παθῶν

3.1 Outline

1-8 *An appeal to God*

The poem opens with an appeal to God to act like a good father towards his unwise son and cleanse Gregory from the bold words he is about to utter.

⁹¹ This letter (dated to 382), as well as the previous one (118), refers to Gregory's decision to avoid speaking at all during the Lent of 382. He also wrote a poem *Eic τὴν ἐν ταῖς νηστεῖαις σιωπὴν* (*carm.* *Π.1.34.*[1307-22]).

⁹² Cf. *Cyr. Ps.* 95 (*M.* 69.1244. 8); *Phot. Bibl.* (*cod.* 277, 522b.29 Bekker [= VIII, p. 150.3-4 Henry]). They use *ἀποδυσάμενοι* for the *ἀπεκδυσάμενοι* of St Paul at *Col.* 3. 9-10: *ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.*

- 9-37 *A new Job, for a different reason*
The poet complains to Christ of his great sufferings and calls himself ‘a new Job’. However, unlike Job’s, his pains are not designed to put his virtue to the test; he rather pays for a sin.
- 38-56 *The dream and the envy*
In confessional mood, the poet expresses his disappointment that ‘envy’ did not let him lead the life he wanted. He replies to his critics that he never despised the see of his father and its congregation, but helped his father in his duties when asked to do so.
- 57-67 *Constantinople and Nazianzus*
After his return from Constantinople, Gregory, ‘melting away in a terrible sickness and painful cares’, again held the see of Nazianzus, but only for a short time.
- 68-82 *The critics*
Gregory’s critics accused him of arrogant rejection of the small see of Nazianzus and thought his supposed illness was an excuse. He claims that he is not concerned about human judgement.
- 83-104 *Last wishes*
Gregory prays that he will pass the rest of his life with less pain and be saved by Christ, in whose hands he leaves his life. He hopes that his successor in Nazianzus will be better, but ‘inferior in his claims to troubles’.

3.2 Literary Characteristics

The poem starts with the word chosen by Callimachus to open the *Aitia*: *πολλάκι μοι Τελχίνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἀοιδῆ*⁹³ and, if this was deliberate, *τρυμνόν* at v. 3 may also be a further Callimachean touch (cf. v. 72 *πολλοὶ μὲν τρύζεσκον*). However, it is Gregory here who *Χριστῷ ἐπιτρύζει: ὠνοκάμην* (emphasized by both *hyperbaton* and enjambment) must cause surprise to those not familiar with Gregory’s poems and letters; in fact Gregory himself feels the need to justify his words and asks for understanding; God should act like a king or a father who tolerates his servant’s or son’s bold behaviour. Certain biblical *exempla* will later be adduced by Gregory (vv. 31-7, 84, 92-

⁹³ Neither Pfeiffer nor Massimilla prints *πολλάκι*, but F. Pontani (“The first word of Callimachus’ *Aitia*”, *ZPE* 128 [1999], 57-9) has now restored this word from a scholion on *Od.* 2. 50. The word had already been conjectured by Lobel, and Alan Cameron (1995: 339) had cited in support the fact that ‘Gregory of Nazianzus began at least four poems with *πολλάκι(c)*’, including our own. Cf. also Nicetas Choniates, *Historia* (Alexios Doukas [p. 567.15 van Dieten]) *πονηροὶ τινες Τελχίνες πολλάκις συνέχεον*, not cited by Pontani.

8), and his comparisons of himself to Job (31-7) and Jonah (84) are particularly significant. Gregory's frankness towards God could in any case easily be compared to that of Job, who is told by Eliphaz (15. 13): *ὅτι θυμὸν ἔρρηξας ἔναντι κυρίου, ἐξήγαγες δὲ ἐκ στόματος ῥήματα τοιαῦτα*. In fact Gregory explicitly says that he is 'another new Job', although he goes on to clarify that the reasons for his own suffering are his sins. The following similarities between the book of Job and this poem are worth noting:

- vv. 2-3 Job 19. 16 *θεράποντά μου ἐκάλεσα, καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουεν· στόμα δέ μου ἐδέετο.*
- v. 8;
38-9 Job 32. 20-1 *λαλήσω, ἵνα ἀναπαύσωμαι ἀνοίξας τὰ χεῖλη· ἄνθρωπον γὰρ οὐ μὴ αἰσχυνθῶ, ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ βροτὸν οὐ μὴ ἐντραπῶ; 16. 6 ἔὰν γὰρ λαλήσω, οὐκ ἀλγήσω τὸ τραῦμα· ἔὰν δὲ καὶ σιωπήσω, τί ἔλαττον τρωθήσομαι; 7. 11 ἀτὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ ἐγὼ φείσομαι τῷ στόματί μου, λαλήσω ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ὧν, ἀνοίξω πικρίαν ψυχῆς μου συνεχόμενος (cf. 10. 1).*
- v. 11 Job 3.9-11 *σκοτωθεῖη τὰ ἄστρα τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης (sc. from v. 3 ἐν ἧ εἶπαν Ἰδοὺ ἄρσεν), ὑπομῖναι καὶ εἰς φωτισμὸν μὴ ἔλθοι καὶ μὴ ἴδοι ἑωσφόρον ἀνατέλλοντα, ὅτι οὐ συνέκλεισεν πύλας γαστρὸς μητρὸς μου· ἀπήλλαξεν γὰρ ἂν πόνον ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου. διὰ τί γὰρ ἐν κοιλίᾳ οὐκ ἔτελεύτησα, ἐκ γαστρὸς δὲ ἐξήλθον καὶ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπωλόμην; Cf. also 10. 18.*
- v. 13 Job 19. 21-2 *ἐλεήσατέ με, ἐλεήσατέ με, ὦ φίλοι· χεὶρ γὰρ κυρίου ἡ ἀψαμένη μου ἔστιν. διὰ τί δέ με διώκετε ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ κύριος.*
- v. 19 Job 10. 16 *ἀγρευομαι γὰρ ὥσπερ λέων εἰς σφαγὴν.*
- v. 20 Job. 17. 7 *πεπολιόρκημαι μεγάλως ὑπὸ πάντων.*
- vv. 21-5 Job 17. 6 *ἔθου δέ με θρύλημα ἐν ἔθνεσιν, γέλωσ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπέβην.*
- v. 30 Job 19. 21-2 *ἐλεήσατέ με, ἐλεήσατέ με, ὦ φίλοι· χεὶρ γὰρ κυρίου ἡ ἀψαμένη μου ἔστιν. διὰ τί δέ με διώκετε ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ κύριος (cf. also 1. 11); 6. 4-5 βέλη γὰρ κυρίου ἐν τῷ σώματί μου ἔστιν, ὧν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτῶν ἐκπίνει μου τὸ αἷμα; 30. 11 ἀνοίξας γὰρ φαρέτραν αὐτοῦ ἐκάκωσέν με; 30. 14 βέλεσιν αὐτοῦ κατηκόντισέν με.*
- v. 75 Job 7. 14 *ἐκφοβεῖς με ἐνυπνίοις καὶ ἐν ὀράμασίν με καταπλήσσεις.*

Gregory found in Job a perfect example of a biblical figure who not only suffered much, but also expressed his anger to God in a vivid way. Of course, Gregory did not suffer what Job did; and he also himself admits that he is not innocent. Yet Job's example makes him feel better when he explicitly accuses Christ of causing his own sufferings.

In addition to Job, Gregory compares himself to Jonah: *κητείασι λαγόμεσι τετρυμένος εἰμί προφήτης* (v. 84). In this case it is clear that the message he wants to convey has nothing to do with the fact that Jonah ‘was also obstinate in taking on his responsibility’,⁹⁴ but is only relevant to Gregory’s desperation at the moment. However, Gregory’s *exempla* may be more optimistic than they seem at first sight. Gregory dramatizes the gravity of his situation by placing himself in the belly of a sea monster, but we all know that Jonah did not die there (see note on v. 84); nor did Job die in misery, but God *εὐλόγησεν τὰ ἔσχατα Ἰωβ ἢ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν* (42. 12). Thus Gregory’s liking for these models⁹⁵ may be related not only to his suffering, but also to his strong hope that God will finally help and save him; vv. 99-100 of our poem confirm this thought in the most impressive way: Gregory in the end places himself in paradise (cf. my notes on v. 100 and 19-20)!⁹⁶

Other biblical reminiscences include Ecclesiastes and the Psalms, especially Ps. 37 (see e.g. note on v. 30). The discouraging and melancholy tone strongly recalls these texts. Apart from biblical reminiscences, several Homeric words of pain, misery or trouble are used in this poem: *μογέων, ἀκηχεμένη, ὠδῖς, κακοῖς* (2 x), *ἀχέει* (2 x and *ἀχέων*), *ἄλγεα* (also *ἄλγει* 4 x and *ἄλγος*), *στοναχάς, πικροῦς ... δῖστούς, ποινήν, ἀνίασι, νούσῳ ... στυγερῆ, ἀργαλέασι ... μελεδῶναισι, παθέεσσι* (2 x), *κακότητα, φάρμακ’ ... ὀδυνήφατα*. All these terms and their repetitions reinforce Gregory’s gloomy picture of his own life.

3.3 Place in Gregory’s Life and Thought

1. After leaving Constantinople in the summer of 381, Gregory resided in Arianzum, a village close to his home town Nazianzus.⁹⁷ He probably stayed at the hillside estate near Arianzum which he had left to the deacon Gregory and the monk Eustathios in his will of 31 May 381. He enjoyed the peace he was always dreaming of, wrote letters and poems (among them, the long autobiographical *carm.* Π.1.11) and travelled to Caesarea, where on 1 January 382 he delivered a speech (*or.* 43) in honour of Basil. He maintained absolute silence during Lent 382 and he wrote the two long theological letters (101 and 102 Galla) against Apollinarism.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ So Demoen (1996: 164, n. 322) with reference to vv. 83-4 of our poem.

⁹⁵ The examples of both Job and Jonah are often used by Gregory; see examples in my notes on v. 31 and 84.

⁹⁶ Cf. Musurillo (1970: 55).

⁹⁷ See Papadopoulos (1991: 183). For details about the location of these places and a map, see McGuckin (2001: 2, n. 3 and the last map at the end of the book).

⁹⁸ For this period of Gregory’s life see Papadopoulos (1991: 183-94).

Problems with the Apollinarists and an improvement in Gregory's health made him undertake spiritual responsibility for the bishopric of Nazianzus in autumn 382.⁹⁹ But his health worsened and, at some point before or during the summer of 383, Gregory abandoned the bishopric. He thus stayed in Nazianzus for less than a year, and this is the period to which he refers at v. 64 (*βαίον δὲ χρόνον*).¹⁰⁰ After leaving his post, he left the priest Cledonius in charge (v. 65); but some did not believe that his illness was genuine, while others accused him of finding Nazianzus too small (vv. 72-3).

Papadopoulos thinks that Gregory had already put Cledonius in charge when he left Nazianzus in 375 for the sanctuary of St Thecla.¹⁰¹ But the fact that Gregory sends his theological letter 101 to Cledonius before his return to Nazianzus in autumn of 382 does not prove that Cledonius was already in charge of the bishopric. At the same time, the crucial reference in this poem (vv. 64-5) comes only after his return from Constantinople (61-3) and not after v. 56. The possibility that Cledonius undertook some responsibilities from 375 cannot be excluded, but the available evidence concerns only the period after the summer of 383.¹⁰²

2. According to Van Dam, in this poem 'Gregory revealed a less attractive side of his personality as he again complained about the calamities of his life.'¹⁰³ This is true, but before one takes Gregory's thoughts here at face value, one should bear in mind the force of the *exempla* discussed in the previous chapter, as well as Gregory's other writings. It seems that in moments of weakness Gregory appears deeply disappointed; in extreme cases he thinks death is the only solution and imagines he has no place in paradise (e.g. *ep.* 80. 3: *τί χρῆ παθεῖν; Μία μοι τῶν δεινῶν λύσις, ὁ θάνατος. Καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖθεν μοι φοβερά, τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν τεκμαιρομένῳ*). But in our poem, the stories of Job and Jonah also have an optimistic side, as has been argued, and Gregory claims for himself a place in paradise (vv. 99-100).

Moreover, despite all his complaints and his last thought that it is not fair for a priest to suffer serious troubles (vv. 103-4), in *or.* 13. 4 (M. 35.856. 17-28), he offers the following advice to a bishop at the time of his consecration:

⁹⁹ See Papadopoulos (1991: 194-5); he refers to the relevant passages of Gregory's letters and poems.

¹⁰⁰ Thus Demoen (1996: 164, n. 322) is wrong in placing the writing of this poem 'at the beginning of the second and last period in which Gregory was in charge of the community of Nazianzus'.

¹⁰¹ At this time Gregory tried without success to persuade his fellow-bishops to elect a bishop for Nazianzus. See Papadopoulos (1991: 94-5 and 186-7).

¹⁰² Cf. Crimi's note (127, n. 12) on v. 65 of our poem.

¹⁰³ Review of White (1996) in *The Medieval Review*, 1998 (online, review ID: 98.05.09).

εἰ δὲ διὰ πειρασμῶν καὶ κωλυμάτων τὸν θρόνον κληρονομεῖς, μὴ θαυμάσης· οὐδὲν τῶν μεγάλων ἀδόκιμον, οὐδὲν ἀβασάνιστον. Ἐπεται γὰρ φύσει τοῖς μὲν ταπεινοῖς τὸ ῥάδιον, τοῖς δὲ ὑψηλοῖς τὸ δύσκτητον. Ἦκουσας τοῦ εἰπόντος, Ὅτι δεῖ ἡμᾶς διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· εἰπέ καὶ αὐτός· Διήλθομεν διὰ πυρός καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ ἐξήγαγες ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀναψυχήν. ὦ τοῦ θαύματος! Τὸ ἐσπέρας ἠύλισθη κλαυθμὸς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρωῖ ἀγαλλίασις. Ἐὰ ληρεῖν τοὺς πολεμοῦντας καὶ περιχάσκειν, ὡς κύνας ὑλακτοῦντας διακενή· ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ πολεμώμεθα.

This is advice which Gregory should first have addressed to himself. But it may also be advice which reflects his real belief on these issues. Though his weak moments and his constant complaints form an important part of his personality, one should always consider that Gregory almost certainly exaggerates his despair at these moments.

3. The first ten lines of the poem are discussed by Abrams Rebillard (2003: 19-21) in the first chapter of her thesis, which is entitled ‘The Birth Pangs of Preaching’. She claims that Gregory writes in this poem ‘that his own *φρήν* suffers birth pangs when he speaks’. She then cites vv. 1-10 and comments as follows (p. 20):

The two models in lines 1 to 5 that Gregory wishes for Christ to emulate – a lord toward a servant, a father toward a son – are both relationships between a speaker and an audience, both couched in a form of parental imagery. Gregory thus likens Christ to a father and himself as he speaks, or at least his *φρήν*, to a mother. In a general sense, Christ and priest are the father and mother whose offspring are the laity faithful to the doctrines of Nicene orthodoxy. Although he does not explicitly describe the Nicene laity, himself, and Christ as an individual family unit, he does hint at such a familiar metaphor. By characterizing his speech as a birth process inspired by the Trinity, he implies that speech is a reproductive process in which the priest as mother and the Trinity (especially Christ or the Holy Spirit) as father join to produce an orthodox community.

I do not understand how these ideas can be closely connected to the text. First of all, the crucial phrase is *βαιὸν ἄκος παθέεσσι ἐρευγομένη φρενὸς ὠδία* (v. 8): *ὠδία* does not necessarily mean birth pangs, but can also be used of any great pain in general. Gregory seems to say something very simple: ‘Revealing the distress of your mind to other people can offer some relief’ (cf. the parallels from the book of Job cited on p. 169). Based on a possible, but not necessarily true, interpretation of v. 8, Abrams Rebillard goes too far and makes strained, almost imaginary connections. The supposed likening of a priest to a mother would be unparalleled. What is very often found in the Greek Fathers is that the *Church* is the mother of Christians (e.g. Origen, *Exp. in Proverbia* 17 [M. 17.201. 25] ὁ Πατὴρ ἡμῶν Θεός, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ἡ Ἐκκλησία; Gr. Naz. *ep.* 44. 4 ἀλλ’ ἡ μήτηρ ἡμῶν Ἐκκλησία).

Similarly mistaken are the comments of Milovanović-Barham (1997: 510), who reads lines 20–5 of this poem literally, ‘as an expression of [Gregory’s] pride over the success of his *symptotic* [*sic*] poetry [...]. The “new Job” metaphor is, of course, biblical, but the “party-goer”, the “traveller” and the “musician” all point in another direction. They give us a glimpse of a different Gregory, the one who knew well the importance of fun, leisure and relaxation and who strove to make a name for himself not only in the field of religious instruction, but of popular entertainment as well’ (!). Gregory’s lines are of course to be read as self-ironic, and if Milovanović-Barham’s suggestions give us a glimpse of anything, it is her failure to realize this and understand Gregory’s personality¹⁰⁴ as it is displayed elsewhere in his writing.¹⁰⁵

3.4 Comments on the Text

1-2. πολλάκι: a poetic form, *metri gratia*, for *πολλάκις* (see LSJ, s.v. and cf. Eust. *Il.* 122. 7–13 [I p. 188.22–8 Van der Valk]); often used at the beginning of hexameters.

κακοῖς μογέων μεγάλοιςιν: ‘suffering from serious distress’; cf. *carm.* II.1.21.[1280] 3 μηδ’ ἔργοις μογέοιμι κακοῖς.

ὠνοκάμην: aor. of *ὄνομαι*; for its meaning cf. Hesych. ω 248 *ὠνοκάμην· ἐμεμψάμην, ἐξεφάυλις, ἠτίμησα. ὠνοκάμην* is delayed by the participial phrase (*hyperbaton*) and placed at the beginning of the next verse (enjambment) for the sake of emphasis. It may surprise the reader who might

¹⁰⁴ Milovanović-Barham’s paper contains several other mistakes and inaccuracies; e.g. she is unaware that the attribution of the *Paraphrase of the Psalms* to Apollinaris is questionable (it is generally rejected by modern scholarship). She comments on *carm.* II.1.39.[1332] 41 *τέχνη γλυκάζων τὸ πικρὸν τῶν ἐντολῶν* (see p. 25): ‘What Gregory failed to realize, or refused to admit, was the premise that the sweetness lay in the mythical element in poetry, and not in the metrical form itself.’ But the sweetness for a Christian audience certainly lies somewhere else, not in the metrical form itself: Milovanović-Barham fails to see the meaningful way in which Gregory reuses pagan poetic material.

¹⁰⁵ McLynn (2006: 229) has recently drawn attention to the *συμπόσιον* Gregory describes in *ep.* 58. 4 (ed. Gallay), dated 372–3. This example is different from what is described in vv. 22–6 of our poem, but it is interesting that McLynn wants Gregory to have been ‘still hosting traditional symposia’, where ‘his guests seem to have been his fellow-ascetics’. McLynn goes on to talk about ‘wine-drinking ascetics’, who ‘could conceivably have been under the influence of a different guru, with Gregory no more than a first among equals, or even an eccentric outsider’. This is all too speculative. First of all, why should *Gregory* have been the organizer of this symposium? The different context suggested by McGuckin (2001: 216) is much more plausible. Christians of any status would be likely to meet and enjoy their own discussions on feast days or other important occasions; for learned Christians such symposia could be an adaptation of similar events organized by local rhetoricians; a glass of (good) wine is recommended by biblical authorities (1 Tim. 5. 23 *οἴνω ὀλίγω χρωῖ*; cf. John 2. 10 *καλὸν οἶνον*).

have expected something like *ἐλλικάμην*. In addition, *ὠνοκάμην* is stressed by the opening *πολλάκι*.

2-5. Before asking God to be gentle towards his words, Gregory gives two examples of human *μακροθυμία* ('forbearance'; see PGL, s.v.): a king's tolerance towards a servant and a father's towards his son. If we understand *ἄναξ* (v. 2) as meaning 'king' and *ὡς* (v. 4) as introducing another role or quality of the *ἄναξ*, who also acted 'like a good father' (see NTL, s.v. *ὡς* 3.a and NTG § 453.4), then Gregory perhaps intended to allude here to King David, who was abused both by a subject of his kingdom and by his own son, Absalom. Absalom's secret plotting and open rebellion against his father (2 Reg. 15. 1-14) caused David to leave Jerusalem. While he was fleeing from Absalom, he came through Bahurim, south-east of Jerusalem, where a Benjaminite man called Shimei cursed and pelted him with stones (2 Reg. 16. 5-13). David restrained his men from killing Shimei on the spot, and said: *ἰδοὺ ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἐξεληθὼν ἐκ τῆς κοιτίας μου ζητεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν μου, καὶ προσέτι νῦν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ιεμινι ἄφετε αὐτὸν καταρᾶσθαι, ὅτι εἶπεν αὐτῷ κύριος· εἶ πως ἴδοι κύριος ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει μου καὶ ἐπιστρέψει μοι ἀγαθὰ ἀντὶ τῆς κατάρας* (2 Reg. 16. 11-2).¹⁰⁶ After the defeat of Absalom, Shimei begged David for forgiveness (*ὅτι ἔγνω ὁ δοῦλός σου ὅτι ἐγὼ ἤμαρτον*) and again David spared his life (2 Reg. 19. 17-24). Despite Absalom's unnatural revolt, David told his officials before their attack against the rebel forces: *φείσασθέ μοι τοῦ παιδαρίου τοῦ Ἀβεσσαλωμ*, and was griefstricken at Absalom's tragic death in an accident. David's lament for his rebellious son (2 Reg. 19. 33) is one of the most moving passages in the Old Testament.

However, although it is understandable that Gregory would focus on the impudent *words* uttered in these cases, the phrase *λαλεύμενον ἡρέμα τρυμὸν* could hardly describe Shimei's abuse, while the plural *ἐν στομάτεσσι* cannot easily be explained in the same context. Thus, it may be better to separate the two examples and read *ὡς* as a relative adverb ('as'), corresponding to an *οὕτως* implied in the previous sentence.¹⁰⁷ Gregory may have simply used the examples of vv. 2-5 as general comparisons: 'for a lord bears the grumbling uttered by his servant's mouth quietly, as also a good father many times accepts calmly the insolence of his unwise son's words' (*ἔνεικε*

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Ephr. *Sermones paraeneticī ad monachos Aegypti* 31 (III p. 148.8-13 Phrantzolas) *ὅτε ἀπεδίδρακε Δαβὶδ ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἀβεσσαλωμ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, οὐχὶ ἐξεληθὼν Σεμεὶ ἐλοιδῶρει τὸν βασιλέα Δαβὶδ ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν συμπορευομένων αὐτῷ; Μὴ καταμόνας ἐλοιδῶρει τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἵνα εἶπῃ τις ὅτι ἔνεκα τούτου ἤνεγκε τὴν ὕβριν μακροθύμως; Ἄλλ' οὐ μόνον ἐλοιδῶρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκατήρατο καὶ ἐλίθαξε τὸν βασιλέα.*

¹⁰⁷ Frangeskou (1985: 24) cites only vv. 4-6 of this 'family simile', and claims that the apodosis of this simile begins with *τοῦνεκα* (1985: 14, n. 20). But *τοῦνεκα* corresponds to *καὶ γάρ* (cf. *carm.* I.1.9. 42-7, quoted on p. 175), while *ὡς* connects the two examples, that of the lord and that of the father.

and *ὑπέδεκτο* taken as gnomic aorists); cf. Ps. 102. 13 *καθὼς οἰκτῖρει πατὴρ υἱού, οἰκτῖρησεν κύριος τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτόν*.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the example King David was so striking and well known that for many readers our verses would bring it to mind.

2-3. καὶ γάρ: the combination is used in classical literature in a different way, always connecting with the previous word or sentence (see Denniston [1950: 108-10]). Gregory here introduces with *καὶ γάρ* a justification of what he is going to ask for in v. 6. In this case, what follows *καὶ γάρ* can hardly be connected with the previous sentence. It is possible that Gregory was influenced by a later use of *καὶ γάρ*, which occurs several times in the New Testament (NTG § 452.3). *Carm.* I.1.9. 42-7 [ed. Moreschini]), where Gregory uses the same combination *καὶ γάρ ... τοῦνεκεν*, is not the same because *ὄλος* from the previous sentence is picked up after *καὶ γάρ*:

οὐ ξένος, ἐξ ἐμέθεν γάρ ὄδ' ἄμβροτος ἦλθε βροτωθεῖς
παρθενικῆς διὰ μητρό, ὄλον μ' ὄλος ὄφρα καώσῃ·
καὶ γάρ ὄλος πέπτωκεν Ἀδάμ διὰ γεῦσιν ἀλιτρήν.
τοῦνεκεν ἀνδρομέοις καὶ οὐ βροτέοις νόμοις,
σεμοῖς ἐν πλάγχθοις ἀπειρογάμοιο γυναικός
σαρκωθεῖς¹⁰⁹

ἔνεικε: unaugmented 3 sg. Epic form of *ἦνεικε*, aor. of *φέρω* (see LSJ, s.v. *φέρω*, IV). *ἔνεικε(ν)* is transmitted by L VcPa Va Mq γ D; an equal number of manuscripts offer *ἔνεγκε(ν)*, but this form is only used in Greek literature as the 2 sg. imper. of the aor. *ἦνεγκον* (cf. Gr. Naz. *or.* 18. 43 [M. 35.1041. 41] and *or.* 32.31. 1 [ed. Moreschini]). *ἔνεικε* is found at the end of the verse at *Od.* 4. 436 and 18.295, and used by Gregory also at *carm.* I.2.29. 135 (ed.

¹⁰⁸ For the father and the son cf. also the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15. 11-32), although *πολλάκις* and *ἀμπαδίων* (v. 5) do not seem to fit well in this case. For the king or lord and his servant cf. Matt. 18. 26-7. It is also interesting that Ephraem the Syrian, in his 21st *Sermo paraeneticus ad monachos Aegypti*, tells a parable for some servants who disobeyed their master: *ἡμεῖς τῆς φωνῆς σου οὐκ ἀκουσόμεθα, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ διαπερῶμεν καὶ ἐν τῇ κτήσει σου οὐ κοπιῶμεν· καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις οὐκ ὠργίσθη ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν* (III, p. 96.4-6 Phrantzolas). This lenient reaction of the master made one of them return to sobriety of mind (*ἀνανήψας*): *καὶ ἐξέστη ὁ δοῦλος ἐκείνος ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ· εἰ οὕτως ἠγάπησέ με ὁ κύριός μου! Ἀπειθήσαντος γάρ μου αὐτῷ, οὐκ ὠργίσθη, ἀλλ' ἠνεγκε μακροθύμως* (III, p. 96.11-3 Phrantzolas).

¹⁰⁹ Sykes' translation in Moreschini's edition (p. 43 and 45): 'Yet he was no stranger, since it was because of me that this immortal one came in mortal form, born through his virgin mother, that in his wholeness he might save me wholly. For the whole Adam had fallen through the sinful tasting of the fruit. For this reason, following laws at once human and alien to mortal men, he took flesh in the holy womb of a woman who had no knowledge of marriage.'

Knecht) πᾶν μὲν κάλλος ἐμοὶ βαιή χάρις· εἶαρ ἔνεικε and in I.1.4. 45 (ed. Moreschini) γῆρας, χεῖμα δ' ἔνεικεν ἄνω δρόμος ἠελίοιο | φρικτόν.¹¹⁰

στομάτεσσι: the form (missed by LSJ) occurs in Call. *Hec.* fr. 278. 3 (Pfeiffer = 99. 3 Hollis) δανοῖς ἐν στομάτεσσι; A. R. 4. 1607; Nic. *Alex.* 210, 240, 263, 339 377 and frequently in Nonnus. Cf. *Et. Gen.* α 1368 (p. 294.7-10 Lasserre-Livadaras) and Eust. *Od.* 1412. 38-9 and 1608. 64 (I p. 52. 8-9 and 314. 29 Stallbaum).

τρυσμόν: 'γογγυσμόν' (Par. A and B = Hesychius, Photius, Suda, s.v. *τρυσμός*), 'a murmuring'.

4-5. **ὡς δὲ πατήρ:** cf. Hom. *Il.* 23. 222 (= *Od.* 16. 17) ὡς δὲ πατήρ (in both cases at the beginning of a simile).

καὶ ἄφρονος: for hiatus after *καὶ* in Gregory cf. v. 62 and see Agosti-Gonnelli (1995: 404, n. 413).

ἀμφαδίων: Pc and Vb read the adverb ἀμφαδίην ('publicly' = ἀμφαδόν), while E, Di and Cg read ἀμφασίων, which is a mistake (but cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀμφασίη and Hesych., s.v. ἀμφασία). Both ἀμφαδίων (ἐπέων) and ἀμφαδίην (ὑπέδεκτο) make good sense; since it is not clear if Gregory refers to a specific event here, I prefer to keep the reading of most manuscripts. Although the adverb ἀμφαδίην looks like the *lectio difficilior* at first glance (cf. ἀμφαδίων ἐπέων), the word was quite common (Gregory alone used it about 7 times), while the adjective ἀμφάδιος was more unusual (only at Hom. *Od.* 6. 288; Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.85.[1432] 9; I.2.15.[774] 117, and AP 5.219. 4 [Paul Silentiarius]).

ἦχ': 'gently' (LSJ, s.v. ἦκα), 'ἡρέμα ἠσύχωσ' (Par. A), 'ἀνεξικάκωσ' (Par. B). Cf. [Hes.] fr. 76. 4 (Merkelbach-West) ἦχ' ὑποχωρήσας'.

6-7. **τοῦνεκα:** crasis for τοῦ ἔνεκα.

ἴλαος: Epic and Lyric for the Attic and later ἴλεωσ, ὠν, 'of gods, propitious, gracious' (see LSJ, s.v.); cf., e.g., Theoc. *Id.* 27. 16 χαιρέτω ἅ Παφία· μόνον ἴλαος Ἄρτεμις εἶη. For the Christian use of this word cf. Matt. 16. 22 and see NTL, s.v. ἴλεωσ.

ἀκηχεμένη: 'λυπουμένη' (Par. A), 'ἐκ καρδίας ἀλγυνομένη' (Par. B). Epic form of the pf. part. ἀκαχήμενος from the verb ἄχομαι (also ἄχνυμαι and ἀκαχίζομαι; see LSJ, s.v. ἀχεύω and ἀχέω); cf. *Il.* 5. 364 ἀκηχεμένη φίλον ἦτορ and 24. 584 ἄχνυμένη κραδίη.

ἀγανώτατε: 'gentlest', 'ὦ πρᾶτώτατε' (Par. A), 'ὦ μακρόθυμε' (Par. B), but Lex. vers. 11 ἀγανώτατε· ὦ λαμπρότατε; cf. *Glossae in Theogoniam* 408 (ed. Flach) ἀγανώτατον. τὴν λαμπράν.

8. See p. 172 above. For this topos cf. vv. 38-9 (with note); Job 32. 20-1 λαλήσω, ἵνα ἀναπαύσωμαι ἀνοίξας τὰ χεῖλη; 7.11 λαλήσω ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ὦν,

¹¹⁰ Moreschini's apparatus is worth citing here: '45 ἔνεικεν] εἶνεκεν Cu, ἔ*νεικεν Vl, ἔνεγκεν N, ἦνεγκεν Co'. M. prints ἔνεγκεν in that case.

ἀνοιξω πικρίαν ψυχῆς μου συνεχόμενος; Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.13.[1229] 26 φάρμακον ἄλγεός ἐστι καὶ ἡέρι μῦθον ἐνισπεῖν and II.1.12. 45-7 (ed. Meier, with a note):

ἀλοῦντός ἐστιν ἐξερεύεσθαι πάθος
θεῶ, φίλοις, γονεῦσι, γείτοσι, ξείνοις,
εἰ δ' οὖν, χρόνῳ τε καὶ βίῳ τοῖς ὑστερον.

Wyss (1949: 193, n. 43) argued that (ἐξ)ερεύομαι in Gregory's verses suggests an imitation of Callimachus, fr. 714 and confirms the emendation of Pfeiffer for the ἐξεργύη (v. 4) of Stobaeus (cf. Nicastrì [1981: 452-3] and Wyss [1983: 851]):

κουφοτέρως τότε φῶτα διαθλίβουσι ἀνία,
ἐκ δὲ τριηκόντων μοῖραν ἀφείλε μίαν,
ἢ φίλον ἢ ὄτ' ἐς ἄνδρα συνέμπορον ἢ ὅτε κωφαῖς
ἄλγεα μαψαύραϊς ἔσχατον ἐξερύγη.

It is possible that Callimachus was in Gregory's mind when he chose this particular verb, but the verb is also found in the Septuagint (e.g. Ps. 44. 2 ἐξηρεύεσθε ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν; cf. Ps. 118. 171 and 144. 7) and ἐρεύομαι occurs at Matt. 13. 35: ἐρεύομαι κεκρυμμένα (see fuller citation below). On the biblical and Christian use of ἐρεύομαι see A. Dihle, 'Beobachtungen zur Entstehung sakralsprachlicher Besonderheiten' in *Vivarium. Festschrift Theodor Klauser zum 90. Geburtstag* (JAC, Ergänzungsband 11 [Münster, 1984]), 107-14, at 111-14.

Βαιὸν ἄκος παθέεσσι: cf. *carm.* I.1.9. 38-9 (ed. Moreschini) (= I.2.1.[533] 143-4) οὐ γὰρ ἐπαρκὲς | τοῖς μεγάλοις παθέεσσι μικρὸν ἄκος; II.2.5. 182 (ed. Moroni) μῦθοι καὶ παθέεσσι ἄκος μέγα.

ἐρευγομένη: 'φθειρομένη' (Par. A); the meaning is simply 'utter' or 'bring into the open', as in Matt. 13. 35 ἀνοιξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, ἐρεύομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς [κόσμου].

φρενὸς ὠδῖς: cf. A. Ch. 211 πάρεστι δ' ὠδῖς καὶ φρενῶν καταφθορά. Gregory here uses the classical nom. form ὠδῖς, and not the later form ὠδίν (Isa. 37. 3; 1 Thess. 5. 3; cf. Suda ω 22 ὠδίν, ὠδίνος. ταῖς ὠδίσι). The word refers literally to the pangs of childbirth, but it can be used metaphorically to mean 'great pain' (cf. p. 172).

9. διέπερσαι: a very strong verb (see LSJ, s.v. διαπέρθω), meaning 'destroy utterly' and always used of cities in classical poems (mainly of Troy in the *Odyssey*). Gregory's usage of this verb in a metaphorical sense with a personal object (με in our verse, μυθολάτρην in *carm.* II.2.7.[1563] 159) or with things other than cities (grave(s) in AP 8.170. 3; 209. 1; 219. 2 and μένος in *carm.* II.2.7.[1571] 255) is unique in extant Greek literature.

ἀνωθεν: this makes better sense with the meaning ‘from the beginning’ (so Par. A, Caillau, Crimi) than with the meaning ‘from above’ (Par. B, Aldus,¹¹¹ Abrams Rebillard). Cf. LSJ, s.v.

10. Gregory has placed the words *μητρός* and *μητέρα* at the beginning of the second and the fifth dactyl respectively. The emphatic effect is strengthened by the image of the newborn child slipping from its *mother* to *mother* earth. For this image cf. Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.2.14. 45-6 (ed. Domiter) *ἐξότε κόλπων | μητρός ὀλιθήσας πρῶτον ἀφήκα δάκρυ;* I.2.15.[766] 11 *ἐπὴν διὰ γαστρὸς ὀλιθή;* AP 9.125. 4-5 (Anon.) *αἶψα γὰρ ἠνίκα μητρός ὀλιθήσας διὰ κόλπων | νηπίαχος πρῶτον προχέει δάκρυ;* and the epitaph on the 10th-century hermitage of Symeon in Cappadocia (v. 4) *ἐξωλίθησα ἐξ ἰδίας μητρός μου* (the editor’s transcription from the stone was *ἐξονυστρησα* (*sic*) for *ἐξωλίθησα*).¹¹²

μητέρα γαῖαν also in *carm.* II.1.50.[1389] 59-60 *ἀλλ’ ἄτρωτος, ἄκαμπτος, ἐμὴν ἐς μητέρα γαῖαν | δύσομ’.* For the diction in general cf. [Man.], *Apot.* 6. 49-50 *αὐτίκα δὴ πρώτῃσιν ὑπ’ ὠδίνεσσιν ὄλιθον | μητέρος ἄγχι ποδοῖν ἐπ’ ὀξέα κεκληγυῖης;* A. R. 3. 1374-5 *ἦδ’ ἐπὶ γαῖαν | μητέρα πίπτον εἰς ὑπόδούρασιν.*

11. Cf. Job 3. 9-11 and 10. 18 (see p. 169).

λαγόνεσσι ... σκοτίησι: ‘in the dark womb’; see LSJ (s.v. *λαγών*, 2) for this later meaning of the pl. *λαγόνες*. For the use of this word by Gregory see Knecht (1972: 128) on I.2.29. 305f.¹¹³ The phrase *εἰ μὴ καὶ λαγόνεσσι* occurs

¹¹¹ *Gregorii Episcopi Nazanzeni [sic] Carmina* (Venice, 1504). On this edition see in N. Gertz-M. Sicherl, ‘Der Palatinus Graecus 90 und die Editio princeps der Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz’, in Mossay (1983: 141-143) and R. Palla, ‘Quello che avremmo dovuto sapere sull’edizione aldina dei «Carmi» di Gregorio Nazianzeno’, in M. Salvatore (ed.), *La poesia tardoantica e medievale: Atti del I Convegno Internazionale di Studi: Macerata, 4-5 maggio 1998* (Alessandria, 2001), 249-60.

¹¹² Ed. G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l’art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (vol. I.2), 576-80 (no. 111), with discussion of this word on p. 578. I thank Marc Lauxtermann for drawing my attention to this epitaph. For *ἐξονυστρησα* H. Grégoire suggests *ἐξο[λ]ύστρησα* (cf. the Modern Greek *γλυστρώ*) and Lauxtermann (2003: 217, n. 15) *ἐξ οὐ οἰστρησα*. Jerphanion thinks that ‘couper ἐξ ὧν οἰστρησα ne donne pas de sens’ and adds: ‘Tout considéré, il semble qu’il faut voir là un terme nouveau, peut-être propre au langage cappadocien, équivalent à *ἐξωλίθησα*’. I think *ἐξωλίθησα* is more likely than anything else to be what was meant to be inscribed; cf. e.g. Soranus, *Gynaeciorum* 4.15 (*περὶ προπτώσεως μήτρας*) (p. 148.4-6 Ilberg [Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, 4]) *ἢ γὰρ τέκνων ἀποβολῆς προκαγγαλθείης ἢ πολεμίων ἐφόδου ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν χειμασθεῖσαι σφοδρῶς ἔπαθον τὴν πρόπτωσιν, λυθεῖται τὸ πᾶν κύγκριμα, ὥστε καὶ τὴν μήτραν ἐξολιθήσασιν;* Gr. Nyss. *Pss. titt.* B. 15 (V, p. 164.19-21 McDonough) *καὶ ἀμβλωθρίδιον διὰ κακίας γενόμενοι ἐξωλίθησάν τε καὶ ἔπεσον αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νοηθείσης ἡμῖν ἐκείνης μήτρας;* Procl. *CP hom.* 26.2.7 (p. 181 Leroy) *ἐξωλίθησαν ἐκ μήτρας.*

¹¹³ ‘Gregor verwendet *λαγόνες* teils im körperlichen Sinnen (571,646; 1434,20), teils in verschiedenen Übertragungen. Im “Schoße” der Erde (epigr. AP 8,197,1); der Luft (1463,161; 1574,293); des Gebüschs (767,14).’ It is worth noting here, in passing, that in the case of *carm.* I.2.29. 305-6 (ed. Knecht) *ἢ θηρῶν δείκτησιν ὁμοίαι, τοὶ προφέρουσιν | ἐρηπταῖς σκοτίων δειμαλέους λαγόνων;* (‘oder ähnlich den Schaustellern von Tieren, die aus dem Dunkel ihres Ge-

only here and in Hesych. ε 954 εἰ μὴ ἄν καὶ λαγόνεσι· μὴ τι δ' ἄν κατ' ἀκριβολογίαν. Latte has no comment on this lemma, which can safely be identified with our line (for which S, Ri, E, and Di read εἰ μὴ καὶ λαγόνεσιν). The explanation (μὴ τι, etc.) is in fact a suggestion that Gregory's words should not be taken literally: in any case, it would not be possible for him to have been bound in his mother's womb for ever. The explanatory part of the gloss seems to have been taken from a more complete sentence,¹¹⁴ although it may also have been corrupted after its incorporation in Hesychius' lexicon.

12-15. ἀλί alludes to the storm at sea (see II.1.10. 30, with my note); vv. 13-14 seem to refer mainly to his fellow bishops (see pp. 152-3 and my note on II.1. 10. 23-4).

ἡγεμόνεσσι κακίτοις: Gregory uses the word ἡγεμών with reference to ecclesiastical authorities; cf. vv. 50, 69 and 101 of this poem and also *or.* 43.31. 6-7 (ed. Bernardi) οἱ κακοὶ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἡγεμόνες.

ξείνοις, ἡμεδαποῖς τε: single τε 'is freely used in verse to connect individual words or phrases, clauses, and sentences' (Denniston [1950: 497]); cf. v. 19 ἄλγεα δὲ στοναχὰς τε.

ἀμφοδὸν ἢ λοχόωσι: Cf. *Od.* 14. 330 (= 19. 229) ἢ ἀμφοδὸν ἢ κρυφιδόν. Gregory links here an adverb of manner (ἀμφοδὸν 'openly') and an adverbial participle of manner (λοχόωσι 'lying in wait'¹¹⁵).¹¹⁶ Par. B got it right: 'φανερῶς ἐπιτιθεμένοις καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐνεδρεύουσι'. Moreover, the participle, which is grammatically unexpected after the adverb, is perhaps intended to emphasize the unexpected and sometimes surprising action of those 'lying in wait'. Gregory connects the adverb ἀμφοδὸν (or ἀμφοδίην) and the participle λοχόων on five other occasions in his poems, e.g. *carm.* I.1.7. 81 (ed. Moreschini) νύξ, φάος, ὡς κεν ἔλωσιν, ἢ ἀμφοδὸν ἢ λοχόωντες.

wandshoßes die furchtbaren Schlangen hervorholen'), Par. A (in Pc, S and D) reads γλωσσοκόμων for λαγόνων, Par. B (in D) καταδύσεων, while Par. C (in Ma) reads κιβωτίων. However, I am not aware of an example of the word λαγόνες used in the meaning of 'chest'. The exact manner and mood in which the exhibitors of wild beasts brought out the serpents does not seem clear and it would be useful to know, among other reasons because δειμαλέουσι (ἐρηπ-στάς) is Knecht's emendation for the δειμαλέοι of the manuscripts (paraphrased as 'τρέμονται' in Par. A), which would agree with the subject τοὶ (θηρῶν δείκται). Cf. Hesych. H. on a description of Salome's dancing, *In conceptionem venerabilis praeacursoris (homilia 16)* 22. 9-11 ἐγύμνου τοὺς μηροὺς ἀναστέλλουσα τῶν ποδῶν τῆς ποικίλης θεωρίας τὸ χιτῶνιον, καὶ δράκοντες ἐκ τῶν λαγόνων κυρίζοντες εἰς φθορὰν τῷ θεάτρῳ προήρχοντο.

¹¹⁴ Cf. e.g. Epiphanius, *Panarion* (II, p. 250.25-6 Holl) ἐλέγομεν ἄν, μὴ πη ἄρα κατὰ ἀκριβολογίαν τοῦτο ποιοῦνται. The possibility of considering μὴ τι δ' ἄν κατ' ἀκριβολογίαν an elliptical phrase (with a verb like ἐλέγετο supplied) cannot be excluded.

¹¹⁵ It is worth noting that the form λοχόωσι occurs in extant literature only as the Epic 3 pl. of the verb λοχάω (*Od.* 13. 425; 15. 28 and also in Oppian, pseudo-Oppian, Quintus and Nonnus).

¹¹⁶ Cf. *Od.* 1. 296 (= 11. 120) ἡὲ δόλω ἢ ἀμφοδὸν, where a dative of manner is linked to ἀμφοδὸν.

μύθοις τ' ἀντιθέτοις: cf. *carm.* I.2.2.[603] 312 *μύθοις ἀντιθέτοις*.

λαϊνέαις νιφάδεσσι: 'by stones falling like snowflakes'; a beautiful and expressive metaphor used by Gregory with reference to the two occasions on which he was stoned at Constantinople (see my note on Π.1.10. 10 *πέτρης ἐκπροχέαντα ῥόον*). Gregory complains in this poem that, although others received blessings from God (see vv. 26-8, esp. *ἄλλοις πλοῦτον ὄπασσας ἀπείριτον*), he received only pain and distress (the stonings are included explicitly in his *ἄχρα* in vv. 12-16). It is very likely that the phrase *λαϊνέαις νιφάδεσσι* is an allusion to *Pi. O. 7. 34 ἔνθα ποτὲ βρέχε θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας | χρυσέαις νιφάδεσσι πόλιν*.¹¹⁷ If so, the poet hints here at the contrast he is going to make explicit in v. 27 between his misery and others' material blessings from God; he also dramatizes his stoning by comparing it to the rain of gold by Zeus on Rhodes, thus implying that his God instead permitted a stoning to happen. This would be perfectly in line with Gregory's indignation against Christ in this poem. However, the reference to stony snowflakes may be simply a reminiscence of *Il. 12. 278-89: τῶν δ' ὡς τε νιφάδες χιόνος πίπτωσι θαμειαί | ἤματι χειμερίῳ, ὅτε τ' ὄρετο μητίετα Ζεὺς | νιφέμεν ἀνθρώποισι πιφαισκόμενος τὰ ἅ κῆλα. [...]* | ὡς τῶν ἀμφοτέρωσσι λίθοι πωτῶντο θαμειαί, | αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐκ Τρῶας, αἱ δ' ἐκ Τρώων ἐκ Ἀχαιοῦς, | βαλλομένων.¹¹⁸

16. τίς ἅπαντα διακριδὸν ἐξαγορεύσει; 'who will report them all, one by one?'; cf. *carm.* Π.2.7.[1551] 11 *διακριδὸν ἐξαγορεύειν*; Π.2.7.[1559] 110 *ἀλλὰ τί μοι τὰ ἕκαστα διακριδὸν ἐξαγορεύειν* (cf. Π.2.6. 95 [ed. Bacci]) and *Orac.Sib.* fr. 1. 33-4 *ἀστεροπὰς λιμοῦς λοιμοῦς καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ | καὶ νιφετοῦς κρύσταλλα. τί δὴ καθ' ἓν ἐξαγορεύω;* (cf. also *Orac.Sib.* 3. 210). *διακριδὸν* is originally Homeric, although its meaning there is 'eminently', e.g. *Il. 12. 103 διακριδὸν εἶναι ἄριστοι* (also in *Il. 15. 108*). *ἐξαγορεύω* was used in patristic literature almost exclusively with the meaning 'confess' (cf. PGL, s.v.); *passim* in *Septuaginta*, e.g. *Lev. 5.5. 1 ἐξαγορεύσει τὴν ἀμαρτίαν*. Otherwise, the word means 'make known or betray a secret or mystery' (see LSJ, s.v.). The meaning 'to confess' is not necessarily present here (cf. v. 8), although the poet

¹¹⁷ 'The most interesting thing that has happened here is that a metaphorical expression in the *Iliad* (2.670 *καὶ σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων*, see Appendix A) has become a myth of a real, magical, shower of gold, perhaps in Pindar's own mind, perhaps through local story-tellers; cf. Strabo 14.2. 10'; M. M. Willcock, *Pindar: Victory Odes (Olympians 2, 7, and 11; Nemean 4; Isthmians 3, 4, and 7)*, (Cambridge, 1995), 122. Prof. Dr. A. Dihle (letter of 27. 11 2007) thinks that 'undoubtedly Pind. O. 7. 34 was the model' for Gregory's *λαϊνέαις νιφάδεσσι*.

¹¹⁸ Cf. E. *Andr.* 1128-30 *ἀλλ' ἔβαλλον ἐκ χειρῶν πέτροις. | πυκνῆι δὲ νιφάδι πάντοθεν σποδούμενος | προὔτεινε τεύχη κάφυλάσσει' ἐμβολάς*; Q. S. 7. 596 *πολλῶν βαλλομένων (sc. βελῶν), ἀλλ' ὡς νιφάδες περὶ πέτρῃ*; Leo Diaconus, *Historia* (p. 15.22 Hase) *καὶ τῶν βελῶν δίκην χειμερίων νιφάδων ἐκπεμπομένων*. Also S. OC 1060 *πέτρας νιφάδος* ('snowy rock'); Limenius, *Paean Delphicus ii et prosodium in Apollinem* 3 (p. 149.7 Powell) *νιφοβόλους πέτρας* ('snowcapped rocks').

seems to be in a confessional mood (see vv. 38-9); the meaning is perhaps merely ‘recount’: Par. A: ‘τίς πάντα διακεκριμένως δημηγορεύσει διηγήσεται;’; Par. B ‘τίς ἂν πάντα σαφῶς διαγράψει;’; *Lexicon syntacticum (e cod. Laur. 59,16)* ε 126 (p. 35,6-7 Positano-Magri) ἐξαγορεύω, τὸ διηγοῦμαι; Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 48.5. 8. 2-3 διηγοῦμενος καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν θλίψεων ἐξαγορεύων.

17. μοῦνος ἐγώ: twice before Gregory, at Call. *ep.* 29. 4 Pfeiffer *ἐπισταίμην μοῦνος ἐγὼ τὰ καλά* and *Batrachomyomachia* 110 ὦ φίλοι εἰ καὶ μοῦνος ἐγὼ κακὰ πολλὰ πέπονθα. In Gregory (also at v. 90 of this poem and *carm.* II.2.3. [1483] 41 *μοῦνος ἐγὼ κακότητα βίου καὶ κύδε’ ἄλυξα*) always at the beginning of the line, where it is also placed by Nonnus (6 x *D.*; 1 x *Par.Eu.Io.*).

πάντεσιν ἀοίδιμος: ‘ᾗσι περιβόητος’ (Par. A); cf., e.g., Gr. Naz. *AP* 8.31. 5 *Νόννα δ’ ἐν πάντεσιν ἀοίδιμος; carm.* II.2.8.[1574] 295 ἄλλ’ αἰεὶ πάντεσιν ἀοίδιμος; Thdt. *Jer.* 23 (M. 81.624. 39) *παρὰ ᾗσιν ἀοίδιμος.* The word ἀοίδιμος is later used extensively of saints in *troparia* and *vitae*.

ἐπὶ μύθοις: *μῦθοι* means here ‘speeches’, especially ‘public speeches’. Cf. App. *BC* 4.4.20. 23 *Κικέρων, ἐπὶ τε λόγοις ἀοίδιμος;* Luc. *Hist. Conscr.* 19. 1 ἄλλος τις ἀοίδιμος ἐπὶ λόγων δυνάμει.

18-19. κάρτεϊ χειρὸς: *κάρτος* is the Epic and Doric form for *κράτος* ‘strength, vigour’ (LSJ, s.v.). Cf. Dt. 8.17. 2 *τὸ κράτος τῆς χειρὸς μου;* 3 Macc. 5.13. 3 *χειρὸς κράτος.*

περιώσιον ἄλλων: ‘far beyond the rest’ (LSJ, s.v. *περιώσιος* II. 2). The phrase occurs seven times, also at *h. Cer.* 362; *Pi. I.* 5. 3; *A. R.* 1. 466; *Opp. H.* 1. 448; 4. 523 and Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.2.4. 152 (ed. Moroni).

ἄλγεα δὲ στοναχὰς τε: cf. Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.1. 171 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *ἄλγεα δὲ στοναχὰς τε, ἐπεὶ θάνε, μοῦνος ἐδέγμην;* *Od.* 14. 39 *καὶ δέ μοι ἄλλα θεοὶ δόσαν ἄλγεα τε στοναχὰς τε* (cf. *Il.* 2. 39; *Od.* 5. 83); Stesich. fr. 55. 3 Page; Sol. fr. 21. 2 West; *Orac.Sib.* 12. 247. For δέ after a preceding negative clause see Denniston (1950: 167-8). *στοναχὰς* means neither ‘despair’ (White) nor ‘extraordinary groans’ (Abrams Rebillard), but just ‘groans’ or ‘cries of grief’; cf. Hesych. c 1921 *στοναχὰς· στεναγμούς* (= Par. A and Par. B).

The grammar would lead us to expect after *χειρὸς*: *ἀλλὰ* + (*ἐπὶ*) + the datives of what Gregory thought he alone was famous for. However, there is an obvious *anacoluthon* here, perhaps to indicate the poet’s emotions. The unexpected *ἔχων περιώσιον ἄλλων* can be linked to both the previous datives (implied as accusatives, objects of *ἔχων*: *οὔτε μύθους οὔτε κάρτος χειρὸς*) and the following accusatives: *ἄλγεα δὲ στοναχὰς τε περισταδόν.*

περισταδόν: ‘from all sides’; corresponds to *περιώσιον* with some irony; others have blessings *περιώσιον ἄλλων*, while Gregory has only miseries *περισταδόν* (the simile that follows reinforces the impression given by *περισταδόν*). It is interesting that *περισταδόν* is the third adverb in -δόν within six verses. All these adverbs (v. 14 *ἀμφαδόν*, v. 16 *διακριδόν* and v. 19 *περι-*

ταδόν) are placed just before the bucolic diaeresis of their verses (*διακριδόν* and *περιταδόν* also after the feminine caesura). If this was to have an effect upon the readers and if this effect had also to do with the repetition of *-δόν*, perhaps v. 68 is worth citing here: *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δονέοντο ἀγοί, δονέοντο δὲ λαοί.*

19-20. Gregory compares a lion surrounded by yapping dogs to himself encircled by sufferings. It is interesting that the lion seems at first sight to be depicted here as a poor defenceless animal; however, the fact alone that dogs growl around a lion does not necessarily indicate the lion's weakness: in Homer, 'dogs in similes are more often characterized as timid, hesitating to attack some fierce animal';¹¹⁹ cf., e.g., *Il.* 5. 476 *ἀλλὰ καταπτώσσοι κύνες ὧς ἀμφὶ λέοντα*; *Q. S.* 7. 516 *εὔτε λέοντι κύνες πτώσσοντες ἐν ὕλῃ*. Moreover, R. M. Grant has drawn attention to several cases where a lion is presented as a friend of Christians in early Christian literature.¹²⁰ Indeed, the simile may have deeper connotations for Gregory and his enemies. Both *κύνες* and *ἀμφυλάουσι* can be used of men and thus they could well hint here not just at Gregory's miseries, but also at the people who caused them, or at least at some of them (see comment on *κακοὶ κύνες* below).

ὦστε λέοντα: cf. *Il.* 5. 136 (= *Od.* 22. 402) | *ὧς τε λέοντα. ὦστε* is used in Homer (where it is commonly written *ὧς τε*) more frequently than *ὧς* in similes (see LSJ, s.v. *ὦστε*). For lion and dog similes in Gregory see Frangeskou (1985: 17-18).

ἀμφυλάουσι: a compound of *ἀμφί* and *ύλάω* 'howl' (of dogs), not attested before Gregory and used later only once, by Theodore Prodromos, *Carm. hist.* 8. 91-2 (ed. Hörandner) *καὶ κύνες ἀργοὶ | ἀμφυλάοντες ἔπονται.*¹²¹ The word has not been included in DGE and is only to be found in LBG: 'ἀμφυλάω ringsum bellen Greg Naz PG 37,1272A ProdGed VIII 92'. *ύλάω* (= *ύλακτέω*) is only used by poets; apart from dogs (cf. Hom. *Od.* 16. 9 *κύνες οὐχ ύλάουσιν*), it can be used metaphorically of men (see LSJ, s.v. *ύλάω* 2). *ἀμφυλάουσι* is not translated accurately by White (1996, 157: 'like a lion surrounded on all sides by cruel dogs') and Abrams Rebillard (2003, 283: 'as a lion around whom evil dogs circle from all sides'). Although it is implied that the dogs surround the lion in this image, *ἀμφυλάω* mainly describes the long and loud cry of the dogs; it is paraphrased as 'περιωλακτοῦσι' (Par. A) and 'ύλακτοῦντες' (Par. B).

¹¹⁹ See M. Graver, 'Dog-Helen and Homeric insult', *ClAnt* 14 (1995), 41-61, at 44.

¹²⁰ 'Lions in Early Christian Literature', in A. J. Malherbe-Fr. W. Norris-J. W. Thompson (eds.), *The Early Church in its Context: Essays in Honor of Everett Ferguson* (Leiden-Boston-Cologne, 1998), 147-54.

¹²¹ Hörandner (p. 589) marked *ἀμφυλάω* with an asterisk in his *Index Verborum* to indicate that this is one of the words, 'die nicht der antiken Gräzität angehören, d. h. die bei Liddell-Scott nicht oder nur mit byzantinischen Belegstellen vertreten sind'.

πάντοθεν and ἀμφί both emphasize that the attack came ‘from all sides’. La, Ri, Vc and Di read πάντοθεν ἀμφ’ ὑλάουσι, with ἀμφί as an adverb (see LSJ, s.v. E); cf. Q. S. 1. 54 ἀμφί δὲ Τρῶες | πάντοθεν ἐκκύμενοι μέγ’ ἐθάμβεον; Paul. Sil., *Descriptio ambonis* 288 ἀγλαΐη δὲ | πάντοθεν εὐλείμων ἐαρόχροα νήματα πέπλου | ἀμφίς ἔχει; Theodore Metochites, *carm.* 16. 3 πάντοθεν ἀμφί τ’ ἀειρόμενα. The position of ἀμφ’, however, just before ὑλάουσι gives the reading ἀμφυλάουσι (cett., Migne) a higher degree of probability. This meaning is also supported by the fact that Theodore Prodromos appears to imitate Gregory’s compound.¹²² There are several compound verbs with ἀμφί, many of which occur only in Late Antique authors (see DGE, vol. II, pp. 211–21 and LSJ, pp. 88–95), e.g. ἀμπερυθαίνω (Q. S. 1. 60; 14. 41), ἀμφικαίννυμαι (Q. S. 10. 179, 188), ἀμφιστένω (Q. S. 5. 646; 9. 440; 14. 82), ἀμφέλκομαι (Dionys. Per. 268), ἀμφιπεδάω (Opp. H. 2. 34), ἀμφιδονέω (Marianus in AP 9.668. 2). More importantly, Gregory would not hesitate to compose a word of this kind; considering compounds of ἀμφί alone, there are at least three *hapax legomena* in his poems: ἀμφιθόωκον in *carm.* I.1.1. 88 (ed. Moreschini),¹²³ ἀμφιπερικραδάω in I.2.29. 230 (ed. Knecht)¹²⁴ and ἀμφιχολωσαμένη in II.2.3.[1484] 59.¹²⁵

The gloss of Hesychius α 4050 (Latte) *†ἀμφιλῶν· περικυκλούντων S, recorded in LSJ and DGE (s.v. ἀμφιλῶν and †ἀμφιλῶν respectively), is very likely to come from our line, for which Vb reads ἀμφιλῶουσι; but this is an easy mistake in any case and the gloss seems to have been corrupted more extensively either within its transmission in Hesychius or in a Gregorian lexicon or paraphrase.¹²⁶ ἀμφυλάουσι in the phrase πάντοθεν ἀμφυλάουσι

¹²² For Theodore copying words and phrases from Gregory’s verse see Simelidis (2006); my note on οἰκτρὸν ἄειμα below and p. 30, n. 29 above.

¹²³ τῆλε βάλε Τριάδος μὲν ὄσον φάος ἀμφιθόωκον ‘firmly placed at a distance from the Trinity whatever light surrounds the throne’ (Sykes’ translation in Moreschini [1997: 21]); cf. DGE, s. v. ἀμφιθόωκος.

¹²⁴ ‘Bildung nach Hom. Θ 348 ἀμφιπεριτρώφα’ (Knecht 1972: 111); see DGE, s.v. ἀμφιπερικραδάω.

¹²⁵ See DGE, s. v. ἀμφιχολομαί. Gregory is also the first in surviving literature to use the words ἀμφιπεριτρώζω (*carm.* II.2.4.[1506] 10) and ἀμφιτάλαντος (see Sykes on I.1.8. 103 in Moreschini [1997: 246]). The first recurs only in Agathias (AP 5.237. 3), while the second occurs in later authors such as Leo the Deacon, Eustathios and Nicetas Choniates. H. Petersen, (‘Wörter zusammengesetzt mit ἀμφί’, *Glotta* 64 [1986], 193–213, at 202) cites Gregory’s ἀμφιτάλαντος as an example of later compound words with ἀμφί. The word ἀμφιρεπής in *carm.* I.1.9. 86 (ed. Moreschini), which was considered a *hapax legomenon* by Sykes (in Moreschini [1997: 262]), occurs in Mesomedes, 8. 16 (p. 29 Heitsch, GDRK), a reference missed by DGE. It is also found in the *Catena in epistulam ad Hebraeos (catena Nicetae)* (e cod. Paris. gr. 238) 7. 1 (p. 544.17 Cramer) and in Anonymous, *Scholia in Ecclesiasten* 2. 44 (p. 13 Lucà). A double *pp* form was used by later authors, such as John Damascene, Michael Psellos, Anna Comnene and Eustathios, among others.

¹²⁶ However, if the gloss comes from a paraphrase, there is a specific scenario to be considered: ἀμφυλάουσι was paraphrased as the participle περικυκλούντων; cf. Par. B for v. 19–20:

κακοὶ κύνες could have been wrongly explained with the verb *περικυκλῶ* under the influence of the famous Ps. 21. 17 *ὅτι ἐκύκλωσάν με κύνες πολλοί*. It is interesting that this gloss by Hesychius also appears in the lexicon ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria: most of the Gregorian glosses that Latte has already identified in Hesychius are identical to glosses of *St Cyril's Lexicon*.

κακοὶ κύνες: cf. *Il.* 13. 623 | *ἦν ἐμὲ λωβήσασθε κακαὶ κύνες*. The word *κύων* (ὄ and ἦ) was used of persons in classical Greece to indicate 'shamelessness or audacity' (see LSJ, s.v. *κύων* II. 1-2); in biblical literature, the word may refer to 'a culturally impure person, *unqualified*' or to 'an infamous pers., *dog*' (NTL, s.v. *κύων* 2-3); 'also of offensive persons, compared to yapping dogs *Lxx. Ps.* 21.17, *Ep. Phil.* 3. 2' (LSJ, s.v. *κύων* II. 1).¹²⁷ Gregory uses such a metaphor in a similar context in *or.* 13. 4 (M. 35.856. 25-6) *ἕα ληρεῖν τοὺς πολεμοῦντας καὶ περιχάσκειν, ὡς κύνας ὑλακτοῦντας διακενής*; thus, it would not be surprising if he here wanted to hint at some of the bishops who had offended him; he elsewhere uses very strong words to refer to them, such as *κουφονόοισιν ἀπέχθομαι* at *carm.* II.1.10. 23. He may also refer to his troubles with Maximos, who tried to be ordained bishop of Constantinople behind Gregory's back. This could be a reference to the grasping behaviour of Maximos, since the dog metaphor is often associated with greed.¹²⁸ Moreover, Maximos was a Cynic philosopher and the word *κύων* was also used to refer to Cynics (LSJ, s.v. *κύων* II. 3).

οἰκτρὸν ἄεισμα: 'a pitiable subject for song' (White [1996: 156]). The poet will explain in vv. 21-6 what he has in mind. The word *ἄεισμα* (Ion. and poet. for *ἄσμα*, see DGE, s.v. *ἄσμα*) is not common. It is only found at Hdt. 2.79. 1 (I p. 186.5 Rosén); Eup. fr. 148. 3 K.-A.; Ar. *Lys.* 1244; Call. *Aet.* fr. 1. 3 Pfeiffer and *ep.* 27. 1 Pfeiffer *Ἡσιόδου τό τ' ἄεισμα*. Gregory uses the word seven times; in at least the first two cases he seems to have been inspired by Callimachus: *AP* 8.9. 1 *Καισαρέων μέγ' ἄεισμα*; 8. 113. 1 *Καππαδοκῶν μέγ' ἄεισμα*; 8.236. 2; *carm.* I.2.1.[570] 634 *μικρὸν ἄεισμα*; II.2.7.[1561] 132 *ἄεισμα κενόν*; I.2.15.[772] 85. The word was used later only three more times, by John Geometres, *carm.* 23. 1 (ed. Van Opstall) *Σιμπλίκιος μέγ' ἄεισμα*; *hymns on the Theotokos* 3. 3 *χαῖρε, Κόρη, μέγ' ἄεισμα*; and Theodore Prodromos at

ὡσπερ κύνες ἀναιδεῖς ὑλακτοῦντες λέοντα, where *ἀμφυλάουσι* is indeed rendered by a participle. Somebody later tried to adjust the lemma (*ἀμφυλάουσι*) to the grammatical form of the interpretation (*περικυκλοῦντων*); *ἀμφυλάουσι* or *ἀμφιλάουσι* could then have been confused with the well-known *ἴλαος* ('kindly'). It is worth noting here that in at least one case a paraphrase was used for the compilation of a lexicon to Gregory's *Carmina*, as I have shown (Simelidis, 2009).

¹²⁷ It is interesting that in later years the demons themselves were compared to yapping dogs: Romanos Melodos *hymns* 53.19. 8-9 (ed. Maas-Trypanis) *καὶ γὰρ οἱ δαίμονες ὡς κύνες ἄγριοι | ὑλακτοῦσι πάντοτε*.

¹²⁸ Cf. e.g. Greg. Naz. *carm.* II.1.1. 183-4 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *νῦν δὲ θανῶν πολλοὺς κόρεσας κύνας οἱ μ' ὑλάουσι, | πάντοθεν ἰστάμενοι· πηῶν δέ μοι οὕτως ἀρήγει*.

Carm. Hist. 68. 2 (ed. Hörandner) *κυγκλήτου μέγ' ἄεισμα* (all clear imitations of Gregory; cf. Cameron [1993: 337-8]).

ἀντολίη: poet. form of ἀνατολή; see DGE, s.v. ἀντολίη. Several times in Gregory, e.g. I.2.1.[532] 129 ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε (= II.1.1. 97 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]; II.1.16.[1261] 96 ἀντολίη καὶ δύσις; *AP* 8.36. 3 ἀντολίης δύσιός τε; II.1.14. 152 ἀντολίην τε δύσιν τε.¹²⁹ The word occurs more than twenty times in the *Oracula Sibyllina*, e.g. 3. 26 ἀντολίην τε δύσιν τε (= 8. 321), 2. 195 ἀντολίης δύσεώς τε. Apart from authors such as Andromachus the Elder, Quintus Smyrnaeus, pseudo-Manetho, and Nonnus, it is found at Theod. Prodr. *Carm. hist.* 2. 50 ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε (cf. 3. 11 and 93; 8. 8 and 96).

21. τάχ' ἄν ποτε καὶ τὸ γένοιτο: 'some day this might happen'; cf. Hes. *Op.* 362 τάχα κεν μέγα καὶ τὸ γένοιτο. However, τάχα in our case does not mean 'quickly' or 'soon', but 'perhaps', as at *Od.* 2. 76 εἴ χ' ὑμεῖς γε φάγοιτε, τάχ' ἄν ποτε καὶ τίσις εἴη 'if you were to devour them, some day there might be recompense.'¹³⁰ The meaning 'quickly', adopted here by Abrams Rebillard ([2003: 284] 'swiftly let it come about'), is appropriate when the content of the sentence is presented as something almost certain to happen or very much anticipated (cf. West on Hes. *Op.* 312), e.g. v. 39 and *Il.* 1. 205 ἦς ὑπεροπλήρι τάχ' ἄν ποτε θυμὸν ὀλέσσει.

22-3. θαλίησι λῦων φρένα: 'ispirato nel corso di un banchetto' (Crimi in Crimi-Costa [1999: 125]); cf. Thgn. 593 μήτε κακοῖσιν ἀκῶντα λίην φρένα;¹³¹ Nonn. *D.* 7. 69 καὶ φρενὸς ἡνία λῦσεν. Crimi (*op. cit.*) also notes: 'Forse nella memoria del Nazianzeno agisce qui il ricordo letterario dell'aedo Demodoco dell'*Odissea*'.

ἦ τις ὀδίτης: cf. *carm.* I.1.7. 30 (ed. Moreschini) *τις ὀδίτης* |; A. R. 3. 746 καὶ *τις ὀδίτης* |; Call. *Hec. fr.* 68 Hollis (= 259 Pfeiffer) *νωθρὸς ὀδίτης* |. The word ὀδίτης (in several combinations) is used frequently by Nonnus (see D. Gigli, 'Tradizione e novità in una ricorrente espressione nonniana', *GIF* 32 [1980], 107-17).

εὐκρέκτω: 'εὐήχῳ' (Par. A); '(κρέκω) well-struck, well-sounding, of stringed instruments' (LSJ, s.v.). But cf. also *carm.* II.1.34.[1312] 69 εὐκρέκτοις μελέεσσιν. The word is only found elsewhere in A.R. 4. 1194 φόρμιγγος

¹²⁹ ἀντολίηθε(ν) at *carm.* I.1.5. 54 and 61 (ed. Moreschini); I.1.9. 62 (ed. Moreschini) and I.2. 1.[526] 60.

¹³⁰ The translation is by A. T. Murray, revised by G. E. Dimock (vol. I, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1995), 53.

¹³¹ It is possible that Gregory had this verse in mind, since he clearly alludes to Thgn. 593-4 μήτε κακοῖσιν ἀκῶντα λίην φρένα, μήτ' ἀγαθοῖσιν | *τερφθῆσι ἐξαπίνης πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰδεῖν* in *carm.* I.2.2.[590] 145-8 *τοῦνεκα μήτ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἰαίνεο τοῖς παρεούσι, | μήτε λίην μογεροῖσιν ἄκα φρένα τοῦδε βίοιο. | ἦ γὰρ ὁμοῦ *τερπνοῖσι καὶ ἄλγεα πάντ' ἀπολείψεις | οὐ μετὰ δὴν. Τί δὲ μακρὸν ἐφημερίοιο βίοιο;* cf. Zehles-Zamora (1996: 96).*

ἐνκρέκτου and AP 6.174. 6 (Antip. Sid.) *ἐνκρέκτους* ('well-woven', LSJ) ἄ διέκρινε μίτους.

ἐπὶ δάκτυλα βάλλων: For the syntax cf. e.g. Gal. *περὶ διαφορᾶς σφυγμῶν* 3 (VIII, p. 679 Kühn) *ἐπιβάλλω τοὺς δακτύλους τῷ σφυγμῷ*. Van Opstall (2008: 526) is right to suggest a possible imitation by John Geometres, *carm.* 300. 57 (ed. Van Opstall) *πνεύματος εὐκελάδου λύραν, εὖ δέ τε δάκτυλα βάλλων*.

24. φθόγγοις τοῦ λαλέουσιν†: οὐ λαλέουσιν is hardly acceptable. *λαλέουσι* alone has either a neutral meaning ('talk') or a negative one ('prattle'); the latter could perhaps suggest the translation 'not prattling', i.e. 'sincere', but this is not easy, as will be argued below; it is also unlikely that Gregory would have used οὐ λαλέουσιν to express this idea. One may consider A. Faulkner's tentative suggestion *εὖ λαλέουσι* (cf. LSJ s.v. *εὖλαλος*), with *εὖ* corresponding to *ἐνκρέκτω* above,¹³² provided that it could mean something like 'words that speak well', i.e. 'praising words'. But the active sense of *λαλέουσι* is difficult with *φθόγγοις* as the subject: *φθόγγοις εὖ λαλευμένοις* is what is needed; cf. v. 3 *λαλεύμενον ἡρέμα τρυκμόν*.¹³³ Moreover, it is doubtful that either 'not prattling' or 'speaking well' make good sense in this context, especially in the light of what follows (*ἐμῶν ἀχέων ὀαριστύς*), which seems to explain *φθόγγοις οὐ λαλέουσιν*. Scholars have understood the phrase in various ways,¹³⁴ usually as an indication of absence of words or ability to articulate; but this may be at odds with the next couple of lines, which seem to imply that a song would make clear reference to Gregory and his origins. Crimi's 'lugubri' is the probable sense required for *τοῦ λαλέουσιν†*; however, the sense of sadness could hardly be expressed by οὐ and Gregory's use of the phrase elsewhere¹³⁵ does not help us understand how οὐ here could mean something like *οἰκτρῶς*, *ἐλεεινῶς* or *ἀθλίως* ('sorrow-

¹³² Private communication.

¹³³ The active *λαλέω* in this line would be acceptable with *κιθάρα* (verb in singular) or with *ἀνήρ*, *ὀδίτης* and *τις* (verb in plural) as the subjects; but a plural subject for *λαλέουσιν* is impossible because of *μνήσαιτο* (singular) in next line. Cf. Theoc. 20. 29 *αὐλῶ λαλέω*.

¹³⁴ Par. A: 'φωναίς μὴ λαλούσαις ἄλλοις τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν ὀμιλητῆς ἀφηγητῆς λέκτης'; Par. B: 'φθόγγοις ἀλαλήτοις χορδῶν μέλους ὑπόθεσιν τὰς ἐμὰς ἀλγηδόνας ποιούμενος'; Aldus: 'vocibus non loquentibus meorum dolorum fabulator'; Caillau: 'sonis non distinctis, meorum aerumnarum narrator'; Billius: 'fataque nostra canens muta tristissima voce'; White (1996: 157): 'when the music plays no more, will discuss my misfortunes'; Crimi (in Crimi-Costa, 1999: 125): 'lugubri suoni, conoscendo quanto ho sofferto'; Abrams Rebillard (2003: 285): 'in utterances inarticulate, a familiar friend of my suffering'.

¹³⁵ Cf., e.g., *carm.* Π.2.7.[1556] 68 *καὶ ναὺς ναυπηγοῖο διάγγελος οὐ λαλέουσα*; I.1.28.[507] 6 *πάντα σε καὶ λαλέοντα, καὶ οὐ λαλέοντα λιγαίνει*; I.2.2.[585] 88 *μαχλοσύνης στήλαι τε καὶ οὐ λαλέοντες ἔλεγχοι* (for the last example see Zehles-Zamora, 1996: 72).

fully’); cf. *οἰκτρὸν ἄεισμα* (v. 20).¹³⁶ I prefer to obelize; the meaning of the original text could have been ‘sad’ or ‘mourning’, and perhaps it is worth considering *πενθαλέοισιν*, at least as a diagnostic conjecture. Cf. I.2.17. 26 (with my note); Nonn. *D.* 11. 475 *γράμμασι πενθαλέοισιν ἔπος κεχαραγμένον ἔστω*; 5. 453 *πενθαλαίαι ὑλακῆσιν ἐπικλαίουσιν χαμεύνη*; 25. 275-6 and 14-5.

δαριτύς: M. prints *δαριτής*. All MSS transmit *δαριτύς* (‘familiar converse, fond discourse’, LSJ) apart from Lb, written by Maximos Planudes, which offers *δαριτής* (‘familiar friend’, LSJ). Both words come from *δαρ* ‘wife’. *δαριτύς* is used at *Il.* 14. 216 of love and at *Il.* 13. 291 and 17. 228 of war, probably ironically (see Richardson on *Il.* 22. 127); *δαριτής* is only found at *Od.* 19. 179 (of *Μίνως* as the close friend of Zeus) and at Timon of Phlius SH 831.2 (on Pythagoras) *εμνηγορίης δαριτήν* (apud Plu. *Num.* 8.5. 9 and Diog. Laert. 8.36); in the first case it is translated ‘that held converse with’ (Murray-Dimock), but in the second ‘fond of’ (Hicks in Diog. Laert.). Gregory’s *ἐμῶν ἀχέων δαριτύς* may also have ironic connotations, perhaps a reminiscence of the sexual metaphor at *Il.* 17. 228 *πολέμου δαριτύς* | ‘the embrace of war’ (Edwards). Planudes and the Maurists may have found the adjective (in apposition to *τις*) more appropriate than the noun, but a parenthetical use of the noun is perfectly in order.

25. Γρηγορίου: for the self-naming here see pp. 149-52.

26. Διοκαισαρέων: another name for Nazianzus; cf. Demoen (1997: 172-4) and Crimi in Crimi-Costa (1999: 125). Gregory used the same name in *ep.* 141. 3, where he intervenes in favour of his city: *ὑπὲρ τῆς Διοκαισαρέων ὁ λόγος, τῆς ποτε πόλεως, νῦν δὲ οὐ πόλεως, εἰ μὴ σὺ νεύσειας ἡμερον*. Also in *AP* 8.134. 4, 135. 2 and *carm.* II.2.1.[1477] 365-6 (both cited below).

ὀλίγη: cf. *carm.* II.2.1.[1477] 365-6 *τυτθὴ μὲν πόλις ἐμὲν, ἀτὰρ πολὺν κεῖο, φέριστε, | δώσομεν ἀνθρώποις, ἢ Διοκαισαρέων, | οὖνομα and AP 8.135. 2 τυτθὸν μὲν πολίεθρον*, again explicitly of Diocaesarea.

πτόλις: the Epic form, transmitted by α₃ and Pj, is preferable; cf. *carm.* I.1. 5. 54 (ed. Moreschini) *πτόλιν* and *carm.* I.1.6. 25 (ed. Moreschini) *πτόλιας*.

26-35. These lines are full of Homeric touches. Moreover, from line 30 onwards, the vocabulary clearly refers to fights (*ῥιςτούς*), contests (*ἀεθλεύοντα, ἀθλητήρος, ἀριστεύσαντι, γέρας, κῦδος*), penalties (*ποινήν*) and pains (*πικρούς, ἄλγεσι*). Gregory dramatizes his troubles and compares himself to Job. However, even at this moment of weakness, he reveals his belief in Christ’s love towards him (see comment on v. 30). In fact, all these struggles and pains may characterize a highly spiritual life; in *carm.* I.2.17. 61 Gregory emphasizes: *δάκρυα πᾶσιν ἄριστον, ἀϋπνίη τε πόνοι τε*, and in his *or.* 6.2. 34

¹³⁶ Cf. Gr. Naz. *or.* 43.63. 23-4 (ed. Bernardi) *σοφισταὶ μελῶν ἐλεινῶν εἴ τις καὶ φωνῇ λείπεται*; Dio Cassius *Hist. Rom.* 79.19.3. 3-4 (ed. Boissvain) *ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ Τεροκλέους οἰκτρὰ λαλήσαντα καὶ δάκρυσι κλαύσαντα*.

(Calvet-Sebasti) he speaks for ἡ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ δύναμις. This is a clear reference to 2 Cor. 12. 9-10: ἡ γὰρ δύναμις ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελεῖται.¹³⁷ ἤδιστα οὖν μᾶλλον καυχῆσομαι ἐν ταῖς ἀσθενείαις μου, ἵνα ἐπισκηνώσῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ. διὸ εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ἐν ὑβρεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν διωγμοῖς καὶ στενοχωρίαῖς, ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ· ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ, τότε δυνατός εἰμι.

However, Gregory's αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ κλέος ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἄλγεσιν in our poem (v. 29) does not have the same intention as Rom. 5. 3 οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἡ θλίψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται or 2 Cor. 4. 17 τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν; cf. also 2 Cor. 7. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται· ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου λύπη θάνατον κατεργάζεται.

26-30. Gregory adopts the form of the so-called priamel to emphasize his misery. A series of five examples of divine gifts leads up to God's 'gift' for Gregory: his ἄλγεα. Gregory's list of divine gifts recalls the priamels at *Od.* 8. 167-77 and *Il.* 13. 729-34, which both, however, focus on νόος.

Gregory uses the priamel quite often (see, e.g., *carm.* II.1.1. 71-6 [ed. Tuilier-Bady] and II.2.1.[1470-1] 269-72), and he even wrote an epigram (II.1.82.[1428]), which is itself a priamel. In some of his priamels, Gregory expresses the same idea as in our poem, e.g. *carm.* II.1.84.[1431] 6-7

ἄλλοις κῦδος ἄμοχθον, Ἄναξ, πόρεσ. Αὐτὰρ ἔμοιγε
καὶ τὸ φίλον παθέεσσι καὶ ἄλγεσι εἰὼ λαβέσθαι.

and *carm.* II.1.87.[1433-4] 7-10

θηρολέτης ἄλλοσ τις, ὁ δ' ἔγχεϊ χεῖρα κορυῶσων·
καὶ τις ἀοιδοσύνης ἴδρις, ὁ δ' ἀθλοφόρος.
Αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ Θεὸσ ἐστί λάχοσ καὶ ἄλγεα πολλὰ,
καὶ νοῦσφ στυγερεῆ τῆδ' ὀλιγοδρανεῖν.

26-7. ἐπίμοχθον | ... πλοῦτον ὄπασσας: cf. Thgn. 321 θεὸσ ... πλοῦτον ὄπασσει. ἐπίμοχθον does not mean 'wearisome' (White [1996: 157]), but 'toil-some': God offers to some people what others acquire through hard work; cf. B. 1. 181 Snell-Maehler ἀρετὰ δ' ἐπίμοχθοσ. However, the word ἄμοχθοσ, as in κῦδοσ ἄμοχθον, 'acquired without toil' (*carm.* II.1.84. 6, cited above), perhaps better expresses what Gregory wanted to say in both cases.

¹³⁷ τελειοῦται **N**² D¹ Ψ 0243. 0278. 33. 1739. 1881 **Π**. The Editorial Committee of the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (Metzger [1971: 586]) seems to understand τελεῖται and τελειοῦται as being exact synonyms. But this is not the case and the expected sense of 'become perfect' can be expressed by τελειώω only (cf. NTL, s.v. τελειώω 2 e). For the syntax cf. Speus. fr. 47b. 3-4 (ed. Tarán) ἕκαστον γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν τούτῳ τελειοῦται καὶ ἀγαθύνεται καὶ τηρεῖται, ἐν τῷ μένειν ἐν τῷ ἐνί, ἀσκέδαστον ὄν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον; [Ign]. *Ep.* 11.8. 2 ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τελειοῦσθε.

ἀπειρίτων: not elsewhere applied to *πλοῦτος*, but cf. Hes. Sc. 1. [204] ὄλβος ἀπειρίτος (= D. P. 1062); Nonn. D. 34. 173 χρυδὸν ἀπειρίτων (v. l.).

28-9. υἱέας ... | ἐχθλούς: also at *Il.* 23. 175, 181; 24. 204-5, 520-1 and [Hes.] fr. 35. 6; 49. 1.

29. αὐτὰρ ἐμοί: a Homeric formula, used 10 times by Gregory (also αὐτὰρ ἔμοιγε x 5; αὐτὰρ ἐμοῖο x 1); cf. my note on *Il.* 1.10. 25 αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε. For its use to introduce the emphatic last statement of a priamel, cf. the examples above cited of Gregory's priamels and Call. *Ap.* 69-71

ὄπολλον, πολλοὶ σε Βοηδρόμιον καλέουσι,
πολλοὶ δὲ Κλάριον, πάντη δέ τοι οὔνομα πουλύ·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Καρνεῖον· ἐμοὶ πατρώιον οὕτω

κλέος ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἄλγεσιν: cf. *carm.* I.2.1.[574] 690 ὄσον κλέος ἐστὶν ἐμοῖο and *Il.* 1.38.[1327] 25. For the syntax cf. Iamblichus, *Babyloniaca* fr. 32 Habrich πάνν γάρ σου κλέος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ διήκει; Luc. *Astr.* 12. 25 μέγα κλέος ἐπὶ σοφίῃ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο; Charito 7.2.7. 2 κλέος ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ θέλουσι κεκτηῖσθαι.

ἐς δ' ἐμέ: M. prints εἰς δέ με. For ἐς (L α₂ Mq γ NDPj) cf. v. 47 ἐς χθόν'. All manuscripts (apart from Vc) offer δ' ἐμέ (also, e.g., at *Il.* 8. 370, 13. 453, 21. 159). Cf. *carm.* II.1.50.[1386] 11-2 (talking to Devil) ἐς δ' ἐμέ, τλήμων, | σῆς δονοφερῆς κακίης ἰὸν ἔχευσας ὄλον and Cal. *ep.* 2. 1. Pfeiffer ἐς δέ με δάκρυ |.

30. γλυκερῆς παλάμη: why is the palm of God's hand γλυκερή, when it throws bitter arrows? The hand of God is elsewhere protective (*carm.* I.2.17. 63-4 Χριστοῦ θ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα κραταιήν | κείσθαι), but God's hand causes the troubles of Job (19. 21-2 ἐλεήσατέ με, ἐλεήσατέ με, ὦ φίλοι· χεῖρ γὰρ κυρίου ἡ ἀψαμένη μου ἐστίν· διὰ τί δέ με διώκετε ὡπερ καὶ ὁ κύριος; cf. also Job 1. 11). The adjective γλυκερός or γλυκύς nowhere else applies to παλάμη or even χεῖρ, and perhaps the closest parallel for the broader context is Nonn. D. 15. 293-4 γλυκερήν ἤειρε φαρέτρην | καὶ κύσε δίκτυα κοῦφα καὶ οὐ πνεύοντασ ὀιστούς; the context in Nonnus is erotic, the word γλυκερός is often used in such a context,¹³⁸ and Eros is a god with a bow and arrows (first at E. *IA* 548-9). Despite his anger, Gregory seems to admit implicitly that ὄν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὄν παραδέχεται (Pr. 3. 11 = Heb. 12. 6).

ἐκένωσας: St Paul's famous reference to Christ who ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων [...] ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών (Phil. 2. 6-7)¹³⁹ is un-

¹³⁸ See M. Paschalis, 'γλυκερὸν στόμα: Erotic Homer in the Lament for Bion', *MD* 34 [1995], 179-85, esp. 182.

¹³⁹ Cf., e.g., Gr. Naz. *or.* 2.23. 3-4 (ed. Bernardi) ἡ κενωθεῖσα θεότης; *or.* 12.4. 24-6 (ed. Calvet-Sebasti) οὐ μόνον ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ δούλου μορφῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ σταυρὸν ὑπέμεινεν αἰσχύνῃς καταφρονήσας; *or.* 37.2. 16-7 (ed. Moerschini) ὃ ἦν ἐκένωσε καὶ ὃ μὴ ἦν προσέλαβεν; *carm.* I.2.8. 106-8 (ed. Werhahn) μύρου δὲ παντὸς Χριστὸς εὐωδέστερος | ἡμῖν κενωθείς,

doubtedly behind the use of the word here: Christ, who emptied *himself*¹⁴⁰ out of love for humankind, in this case emptied *his quiver* into Gregory. The word is used in the same way, though in an erotic context, by Archias (1st cent. BC): *νήπι' Ἔρωσ, πορθεῖς με, τὸ κρήγγυν· εἷς με κένωσεν | πᾶν σὺ βέλος* (AP 5.58. 1-2). This supports further the idea that the verse has erotic connotations.

πικροὺς ... ὀϊστούς: a Homeric formula (*πικρὸς ὀϊστός* 7 x *Il.*; *πικρὸν ὀϊστόν* 3 x *Il.*, 1 x *Od.*). In Gregory also at *carm.* I.1.34.[1310] 39 *πικρὸς ὀϊστός*. Arrows are not absent from biblical literature; apart from their literal use, they can be used metaphorically either for God's punishment (e.g., Ps. 143. 6) or for the devil's temptations, e.g. Eph. 6. 16 *τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ [τὰ] πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι*; Gr. Naz. *or.* 11. 5. 12 (ed. Calvet-Sebasti) *πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ διαφύγωμεν*. Gregory's *ὀϊστοί* here recall Job 6. 4-5 (see p. 169) and Ps. 37. 2-3 *Κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξῃς με μηδὲ τῇ ὀργῇ σου παιδεύσῃς με. ὅτι τὰ βέλη σου ἐνεπάγησάν μοι καὶ ἐπεστήρισας ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν χεῖρα σου*.¹⁴¹

31. Ἄλλος Ἰώβ νέος: this reference to Job leaves no doubt that *ὀϊστούς* in the previous verse alluded to Job 6. 4-5. Job is mentioned thirty times in Gregory's writings (seven in the poems), usually as a model of wisdom and patience. Gregory compares himself to Job also at *carm.* II.1.42.[1345] 14-15 *ἦ ῥά μ' ὁ λυσσωδῆς καὶ βάσκανος, οἷά τιν' Ἰώβ, | ἐς δῆριν καλέει*; and I.2.38. [967] 5-6 *ἦ φθονεροῖο πάλη κάμνων δέμας, ἄλλος Ἰώβ τις, | ὡς κεν ἀεθλήσας στέμμα νίκησ φορέοις*.

τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκέθ' ὁμοῖον: Gregory will explain in the following lines the difference between his case and Job's (vv. 32-5) and the reason for his own *ἄλγεα* (v. 36).

32. ἀεθλεύοντα: *ἀεθλ-* is the Epic form for *ἀθλ-*. The future participle, which is connected to a verb of motion and expresses purpose, is transmitted by SLa Va Mq γ ND.

ὡς τιν' ἄριστον: = *carm.* II.2.3.[1503] 323.

33. ἀντίον: 'against'. See Chadwick (1996: 41-2, § 4).

ἀθλητήρος: for the form in *-ήρ* see Hom. *Od.* 8. 164 and Theoc. 22. 24. The form is used by later authors, such as pseudo-Manetho and Nonnus, and DGE (s.v. *ἀθλητήρ*) cites also *IG* 2². 2193. 3 and the *Laudes Theonis*

ὡς λύχη δυσωδίας, | ἥς νεκρότης μ' ἐπλησε τῆς ἀμαρτίας. See also *carm.* I.1.9. 39 and Sykes' comment (in Moreschini, 1997: 256) for bibliography on the doctrine of *κένωσις* in the writings of the Cappadocians.

¹⁴⁰ Or 'divested himself of his prestige or privileges', by giving up the appearance of his divinity and taking on the form of a slave (NTL, s.v. *κενώω*, where there is also bibliography for Phil. 2. 7).

¹⁴¹ St Basil (*mor.* 7. 10; M. 32.1212. 26-9) comments on Ps. 37. 2-3: *καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ἐνταῦθα λεγόμενα βέλη λογικὰ εἶναι· μάλλον δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγους, νύττοντας καὶ πιτρώσκοντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὴν συνείδησιν αὐτοῦ τιμωρομένους καὶ κολάζοντας*. Cf. [Or.] Ps. 37. 3 (ed. Pitra).

gymnasiarchi 8 (GDRK fr. 16), both from the third century AD. α₃ and Mb offer ἀθλευτήρος; this form does not occur in Greek literature, apart from Lex. Cas. α 43 (= Lex. alph. α 78) ἀθλευτήρι· ἀγωνισταῖς. But this is clearly a corrupt gloss for *carm.* II.2.4.[1517] 154 ἀεθλευτήρι.¹⁴² Also corrupt is Lex. Cas. α 24 ἀεθλευτήρος· ἀθλητοῦ, ἀγωνιστοῦ, which ought to originate from our line. It is obvious that such corruptions could have easily happened within the transmission of the lexica.

ἀπηνέος: Hesych. α 6161 ἀπηνέος· κληροῦ ὠμοῦ (A 340). In Gregory it also qualifies, e.g., κακότητος (I.2.1.[577] 719); νόμου (II.2.1.[1458] 95); νεότητος (II.2.5. 49 [ed. Moroni]); πόντον (I.2.15.[767] 25); Χάρυβδιν (II.2.7.[1562] 150).

ἀλκι πεποιθός: ‘confident in my strength’, a Homeric formula (5 x *Il.*; 1 x *Od.*); if the subject of *πεποιθός* is God, the phrase does not make good sense: the Christian God cannot trust human strength. Christ said (Jo. 15. 5): χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν. Marc Lauxtermann suggests that ἐγώ (Gregory) is the subject of *πεποιθός* and that the Homeric formula has become indeclinable. I find his suggestion very attractive. The subject of the preceding and the following sentences is ἐγώ and the Homeric formula, which occurs in the nominative at the same metrical *sedes*, is almost always confined to similes where it applies to an animal (lion or boar) about to face an enemy (e.g. hunters). It is Gregory here who is about to fight and thus the Homeric formula naturally suggests him and not God as its subject, despite the nominative case of *πεποιθός*, which does not agree with *τίν’*. Perhaps this makes it easier to accept that Gregory here allowed this serious incongruency. If this is right, this example may reflect developments in the use of participles already attested in Gregory’s time: e.g. P. Mert. 91. 6 (AD 316) ἡμεῖν ... εὖ βιούντες (‘for us [dat.] ... well living [nom./acc. pl.]’), cited by Horrocks (1997: 124); cf. also λέγων or λέγοντες in the *Revelation*, where they are treated as almost indeclinable (see NTG § 136): e.g. 14. 6-7 εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον πετόμενον ... ἔχοντα εὐαγγέλιον ... λέγων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. Eventually an indeclinable participle in *-οντα* would be used as an adverb (see Horrocks [1997: 122-24, 229] and Jannaris [1897: § 823, 1102^b]). Despite these developments, Gregory’s case is surprising, given his learning and the general level of language used in his verse. One may wonder if Gregory planned to read this poem aloud and look at the audience at the time of ἀλκι πεποιθός, thus making it clear that he was the subject.

34. The whole verse is repeated at *carm.* II.1.42.[1345] 17; cf. e.g. II.2.3. [1480] 3 ὡς κεν ἐπιχθονίοις γέρας καὶ κῦδος ὀπάσσει; II.2.1.[1472] 289 χάριν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάζειν; II.1.94.[1449] 5 (= *AP* 8.80. 5) κῦδος ὀπάζοις and v. 90 of

¹⁴² The compilation of the Lex. Cas. was dependent entirely on Paraphrase A, transmitted for a group of poems which includes *carm.* II.2.4. See Simelidis (2009).

this poem. Cf. *Il.* 7. 205 *κῦδος ὄπασσαν* |; 8. 141 *κῦδος ὀπάξει* | (= 3 x [Man.], *Arot.*); 12. 255 *κῦδος ὄπαξε* |.

ὦς κεν: ‘much more common in Homer with the subjunctive than simple *ὦς*’. (Goodwin [1889: §326]).

ἀριστεύσαντι: not ‘to the winner’ (White [1996: 157]) or ‘to the best one’ (Abrams Rebillard [2003: 284]), but ‘to me after my success’. *μοι* is supplied from *μ’(ε)* (v. 32).

γέρας καὶ κῦδος: ‘prize and glory’. Although *γέρας* here does imply connotations of merit and dignity for the recipient,¹⁴³ the gift would only be offered after this particular victory. Cf. LSJ, s.v. *γέρας* 4 ‘reward, *POxy* 1408. 16 (iii AD)’. Cf. *h. Vest.* 4 *γέρας καὶ τιμὴν*; *Rom.* 2. 7 (*sc. ὁ θεὸς ἀποδώσει*) *τοῖς μὲν καθ’ ὑπομονὴν ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ζητοῦσιν, ζῶν αἰώνιον* and *Heb.* 2. 7 *δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν*.

κῦδος: the word is repeated at the same metrical place in the next verse. Notice also i) *ἄλκιμος* (28) ~ *ἀλκί* (33), ii) *κλέος ἐστὶν ἐπ’ ἄλγειν* (29) ~ *ἄλγειν κῦδος* (35), iii) *ἀεθλεύοντα* (32) ~ *ἀθλητήρος* (33), iv) *ὦς τιν’ ἀριστον* (32) ~ *ὦς κεν ἀριστεύσαντι* (34), v) *πλεόνεσσειν, ὃ σοι* (37) ~ *πάντεσσειν, ὃ μοι* (38), vi) *ἀμπλακίης* (36) ~ *ἀμαρτάς* (36) ~ *ἀμαρτάδα* (39). The first of these repetitions might have been unconscious, while the fifth creates a word-play. All others stress leading ideas: iii and iv contribute to the local effect of the image of races (see note on 26-35) and ii and vi, apart from their effect in the immediate context, include thematic keywords of Gregory’s poetry.

35. οὐπω τόσσοις ἔγωγ’: *οὐπω* cannot mean ‘not yet’ (White, Abrams Rebillard), but ‘not at all’, as at *S. OT* 105 (*ἔξοιδ’ ἀκούων· οὐ γὰρ εἰσειδὼν γέ πω*), where a meaning ‘not yet’ ‘would lend to Oedipus’ words an entirely inappropriate ironic tone’ (Kamerbeek on *S. OT* 105);¹⁴⁴ cf. also *S. OT* 594 *οὐπω τοσοῦτον ἠπατημένος κυρῶ*.

κῦδος ἔπεστι: cf. *carm.* II.2.6. 8 and 85 (ed. Bacci) *εὐχος ἔπεστι* | and *ὑβρις ἔπεστι* |.

36. Ποινὴν δ’ ἀμπλακίης τίνω τάδε: the traditional view that suffering is the result of sin was rejected by Job, who had no doubt about his innocence. Cf. *carm.* II.1.42.[1345] 10-17

ὦ σοφίη, σὺ δίδαξον ὅθεν τόσον ἄχθος ἔμοιγε.

Πῶς μόνος εὐσεβέεσσι, καὶ οὐ μόνος ὀλλυμένοισιν;

¹⁴³ *γέρας* almost always ‘entails a connotation of merit or dignity in the recipient [...]. It is to Gods and Kings, i.e., to superiors, that *γέρας* is offered’ (P. A. Meijer, ‘*γέρας* in the Hymn of Cleanthes to Zeus’, *RhM* 129 [1986], 31-5). For a Christian’s merit in our context cf. 1 Cor. 6. 20 *ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς* and the following passages referring to the baptism: Ac. 2. 38; *Rom.* 6. 4; Gal. 3. 26-7; Tit. 3. 5. See also Sykes’ comments on *carm.* I.1.1. 87-99, esp. 97-9 (ed. More-schini).

¹⁴⁴ J. C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles: Commentaries. Part IV: The Oedipus Tyrannus* (Leiden, 1967). Cf. R. D. Dawe, *Sophocles: Oedipus Rex* (Cambridge, 2006 [rev. edn.]) 80.

Ἦ ρά τις ἀμπλακίης ποιῆ τάδε, ἦ ρά βίοιο
 ἀνθρακες, ὡς χρυσοῖο καθαιρομένου χοάνοις;
 Ἦ ρά μ' ὁ λυσιώδης καὶ βάσκανος, οἶά τιν' Ἰῶβ,
 ἐς δῆριν καλέει; Cὺ δ' ἀλείφατι σὸν με παλαιστήν
 τρίψας, εὖ τε πάροιθε μέγαν γυμνοῖς πρὸς ἀγῶνα,
 ὡς κεν ἀεθλεύσαντι γέρας καὶ κῦδος ὀπάσσει;

For the diction cf. A. Pr. 112 *τοιῶνδε ποιῶν ἀμπλακημάτων τίνω*, 620 *ποιῶν δὲ ποίω ἀμπλακημάτων τίνεις*; (= Chr. Pat. 702); *carm.* I.1.8. 35 (ed. Moerschlini) ἢ *τιμὴν ἀρετῆς ἢ ἀμπλακίης τινὰ ποιήν*.

ἀμπλακίης: like *ἀμαρτία*, *ἀμπλακίη* is used of sin in Christian contexts. The word occurs in Gregory more than 20 times, and is also found 18 times in Nonnus' *Paraphrasis*.

τίς δέ θ': 'the uses of *τε* after other particles is virtually confined to epic and elegiac poetry' (Denniston [1950: 532]).¹⁴⁵

37. δίζημ': cf. Thgn. 1300 | *δίζημ'*.

ἐν πλεόνεσσι: at the same metrical place in Callimachus' *Hecale*, fr. 358 Pfeiffer (= 145 Hollis), where the context is also divine punishment: *εἰ δὲ Δίκη σε | παρ πόδα μὴ τιμωρὸς ἐτείσατο, δις τόσον αὐτίς | ἔσσειται, ἐν πλεόνεσσι παλίντροπος*. Cf. Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.1.18.[481] 4; I.2.2.[580] 28; I.2.9. 74 (ed. Palla) and AP 7.742. 3 (Apollonides).

(ἀμαρτὰς ...) **ὅ**: 'a neuter relative may refer to a masculine or feminine antecedent denoting a thing; as *διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὃ πάσα φύσις διώκειν πέφυκεν* P. Rp. 359c' (Goodwin [1894: §1022]).¹⁴⁶ In addition to fitting the metre, *ὃ* prepares for the repetition in the next line: the contrast between *μοι* and *κοι* is heightened after *-εσσι* *ὃ*.

κοι πλέον ἔχθεται ἄλλων: M. prints *ἄχθεται* (Di Lb Pj), but the third person of this verb (with *ὃ* as its subject) does not make sense and this reading leaves no clear grammatical role for *κοι*; we could accept (metrical considerations apart) something like *ῶ* (or *ἦ*) *ὄν πλέον ἄχθη* (cf., e.g., Pl. *Men.* 99e2 *καίτοι ἴσως ἄνυτος ὄδε κοι ἄχθεται λέγοντι*). The remaining manuscripts read *ἔχθεται* and this is the right reading ('is hated by you'); both Par. A and B read *μισεῖται*.

38-9. Cf. v. 8 (with note); Job 16. 6 *ἐὰν γὰρ λαλήσω, οὐκ ἀλήσω τὸ τραῦμα· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ σιωπήσω, τί ἔλαττον τρωθήσομαι*; Ps. 37. 19 *ὅτι τὴν ἀνομί-*

¹⁴⁵ The combination of the interrogative pronoun *τίς*, *τί* with *δέ τε* occurs nowhere else before Gregory, but also in *carm.* I.2.26.[853] 32 *τίς δέ τ' ὄνοις*; Theod. Prodr. *Epigrammata in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* 60b. 3 *τίς δέ τε φρικτοβόας*, 229b. 2 *τίς δέ τε λατομῆ*, 232b. 2 *τίς δέ τε νεκρόν*; Theod. Met. *carm.* 4. 273 *τί δέ τ' ἀμείνον'*, 16. 291 *τί δέ τ' ἐσεῖτ'*, 17. 22 *τίς δέ τε δὴν*.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. also Goodwin's §925: 'A masculine or feminine noun in the singular, denoting a class rather than an individual, may have a neuter predicate adjective, which is used as a noun; as *καλὸν ἢ ἀλήθεια* P. Lg. 663e; *ἀθάνατον ἄρα ἢ ψυχῆ*; P. Ph. 105e. See Gildersleeve (1900: §126) for more examples.

αὐ μου ἐγὼ ἀναγγεῶ καὶ μεριμνήσω ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀμαρτίας μου; 31. 1 and 5-6 Μακάριοι [...] ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἀμαρτίαι· [...] τὴν ἀμαρτίαν μου ἐγνώρισα καὶ τὴν ἀνομίαν μου οὐκ ἐκάλυψα¹⁴⁷ and *carm.* II.2.3.[1488] 118-20

πολλάκις ἐξαγόρευσις ἀμαρτάδος ἀνδρ' ἐσάωσε
μούνη, καὶ δακρύοισιν ἀπέκλυσε πήματα πικροῖς,
καὶ ψυχὴν ἐκάθηρε μελαινομένην κακότητι.

ἐξερέω: 'I will speak out, tell out, utter aloud' (cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐξερέω A). LSJ does not record syntax with dat. and acc., but this is perfectly in order for a verb which may also mean 'disclose' or 'confess'; cf. E. *IA.* 872 ἐκκάλυπτε νῦν ποθ' ἡμῖν οὐστίναις στέγει [λέγεις L] λόγους. Cf. also Eudoc. *Cypr.* 1. 113 ἐξερέειν, κύδιτε, ἀμαρτάδας, ἅς περ ἔτευξα.

ὁ μοι νόος: cf. Theod. Met. *carm.* 17. 57 (ed. Featherstone) ὁ μοι νόος; 13 (*Carmen ad Nicephorum Callistum Xanthopulum*). 160-1 πολλάκις ἔνθεν ἐμοὶ νόος ἀχθόμενος μάλ' ἰάνθη | κοῦφος ἀπαλλάξας ἀλεγειῶν (ed. Cunningham-Featherstone-Georgiopolou, 'Theodore Metochites's Poem to Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 [1988], 100-16).

ἐντὸς ἐέργει: a Homeric formula (*Il.* 2. 617, 845; 9. 404; 22. 121; 24. 544), used by Gregory also at *carm.* I.2.1.[541] 250. Cf. *carm.* II.1.1. 427 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) ἐντὸς ἐέργοις; II.2.1.[1459] 108 ἐντὸς ἐεργόμενος, [1464] 177 ἐντὸς ἐεργων. M. prints ἔεργε, not found in my manuscripts, but cf. *Il.* 18. 512 ἐντὸς ἔεργεν.

ἢ τάχα κεν: τάχα here does not mean 'might' (White) or 'perhaps' (Abrams Rebillard), but 'quickly' (Par. A 'ταχέως'), 'of what can easily be envisaged' (West on Hes. *Op.* 312; cf. note on v. 21). Cf. *Od.* 18. 73 (cf. 18. 389) ἢ τάχα 'soon now' (Murray-Dimock); 19. 69 ἢ (ἢ v.l.) τάχα καὶ 'or in a moment' (Murray-Dimock); Call. *Ep.* 59. 5 Pfeiffer ἢ τάχα κα (κα Meineke : καὶ codd.); Mosch. 144 ἢ τάχα καὶ (with Campbell's note).

The combination ἢ τάχα κεν does not occur before Gregory; in him also at I.1.7. 92 (ed. Moreschini) ἢ τάχα κεν; II.2.7.[1576] 324 ἢ τάχα κεν; *AP* 8. 204. 3 ἢ τάχα κέν ce; later examples include *AP* 2.1. 29 (Christod.) ἢ τάχα κεν; Hesych. η 933 ἢ τάχα κεν· ἢ τάχα ἄν, ἴσως ἄν (*Greg. Naz. c.* 1, 1, 7, 92); Theod. Met. *carm.* 15. 5 (ed. Featherstone) ἢ τάχα κεν; Gennadios Scholarios, *Ἐκ τῶν ἐμμέτρων εὐχῶν* (ed. Jugie-Petit-Siderides) 5. 13 ἢ τάχα κεν.

¹⁴⁷ Augustine was afraid of the 'secret sins': 'multum timeo occulta mea, quae norunt oculi tui, mei autem non. est enim qualiscumque in aliis generibus temptationum mihi facultas explorandi me, in hoc paene nulla est' (*Confesiones* 37. 60). 'Augustine's public confessions were intended to foster self-observation, the first step toward a new public position. One is given the suggestion of a way to escape madness, to reveal secret, hidden places, and to face the world with a new and "easeful" liberty': P. D. Bathory, *Political Theory as Public Confession: The Social and Political Thought of St. Augustine of Hippo* (New Jersey, 1981), 21.

δρῦσειεν ἀμαρτάδα: *δρῦσειεν* is used here metaphorically of a sin in the meaning of ‘tear (and make it worse)’, as if the reference is to a wound: ‘For if left unsaid it might tear off the scab covering my sin’ (White [1996: 157]); see DGE, s.v. *δρῦπτω* and cf. the modern Greek expression ‘ξύνω πληγές’ (on reminding someone of past painful experiences).

μῦθος ἀναυδος: *οxytoron*; cf. A. *Suppl.* 180 *ὄρω κόριν, ἀναυδον ἄγγελον στρατοῦ* (with Friis Johansen-Whittle’s comment). If *μῦθος ἀναυδος* is a reminiscence of the Homeric *ἄπτερος μῦθος*, the meaning ‘unspoken’ proposed for the Homeric *ἄπτερος* is also supported by Gregory; see the Oxford commentary on *Od.* 17. 57.

The form *ἀναυδής* (α₃B) occurs only at Eustathius *ad Hom.* II. 11. 592 (III p. 259.14 Van der Valk).

40-83. Gregory primarily replies to an accusation made against him, namely that he despises the see of his father (51, 73) and this is why he did not want to serve as bishop of Nazianzus after his return from Constantinople. Gregory says that the bishop of Nazianzus was his father (53); what he did before he left for Constantinople (57-60) was just to give way to his father’s requests and help him; he also acted as bishop of the city for a short period of time (64) after his return from Constantinople and then left the responsibilities of the see of Nazianzus to a ‘βοηθῶον ἐκθλόν’ (65). For discussion see Papadopoulos (1991: 185-7) and Van Dam (2003: 40-58). Cf. pp. 170-1.

40. ὅτε δὴ κε: = *Il.* 16. 693.

φίλον: ‘beloved, dear’, a meaning already present in Homer (LSJ). For discussion see J. Hooker, ‘Homeric *φίλος*’, *Glotta* 65 (1987), 44-65.

λάχος οἶον: ‘my only possession’. For the thought behind *λάχος* cf. 2 Pet. 1. 1: St Peter addresses his letter *τοῖς ἰσότιμον ἡμῖν λαχοῦσιν πίστιν ἐν δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ σωτήρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. οἶον* in Gregory’s case refers mainly to his choice of virginity; cf. *carm.* I.2.1.[567] 597-8 *οἶον ἐδέγμην | Χριστόν*; Christ is a jealous lover: *ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος, καὶ ὁ φιλῶν υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος* (Matt. 10. 37). In *carm.* I.2.1.[523] 12 and [537] 193 *παρθενίη* is *Χριστοῦ λάχος*; in *carm.* II.1.54.[1399] 16 and II.2.7.[1557] 80 Gregory himself is Christ’s *λάχος*.

41. Gregory seems to hint that he made his decision to follow the celibate life during the sea storm that put his life in danger, when he was travelling from Alexandria to Athens in November 348.

For hiatus after a short vowel at main caesura (*βιότοιο ἀφουσγετόν*) cf. v. 79 and West (1982: 156).

πάντ’ ἄμυδις: ‘everything all together’; cf. *Il.* 12. 385 (= *Od.* 12. 413) *κὺν δ’ ὀκτέ’ ἄραξε | πάντ’ ἄμυδις κεφαλῆς*; in Gregory also at *carm.* II.1.10. 27 and *AP* 8.40. 2.

βίοτοιο ἀφυσγετὸν εἰς ἄλα ρίψας: cf. *Il.* 11. 495 πολλὸν δὲ τ' ἀφυσγετὸν εἰς ἄλα βάλλει. ἀφυσγετός means the 'mud and rubbish which a stream carries with it' (LSJ; for more references see DGE) and is used by Gregory in this sense at *carm.* Π.1.1. 537 (ed. Tuilier-Bady); here, however, it refers metaphorically to the worries and duties of a married man ('trivialities' is White's translation). Cf. 1 Cor. 7. 32-4; Ephr. Syr. *In adventum domini serm.* iii (IV p. 197. 11-12 Phrantzolas) οἱ ἅγιοι ... πᾶσαν τὴν μέριμναν τοῦ βίου τούτου ἔρριψαν and Chrys. *hom.* 1-90 in *Mt.* (M. 58. 546. 39-40) πᾶσαν ἀποδύσασθαι μέριμναν βιωτικὴν.

42. ὕψι βιβάντα: M. prints ὕψιβιβάντα, as he does at *carm.* Π.1.32. 8 (see my note), but not at Π.2.1.[1466] 203 Πήγινον ὕψι βιβάντα. The participle ὕψιβιβάς is not found elsewhere in Greek literature; βιβάς occurs in Homer, as the only form used of the verb βίβημι (see LSJ, s.v.), a poetic form of βαίνω. Gregory's ὕψι βιβάντα was undoubtedly taken from *Il.* 13. 371 | καὶ βάλεν ὕψι βιβάντα τυχῶν; cf. *Lex. alph.* v 40 ὕψι βιβάντα· τὸν ἐν ὕψει βιβάντα.

θεότητι πελάζων: cf. *carm.* I.2.2.[617] 490 ἔστι καὶ ἐν θνητοῖσι νόος θεότητι πελάζων; I.2.9. 151 (ed. Palla) ὁσάτιον κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἐπὴν θεότητι πελάζω; Π.1.13.[1244] 213-4 φωτὶ πελάζων | τρισσοφαοῦς θεότητος.

43. νόος: M. prints νόμος, not found in my manuscripts, which divide between νόος (α,ζ Va) and λόγος (L Pa VbMq γ NDP). In *carm.* I.1.10.[465] 3 Gregory adopts a threefold division of man: ψυχή, νοῦς, σῶμα. He also believes that λόγος νοῦ γέννημα (*or.* 32.27. 17 [ed. Moreschini]) and «Λόγος» (= Christ) ... οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ὡς πρὸς νοῦν λόγος (*or.* 30.20. 5-6 [ed. Gally]). It seems that what Gregory wanted to say here is that νόος, which he raised so as to bring it close to divinity and apart from his flesh, is what governed him; νόος is τέλειον and ἡγεμονικόν, according to him, when it is under God's control: τέλειον οὖν ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς καὶ ἡγεμονικόν, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, οὐχ ἀπλῶς τέλειον, Θεοῦ δὲ δοῦλον καὶ ὑποχείριον, ἀλλ' οὐ συνηγεμονικόν οὐδὲ ὁμότιμον (*ep.* 101.43. 1-3). Cf. also *carm.* Π.1.45.[1372] 269 καὶ νόος ἡγεμόνευε πόθου; *or.* 37.14. 17 (ed. Gally) ὁ ἡγεμὼν νοῦς.

However, νόος and λόγος are close enough and they both make sense in this passage; cf. *or.* 6.5. 21-3 (ed. Calvet-Sebasti) Λόγου τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καταλάμποντος;¹⁴⁸ *or.* 8.9. 26-7 (ed. Calvet-Sebasti) τίς νοῦν ἐπέστησεν ἡγεμόνα γλώσση λαλεῖν τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαιώματα; *or.* 28.17. 5 (ed. Gally) τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν τε καὶ λόγον. But λόγος makes as good sense as νόος here only if it stands for Christ (Λόγος): *carm.* Π.1.45.[1354] 11-12 ὅστις ἄνω νεύσας, καὶ πνεύματι σάρκα πεδήσας, | Χριστὸν ἔχει ζωῆς ἴλαον ἡγεμόνα; Π.2. 4. 81-2 (ed. Moroni) ἡγεμονῆα | Χριστὸν ἔχων; Π.1.45.[1374] 294-5 ἀλλ' ὁ

¹⁴⁸ Calvet-Sebasti notes: «La partie qui commande en nous», terme du vocabulaire stoïcien (ἡγεμονικόν *or* ἡγεμονικός *noûs*).²

Λόγος κρείσσονα μοῖραν ἄγων | σαρκὸς νόσφιν ἔθηκε, πλάνου δ' ἀποέργαθε κόσμου (cf. also *or.* 28.16 [ed. Gallay]). At this point Gregory speaks to Christ and he addresses him in the second person (v. 40 *σε*, v. 42 *τεῖ*, v. 47 *σόν*); a third person reference in the same context would not be appropriate. λόγος may have been introduced by someone who wished to avoid the repetition of νόσος from the previous verse.

44. Cf. *Il.* 1. 288 πάντων μὲν κρατέειν ἐθέλει, πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν; Aris- tid. *Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων* (p. 449.7 Behr) πάντα κατορθοῦν καὶ πάντων κρατεῖν.

πάντων δ' ὑπερ: 'high above all' (White).

αἰθέρα τέμνειν: Ael. *NA* 15. 22 αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα ὑψηλότερον ὄντα ὠκί- στοις τέμνουσι πτεροῖς; [Man.], *Aprot.* 4. 620 ὡς μὲν ζωιδίων κύκλιος πόρος αἰθέρα τέμνει; Nonn. *D.* 3. 205 (= 17. 271) αἰθέρα τέμνων |.

45. χρυσεῖαις πτερύγεσσι: like ἀφυσγετόν ... ρίψας (v. 41), this phrase refers to the spiritual superiority and the 'luxury' of the celibate life. Cf. Chrys. *hom.* 32 in *Heb.* 3 (M. 63.223. 28-30 and 39-40) ὑπόπτερός ἐστι καὶ κούφη, πτέρυγας ἔχουσα χρυσαῖς, πτήσιν ἔχουσα πάνυ τέρπουσαν τοὺς ἀγγέλους [...] παρθένος ἐστὶ πτέρυγας ἔχουσα χρυσαῖς; for an image of a monk flying see p. 143 (on *I.2.17.* 49-50). For the diction cf. A. R. 1. 221 | χρυσεῖαις φολίδεσσι and a verse cited by Hermias in *Platonis Phaedrum scholia* (p. 142.18 Couvreur): χρυσεῖαις πτερύγεσσι φορεύμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

The phrase seems to have been proverbial from classical times: e.g. *Il.* 8. 398 (= 11. 185) Ἴριν ... χρυσόπτερον; Stesich. fr. 16. 11 (PMG) χρυσόπτερε παρ- θένε; Eur. fr. 911. 1 Nauck χρύσειαι δὴ μοι πτέρυγες περὶ νώτῳ, *Ba.* 372 χρυσεῖαι πτέρυγι; Orph. *H.* 6. 2 χρυσεῖαισιν ἀγαλλόμενον πτερύγεσσι; Io. Mal. *Chron.* 4. 7 (p. 52 Thurn) ἦλιε χρυσεῖαισιν ἀειρόμενε πτερύγεσιν. For its use in Chris- tian contexts cf. also Chrys. *hom.* in *1 Cor.* (M. 61.278. 49-51) ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ χρυσαῖς τις πτέρυξι συγκαλύπτει πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῶν ἀγαπωμένων.

τό μοι: a Homeric touch (*Il.* 7. 239; 16. 55; 19. 213; *Od.* 22. 392).

φθόνον αἰνὸν ἄγειρε: for φθόνος see my note on *Il.* 1.10. 7-8 οἷα μ' ἔοργεν | ὁ φθόνος. For the diction and the metrical formulas cf. *Od.* 3. 301 χρυσὸν ἀγείρων |; Theoc. 14. 40 βίον ἄλλον ἀγείρειν |; Orph. *L.* 383 χόλον αἰνὸν ὀρίνης |; *carm.* I.1.4. 30 (ed. Moerschini) μόθον αἰνὸν ἔγειρας |.

46. κακαῖς: M. prints κακοῖς. It is true that κακαῖς (α₃ζ Va Vb Mb Pj) may be a correction due to ἀφυκτοτάτησι τ' ἀνίασι, or to the omission of τε after ἀφυκτοτάτησι (attested in several manuscripts): in this case κακαῖς would be the only suitable reading (κακαῖς ..., ἀφυκτοτάτησιν ἀνίασι: *asyndeton*). Moreover, κακά is used by Gregory as a neuter substantive in similar con- texts: *carm.* II.1.27.[1287] 17 τέτρωμαι πολλοῖσι κακοῖς καὶ ἄλγεσι σαρκός; II.1.89.[1444] 32-3 τί τῆδε μοχθῶ τοῖς κακοῖς ἐσφιγμένος, | φθόνου πάλαιμα; II.1.11. 1819 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) κακοῖς τε καὶ νόσῳ τετρωμένος.

However suggestive these facts are, Gregory's own style should be decisive: in my view, *κακός* here better describes (together with *ἄφυκτος*) *ἀνία*, rather than refer to his sufferings in general. The adjective *κακός* is often applied by Gregory even to things that are bad by definition: cf., e.g., *carm.* Π.1.15.[1253] 47 *κακός φθόνος*; Π.1.1. 50 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *κακαῖς πείρονται ἀκάνθαις* (cf. also *AP* 7.601. 5 (Jul.) *κακαῖς ἀλάωσεν ἀνίαίς*). More importantly, Gregory elsewhere uses *κακός* as a second adjective in a way very similar to our example: *carm.* I.2.10. 45 (ed. Crimi) *κἂν ταῖς ἀφύκτοις καὶ κακαῖς ποδοστράβαις*; I.2.25.[832] 262 *αἰσχροῖς καὶ κακοῖς ἐγκλήμασι*; I.2.25.[833] 280 *πολλοῖς ἐλαύνων καὶ κακοῖς ὄνειδεσι*. For this reason I think that *κακαῖς* is more likely to be the original reading. The corruption of *κακαῖς* to *κακοῖς* could easily have been due to the influence of the several instances where Gregory refers to his *κακά*.

ἐνέδησεν: 'entangled me in' (see LSJ, s.v. *ἐνδέω* A, II). M. prints *ἐπέδησεν*, which has almost the same meaning and occurs at v. 95 of this poem. But I prefer to read *ἐνέδησεν* (PcLaRiVcB Va Mb Pj) in the light of the following parallels: *Il.* 2. 111 (= 9. 18) *Ζεύς με μέγα Κρονίδης ἄτη ἐνέδησε βαρείῃ*; *S. OC* 526 *γάμων ἐνέδησεν ἄταξ*; *Gr. Naz. carm.* Π.1.12. 253 (ed. Meier) *οὕτως ἀφύκτως ἐνδέη τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις*; I.2.2.[614] 463-4 *ἢ τέ γε δεσμοῖς | θειότεροις ἐνέδησε Θεός*; I.2.14. 65 (ed. Domiter) *θήκατο καὶ κυγερῆσι πέδαις ἐνέδησε βίοιο*. However, it is impossible to be certain; cf. [Man.] *Apot.* 2. 418 *παντοῖαις τε βλάβαις ἄταις τ' ἐπέδησεν*. E, Di and Cg's *ἐνέδυσεν* ('clothed' or, metaph., 'brought into') may be due to its frequent use in the Septuaginta and many ecclesiastical authors.

ἀφυκτοτάτηι τ' ἀνίαις: several mistakes occur in the manuscripts, some due to a wish to amplify the Homeric form of the dat. plural in *-ησι*. τ', the reading of most manuscripts, adds a further Homeric touch; cf. e.g. *Il.* 5. 474 *γαμβροῖσι κασιγνήτοισι τε σοῖσι*; *Il.* 9. 200 *ἐν κλισμοῖσι τάπησι τε πορφυρέουσιν*. For *ἀνίη* in Homer see Mawet (1979: 107-9).

47. The meaning is not clear. Gregory seems to say that his struggle to approach God is both what raised him and what brought him down. He may mean that his success provoked the envy of other people who caused him troubles and involved him in senseless quarrels. But he goes on to clarify that his fall was also due to his selfishness (v. 48), if *ἀγνηνορίησιν* indeed refers to himself. In *carm.* I.2.17. 51 Gregory warns someone that the weight of selfishness can cause a spiritual fall: *μή που βριθοσύνη σεῖο πτερὸν ἐς χθόνα νεύσῃ*. In *carm.* I.2.2.[578-9] 7-9 Gregory says that a fall into sin may also cause (as a result of subsequent repentance) much spiritual progress, while selfishness causes only a fall: *πολλάκι γὰρ πτώσις μὲν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψός' ἄειρεν, | ἐς χθόνα δ' ὕψος ἔθηκε. Θεῷ τάδε τέθμια κέεται, | εὐμενέειν γοεροῖσιν, ὑπερφιάλους δὲ κολουῖν*.

For the diction cf. *Il.* 7. 458 | *κὼν δ' ἦτοι κλέος* and notice the repetition: *κὼν κλέος ... κλέος δὲ κὼν*. For the offence against Hermann's Bridge see my note on *I.2.17. 35 γε μὲν*.

ὑψός' αἶριε: several manuscripts (α₄ζ Pj) have *ὑψος αἶριε(ν)*. But we need either the adverb *ὑψόε* or a prepositional phrase as at *Q. S.* 7. 323 *εἰς ὑψος αἶριε* and *Nonn. Par.Eu.Io.* 21. 45 *εἰς ὑψος αἶριων*. For *ὑψός' αἶριε* cf. the Homeric formula *ὑψός' αἶριαι* (3 x *Il.*; 1 x *Od.*); *Gr. Naz. carm.* *I.1.7. 56* (ed. Moreschini) *ὑψός' ἀερθεῖς*; *I.2.9. 110* (ed. Palla) *ὑψός' ἀερθῆς*; *II.1.1. 87* (ed. Tuilier-Bady)¹⁴⁹ *ὑψός' αἶριεν*; *I.2.2.[578] 7*; *II.2.3.[1487] 101, [1495] 219*; *De testamentis et adventu Christi* 36 (ed. Wyss [1946: 163]).

ἐς χθόν' ἔθηκεν: a few manuscripts transmit *χθόνα θῆκε(ν)*, but this kind of elision is very common, e.g. *Il.* 1. 2 *ἀλγε' ἔθηκε*; 19. 12 *τεύχε' ἔθηκε*; 21. 525 *κῆδε' ἔθηκεν* (all at the end of hexameters).

48. Cf. *carm.* *I.2.9. 114-15* (Palla) *εἰς γῆν ὑψος ἔθηκεν, ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐλπὶς αἶριε | καὶ ῥ' ὑπεροπλίησι Θεὸς κοτέει μεγάλησι*.

ἀγνηορήειν: the word is used with the meaning 'pride' or 'arrogance' at *Il.* 9. 700; *A. R.* 2. 481 (cf. 2. 150); *AP* 10. 75 (Pall.); *Nonn. D.* 42. 384; cf. *Scholias et glossae in Halieutica* (ed. Bussemaker) *ἀγνηορήει· ἀνδρίαίς, αὐθαδείαις, μωρίαίς, κενοδοξίαίς*.

49. κείνό γε μὴν: elsewhere only at *Call. fr.* 384. 48 Pfeiffer; *Gr. Naz. carm.* *II.1.16.[1261] 93* and *II.2.5. 16* (ed. Moroni); in all cases at the beginning of a hexameter.

ἄϊοιτε: cf. *Opp. H.* 5. 44-5 *ἀλλ' αἴοιτε | εὐμένεται βασιλῆες. αἴοιτε* at John Geometres, *carm.* 290.8 (ed. Van Opstall) *νῦν μου λιςσομένου, νῦν αἴοιτε ταχύ* may indeed come from Gregory (Van Opstall, 2008: 469); this is the closing line of an eight-line introduction to his *δέησις* which reminds me of Gregory's introduction at *II.1.32*.

ἐσσομένοισι γράφοιτε: cf. the Homeric formulas *ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι* (2 x *Il.*; 3 x *Od.*) and *ἐσσομένοισιν ἀοιδή(ν)* (2 x *Od.*). Also *carm.* *II.1.92.[1447-8] 11-2 οὗτος Γρηγορίσι βίος· τὰ δ' ἔπειτα μελήσει | Χριστῷ ζωοδότῃ. Γράψατε ταῦτα λίθοις*. Gregory seems to be worried about his posthumous reputation. But Gregory was a bishop and his desire to clarify the circumstances of some of his actions may be more intense than some might have expected. It was due to the fact that he had special responsibilities as a model for his fellow-Christians.

50. λαοί θ' ἠγεμόνες τε: cf. *Il.* 13. 491-2 *οἳ οἱ ἄμ' ἠγεμόνες Τρώων ἔσαν· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα | λαοὶ ἔπονθ'*.

ἀπεχθέες: the classical meaning of the adjective is 'hateful' (*S. Ant.* 50; *Theoc.* 1. 101; *Call. fr.* 85. 12), but Gregory uses it with the meaning 'hostile',

¹⁴⁹ According to Huertas-Benin's edition, most manuscripts have *ὑψος* and this is what M. prints.

as at 2 Macc 5. 23 ἀπεχθῆ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας Ἰουδαίους ἔχων διάθεσιν. Cf. also PGL, s.v. *ἀπεχθέω 'be at enmity, be hostile (Cyr. Is. 1. 1)'.
 For a similar juxtaposition of ἀπεχθέες and εὐμενέες or φιλία and ἀπέχθεια cf. *carm.* II.1.34.[1318] 151-2 (he explains the reasons for his silence during Lent 382) εἰ δ' ἄγε, καὶ λόγον ἄλλον ἐμῆς ἀίοιτε σιωπῆς, | ὅστις ἀπεχθαίρων, ὅς τε φίλα φρονέων. and *ep.* 244.3. 4-6 (ed. Gally) προτάττειν πάσης ἀπεχθείας καὶ φιλίας τὴν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ ξένους δικαιοσύνην.

51. πατρὸς ἐμοῦ μεγάλοιο: Cf. *Od.* 6. 299 πατρὸς ἐμοῦ μεγάλητορος. πατρὸς ἐμοῦ is a Homeric formula (5 x *Od.*) and also occurs five times in Euripides; in Gregory also at v. 55 of this poem.

For Gregory's admiration of his father cf. Van Dam (2003: 40-58).

φίλον θρόνον: A. Ag. 983 φρενὸς φίλον θρόνον.

ἀθέριζα: the aorist first at A. R. 2. 477, 488.

52. Cf. Il. 14. 212 οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ ἔοικε τεὸν ἔπος ἀρνήσασθαι (= *Od.* 8. 358); the Homeric line is transmitted as οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδ' ἐπέοικε τεὸν ἔπος ἀρνήσασθαι by Elias, *In Porphyrii isagogen* (p. 53.21 Busse). Cf. also Bion, fr. 7 Reed οὐκ οἶδ' οὐδ' ἐπέοικεν ἅ μὴ μάθομεν πονέεσθαι; the Gregorian formula | οὐ θέμις, οὐδ' ἐπέοικεν (see *carm.* I.2.1.[573] 673 with Sundermann's note); AP 7.424. 5 (Antip.) οὐχ ἄδεν οὐδ' ἐπέοικεν; Theodore Metochites, *carm.* 4. 117 (ed. Ševčenko-Featherstone)¹⁵⁰ ὅττι κεν οὐδ' ἐπέοικε.

Θεοῦ θερμοῖσι: cf. II.1.1. 614 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) ζῆλος δὲ Θεοῦ λύσε θεσμὸν ἀθέσμως; II.2.6. 88-90 (ed. Bacci) ὧς γὰρ ἔοικεν, | εἰκόνα τὴν μεγάλοιο Θεοῦ θερμοῖσι ὑποεῖκιν, | εἰ καὶ θεσμὸν ἔδωκε γαμήλιον Υἱὸς ἄσαρκος.

παλαίειν: cf. v. 104.

53. κείνω: four Homeric lines start with κείνω (*Il.* 10. 57; *Od.* 1. 209; 3. 241; 19. 257).

χειρὶ γεραιῆ: γεραιός in Hom. 'always of men with a notion of dignity' (LSJ). Cf. *Il.* 24. 361, 671 χεῖρα γέροντος; E. *Ph.* 103-5 ὄρεγέ νυν ὄρεγε γεραιῶν νέα | χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμάκων | ποδὸς ἴχνος ἐπαντέλλων; A. R. 2. 243 χερὶ χεῖρα γέροντος.

54. Cf. Il. 9. 420, 687 χεῖρα ἐὴν ὑπερέσχε, τεθαρσῆκασι δὲ λαοί.

ὑπέρεϊσα: Theodore Studites *ep.* 222. 16-18 (ed. Fatouros) εἰ μὴ προφθάσει ἡ χεῖρ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπερείδουσα, ἀλλύμεθα καὶ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες; Job 8. 15 (sc. ὁ ἀσεβῆς) ἐὰν ὑπερεῖσῃ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, οὐ μὴ στή.

πατρὸς δ' ὑπόειξα λιτῆσι: cf. A. Ag. 228 λιτὰς δὲ καὶ κληδόνας πατρώιους; Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.2.1.[1457] 79 οὐδ' ὑπόεικε λιτῆσι; Eudoc. *Cypr.* 2. 429 ἄφρων καὶ δυσεβῆς γενόμεν, σοὶ πάνθ' ὑποεῖξας.

¹⁵⁰ I. Ševčenko-J. Featherstone, 'Two Poems by Theodore Metochites', *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981), 1-46.

55-6. Gregory says that his father was revered even by those far from the fold, because they respected his grey hair and the radiance of his spirit, equal in age.

τὸν ἔτισε καὶ ὁσ μάλα: cf. *Il.* 9. 118 ὡς νῦν τοῦτον ἔτισε; *Il.* 7. 401 (= 17. 629) καὶ ὁσ μάλα νήπιός ἐστιν; Thgn. 663 καὶ ὁσ μάλα πολλὰ πέπαται; in Gregory καὶ ὁσ μάλα also at *carm.* I.2.2.[578] 1; I.2.26.[851] 2 and II.1.50.[1391] 87.

μάλα τηλόθι μάνδρης: = *carm.* II.1.16.[1391] 39; cf. *Il.* 18. 99 (= 24. 541) μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης; Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.45.[1368] 215 τηλόθι μάνδρης; Nonn. *D.* 14. 155 ἔνδοθι μάνδρης; *D.* 34. 252 εἰς μυχὰ μάνδρης. μάνδρα (PcB Va) is the Attic form.

ἀζόμενος πολιήν: *πολιά* means ‘greyness of hair’; cf. Men. *Mon.* 705; 4 Ma. 7. 15. ἀζόμενος is a Homeric touch: *Il.* 1. 21 ἀζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα; cf. A. *Suppl.* 884 ὀλκή γὰρ οὔτοι πλόκαμον οὐδ’ἀμ’ ἄζεται; Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.50.[1393] 115 ἄζομ’ ἐμὴν πολιήν τε καὶ ἄψα αὐτοδάϊκτα; II.2. 7.[1575] 315 οἷσιν ἐμὴν πολιήν τε φίλην καὶ νοῦσον ἔτισας; II.2.1.[1474] 417 αἶδεο καὶ πολιήν θεοειδέα πατρὸς ἐμοῖο.

ἥλικα πνεύματος αἴγλην: ‘τὴν συνακμάσασαν αὐτῷ λαμπηδόνα τοῦ πνεύματος’ (Par. B) makes better sense than ‘τὴν ὀμήλικα τοῦ πνεύματος λαμπηδόνα’ (Par. A). *αἴγλη* ‘splendour’ is often associated with *πνεῦμα* by Gregory and other patristic authors, as well as by later hymnographers. Cf., e.g., *carm.* II.1.13.[1234] 88 πνεύματι αἰγλήεντι (= *carm.* II.2.7.[1559] 115); II.1. 1. 326 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) χάρις καὶ Πνεύματος αἴγλη (cf. *AP.* 8.20. 1 and II.2. 7.[1552] 20); I.2.14. 80 (ed. Domiter) Πνεύματος αἰγλήεν ἔκγονον; II.2.3. [1500] 284 *τριλαμπέα πνεύματος αἴγλην*; I.1.3. 28 (ed. Moreschini); I.2.2. [584] 73; II.1.45.[1366] 180; Ephr. *Encomium in gloriosos martyres* (VII p. 170.15 Phrantzolas) αἰ λαμπρνομένη τῇ αἴγλη τοῦ Πνεύματος; Thdt. *Ps.* 1-150 (M. 80.865. 3) τοῦ θεοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν αἴγλην; Nonn. *Par. Eu.Io.* 7. 148-9 αἴγλην | πνεύματος.

57. Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ: a Homeric formula (cf. v. 68 of this poem).

ζῶης σημάντορι: *σημάντωρ* means ‘leader, commander’ and occurs in Homer, Hesiod and later authors (LSJ, s.v.). Gregory uses the word six times, e.g. in *carm.* I.2.2.[605] 347 Χριστὸν ἐπιχθόνιον, ζῶης σημάντορα *σειο* (with Zehles-Zamora’s note, as well as Sykes’ note on *carm.* I.1.5. 14 [ed. Moreschini]). For such a reference to Christ cf. Acts 3. 15 τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζῶης ἀπεκτεῖνατε ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

58-60. Gregory refers to his ‘mission’ in Constantinople. By the way he presents it (notice in particular ἄλλοις and ξείνοις), he reveals once again that he never liked the idea of missionary activity away from home (Matt. 28. 19-20). Gregory was always a man of peace and prayer, but was forced more than once in his life to follow the call to take up office (for his reaction see Otis [1961: 163-4]). When he says that he helped many people in Con-

stantinople (v. 60), he does not only refer to the small Nicene community he found there when he arrived (II.1.11. 589-90 [ed. Tuilier-Bady] λαὸν βραχὺν μὲν, τῷ θεῷ δὲ πλείονα | ὅς οὐκ ἀριθμεῖ πλήθος, ἀλλὰ καρδίας), but to the appeal of his speeches to more and more people and the final restoration of the orthodox faith.

The wording (esp. Λόγον and τρηχαλέοισιν, ἀκανθοφόροισιν ἀρούραις) clearly brings to mind the Parable of the Sower (Matt. 13. 1-23) and Paraphrase B reads ‘ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρεστὸν ἔδοξε Θεῷ [...] ξένην ἄρουραν κατασπεῖραι με’.

ἀναφήναι: with the meaning ‘bring to light’ or ‘make known’, as, e.g., at II. 1. 87 θεοπροπίας ἀναφαίνεις and *IEphesos* 45 A 8-10 (6th cent. AD) (‘Kaiserbrief (?) über Johannes von Ephesos und Polykarp von Smyrna’) [οὐδὲν ἀνθ]ρώπινον φθεγγόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ [ἡμῖν τὰ μ]υστικώτατα τῶν δογμάτων ἀναφαίνων [τε καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων].

τρηχαλέοισιν, ἀκανθοφόροισιν: Gregory was stoned by Arians upon his arrival in Constantinople (perhaps in autumn 378). Arians had also occupied all churches and Gregory was denounced by them on several occasions; his life in Constantinople was not at all easy (see Papadopoulos [1991: 104-5, 110-13, 124]), at least until the restoration of orthodoxy by Theodosius on 26 November 380.

τρηχαλέος is a late word, ‘poet. for *τρηχύς*’ (LSJ, s.v.). Before Gregory only at Pancrates (2nd cent. AD), GDRK fr. 2. coll. 2.11 γαῖαν τρηχαλ[έ]η[ν] and Marcellus, *De piscibus fragmentum* 27 (GDRK) τρηχαλέη ρίνη. In Gregory 4 times and in Nonnus 18 (e.g. *D.* 5. 405-6 ὕλης | τρηχαλέης; 43. 132 τρηχαλέη δὲ κέλευθος). *τρηχαλέοισιν*, as well as *ξείνοισι*, better qualifies *ἀρούραις* than *ἄλλοις* (but cf. Abrams Rebillard: ‘to strangers, rough men’). For *ἀκανθοφόροισι*, a word that first occurs at Theophr. *Historia Plantarum* 3.18. 2, cf. Or. *Jo.* 6. 297. 11-2 τὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰς βάθος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς τὴν κακίαν χωρήσαντα, ὡς γενέσθαι αὐτὸν γῆν ἀκανθοφόρον; Gr. Nyss. *hom.* 4 in *Eccl.* (V 345.9-10 Alexander) ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀύχμοις αὐτομάτως ἀκανθοφοροῦσιν αἱ ἄρουραι; Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.87.[1433] 2 τίποτε με τῷδε βίῳ δῶκα ἀκανθοφόρος; II.2.5. 121 (ed. Moroni) ἀκανθοφόρος (sc. γῆ).

βαίη ... ἐπήρσα: in *carm.* II.1.11. 598-9 Gregory describes the same thing as follows: ὡς ἂν καταψύξαιμεν εὐσεβεῖ ροῇ | ψυχὰς ἀνύδρουσ καὶ χλοαζούσας ἔτι. ἐπήρσα comes from ἐπάρδω ‘water’; cf. Paraphrase B: ‘καίτοι μικρὰ ράνις ὢν, πολὺν ἐπήρδευσα λαόν’ and Lex. alph. ε 260 ἔπαρδε· πότιζε (on II.2.4. 203 [ed. Moroni]).

61-3. Both his illness and the disappointment arising from his dealings with his fellow-bishops made Gregory feel like a νεκρὸς ἔμπνοος (*carm.* II.1.11. 1919-25 [ed. Tuilier-Bady]) in the period after his resignation; cf. v. 86 μικρὸν ἔτι πνεῖοντα.

νοῦσῶ τε κτυγερή: *νόσος* is *κτυγερή* 8 times in Gregory and also, e.g., at Hom. *Od.* 15. 408; *Il.* 13. 670 (*νοῦσόν τε κτυγερήν*); Eur. *Hipp.* 176. Gregory does not give details about his illness. He often complains about it, at different periods of his life. In a letter (90 Gally) dated to the second half of 381, Gregory remembers the words of some Athenian delegates, after they came back from Sparta, and says that his situation is better than that of a desperate person, but worse than what someone who believes in God would expect to enjoy!¹⁵¹ In autumn 383, following the advice of his doctors, he visited the hot springs at Xanxaris, near Tyana.¹⁵²

ἀργαλαίαι μελεδώνας: Mimn. fr. 6. 1 West *αἴ γὰρ ἄτερ νοῦσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέων μελεδωνέων*. The phrase occurs 5 times in Gregory; cf. also Q. S. 9. 369. It is later found in John Geometres, *carm.* 68. 5, 289. 34 and 290. 21 (ed. Van Opstall).

τηχθέντ': cf. *Od.* 5. 395-6 *πατρός, ὃς ἐν νοῦσῶ κεῖται κρατέρ' ἄλγεα πάσχων, | δηρὸν τηκόμενος, κτυγερός δέ οἱ ἔχραε δαίμων*.

ἰός δέ τε ἀνδρὶ μέριμνα: compare what St Paul says in the context of the choice between married and celibate life: *θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους εἶναι* (1 Cor. 7. 32).

64. βαιὸν δὲ χρόνον: Sol. fr. 10. 1. West *βαιὸς χρόνος*; S. *Tr.* 44 *χρόνον γὰρ οὐχὶ βαιόν*; Lyc. *Alexandra* 311 *βαιὸν ἀστεργή χρόνον*; [Man.] *Apot.* 4. 401; Q. S. 3. 479; Nonn. *Par.Eu.Io.* 7. 126.

μελέεσσι: Par. A: *μέλεσιν, ἀδελφοῖς*; Par. B: *τέκνοις*. A reference to the Church of Nazianzus, in accordance with 1 Cor. 12. 12-27.

ἔσκον ... ἀρηγών: M. prints *ἀρηγῶν* (Vc), but this form is not grammatically correct. It must be either *ἀρηγών* (adj., the reading of α, and La^{Pc}) or *ἀρήγων* (pres. part., transmitted by all other manuscripts, apart from Vb, which reads *ἀρωγῆν*). *ἀρήγω* is not uncommon in poetry and the participle *ἀρήγων* occurs at the end of four Homeric and several later hexameters (e.g., 1 x Nic. *Th.*; 1 x Opp. *C.*; 4 x Gr. *Naz.*; 1 x Nonn. *D.*). Neither the periphrasis with the present participle nor the use of the participle as a predicative adjective would be unusual (see NTG § 353.1; Goodwin [1889, § 830] and Gildersleeve [1900, §291]). However, I prefer to read the adjective (cf.

¹⁵¹ *πῶς ἔχει τὰ πράγματα ἡμῖν ἐρωτᾶς. Μετά τινος ἱστορίας ἀποκρινόμεθα. Ἐπρέεβενον Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, φησίν, ἡνίκα ἐτυραννοῦντο· ἢ πρεσβεία δὲ ἦν γενέσθαι τι αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν φιλόνηρον. Ὡς δ' ἐπανήκον ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας, ἔπειτα ἤρετό τις· «Πῶς ὑμῖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι; —Ὡς μὲν δούλοισι, ἔφασαν, λίαν χρηστῶς· ὡς δὲ ἐλευθέροις, λίαν ὑβριστικῶς». Τοῦτο οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχω γράφειν· πράττομεν γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἀπεγνωσμένων φιλονηρότερον, τῶν δὲ μελόντων Θεῶν φορτικώτερον. Ἦ τε γὰρ νόσος παραλυεῖ ἔτι, μᾶλλον δὲ λίαν λυπεῖ [...].*

¹⁵² See McGuckin (2001: 388). For his illness see also Papadopoulos (1991: 92-4, 102-3, 168-9, 194-6, with references to Gregory's texts) and Chrestou (1961: 111-13).

Par. A ‘βοηθός’) in the light of the following parallel: *Il.* 5. 510-1 ἐπει ἴδε Παλλάδ’ Ἀθήνην | οἰχομένην· ἢ γάρ ῥα πέλεν Δαναοῖσιν ἀρηγῶν.¹⁵³

65. ποιμενὴν κύριγγα: a reference to Cleodnius, whom Gregory left in charge of Nazianzus after the summer of 383 (see p. 171). M. prints *ποιμενικὴν* (L VbMq γ DPj); but Gregory uses the form *ποιμενίος* at least once elsewhere (*AP* 8.22. 1 *ποιμενίην*¹⁵⁴ *κύριγγα τεαῖς ἐν χερσὶν ἔθηκα*), a form used several times by Nonnus (e. g. *D.* 45. 162 *ποιμενίη κύριγγι*; 14. 94; 43. 393); *ποιμενικὴν* could have been a gloss introduced into the text: *Lex. alph.* π 135 *ποιμενίας· ποιμενικάς* (for *carm.* II.2.3.[1495] 208 *ποιμενίας ... αἰοιδάς*).

βοηθός: Homeric (*Il.* 13. 477; 17. 481); with *οπάζω* also at *Nonn. Par.Eu.* Io. 6. 169 *ὡς δὲ πατήρ ζῶων με βοηθόον ὄπασε κόσμιω*.

66. Cf. Il. 10. 485 *ὡς δὲ λέων μῆλοισιν ἀσημάντοισιν ἐπελθών:* by copying verbatim this Homeric phrase, Gregory clearly intends to use the same meaning metaphorically in his own context. He presents himself as a good shepherd (see *John* 10. 7-21).

ἀσημάντοισιν: ‘without a shepherd’, as in Homer. But *ἀσήμαντος*, like *ἀσημείωτος* (PGL, s.v.), can also mean unmarked or unsealed by baptism and thus refer to non-believers or catechumens. In our case the word can be understood with either meaning, referring to his flock becoming ‘unshepherded’ or to the catechumens in particular, the most vulnerable part of the Christian flock: *πρόβατον γὰρ ἐσφραγισμένον οὐ ῥαδίως ἐπιβουλεύεται, τὸ δὲ ἀσήμαντον κλέπταις εὐάλωτον.* (*Gr. Naz. or* 40 (*εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα*).15.11-12, ed. Moreschini).

67. ἐχθρός: Crimi (in *Crimi-Costa* [1999: 127, n. 13]): ‘Il nemico son qui gli apollinaristi’. See later note on vv. 70-1.

πλήσειεν ἀναιδέα γαστέρα φορβῆς: *Opp. H.* 2. 88 *ἀνεύρατο γαστέρι φορβήν* |; *Gr. Nyss. or. dom.* 4 (p. 54.25-55.1 Callahan) *πλήσει τήν γαστέρα*; *Chrys. ran Bab.* 2 43. 17 (ed. Schatkin) *τὰς γαστέρας τὰς ἀναιδεῖς*; *Il.* 11. 567 *ἐκορέσσατο φορβῆς* |. For *ἀναιδέης* with parts of the body cf. *E. Cyc.* 592 *ἀναιδοῦς φάρυγος*; 1 *Re* 2. 29 *ἀναιδεῖ ὀφθαλμῶ*; *Pr.* 7. 13 (cf. 21. 29) *ἀναιδεῖ δὲ προσώπῳ*.

68-9. White misunderstands the text: ‘But when the leaders are disturbed, so are the people, by the leader’s ambition and by the cruel beasts.’ What Gregory says is that both the leaders and the people of Nazianzus were disturbed by their (unfulfilled) desire for a (formal) bishop and by cruel beasts. Cleodnius undertook the responsibilities of a bishop, but was formally only a presbyter.

¹⁵³ Not surprisingly, Homer’s witnesses are also divided (in West’s apparatus): 511 *ἀρηγῶν* *ARtGΩ**: *ἀρήγων* *Hsch.* E F R^c (cf. 507): *alutrutrum* 1021: *ἀρηγός* *D C.*

¹⁵⁴ *ποιμενικὴν* *Medic.* Paris. 991.

ἡγεμόνος τε ποθῆ: cf. *Od.* 10. 505 μή τί τοι ἡγεμόνος γε ποθῆ παρὰ νηϊ μελέσθω; *Il.* 2. 708-9 οὐδέ τι λαοὶ | δεύονθ' ἡγεμόνος, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἐσθλὸν ἔόντα.

θήρεσιν οὐλομένοισιν: *Nic. Th.* 357 οὐλομένη θήρ; *Opp. H.* 5. 239 οὐλόμενος θήρ (= *Gr. Naz. carm.* II.2.7.[1565] 184); [*Opp.*] *C.* 1. 379 θηρσί τε καὶ κυλάκεσσι καὶ οὐλομένοισι δράκουσιν. Several manuscripts transmit the Homeric form *θήρεσιν* (– – –). The form with single sigma occurs only in [*Opp.*] (4 x *C.*), *Q. S.* (12. 128) and *Gr. Naz.* (6 x).

70-1. *Par. B:* 'οἱ τὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα Θεὸν ἄνουν ἐβλασφήμουν ἀνοηταίνοντες'. In the margin of v. 71, *Ri* notes οἱ ἀπολιναριασταὶ and *Cg* οἱ τοῦ ἀπολιναρίου. *Lampe* devotes one and a half columns to *νοῦς* in relation to Apollinarian arguments and the orthodox reply (see *PGL*, s.v. *νοῦς G*), and *Gregory* uses the same language in *carm.* I.1.10 (tit. *Κατὰ Ἀπολλιναρίου περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως*); cf. also *Il.* 1.30. 162-9. *Apollinaris* (ca. 310-ca. 390) taught that in Christ the human soul and *νοῦς* were replaced by divine energy: fr. 2. 7-9 *Lietzmann* ἀναπληρούσης τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς τόπον καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου νοός. *Gregory* refers explicitly to *Apollinaris* and his followers six times in his letters (the references in relation to *νοῦς* are cited in *PGL*).

70. Cf. *carm.* I.2.1.[534] 152 ὄτ' ἐν σπλάγχνοισι μίγη Θεὸς ἀνδρομέοισιν; [547] 334-5 καὶ Χριστὸς καθαροῖς μὲν, ἀτὰρ σπλάγχνοισιν ἐμίχθη | ἀνδρομέοισι.

ἐνὶ σπλάγχνοισι: cf. *Hesych.* ε 3130 ἐνὶ σπλάγχνοισιν· ἐν τοῖς ἐντέροις (*Greg. Naz. c.* 2,1,1,7). The phrase ἐνὶ σπλάγχνοισι(ν) occurs nine times in *Gregory*, in the same metrical place.

71. ἔκνοον: cf. *Hesych.* ε 1543 ἔκνοον· ἔκνουον, ἀνόητον (*Greg. Naz. c.* 2,1, 45,48) (*n*); *DGE* (s.v. *ἔκνοος*) translates the word as 'inconsicento, irreflexivo' in our case and in *carm.* II.1.34.[1319] 170 βροτέης ἔκνοος εὐπαθίης, where *Gregory* says that, when he was young and healthy, he used to pray during the night, *not mindful of* human luxuries. But in our case we may need to translate 'senseless heart'; cf. *Hesychius'* ἀνόητον and *Rom.* 1. 21 ἡ ἀκύνητος αὐτῶν καρδιά. *ἔκνοον* is certainly used to create an effect in combination with *νόου δίχα*, which refers to the Apollinarian Christ.

The phrase *adj.* + ἦτορ ἔχειν occurs in several classical and later authors. I cite a few cases from *Homer* and *Gregory*: *Il.* 9. 497 νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχειν; 9. 572 ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα; *carm.* I.1.1. 15 (ed. *Moreschini*) θεημάχον ἦτορ ἔχοντας; *Il.* 1.17.[1260] 91 πολλοὶ γὰρ καιροῖσιν ἐπίρροπον ἦτορ ἔχουσιν.

72. *Cameron* (1995: 340) and *Massimilla* (1996: 201) include this verse in their parallels for *Call.* fr. 1. 1 Πολλάκι μοι Τελχίνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἀοιδῆ; cf. also *Hollis* (2002: 43). Four Homeric verses start with πολλοὶ μὲν. *Gregory* uses the phrase ἐμοῖς παθέεσσι(ν) another six times in his hexameters.

τρύζεσκον: this is a poetic word, very appropriate in this context. The iterative form is found elsewhere only at *Theoc.* 7. 140 (*sc.* the tree-frog)

τηλόθεν ἐν πυκναῖσι βᾶτων τρύζεσκεν ἀκάνθαις. Even Achilles used τρύζω for the Greek ambassadors (Π. 9. 311): ὡς μὴ μοι τρύζητε παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι. Cf. Nonn. *Par.Eu.Io.* 6. 186 γινώσκων, ὅτι λαὸς ὑποτρύζεσκεν ἑταίρων (cf. 7. 39; 7. 120); Gr. Naz. *carm.* Π.1.16.[1256] 34 οἱ δὲ λόγῳ τρύζον ἔθ', οἱ δὲ νόῳ; Π.2.3.[1487] 96 στυγνὸν ὑποτρύζοντα πόδεσσι; Π.2.4.[1506] 10 ἀμφιπεριτρύζει, καὶ τείρεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα; Π.2.7.[1557] 81-2 ὁ δ' ὄχετο τηλόθι δαίμων | τρύζων. For discussion of τρύζω see Kyriakou (1995: 222-3).

ἐμοῖς παθέεσιν ἄπιστοι: in a letter (131 Gally) sent to the Cappadocian Prefect Olympius and dated to 382, Gregory claims that τοῦτῳ μοι τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἐστὶ βαρύτερον τὸ ἀρρωστοῦντα μὴδὲ πιστεύεσθαι; he asks Olympius to confirm his illness (ἀξιόπιστον μάρτυρα τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχομεν ἀρρωστίας) as the reason why he is not able to participate in a Synod held at Constantinople in the summer of 382.

73. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 1. 205 ἧς ὑπεροπλίησι τάχ' ἄν ποτε θυμὸν ὀλέσσει (cf. Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.1.4. 47 [ed. Moerschini]); Theoc. 25. 139 | ἡδ' ὑπεροπλίη. Gregory also uses ὑπεροπλίησι at the same metrical place at *carm.* I.2.2.[613] 444 and I.2.9. 115 (ed. Palla). For the meaning cf. Lex. vers. 574 ὑπεροπλίησιν· ὑπερηφανίαις.

θεουδέα λαόν: θεουδέης means 'God-fearing' in Homer, but is found in later authors with the meaning 'holy' (PGL, s.v. θεουδέης 2) or 'θεσπέσιος' (LSJ, s.v. θεουδέης in the Revised Supplement); it is not clear whether Gregory used the word with a meaning other than 'God-fearing', as Sykes shows in his note on *carm.* I.1.8. 60 (Moerschini [1997: 238]), despite Hesych. θ 307 *θεουδέα· θειώδη (*Greg. Naz. c. 1, 1, 8, 60*) g. Modern translators are divided over our case (White: 'the people made in God's image'; Sakalis: 'θεόμορφο λαό'; Abrams Rebillard: 'the devout people'; Crimi: 'il popolo di Dio'), but the traditional meaning of 'devout' or 'God-fearing' makes better sense, since it makes more dramatic Gregory's supposed contempt towards people who actively showed their respect for God; on the other hand, all people are 'God-like', whether pious or not.

74. **γε μὲν:** Caillau corrected to γ' ἐμόν ('ita legendum'), probably implying that the text gives better sense if it is Gregory who reveals his pain to God (cf., e.g., *carm.* Π.1.1. 240, [ed. Tuilier-Bady] ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ κείνοισιν ἐμόν πόνον ἐξαγορεύω). But all manuscripts transmit the Homeric γε μὲν and Par. B reads 'Θεῷ γε μὴν καὶ τὸ κρυπτὸν αὐτῶν ἄλλος ἦν φανερόν'. Moreover, the text makes perfect sense if those who thought that Gregory despised the small and poor bishopric of Nazianzus also revealed their grief to God, making Gregory's pain even worse. It is also possible that Caillau wanted to avoid the offence against Hermann's Bridge, but see my note on I.2.17. 35 γε μὲν.

75. **πολλοὶ δ' αὖ:** = Hom. *Il.* 6. 229; *Orac.Sib.* 12. 113; 14. 92; 14. 102.

νυχίοισιν ... όνειροίς: Gregory seems to say that many people claimed that they had their critical thoughts about his behaviour confirmed by dreams. But the meaning of this is not very clear and it would be easier to think that Gregory speaks of his own dreams: he was haunted by his accusers even in his dreams. However, if he refers to his own dreams, how could they have been the result of his own desire (v. 76)? For similar language cf. Gr. Naz. *car. m.* II.1.1. 290 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) ἀργαλέων όρυμαγδών | οί με και έννυχίοισι κακοίς έρέθουσιν όνειροίς (referring to his own dreams); Nonn. *D.* 16. 293 νυχίοισι έρέθιζεν όνειροίς and also Gregory's *car. m.* II.1.10. 29 (with my note).

76. ('sc. dreams) designed by their own desire, the source of many illusions' (White). Cf. *car. m.* I.2.8. 187 (ed. Werhahn) ήδεϊς δ' όνειροι τών έν ήμέρα τύποι and II.1.1. 291 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) φροντίσιν ήματίαισ γάρ όμοίια φάσματα νυκτός.

άθύρματα: perhaps 'paintings' with no serious content, 'trinkets' or 'play-things'; cf. *car. m.* II.1.16.[1256] 21 και τόδε νυκτός άθύρμα (for a dream). The connection with dreams could remind readers of the famous fragment of Heraclitus (fr. 70. 2-3 D.-K.) παιδων άθύρματα νενόμικεν είναι τά ανθρώπινα δοξάσματα. For πολλά cf. *Od.* 15. 416 μυρί' άγοντες άθύρματα; Sapph. fr. 44. 9 ποίκιλ' άθύρματα.

77-9. These lines are not easy to understand. Perhaps the meaning is the following: it might have been God who disclosed to people (the interpretation of?) these dreams critical of Gregory, thus offering Gregory a good death (77), by helping him not to be overcome by 'painful expectations' (78) and 'granting' him enmity from the people and sorrow at the time of his death (v. 79). In this way, vv. 78-9 are to be understood as a kind of explanation of έμοι τέλος έσθλόν όπάζων (v. 77).

If χαλεπαί έλπωραί come from a feeling of safety based on people's support and not on belief in God's providence, then Gregory's thought may be in line with 2 Cor 12. 7-10:

διό, ίνα μη υπεραίρωμαι, έδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τή σαρκί, άγγελος σατανά, ίνα με κολαφίζη, ίνα μη υπεραίρωμαι. υπέρ τούτου τρις τόν κύριον παρεκάλεσα ίνα άποστῆ άπ' έμου· και εϊρηκέν μοι· άρκεί σοι ή χάρις μου, ή γάρ δύναμις έν άσθνεία τελείται. ήδιστα ούν μάλλον καυχόσομαι έν ταίς άσθνείαισ μου, ίνα έπισκηνώσχη έπ' έμέ ή δύναμις του Χριστου. διό εύδοκώ έν άσθνείαισ, έν ύβρεσιν, έν ανάγκαις, έν διωγμοίς και στενοχωρίαισ, υπέρ Χριστου· όταν γάρ άσθενώ, τότε δυνατός είμι.

Gregory feels that his death is very close (v. 86 μικρόν ετι πνειοντα) and grief is, according to Scripture, what is going to bring him αγαθήν and not χαλεπήν έλπωρήν: ή θλίψις ύπομονήν κατεργάζεται, ή δέ ύπομονή δοκιμήν, ή δέ δοκιμή έλπίδα (Rom. 5. 3-4).

77. Θεὸς ἐξεκάλυπτε: for cases of *ἐκκαλύπτω* in later texts see DGE. Cf. Cyr. *In Zach.* 1. 7-10 (II p. 291.5-6 Pusey) *τὰς ὁράσεις τοῖς ἀγίοις προφήταις ἐξεκάλυπτεν ὁ Θεός; Hom rasch.* 9. 5 (M. 77.597. 51-2) *ἐξεκάλυπτε δὲ πάντα τῷ προφήτῃ Θεός.*

τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζων: cf. Hes. *Op.* 474 *εἰ τέλος αὐτὸς ὄπισθε Ὀλύμπιος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζοι;* [Man.] *Arot.* 6. 6 *πᾶν γὰρ ἀεικέλιον, τῷ μὴ τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπηδεῖ;* 1. 175 *Ζεὺς δ' ἐσιδὼν τούτων ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκε τέλος;* Gr. *Naz. carm.* I.1.36. [519] 23 *καὶ τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὁδοῖο χαριζόμενος μογέοντι;* II.1.15.[1254] 48 *ἀλλὰ μόγοις δὲς τέλος ἡμετέροις ἐσθλὸν;* II.2.5.[1531] 130 *ἄμβρατος οὐ πολλοῖσι, καὶ ἐς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἄγουσα.*

78. ὄφρα κε μῆ: first in *h. Cer.* 131, where Richardson notes that *ὄφρα κε* with optative occurs only once in Homer.

ὄν ἐλπωρήϊν: cf. *carm.* I.2.9. 56 (ed. Palla) *ὄν ἐλπωρήϊν ἀρίσταις (= II. 2.5.[1537] 223) and II.1.1. 266 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) κούφῃσι ὄν ἐλπίσι (= II.2.4. [1511] 82).*

79. ἐφεσκάμενος: part. mid. aor. of *ἐφίζω*, 'set upon'. Cf. Par. A 'τὴν ἐξοδικὴν κάκωσιν ἐνδυσκάμενος ἐπιφερόμενος τοῦ βίου' and Par. B 'κακὸν ἐπιφερόμενος ἐξόδιον'. *ἐνδυσκάμενος* of Par. A understands the part. as coming from *ἐπιέννυμι* or *ἐφέννυμι* (see LSJ, s.v. *ἐπιέννυμι*) and having as its subject the subject of *δαμείην* ('ἐγώ', i.e. Gregory) and not Θεός (v. 76).

ἐξοδὴν κακότητα ἐφεσκάμενος βίοτοιο: a difficult phrase. Perhaps the syntax is the following: (*sc.* Θεός ἐμοί [from v. 77]) *ἐφεσκάμενος ἐξοδὴν κακότητα βίοτοιο* (or *κακότητα [ὄν] ἐξοδὴν*); cf. *Od.* 16. 443 *ἐμὲ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεὺς | πολλὰκι γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφεσκάμενος (having set [me] on his knees: LSJ, s.v. ἐφίζω).* The meaning: God laid the enmity or vice of people (or the sorrow of life) upon me at the time of my death.¹⁵⁵

For *κακότητα ... βίοτοιο* cf. *Or. exp. in Pr.* 10 (M. 17.188. 23-5) *ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς, οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ πάσης κακότητος τοῦ βίου δυσχερείας τοὺς ἀκάκους φυλάσσει;* *carm.* II.1.1. 565 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *βίτου τυγγέειν κακότητα;* II.2.3.[1483] 41 *μοῦνος ἐγὼ κακότητα βίου καὶ κύδε' ἄλυξα.*

80. αὐχέν' ἔκαμψα: a sign of subjection and humility. Cf. Athan. *exp. Ps.* 45 (M. 27.216. 27-8) *ἀλλ' ὕστερον ἔκαμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐχένα;* Chrys. *hom.* in 1 Cor. 3. 1 (M. 61.22. 54-5) *κατέκαμψας τὸν αὐχένα, κατέσπασας τὴν παρρησίαν, κάτω νεύειν ἐποίησας;* *Orac.Sib.* fr. 3. 36 *αὐχένα κάμπτει;* Nonn. *D.* 12. 20 *αὐχένα δούλον ἔκαμψαν (-εν D. 22. 73 and 36. 432; αὐχένα*

¹⁵⁵ Gregory uses the adjective *ἐξόδιος* as neut. subst. meaning 'death' at his *or.* 40. 12 (ed. Moreschini); cf. PGL, s.v. *ἐξόδιος*, 2b. Translations of the phrase include: 'luctuosum vitae nactus exitum' (Caillau); 'when he organized the final act of misery in my life' (White); 'in fixating on a wretched exit from existence' (Abrams Rebillard); 'ἀφοῦ ντυθῶ τὴν ἐξόδια κακία τῆς ζωῆς' (Sakalis); 'rivestito della malizia ultima dell'esistenza' (Crimi).

κάμπτ- 10 times in Nonnus). Cf. also the phrase *αύχένα υπέκλινα*, found mainly in later Byzantine texts.

χείρα κραταιήν: see p. 121.

81. δέσμιος: a clear imitation of St Paul's references to himself as *ὁ δέσμιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Eph. 3. 1); *ὁ δέσμιος ἐν κυρίῳ* (Eph. 4. 1); *δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ* (Philem. 1 and 9).

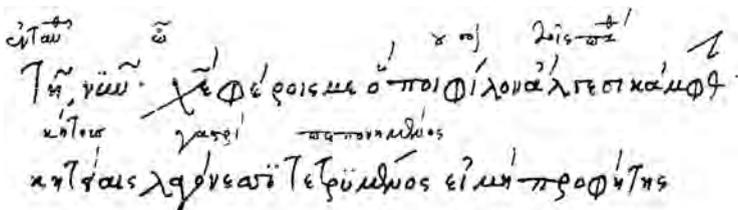
δίκη... μεμήλοι: Thgn. 1. 132 *οἷς' ὀσίη, Κύρνε, μέμηλε δίκη*; Archil. fr. 177. 4 *ὑβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει*; Orac.Sib. 2. 313 *ὀπόκοις τε δίκη καλά τ' ἔργα μέμηλεν*. Cf. also Gregory's II.2.4. 46 (ed. Moroni) *γάμος δ' ἄλλοις μεμήλοι* |.

82. ὄνειαρ: 'benefit' or 'advantage' (Par. B: 'ὄφελος'). Gregory implies that he does not trust, but is not afraid of, human justice. Cf. Matt. 10. 28: *καὶ μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυνάμενων ἀποκτεῖναι. φοβήθητε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γέννηι* and Ps. 55.

βιότιος: cf. [Man.] *Apot.* 4. 32 *ἐφημερίης βιότιος* |.

83. τῆ νῦν: 'here now'; *τῆ νῦν* at the beginning of *Il.* 14. 219 and 23. 618, as well as Greg. Naz. *carm.* II.2.7.[1575] 314. M. prints *τῆ*, but see LSJ, s.v. *τῆ*.

φέροις με ὅποι φίλον: α₂ transmits *μ' οὐ σοι*, while all other witnesses are divided between *με ὅποι* (Cg Va Mq Mb NDPj) and *με ὅπη* (L BEDi Vb Lb). *ὅποι* and *ὅπη* often fluctuate in Greek manuscripts and I follow here what the majority of the manuscripts offers. There is no difference in meaning between *μ' οὐ σοι* and *με ὅποι/ὅπη* and both readings have good parallels. However, the latter has much superior manuscript support and at the same time the reading of α₂ can be understood as a mistake. One scenario is that the left upper stroke of the π was erased (*οαου*) leaving something very close to an upsilon and a sigma. But the way the scribe of Cg writes the paraphrase *ὅπου σοι* above *ὅποι* reveals another interesting, though speculative, scenario:



The person who thought *μ' οὐ σοι* the original, or a superior, reading perhaps wanted to avoid the hiatus. But this type of hiatus (after a short vowel at main caesura) is found in Hellenistic authors (see West [1982: 156]) and Gregory himself (see, e.g., v. 41 and 79 of this poem and a few more examples at Agosti-Gonnelli [1995: 405, n. 419]).

However, *μ' οὐ σοι* would not be foreign to Gregory's style: a phrase similar to *ὅ,τι ἂν ἦ σοι φίλον* (*ep.* 126. 4) is found four times in his letters (cf. S.

OT. 862 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν πράξαμι' ἂν ὧν οὐ σοὶ φίλον) and Gregory likes addressing Christ in the second person (cf., e.g., σοὶ at v. 37, 85 and 96). But these facts are more likely to have contributed to the introduction of μ' οὐ σοὶ, and the weight of the manuscript support for με ὅποι/ὅπη leaves no doubt about its superiority; parallels include *carm.* Π.1.11. 854 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) ὅποι φέροισιν οἱ κακοί; E. IA 69 ὅποι πνοαὶ φέροισιν; Antiph. fr. 42. 7 K.-A. ὅποι φέρονται; A. R. 4. 1701 ἀμηχανέοντες ὅπη φέροι.

For similar language and thought cf. also e.g. Gr. Naz. *carm.* Π.1.50.[1393] 118 τῇ με, Χριστέ, φέροισιν σὸν λάτρην, ὡς ἐθέλοισιν and Π.1.36.[520] 33 ἀλλὰ με καὶ νῦν ἄγοισιν ἐσθλὸν ἐπὶ τέρμα πορείης.

ἄλγεσι κάμωθην: A. PV 238 τοιαῖσδε πημοναῖσι κάμωμαι; Gr. Naz. *carm.* Π.1.46.[1379] 23-4 ἄλγεσι παντοδαποῖσι | κάμωμαι.

84. Gregory often refers to Jonah and sometimes compares himself to him: e.g. *carm.* Π.1.11. 1838 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) ἐγὼ δ' Ἰωνᾶς ὁ προφήτης γίνωμαι; Π.1.51.[1396] 34 κητείων λαγόνων σκότιον μόρον ἀγνός Ἰωνᾶς; Π.1.17. [1265] 53-4 καὶ θηρὸς ζοφεροῖσιν ἐνὶ σπλάγγχοισιν ἐερχθεῖς, | κήτεος εἰναλίου, ὡς ποτ' Ἰωνᾶς ἔδου. Christ himself uses Jonah's three-day stay in the belly of a large fish as a prophecy of his own three-day stay in Hades: ὡςπερ γὰρ ἦν Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας, οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας (Matt. 12. 40). In his *or.* 2.106-9 (ed. Bernardi), Gregory discusses the content of the book of Jonah (see Demoen [1996: 275-6]) and closes by saying that Jonah ὑπὸ κήτους καταπίνεται μὲν, οὐκ ἀναλίσκεται δέ, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλεῖται καί, τὸ θαῦμα, Χριστῷ τριήμερος συνεκδίδοται (*or.* 2.109. 12-4). This is a central point in Jonah's message as understood by Gregory himself and many later Byzantines. In the Matins of Great Saturday, the 6th Ode of the Canon (attributed to Cosmas the Hymnographer) starts with the following *Εἰρμός* (*Τριώδιον* [Rome, 1879], 731):

κυνεσχέθη ἀλλ' οὐ κατεσχέθη | στέρνοις κητώοις Ἰωνᾶς, | σοῦ γὰρ τὸν τύπον φέρων, | τοῦ παθόντος καὶ ταφῆς δοθέντος, | ὡς ἐκ θαλάμου τοῦ θηρὸς ἀνέθορε, | προσεφώνει δὲ τῇ κουστωδίᾳ· | οἱ φυλασσόμενοι μάταια καὶ ψευδῆ, | ἔλεον αὐτοῖς ἐγκατελίπετε.

Thus Gregory's words are not so pessimistic as they seem at first sight. They may even imply that a 'resurrection' is not merely expected, but guaranteed, as in the cases of Christ and Jonah.

τετρυμένος: part. pf. pass. of the verb *τρώω* 'wear out, distress' (LSJ, s.v.). Par. A reads 'καταπεπονημένος' and Par. B 'τετρυχωμένος'. Both *τετρυμένος* and *τετρυχωμένος* are often used by Gregory in similar contexts; e.g. *carm.* Π.1.11. 1819 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) καίπερ κακοῖς τε καὶ νόσῳ τετρυμένος; *or.* 43.37. 13-14 (ed. Bernardi) ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσῳ τετρυχωμένος καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς ὧν. Hesychius' interpretation of *τετρυχωμένος* (τ 662

Schmidt) is *καταπεπονημένος* (Par. A). Abrams Rebillard goes too far: ‘by the gut of a monster I have been consumed’.

85. ζωῆς τότε λείψανον: cf. Gr. Naz. *ep.* 93. 3 (Gallay), dated 382, τῷ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν λειψάνῳ; *carm.* II.1.73.[1420] 5-6 ἀλλά, Μάκαρ, ἐλέαιρε, καὶ ὄψε περ, ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζοις | ζωῆς ἡμετέρας λείψανον εὐμενέων; *or.* 40.17. 11-12 (ed. Moreschini). Gregory uses the phrase in a more general sense as well, and this has striking parallels in Ephraem Syrus and Symeon the New Theologian: Gr. Naz. *or.* 8.5. 14-15 (ed. Calvet-Sebasti) βραχὺ μὲν τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης λείψανον; Ephr. Πένθος τῇ Τρίτῃ ἐσπέρας (VI, p. 294.11 Phrantzolas) ἡμίθνητός εἰμι, βραχύτατον ἔχων ζωῆς λείψανον; Symeon, *hymn* 58. 388-9 (ed. Kambylis) γυνῶθι γὰρ σαυτόν, ὡς βροτὸς καὶ φθαρτὸς εἶ, | ὀλίγον ζωῆς λείψανον ὦν ἐν βίῳ.

Some manuscripts of the α family transmit *τόδε ζωῆς*, but this is unmetrical. It seems that a scribe wanted to put the words in what he understood to be a more natural order.

ἀλλ’ ἐλέαιρε: cf. A. R. 4. 1025 ἀλλ’ ἐλέαιρε |; *Il.* 6. 431 | ἀλλ’ ἄγε νῦν ἐλέαιρε; *Od.* 5. 450 | ἀλλ’ ἐλέαιρε; 6. 175 ἀλλά, ἄνακς, ἐλέαιρε; Q. S. 7. 191 and 10. 296 | ἀλλ’ ἐλέαιρε; *h. Ven.* 189. In Gregory, in addition to the case mentioned in the previous note, also at *carm.* II.1.1. 386 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) ἀλλὰ μ’, Ἄναξ, ἐλέαιρε καὶ ἐκ θανάτοιο κάωσον.

86. νεκρὸν ἔτι πνείοντα: M. prints *μικρόν*, but *νεκρόν* is the *lectio difficilior* and also receives stronger support from the manuscripts (L α₂EDiCg Vb N). Of the codices which transmit *μικρόν*, Mq and D read *νεκρόν* in their paraphrase, while Lb (Planudes) has *νεκρόν* as a *γρ* variant in the margin. It is possible that *γρ* here means *γράφε* or *γραπτέον* and Planudes recommends the reader to adopt *νεκρόν*; see Wilson (2002 and 2008).

If we read *νεκρόν*, we take *ἔτι* with *πνείοντα* (*ἔτι πνείων/πνείοντα/πνείοντα* is a formula in Nonnus, found more than 10 times), while otherwise *ἔτι* is to be taken with *μικρόν*. Both readings have support from Gregory’s writings, but *νεκρόν* is more unusual and thus more likely to have been altered to *μικρόν* than conversely, the latter being the usual expression: e.g. Gr. Naz. *AP* 8.67b.1 *μικρόν ἔτι ψυχῆς ἦν τὸ πνέον* (cf. Call. *ep.* 41. 1 Pfeiffer *ἡμικύ μιν ψυχῆς ἔτι τὸ πνέον*); 8.7. 1 *τυτθὸν ἔτι πνείεσκες ἐπὶ χθονί*; 8.153. 1 *μικρόν μὲν πνείεσκες ἐπὶ χθονί*; *ep.* 95. 1 (ed. Gallay) *μικρόν ἔτι καὶ ὄψομαι τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὕβριστάς*; Men. *Pk.* *μικρόν ἔτι μείνον*; *Novum Testamentum* (6 x) *ἔτι μικρόν/ἔτι μικρόν χρόνον*; Lib. *Decl.* 40. 2. 77 *μικρόν ἔτι μοι τὸ βιώσιμον ὑπολείπεται*.

In the last years of his life, Gregory considered himself ‘a breathing corpse’: *carm.* II.1.11. 1919 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *πάρειμι νεκρὸς ἔμπνοος*; II.1.1. 203 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *καὶ νέκυς ἔμπνοός εἰμι*; II.1.77.[1425] 16-17 *ὅτι γὰρ Θεός μου· ὅτι ζόφον λύεις κακῶν | νεκρῶ πνέοντι μικρόν ἢ λυπρὸν βίον* (almost identical at II.1.89.[1444] 30-1). The phrase is possibly a reminiscence of

Secundus, *Sent.* 18 (τί ἐστι γῆρας). 2 (p. 90.1 Perry) ἔμπνους νεκρός¹⁵⁶ and it has several parallels in later and Byzantine authors, some of whom speak in literal terms; e.g. [Clementina], *Recognitiones (ex Eusebio)* 9.25. 1-2 (p. 292-4 Rehm-Strecker) οἱ Μῆδοι πάντες τοῖς μετὰ σπουδῆς τρεφομένοις κνὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔτι ἐμπνέοντας παραβάλλουσι; D. H. 15.2.1. 3-4 ἀνθρώπους πεπονημένους ὑπὸ πολέμου σώματα καὶ πλὴν ὄσον ἀνέπνεον τὰ λοιπὰ νεκροῖς ὁμοίους; Nonn. *D.* 2. 631 νέκυν ἔμπνοον; 46. 260 μοῦνος ἐγὼ λιπόμην νέκυς ἔμπνοος; *epigr.* Cougny 2.732. 7-8 τῆς Ἐκάβης ἔτλην πολὺ χείρονα, τῆς τ' Ἰοκάστης, | αἶ' αἶ' τῆς Νιόβης ἔμπνοός εἰμι νέκυς; Psellos, *carm.* 17. 242 (ed. Westerink) καὶ δυστυχῶς ζῶν, νεκρὸς ἄψυχος πέλω;¹⁵⁷ Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum* (III p. 555.2 Büttner-Wobst) ἔμπνους ὦπτο νεκρός; Theod. Prodr. *Epigrammata in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* Matt. 206 a 4 (ed. Papagiannis) ὦ νεκρὸς ἔμπνους.

ἄλγεσι τόσσον ἐλαύνεις: Gregory asks similar questions at vv. 9-16; cf. also *carm.* II.1.1. 620 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) ὡς καὶ ἐμοὶ πολλοῖσιν ἐλαυνομένῳ παθέεσιν; II.1.42.[1346] 23 πολλῆσιν ἐλαυνόμενος κακότησι; I.2.14. 81 (ed. Domiter) πῶς δ' ὀλοοῦ Βελίαο τινάγμασι τόσσον ἐλαύνῃ;

87-90. Christ said that he did not come καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν (Luke 5. 32) and St Paul adds that among the sinful he is the first (1 Tim. 1. 15 ἦν πρῶτος εἰμὶ ἐγώ). An ideal Christian should feel that he is the worst of all people. Thus Gregory's phrase οὔτε κάκιςτος μοῦνος ἐγὼ does not make good sense, especially if taken with the rest of the line πολλοῖσι χερεῖοις κῦδος ὄπασσας: if Gregory is κάκιςτος, how can there be χερεῖοτες? But perhaps his words are not to be taken at face value; what he wants to say here is that Christ came to save sinful people and he wants to be treated in the same way as the three tax collectors, the three paralytics and the three dead people who were all saved by Christ, as he is going to say in the next lines. Demoen (1996: 104) quotes these verses (86-98) 'as a peculiar example of a paradigmatic prayer (thus with model function), in which Gregory seems to place himself in all humility above some New Testament characters'. There is indeed some peculiarity here, but one must not forget that Gregory was an eminent bishop and a great theologian (cf. the last sentence of this poem: οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε | τὸν νοῦσων ἐλατῆρα κακοῖς ἀχέεσσι παλαίειν); moreover, his personal spiritual relationship with Christ might have contributed to his *παρρησία*. We must also remember that when he writes these lines he has some biblical exempla in mind, and at least one of those, Job, uses similar language (see pp. 168-9).

¹⁵⁶ It is worth noting here that the surviving fragments of the *Life of Secundus* include *asyndeta* similar to many found in Gregory.

¹⁵⁷ M. D. Spadaro (*Michaelis Pselli In Mariam Sclerenam*, [Catania, 1984]) prints πνέων (transmitted by Vat. gr. 1276) for πέλων (Par. suppl. gr. 690 and Laur. conv. soppr. 627).

θάνας, Θεός: apart from Luke 5. 32 and 1 Tim. 1. 15 cited above, cf. also Rom. 5. 6 ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν; 5. 8 συνίστηεν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἔτι ἀμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν; 1 Cor. 15. 3 ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς.

εὐτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν: εὐτ' ἐπὶ and ἐπὶ γαῖαν occur in Homer and later texts. In Gregory once again in exactly the same context: *carm.* II.2.3.[1487] 102-4 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπτῶτοις θάνεν Θεός, εὐτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν | ἤλυθε, καὶ θεότητι ἐὼν βροτὸν ἀμφὶς ἔπηξεν, | ἀλλὰ χαμαιπετέεσσι, καὶ οἱ θάνον ἐξ Ἀδάμοιο.

ἡ μέγα θαῦμα: cf. II. 13. 99 (= 15. 286; 20. 344; 21. 54) ὦ πόποι ἡ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶμαι (= *Od.* 19. 36 with ὦ πάτερ for ὦ πόποι). The phrase ἡ/ὄ μέγα θαῦμα is found 9 times at the end of Gregory's hexameters; also, μέγα θαῦμα alone occurs twice in his *carmina*.

Θεὸς βροτός: the phrase perhaps recalls the Homeric formula θεὸς ἄμβροτος (II. 20. 358; 24. 460; *Orac.Sib.* 14. 37). Cf. Gregory on Christ: *carm.* I.1.2. 62 (ed. Moreschini) ἦν βροτός, ἀλλὰ Θεός; I.1.10.[467] 23 ὄλος Θεός τε καὶ βροτός; I.1.18.[483] 37 μητέρος ἐκ βροτέης Θεὸς ἄμβροτος; I.2.2.[614] 455 Θεὸς πᾶσι βροτὸς ἴσος ἐτύχθη; II.1.1. 14 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) οἶα Θεός, κρανθεὶς δὲ βροτός, θνητοῖσιν ἐμίχθη; II.1.13.[1230] 34 καὶ μίχθη μερόπεσσι, Θεὸς βροτὸς εἰς ἓν ἀγερθεῖς; II.2.7.[1565] 180-1 ὡς ἀπὸ κόλπων | παρθενικῶν βλάττησε Θεὸς βροτός.

αἵματι ραίνων: cf. E. IA 1589 ἥς αἵματι βωμὸς ἐραίνετ' ἄρδην τῆς θεοῦ. ραίνων means 'sprinkling' (Par. B ῥαντίζων σου τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι), but Par. A (τῷ αἵματι καθαίρων) explains its result in this case; cf. Ps. 50. 9 ῥαντιεῖς με ὑσώπω καὶ καθαριθήσομαι.

ψυχὰς ἡμετέρας καὶ σώματα: cf. *carm.* I.1.4. 32 (ed. Moreschini) ψυχὴ καὶ δέμας εἰμί (with Sykes' comment). 'For Gregory of Nazianzus man was a double being made up by body and soul, spirit and flesh. [...] This doubleness of man, a spiritual as well as a material and earthly being, is a characteristic feature in the anthropology of Gregory': Anna-Stina Ellverson, *The Dual Nature of Man: a Study in the Theological Anthropology of Gregory of Nazianzus* [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Doctrinae Christianae Upsaliensis, 21] (Uppsala, 1981), 17. Cf., however, my note on v. 43 νόος.

μοῦνος ἐγώ: cf. v. 17 of this poem (with note).

κῦδος ὄπασσας: cf. v. 34 of this poem (with note).

91-8. Gregory asks to be treated as one of the three tax-collectors, the three paralytics or the three dead of the Bible who were all saved, cured or resurrected. The request leaves no doubt about his desperate situation at this moment, but also about his confidence that Christ will intervene. Gregory refers to some of these biblical exempla in his didactic poems on the miracles or the parables in the Gospels (I.1.20-7).

91-3. For the three Biblical examples of tax collectors see Matt. 9. 9-13 (The Calling of Matthew) as well as 10. 3 (*Ματθαῖος ὁ τελώνης*); Luke 18. 9-14 (The Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector); Luke 19. 1-10 (Jesus and Zacchaeus).

Ματθαῖός τε μέγας: Gregory also uses the example of Matthew in his *laudatio* for St Cyprian, who before his conversion was a heathen magician in Antioch and had dealings with demons: *ἐπεὶ οὕτω καὶ Παῦλος ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπαινετὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ Ματθαῖος ὁ τελώνης ἐν τοῖς κακίστοις καὶ Κυπριανὸς αὐτός [...]. Δαιμόνων ἦν θεραπευτής, ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητής ὕστερον* (*or.* 24.8. 5-6 and 16 [ed. Mossay]). In his *or.* 41 (‘Εἰς τὴν Πεντηκοστήν’), Gregory offers several examples of the transformation achieved through the grace of the Holy Spirit: *ἐὰν (sc. τὸ Πνεῦμα λάβῃ) τελώνας, εἰς μαθητεῖαν κερδαίνει καὶ ψυχῶν ἐμπόρους δημιουργεῖ. Φησὶ Ματθαῖος, ὁ χθὲς τελώνης καὶ σήμερον εὐαγγελιστής* (*or.* 41.14. 25-6 [ed. Moreschini]). Cf. also *carm.* I.1.18.[487] 89 *Ματθαῖος μέγας* and II.1.12. 220-1 (ed. Meier) *Ματθαῖος ἦν τελώνης, ἀλλὰ τίμιος, | οὐχ ὡς τελώνης, ὡς δὲ Πνεύματος γέμων.*

δάκρυα λείψας: *δάκρυα λείβων* | is formulaic in Homer (3 x *Il.*; 9 x *Od.*). Cf. also, e.g., A. *Sept.* 50-1 *δάκρυ* | *λείβοντες*; E. *Andr.* 417 *δάκρυά τε λείβων*; Call. *Del.* 121; A. R. 3. 674. There is no reference to tears in Luke 18. 13: *ὁ δὲ τελώνης μακρόθεν ἔστως οὐκ ἤθελεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπάραι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλ’ ἔτυπεν τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ.*

Ζακχαῖος: for this *exemplum* in Gregory cf. *or.* 40.31. 22-3 (ed. Moreschini) *γενοῦ Ζακχαῖος, ὁ χθὲς τελώνης καὶ σήμερον μεγαλόψυχος; carm.* I.2. 10. 574-8 (ed. Crimi) and II.1.12. 457-61 (ed. Meier), among other passages.

ἐπὶ τοῖσιν: ‘in addition’; with this meaning, it occurs about 10 times in A.R.; also, e.g., in *Orac.Sib.* and [Man.] *Apot.*; in Gregory at *carm.* II.1.1. 75 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *νηφάλιον δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ὕδωρ ποτόν.*

94-5. For the three paralytics see Matt. 9. 1-8 (The Healing of a Paralytic); John 5. 1-9 (The Healing at the Pool) and Luke 13. 10-13 (The Healing of a Crippled Woman on the Sabbath).

δ’ ἄρα λυσιμελεῖς: *δ’ ἄρα* is Homeric. *λυσιμελεῖς* is paraphrased as ‘παράλυτοι’ (Par. A and B). The word is not used elsewhere in the literal sense ‘paralytic’, but only applies to *ὑπνος*, *Ἔρος* and *δίψα* (see LSJ, s.v.). However, its use with Death at Eur. *Suppl.* 46-8, as well as AP 11.414 (Hedyl.) *λυσιμελοῦς Βάκχου καὶ λυσιμελοῦς Αφροδίτης* | *γεννᾶται θυγάτηρ λυσιμελῆς ποδάγρα* are close to the meaning the word has in Gregory (also in *carm.* II. 1.50. 71-2, cited below).

λέκτριος: *carm.* II.1.50.[1390] 71-2 *λυσιμελῆς νέος εἰμὶ ὁ λέκτριος, ἀλλὰ βόησον | πῆγνυσο’, καὶ κλίνην βήσομαι ὕψι φέρων.*

ἐπὶ πηγῆ: Par. B reads ‘ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ τοῦ Σιλωάμ’; this suggests John 9. 1-12 (The Healing of a Man Born Blind), but only John 5. 1-9 describes a crippled man and thus fits our case.

πνεῦμ' ἐπέδησεν: *πνεῦμα πέδησεν* has weak manuscript support (α₃ E^{pc} Mb Pj) and could be a mistake, perhaps as a result of the use of abbreviation for *πνεῦμα* or the influence of the Homeric *πέδησε(ν)*.

96-8. The three cases are the following: Matt. 9. 18-26 (The Raising of the Ruler's Daughter; the ruler is named as Jairus at Mark 5. 22 and Luke 8. 41); Luke 7. 11-17 (The Raising of the Widow's Son at Nain) and John 11. 38-44 (The Raising of Lazarus).

ἐκ νεκῶν [...] **χήρης πάϊς:** cf. *carm.* I.1.22.[493] 6 *χήρη τ' ἐκ νεκῶν ἐν Ναῖμ νία πόρε.*

φάος ἔδρακον [...] **ἄρχοντος θυγάτηρ:** *carm.* I.1.20.[489] 10 *ἄρχοντος θυγάτηρ ὄγδοον εὔρε φάος.* Also *E. Hel.* 341 *δέρεται φάος* (cf. *Pi. N.* 7. 3) and *Ph.* 377 *σκότον δεδορκῶς.*

ὥς γὰρ ἄνωγας: 'οὕτως γὰρ ἐκέλευσας' (Par. A); *ὥς γὰρ ἀνώγει* | is a Homeric formula (2 x *Il.*; 1 x *Od.*).

Λάζαρος ἡμιδάϊκτος: 'half-rotting from the tomb' (White); 'ἡμίφθορος, τὸ ἡμισυ διακεκομμένον' (Par. A); 'ἡμισπάρακτος' (Par. B). Cf. *carm.* II.1.50. [1390] 69-70 *Λάζαρος ἐν νεκύεσσιν ἐγὼ νέος, ἀλλὰ βόησον | ἔγρευο, καὶ ζήτω σοῖσι λόγοισι νέκυσ;* II.1.68.[1415] 77-8 *ὥς Λάζαρόν με τετραήμερον τάφων | ἐξήγαγες βοήσας.*

The word *ἡμιδάϊκτος* is very rare and is considered one of the new compound adjectives in Oppian's *Halieutica*: 2. 287 *ἄλλα δέ τ' ἀσπαίρει καὶ ἐλίσεται ἡμιδάϊκτα;* 5. 669 *τὸ δέ οἱ δέμας ἡμιδάϊκτον;*¹⁵⁸ for a discussion of the two passages in Oppian and *ἡμιδάϊκτος* see James (1970: 108-10). The word also occurs in *Cynegetica* (2. 280-1 *ἄψεά θ' ἡμίβρωτα κατὰ χθονὸς ἀσπαίρουσι | ἄλλα δ' ἐνὶ πλευρῆς θλίβει πάλιν ἡμιδάϊκτα*), where it is, as James explains, a reminiscence of the first passage of the *Halieutica*. It is perhaps worth recording here that two of the words related to *ἡμιδάϊκτος* and discussed by James (*op. cit.*) are also found in Gregory: *αὐτοδάϊκτος* at I.1.4. 53 (ed. Moreschini) and II.1.50.[1393] 115, and *ἡμίτομος* at *carm.* I.1.3. 36 (ed. Moreschini; with Sykes' note) and *or.* 43. 80. 26-8 (ed. Bernardi) *ἡμιθνήσ δὲ Γρηγόριος καὶ ἡμίτομος, τῆς μεγάλης ἀπερρωγῶς κυστυγίας, καὶ βίον ἔλκων ὀδυνηρόν καὶ οὐκ εὐδρομον.* As for new compounds of *ἡμι-*, Gregory has *ἡμιφαῖς* at I.1.1. 38 (ed. Moreschini; see Sykes' note) and *ἡμιδράκων* at II.2.7.[1559] 104.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ However, the word might have existed in a work now lost, but known to both Gregory and Oppian. James (1970: 6) notes: 'I have found that twenty-two words were wrongly classed by Lohmeyer as coinages, in some cases because of the later discovery of lost works, particularly the poems of Bacchylides.'

¹⁵⁹ This information is not given by James, who, however, discusses Quintus and Nonnus, among others. In his list of 'New Words which are used by later Authors', he cites Gregory twice, but not in connection with *ἡμιδάϊκτος*, for which he mentions the author of the *Cynegetica* only.

LBG (s.v. *ἡμιδάϊκτος*) records that the word also occurs in ‘Hesych. η 598’, where we read *ἡνιδάϊκτος· ἡμιθανής* and Latte notes in his apparatus: ‘h. e. ημιδικτος’. The gloss could come from Gregory, since he is the only author who uses the word in the nominative, although the interpretation is not particularly appropriate to the case of Lazarus.

99. καὶ νῦν: 10 times at the beginning of Homeric verses.

φάρμακ’ ἔχοιμ’ ὀδυνήφατα: cf. *Il.* 5. 401 (= 5. 900) *τῷ δ’ ἐπὶ Παιήων ὀδυνήφατα φάρμακα πάσων;* [Man.] *Apoτ.* 1. 184 *ἤπια φάρμακ’ ἔχοντας.*

In the context of the Christian life, such *φάρμακα* can include not only physical, but also spiritual medication, including Holy Communion, prayer, the use of blessed oil for healing, the reading of biblical texts, etc.: see, e.g., John 6. 56 *ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ;* Jac. 5. 13-14 *κακοπαθεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν, προσευχέσθω [...] ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν; προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι [τοῦ] κυρίου;* Rom. 12. 12 *τῇ ἐλπίδι χαίροντες, τῇ θλίψει ὑπομένοντες, τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτεροῦντες;* John 4. 13-14 *πᾶς ὁ πίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου διψῆσει πάλιν· ὃς δ’ ἂν πίῃ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος οὗ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ διψῆσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*

καὶ μετέπειτα: = *Od.* 14. 403 at the end of the line; Also, e.g., at Call. *ep.* 40. 2 Pfeiffer; A. R. 4. 1007; 3 x *Orac.Sib.*; 8 x Gr. Naz. *carm.*..

100. The verse seems to confirm that Gregory’s mood is not that bad after all. He now places himself in paradise, although he does not always expect to end up there: *τί χρῆ παθεῖν; Μία μοι τῶν κακῶν λύσις, ὁ θάνατος. Καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖθὲν μοι φοβερά, τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν τεκμαιρομένῳ* (*ep.* 80. 3 Gally).

ἄτροπον: not ‘untroubled’ (Abrams Rebillard), but ‘unchangeable’ or ‘eternal’ (see LSJ and DGE, s.v.); cf. ‘ἄτρεπτον’ (Par. A); ‘ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀκατάλυτον’ (Par. B). Christ said that people in the afterlife *οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, ἰκάγγελιο γὰρ εἶσιν, καὶ υἱοὶ εἶσιν θεοῦ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ ὄντες* (Luke 20. 35-6); cf. *Apoτ.* 7. 15-17.

κύδει γαίῳν: Homeric formula for the end of the verse (4 x *Il.*); in Gregory also at *carm.* II.2.1.[1461] 127. In DGE, s.v. *γαίῳν*, there is a reference to Synes. *Hymn* 9. 56 *ἀλύτῳ κύδει γαίῳν*, but not to Gregory.

The glory of God is a central point in all Biblical references to the Second Coming of Christ and the afterlife: e.g. Matt. 16. 27 *μέλλει γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεσθαι ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ;* *Apoτ.* 5. 11-14; 15. 4 *τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆ, κύριε, καὶ δοξάζει τὸ ὄνομά σου;*

101-2. Gregory seems to have realized that, despite his request, his fellow-bishops will not elect a bishop of Nazianzus before his death (*λυθείην*). The priest Cleodnius is acting bishop of the city and Gregory does not consider himself in charge any more (he uses the aorist *ἡγεμόνευσα*).

ποιμνης ἡγεμόνευσα: Gr. Naz. *AP* 8.13. 2 *ποιμνης ἡγεμόνα θῆκε;* 8.19. 3 *ποιμνης ἡγεμόνευσα ὁμόφρονος;* *carm.* II.1.16.[1255] 10 *ποιμνης ἡγεμόνευσα.*

εἰ δὲ λυθείην: recent translators understand the word as referring to Gregory's duties as bishop: 'if I am released from this' (White; similarly Abrams Rebillard); 'se ne sarò sciolto' (Crimi). However, this is impossible because the aorist *ἡγεμόνευσα* clearly indicates that Gregory no longer considers himself to lead his flock.¹⁶⁰ Par. B, Billius, Lampe and Sakalis got it right: 'εἰ δὲ τῶν τῆδε ἀπέλθοιμι' (Par. B); 'si corporeo mens nostra e carcere migret' (Billius); '*dissolve*; 1. in death' (PGL, s.v. *λύω* B, with reference to our verse); 'ἄν ἀφήσω τὴ ζωή' (Sakalis). PGL offers one more instance of this use of *λύομαι*: Eriphanius of Constantia, *Ancoratus* 100. 4 (p. 121.14 Holl) τῷ δὴ ἀνάκτιθι ἰχυροποιῶν τὸ ἥδη λελυμένον, ἐπειδὴ ἔτι ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ ἦν. In Gregory's case, we may need to understand *κόματος*, but what he may have actually wanted to say is 'when my soul is freed or separated from my body': cf. *or.* 7.21. 2-4 (ed. Calvet-Sebasti) πείθομαι κοφῶν λόγοις, ὅτι ψυχὴ πᾶσα καλὴ τε καὶ θεοφιλὴς, ἐπειδὴν τοῦ συνδεδεμένου λυθεῖσα κόματος ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγῇ.¹⁶¹ Perhaps it might also be possible to supply τοῦ βίου (cf. *carm.* II.2.9. 155 [ed. Palla] λυθέντος κτιόντος ἐν ἡματι τοῦδε βίου) or simply compare ἀπολύομαι (S. *Ant.* 1268 ἔθανες, ἀπελύθης; Num. 20. 29 ἀπελύθη Ἄαρῶν; LSJ, s.v. ἀπολύω B. IV) and διαλύομαι at a troparion of the Funeral Service attributed to St John of Damascus: ὡς ἄνθος μαραινέται καὶ ὡς ὄναρ παρέρχεται καὶ δυαλύεται πᾶς ἄνθρωπος. For *λύω* in phrases meaning 'die' see J. Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides: Supplices, Electra, Heracles, Troades, Iphigenia in Tauris, Ion* (Oxford, 1981), 84-5 (on *IT* 691/2), and LSJ, s.v. *λύω* II. 3 and 4.

ποιμένος: Par. A's 'ἀρχιμανδρίτου' perhaps suggests a monastic environment for the writing of this paraphrase.

103. ἐν παθέεcci: the form *παθέεcci(ν)* occurs only in Gregory (more than 40 times) and Manuel Philes (once).

οὐ γὰρ ἔουκε: = *Il.* 21. 379; Simon. fr. 6. 5 West, both at the end of the verse. 8 times in Gregory.

104. νούκων ἐλατήρα: an impressive expression for the bishop or priest, who as a spiritual father 'removes' the sins of the people through confession.

ἐλατήρα occurs only here in Gregory. Par. A reads 'διώκτην' (BRi) or 'ἀπελάτην' (La). Cf. *h. Merc.* 14 ἐλατήρα βοῶν; 265, 377 βοῶν ἐλατήρι 'a driver away or a rustler of cattle'; Call. *Jon.* 3 Πηλαγόνων ἐλατήρα (with McLennan's note). The word occurs in Homer (meaning 'charioteer') and

¹⁶⁰ Crimi (in Crimi-Costa, 1999: 128, n. 29) seems to overlook *ἡγεμόνευσα* and notes: 'Questi versi sembrano testimoniare (vedi Gallay, *La vie*, cit., 220) che Gregorio aveva ripreso ad occuparsi direttamente della chiesa di Nazianzo. «Essi» (οἶδε) sono i concittadini di Gregorio.'

¹⁶¹ Cf. several troparia of the Funeral Service by St John of Damascus: e.g. οἶμοι, οἶον ἀγῶνα ἔχει ἡ ψυχὴ χωριζομένη ἐκ τοῦ κόματος and ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ κόματος ψυχὴ μέλλει μετὰ βίαια ἀρπᾶσθαι (*Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα* [Venice, 1869], 413 and 418).

later authors (see LSJ, s.v.). Synesius perhaps imitates Gregory with *hymn* 2. 11 ἐλατῆρ νούων (cf. 1. 423 ἐλατῆρ ἀχέων).

κακοῖς ἀχέεσσι παλαίειν: although Gregory cannot but know that there is no guarantee that the life of a bishop or a priest will be free of serious troubles, he complains. Perhaps he thinks he is justified in a way, because of passages like Hebr. 13. 7 μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ or Jac. 5. 20 ὁ ἐπιστρέψας ἀμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν [αὐτοῦ] ἐκ θανάτου καὶ καλύψει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν.

δ΄ Περὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιότητος καὶ ἀπιστίας καὶ κοινοῦ πάντων τέλους

4.1 Outline

- 1-9 *Fantastic wishes*
Gregory wishes that he were a bird able to flee from the world, or that he lived in the desert; his mind would bring him into contact with God and he would enjoy the fruits of a peaceful life. Or he would like to be able to make a speech to all human beings; the rest of the poem is this speech.
- 9-37 *This life*
The poet asks his fellow human beings how long they will live without realizing the emptiness of all their dreams and endeavours. He presents various human types and virtues and in the course of this list makes further statements on the vanity of human achievement (vv. 25-7).
- 38-48 *The afterlife*
All, whether kings or slaves, will be dust and bare bones until the resurrection of the dead. They will take with them neither their wealth nor their arrogance.
- 49-60 *Conclusion*
In concluding, Gregory calls people to ‘abandon’ this world and ‘flee’ towards heaven.

4.2 Literary Characteristics

1. Both the first word (*ἤθελον*) and the wish for wings follow literary traditions. The use of *ἤθελον* is paralleled by that of *ἐβουλόμην* (see note on v. 1), which was ‘a common opening in a speech’ (Dover on Ar. R. 866), e.g. Antiphon, *De caede Herodis* and Thrasymachos B₁ (D.-K.). The wish for wings, on the other hand, ‘whether to escape from where one is (esp. an intolerable situation) or to get where one is not, is a commonplace of tragic lyric’ (Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 732-4, with references to several passages), e.g. E. *Ion* 1238 *τίνα φυγὰν πτερόεσσαν*; S. *OC.* 1081-3 *εἴθ’ ἀελλαιὰ ταχύρρωστος πελειὰς | αἰθερίας νεφέλας κύρσαιμ’ ἄνωθ’ ἀγώνων | αἰωρήσασα τοῦμὸν ὄμμα*. Moreover, Petropoulos (2003: 77-8) discusses a form of fantastic wish, common in amatory contexts, which consists of ‘a wish for a change + a final clause spelling out the object of the wish’. He says that this type is ‘formally identical with the wish for wings (in this case to get to where one is not) in S. *Oenomaos* fr. 476 Radt *γενοίμαν αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτας, | ὡς ἀμποταθειὴν ὑπὲρ ἀτρυγέτου | γλαυκᾶς ἐπ’ οἶδμα λίμνας*’. He also refers to Callimachus’ ‘escapist’ wish for youth (*Aetia* fr. 1. 32-5 Pfeiffer):

θηρὶ μὲν οὐατόεντι πανεῖκελον ὀγκήσαιτο
 ἄλλος, ἐ]γὼ δ’ εἶην οὐλ[α]χός, ὁ πτερόεις,
 ἅ πάντως, ἵνα γῆρας ἵνα δρόσον ἦν μὲν αἰίδω
 πρῶκιον ἐκ δίης ἠέρος εἶδαρ ἔδων,
 αὔθι τὸ δ’ ἐκδύοιμι

The idea of a poet flying is indeed a common one in Greek poetry and it may suffice to cite here Anacreon (*PMG* 378):

ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφῃς
 διὰ τὸν Ἔρωτ’· οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ <- -> θέλει συνηβᾶν.

2. In two cases one is tempted to think that Gregory is playing with the sound of the words he is using. *φρονέων* in line 29 is to be understood as *μέγα φρονέων*, and this is perhaps suggested by the following word, *μεγάλοισιν* (*τύμβοις φρονέων μεγάλοισιν*; cf. my note on v. 29). Gregory seems to do something similar at *carm.* I.2.33.[929-30] 21-4; *εὔ* in line 24 goes with both *λαλούντων* and *βιούντων*:

ἄφωνον ἔργον κρεῖσσον ἀπράκτου λόγου.
 Βίου μὲν οὐδεὶς πάποθ’ ὑψώθη δίχα·
 λόγου δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ καλῶς ψοφουμένου.
 Οὐ γὰρ **λαλούντων, εὔ βιούντων** δ’ ἡ χάρις.

But a more suggestive case is perhaps *τύμβου τε τυχήσαι* (v. 41): at this date and in this region *τε τυχήσαι* could have sounded almost the same, or even exactly the same, as *τετειχίσαι*, which actually makes better sense with

τύμβου in our context (cf. my note on v. 41). The ‘change of [ū] to [i] seems not to be general until around the end of the millennium’.¹⁶² ‘Confusion of υ with ι is found in Egyptian papyri of the 2-3 cent. AD, or even earlier, but this is probably a regional peculiarity’ (Allen [1987: 68-9]); could there be similar peculiarities in Cappadocia? A recent study by Mark Janse has shown that ‘the most conspicuous feature of Cappadocian Greek was its accent, owing to transfer of phonetic and phonological features from the indigenous Cappadocian substrate’.¹⁶³ Three of the passages discussed by Janse are worth citing here:

i. Flavius Philostratus (*Vitae Sophistarum* 2. 13; II, p. 97.29-32 Kayser) speaks of the Cappadocian accent of Pausanias of Caesarea (2nd cent. AD), a student of Herodes Atticus:

ἀπήγγελλε δὲ αὐτὰ παχείᾳ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ ὡς Καππαδόκαις ξύνηθεσ, ξυγκρούων μὲν τὰ σύμφωνα τῶν στοιχείων, συττέλλων δὲ τὰ μηκνόμενα καὶ μηκύνων τὰ βραχέα

ii. Gregory of Nazianzus, *or.* 33.8. 5-7 (ed. Gallay) speaks to the clergy of Constantinople and comments on his accent: ἀπαιδευσίαν δὲ οὐκ ἐγκαλέσειε ἢ ὅτι τραχύ σοι δοκῶ καὶ ἄγροικον φθέγγεσθαι;

iii. Flavius Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii* 1.7; I, p. 6.2-4 Kayser) describes the Greek of Apollonius of Tyana (1st cent. AD) as follows: ἡ γλώττα Ἀττικῶς εἶχεν, οὐδ’ ἀπήχθη τὴν φωνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους. This phrase makes it clear, according to Janse, that ‘the Cappadocian accent was indeed notorious’.

This evidence makes it more likely that Gregory does play a game with *τε τυχῆσαι* and *τετείχισαι*. In addition, a pun at *carm.* I.2.15.[773] 93-6, which would be impossible if classical quantities were still respected in speech, is also suggestive: Gregory speaks again about the equality of all after death in terms of possession or power. Among several examples, he names Agamemnon and the beggar Iros (cf. *Od.* 18. 15 Ἴρος ἀλήτης |), who fights with Odysseus at the beginning of *Od.* 18. The great *hero* and the worthless *Iros* are now, after their death, equal, mirroring the way in which the words ἦρωσ and Ἴρος sound the same!

τί πλέον ἐν φθιμένοισιν; ἦ κόνις, ὄστέα μούνα,
ἦρωσ Ἀτρείδης, Ἴρος ἀλητοβόρος.

¹⁶² Allen (1987: 69), who also notes that ‘the Byzantine naming of the letter υ ψιλόν still suggests a pronunciation [ū]; for ψιλός is commonly used by Byzantine writers as the opposed term to δίφθογγος, and so in this case to distinguish the spelling υ from οι (which had come to have the same phonetic value: cf. p. 79 for ε̄ ψιλόν), and not the form ι.’ See also Horrocks (1997: 205) and Lauxtermann (2003: 319).

¹⁶³ M. Janse, ‘Aspects of Bilingualism in the History of the Greek Language’, in J. N. Adams, M. Janse, and S. Swain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text* (Oxford, 2002), 332-90, at 352-7.

Κωνσταντῖνος ἄναξ, θεράπων ἐμός· ὅστις ἄνολβος,
ὅστις ἐρικτήμων· ἐν πλέον ἐστὶ τάφος.

4.3 Place in Gregory's Life and Thought

Gregory always wanted to leave the world and lead an ascetic life; he often complains about the fact that he was forced to follow a different path of life. Cf. e.g. *carm.* II.1.1. 261-8 (ed. Tuilier-Bady):

ὡς ὄφελον κρημνοῖσι καὶ οὔρεσι καὶ σκοπέλοισι
κρύψαι τῶνδε πάροιθεν ἐμὸν δέμας· ἢ κεν ἅπαντα
τόνδε βίον, βιότου τε φυγῶν σαρκός τε μερίμνας,
Χριστὸν ὄλον φορέεσκον ἐνὶ φρεσίν, οἶος ἀπ' ἄλλων
ναιετάων, οἶψ τε Θεῶν νόον ἀγνὸν αἰείρων, 265
μέσφ' ὅτε καὶ κούφησι σὺν ἐλπίσι τέκμαρ ἐπέσπον.
Ἵφελον, ἀλλὰ πόθος με φίλων κατέρυκε τοκίων,
ἔλκων οἶα τάλαντον ἐπὶ χθόνα.

The wish for wings at the beginning of our poem may suggest that Gregory did not enjoy a completely tranquil environment at the time he composed the poem. And the catalogue of the different human types is also likely to suggest some influence from the real world. But there is no evidence for dating the poem in any precise way.

The poem's central idea is one often found in Gregory's texts: the vanity of human confidence, ambition and glory. Gregory is again heavily influenced by the style of Ecclesiastes (cf. Lozza [2000: 360, n. 429, on this poem]). Some of the thoughts expressed in our poem are found similarly expressed in other poems as well; in at least two cases there is extensive verbatim repetition. This shows how deeply these thoughts or images had entered Gregory's mind. For vv. 1-14 cf. *carm.* II.2.7.[1557-8] 86-98:

ἤθελον ἠερίης σκοπιῆς καθύπερθεν ἀερθεῖς
βρονταῖον πάντεσσι ἐπιχθονίοισιν αὔσαι·
Ἄνθρωποι θνητοὶ καὶ τέκτονες οὐδὲν ἐόντων
μέχρι τίνος ψεύστηρι καὶ ἡματίοισιν ὄνειροις
παιζόμενοι, παίζοντες, ἐπὶ χθονὶ μᾶψ ἀλάλησθε; 90
Λάτριες εἰδώλων κενεόφρονες, οἳ παθέεσσι
ἄλκαρ εἰός μήσασθε θεοὺς στήσασθαι ἀλιτρούς,
ψεύστας, ἀνδροφόνους, σκολιούς, ἐπίορκον ὁμοῦντας,
ἄρπαγας, ἀνδρογύνους, μοιχοὺς, ἐπιβήτορας ἀνδρῶν.
Ἄθρει δὴ πρῶτιστον ὅς' ἐπλετο μαργοσύνησι, 95
ταῦρος, κύκνος, χρυσός, ὄφις, πόσις, ἄρκτος, ἅπαντα
ὄσσα μιν ὠκύς ἄνωγεν ἔρωσ, κοῦρός τ' ἀλαπαδόνος,
ὡς αὐτοὶ γ' ἐνέπουσι θεῶν πλαστήρες ἀκιδνῶν.

and for vv. 48 and 51-6 cf. I.2.1.[576-7] 717-20 (with Sundermann's notes and improvements to the text):

δεῦρ' ἄγε καὶ Χριστοῖο παραιφασίης αἴοντες,
 κάλλος, ἐκλείην, πλοῦτον, γένος, ὄλβον, ἅπαντα
 ῥίψαντες, κακότητος ἀπηνέος ἔκγονα τερπνά,
 ἔνθεν ἀνεγρόμενοι, ζωῆς ἐπιβῶμεν ἐλαφρῆς.

Striking similarities and possible echoes of Gregory's thoughts on the vanity of human affairs, the fragility of life and the shared inevitability of death for all men are found in later Byzantine authors (see, e.g., my note on v. 44), especially the *troparia* by John of Damascus for the *Orthodox Funeral Service* (*Ακολουθία νεκρώσιμος εἰς κοσμικούς*); see my notes on vv. 10-14 and 38.

4.4 Comments on the Text

1. ἤθελον: this does not mean 'I used to wish' (Abrams Rebillard), but simply 'I wish' (cf. *ὡς ὄφελον ... κρύψαι* at *carm.* II.1.1. 261-2 and *ἤθελον ... ἀὔσαι* at *carm.* II.2.7. 86-7, both cited on the previous page); the usage is paralleled by the use of *ἐβουλόμην* (without *ἄν*) to express an unfulfilled or impossible wish (see Goodwin [1889: § 425]). Most examples come from orators, but there is one from poetry: *Ar. R.* 866 *ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὐκ ἐρίζειν ἐνθάδε*. In later Greek this use of *ἐβουλόμην* is extended to *ἤθελον* and *ἠύχόμην* (see NTG § 359.2 and cf. Moule [1953: 9]; Mandilaras [1973: 134-5]). An exact parallel to our case is *Galatians* 4.20: *ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄρτι* 'I wish I could be with you now' (cf. also *Romans* 9. 3 *ἠύχόμην ἀνάθεμα εἶναι*).

πέλεια τανύπτερος: 'a long-winged dove'; cf. *Od.* 22. 468 *ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἦ κίχλαι τανυσίπτεροι ἢ πέλειαι*; on doves' swiftness see *E. Ba.* 1990 *πελείας ὠκύτητ' οὐχ ἤσconec* (= *Chr. Pat.* 2014). The dove is often used in Greek literature as an image for panic or shyness, e.g. *Il.* 21. 493 *φύγεν ὡς τε πέλεια*; *A. Th.* 292-4 *πάντρομος πελείας* (with Hutchinson's note) and Gregory's 'escapist' wish suggests a similar context.

Moreover, biblical and patristic texts suggest that there was some reason for the combination of a dove and a swallow in particular; the main passage is *Isaia*s 38. 14 *ὡς χελιδών, οὕτω φωνήσω, καὶ ὡς περιστερά, οὕτω μελετήσω* (= *Odae* 11. 14), on which two Church fathers nearly contemporary with Gregory comment as follows: Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam* 2.14. 135-6 (ed. Ziegler) *εἶθ' ὡς χελιδὼν ἐφώνουν ἀποδυρόμενος καὶ ὡς περιστερὰ ἐμελέτων ἀποκλαόμενος* and Theodoretus, *Commentaria in Isaiam* 11. 461-3 (ed. Guinot) *χελιδόνος καὶ περιστερᾶς τὴν ἀδολεσχίαν μιμήσομαι ὕμνου*

ὕφαινων κοὶ τῷ χορηγῷ τῆς ζωῆς. Also, Ephraem Syrus in his *Sermo in eos, qui in Christo obdormierunt* (VI p. 96 Phrantzolas) writes on those ‘departed’: ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἀπεδήμησαν εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ αἰώνιον· ἐξῆλθον ἐξαίφνης, καὶ ἐπετάσθησαν ὡς περιστεραὶ καθαραὶ καὶ ἄσπιλοι· ἐπετάσθησαν ὡς τρυγόνες ἐρημικαὶ καὶ πάναγγοι· ἐπετάσθησαν ἐξ ἡμῶν ὡς χελιδόνες ἠδύλαλοι. Ἐχωρίσθησαν τῆς ποιμένης ἡμῶν ὡς ἀρνία καθαρά καὶ ἄγρια.

3. θήρεσιν ὀμέστιος: cf. Daniel 4. 25 (Theodotionis versio) καὶ ἐκδιώξουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μετὰ θηρίων ἀγρίων ἔσται ἡ κατοικία σου, καὶ χόρτον ὡς βοῦν ψωμιοῦσιν σε; also 4. 15 (Theodotionis versio) καὶ μετὰ τῶν θηρίων ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ χόρτῳ τῆς γῆς and 4. 17a.

But the passages cited above did not necessarily inspire Gregory, whose situation can hardly be compared to that of Nebuchadnezzar and his dream. The phrase remains somewhat unexpected. Perhaps it is intended to strike the reader who normally expects something different attached to *θήρεσιν* and *ὀμέστιος*: *Od.* 5. 473 *θήρεσιν ἔλωρ* (= A. R. 1. 1251); *Ar. fr.* 675 K.-A. *ὀμέστιος θεοῖς* (cf. *Emp. fr.* 147. 6 D.-K. *ἀθανάτοισ ἀλλοιοῖσιν ὀμέστιοι*). Cf. *Gr. Naz. carm.* I.2.2.[620] 524 *οὐ θηρεὶ ναίουσιν ὀμέστιοι ὠμοβόροισιν* (with the parallels cited by Zehles-Zamora).

4. πιστότεροι μερόπων: *μερόπων* is a poetic word, used in the plural as an epithet of men in Homer and later as a plural noun, a metonym for men (see LSJ s.v. *μέροψ*). *πιστότατοι* (α₃E ε₁) is a mistake; it would mean that the beasts are human beings.

Gregory perhaps has in mind two biblical stories in particular: the behaviour of the lions towards Daniel (Daniel 6), as well as Jonah and the large fish. Cf. also Job 5. 22-3 *ἀπὸ δὲ θηρίων ἀγρίων οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆς· θῆρες γὰρ ἄγριοι εἰρηνεύουσίν σοι*; Daniel 3. 81 *εὐλογεῖτε, τὰ θηρία καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη, τὸν κύριον* (= *Odae* 8. 81). It is worth mentioning that the animal which usually symbolizes loyalty in Greek literature is the dog; cf., e.g., the story of Odysseus’ dog (*Od.* 17.290-327) and *Ar. Byz. Epit.* 2.201. 35-6 (p. 83.6-7 Lambros) *ὡς ἐμέ γε ἀλγεῖν εἶπερ οὖν ἀνθρώπων πιστότερος καὶ εὐνοῦντερος ἐλήλεγκται ὁ κύων ἄν.*

There is no doubt that Gregory hints here at what he suffered from his fellow human beings, even from friends; cf., for example, his *ep.* 80. 2 *τὰ τῶν φίλων ἄπιστα*.

ἡμάτιον βίον ἔλκειν: ‘lead my daily life’; the phrase *ἡμάτιος βίος* is not found elsewhere in Greek literature. But similar phrases occur, such as *ὁ καθ’ ἡμέραν βίος* at e.g. *E. Alc.* 788-9 *τὸν καθ’ ἡμέραν | βίον λογίζου σύν* and *Aeschin. In Timarchum* 153 *πῶς τὸν καθ’ ἡμέραν βίον ζῆ*.

βίον ἔλκειν is found only twice in classical literature, in Euripides, but is more common in late antique and Byzantine authors; at *E. Or.* 206-7 *βίστον ... ἔλκω* and *Ph.* 1535 *ἔλκεις μακρόπνουν ζοάν*, ‘the metaphor in *ἔλκω* is of toilsome action’ (Mastronarde on *E. Ph.* 1535), but in Gregory and others

ἔλκω is probably used with the same meaning as ἔχω. Cf. [Man.] *Apot.* 4. 369 βίον ἔλκει |; Gregory Thaumaturgos, *Paraphrasis in Ecclesiastem* 4 (M. 10.1000) ὁ δὲ βίον ἀκοινώνητον ἔλκων; Gr. Naz. *or.* 2.100. 8 (ed. Bernardi) βίον ἔλκειν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀκύμαντον; *or.* 43.80. 28 (ed. Bernardi) βίον ἔλκων ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ οὐκ εὐδρομον; *carm.* Π.2.4.[1506] 4 ἐφημέριον βίον ἔλκειν; I.1. 37.[520] 27 κακότητος ἀμιγέα σοὶ βίον ἔλκων; Synesius, *Ἦμνη* 9. 30 βιοτᾶν ἀσημιον ἔλκειν; Nonnus, *D.* 35. 76-7 βίον ἔλκει | ἄμβροτον.

5. Four negative adjectives (two with νη- and two with α-) are juxtaposed in this line; the force of the first three is stressed by *asyndeton*, which reminds readers of the *asyndeton* at *Od.* 4. 221 (cited below).

νηπενθή: the word is used at *Od.* 4. 221 of an Egyptian drug which was *νηπενθές τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἀπάντων* (= Gr. Naz. *carm.* Π.2.5. [1356] 202); it means 'quieting all pain'. Gregory dreams of a life in the desert which would banish all the pain of his previous life. However, Plutarch (?) uses the phrase *νηπενθέως ἀνέτλη* (*Consolatio ad Apollonium* 118e) to describe how Pericles bore the deaths of his sons within seven days of each other without feeling or at least showing sorrow. Gregory's βίον ἔλκειν | νηπενθή may indeed mean 'νηπενθέως ζῆν', but in this case this will not mean a life completely free from sorrow and pain; the tears of repentance and the pains of spiritual labour are always part of a conscious Christian life, e.g. *carm.* I.2.17. 61 δάκρυα πᾶσιν ἄριστον, ἀϋπνίη τε πόνοι τε (with my note). Thus, in Gregory's case, the word could only describe a life free from the pain caused by human relationships and involvement in public activities; he has made very clear elsewhere how much he suffered while serving in Church offices. For the avoidance of particular sorrows, cf. St Paul's reference to the troubles of married life at 1 Cor 7. 28 θλίψιν δὲ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐξοῦσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῶν φείδομαι, although διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (Acts 14. 22).

νήποιον: in *carm.* Π.1.19. 36 Gregory explains his sufferings as follows: *ποινὴν δ' ἀμπλακίης τίνω τάδε* (see my note); so *νήποιον* here could mean a life without having to suffer the injurious consequences of living and taking action in the world.¹⁶⁴

According to some ancient scholars, the prefix νή- could have an intensifying force: Schol. *Od.* 1. 380 (ed. Dindorf) *νήποινοι· πολύποινοι* and 19. 498, where Aristarchus understands *νηλίτιδες* as *πολυαμάρτητοι, τοῦ νη ἐπι-*

¹⁶⁴ *Od.* 1. 160 ἀλλότριον βιοτον νήποιον ἐδουσιν (on the suitors consuming another man's livelihood with impunity) is not imitated here by Gregory, as claimed by U. Criscuolo in 'Sulla poesia di Gregorio di Nazianzo', *FAM* 4 (1993), 7-26, at 15 (n. 18), a note repeated in his 'Sugli Epigrammi di Gregorio di Nazianzo', in G. Lozza-S. Martinelli Tempesta (eds.), *L'epigramma greco. Problemi e prospettive. Atti del Congresso della Consulta Universitaria del Greco, Milano, 21 ottobre 2005* [Quaderni di Acme, 91] (Milan, 2007), 23 (n. 18).

τατικοῦ ὄντως (cf. Hollis on *νήχυτος* at Call. *Hec.* fr. 11 = 236. 3 Pfeiffer); but in *νήποινον* in our case, as well as in *νηπενθής* at *Od.* 4. 221, the prefix must have a negative force; however, *νηπενθής* in Gregory's verse would make sense with the meaning *πολυπενθής* (cf. I.2.17. 25-6 *ὄλβιος [...] ὅστις ἔχει ζωὴν ἐνθάδε πενθαλήην*), though not only with this meaning (see previous note on *νηπενθή*).

ἀκηδέα: 'without care', used as active here (see LSJ, s.v. *ἀκηδής* II), as at *Il.* 21. 123 and 24. 526 (on gods, who live without sorrows). But the *κῆδος* which Gregory does not want to suffer is that of worldly cares: *carm.* I.2.3. [639] 79 *οὐ δὲ μέριμνα μία πρὸς Θεὸν αἰεὶ βλέπειν* and *or.* 3.8. 7-8 (ed. Bernardi) *μηδὲ ταῖς βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις κυμπνίγοιτο ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἄκαρποι γίνοιθε* (cf. also *Matt.* 13. 22).

ἄθηρον: this is a rare adjective meaning 'without wild beasts', e.g. *Hdt.* 4. 185; *Plut.* 86b *ἐπεὶ δὲ χώραν μὲν ἄθηρον ὡς περ ἱστοροῦσι τὴν Κρήτην εὐρεῖν ἔστι* (cf. *Gr. Naz. carm.* I.2.14. 49 [ed. Domiter] *χώρην μὲν τιν' ἄθηρον ἀκούομεν, ὡς ποτε Κρήτην*). But what Gregory means in our poem by *ἄθηρον* is 'distinguished from beasts'; cf. *carm.* I.2.29. 169-70 (ed. Knecht) *Ὀρφεὺς θήρας ἔπειθε, σὺ δ' ἀνέρας, οἷσιν ὁμοῖος | θήρεσιν ἔστι νόος θηλυμανῆς τε βίος* and *Daniel* 4. 16 (Theodotionis versio) *ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλοιωθήσεται, καὶ καρδία θηρίου δοθήσεται αὐτῷ*.

6. θεότητος ἴδριν νόον: 'τῆς θεότητος ἔμπειρον νοῦν' (Par. A). It is possible to acquire such *νοῦς* by studying the words of God: *carm.* I.2.31.[914] 44-6 *ἔστι καοφροσύνης καὶ τι γαληνὸν ἔχειν, | οἷγειν ἐν λογίοις Θεοῦ νόον αἰέν, ἄριστον. | ἴδριν ἐπουρανίων ὡδ' ἄν ἔοικ νομίμων*; cf. I.2.2.[617] 490 *ἔστι καὶ ἐν θνητοῖσι νόος θεότητι πελάζων*; *II.1.19.* 42 *καὶ νόον ὑψι βιβάντα τεῆ θεότητι πελάζων*.

οὐρανοφοίτην: 'frequenting heaven'. The adjectives *οὐρανοφοίτης* or *οὐρανόφοιτος* (cf. *οὐρεσιφοίτης* and *οὐρεσίφοιτος*, which is found at I.2.17. 43, with my note) occur only three times in surviving literature before Gregory: at an oracle of Hecate cited by Porphyry (*De philosophia ex oculis haurienda* 2 [p. 151 Wolff]): *ἦδ' ἐγὼ εἰμι κόρη πολυφάσματος, οὐρανόφοιτος*, as well as in two magical papyri dated to the fourth century AD (PGM 2. 89 *οὐρανοφοίτα* and 4. 1370 *οὐρανοφοίτους*). The oracle is also cited by Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 4.23 (ed. Mras-Des Places) and John Lydus, *De mensibus* 3. 10 (p. 44. 8 Wünsch). Thus, it would not be surprising if Gregory, who uses the word five times in his poems¹⁶⁵, was also aware of this oracle.

¹⁶⁵ I.1.12.[474] 33 (on Apostle John); I.2.1.[547] 326 (on St Paul); I.2.2.[629] 652 and II.2.5. [1532] 146 (on virgins); II.1.13.[1236] 109 (on a bishop?). Cf. Hesych. ο 1842 *οὐρανοφοιτῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ διατρίβειν* (*Greg. Naz.?*). The word occurs in later Byzantine authors and lexica, e.g. John of Thessaloniki (*Miracula sancti Demetrii*) 4 (I, p. 84.10 Lemerle) *ἡ τοῦ μάρτυρος οὐρανόφοιτος χάρις*; John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei* 97. 33 (ed. Kotter) *Ἡλιας, ὁ [...] οὐρανοφοί-*

7. γαληνιόωντι: the Epic participle *γαληνιόων*, -ωσα of *γαληνιάω* is rare. It occurs in *Orphei hymni* (2 x); [Oppian] (1 x), *AP* 5.35 (Rufin.), Gregory (5 x), Proclus (1 x), Nonnus (2 x), John of Gaza (2 x) and *AP* 9.208 (Anon.).

φάος: on God being ‘not merely the source of illumination but light itself’ see Sykes on I.1.3. 20-3 (ed. Moerschini); cf. also his note on I.1.3. 45 in the same edition and 1 John 1. 5 ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶν καὶ σκοτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία.

ἀγείρω: M. prints *ἀγείρων*, transmitted by most manuscripts. But ὡς κε introduces a final clause with subjunctive (Goodwin [1889: §325-8]) and *ἀγείρω*, the reading of Am (s. X), as well as S, Di and Gu, is the original reading. It is also a preference of Gregory to place ὡς κε at the beginning of a verse and the verb at the very end, as at *Il.* 19. 151 ὡς κέ τις αὐτ’ Ἀχιλλῆα μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἰδῆται (cf. *Od.* 5. 26, 144, 168; 22. 177): e.g. *carm.* II.1.19. 34 ὡς κεν ἀριστεύσαντι γέρας καὶ κῦδος ὀπάσσης, II.1.1. 49 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) ὡς κεν λαμπομένης ποτ’ ἐς ὕστερον ἀστράψωσιν, 105, 554; I.1.2. 53 (ed. Moerschini); I.2.2.[595] 216, [620] 525; II.1.83.[1429] 11, II.2.3.[1480] 3, II.2.5.[1525] 47.

8. ἡερίης σκοπιῆς: ‘a lookout-place high in the air’; *σκοπιή* is a Homeric word (e.g. *Il.* 4. 275 and *Od.* 4. 524 ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς εἶδεν), where it usually means ‘a hill-top’. But *ἡερίης σκοπιῆς* is possibly a reminiscence of Call. *Del.* 59 τῷ ῥα καὶ αὐτῇ μὲν σκοπιῆν ἔχεν αἰθέρος εἶω (on Hera shadowing Leto). Cf. also Philo Jud. *De specialibus legibus* 3. 2 (ed. Cohn) τότε δὴ τότε διακύπτων ἄνωθεν ἀπ’ αἰθέρος καὶ τείνων ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς τὸ τῆς διανοίας ὄμμα κατεθεώμην τὰς ἀμυθήτους θεωρίας τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων and Manuel Gabalas, *Epistulae* B9 (ed. Reinsch) ἦπου σὺ γενόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ σκοπιᾶς τινος αἰθερίου τῆς τῆς ἀπλανοῦς θεωρίας τοῦ νοῦ.

ἀερθεῖς: *αἶρω* as intransitive or passive is used of heavenly bodies, e.g. S. *Ph.* 1330-1 ἔωσ ἄν αὐτὸς ἥλιος | ταύτη μὲν αἶρω and E. *Alc.* 450-1 ἀειρομένας | παννύχου κελάνας (see DGE, s.v. *αἶρω* B II 1; cf. Renehan [1975: 14]); in the context of Gregory’s *ἡερίης σκοπιῆς*, *ἀερθεῖς* may indeed remind learned readers of its use with celestial bodies and create an image of Gregory rising above the earth like the sun.

For *καθύπερθεν ἀερθεῖς* cf. Nonn. *Par.Eu.Io.* 13. 83 πτέρην κερδαλέην ἐμέθεν καθύπερθεν ἀείρω.

9. αὔσαι: this is what the syntax strictly requires, after all the infinitives which depend on ἦθελον. But most of the manuscripts transmit *αὔσω*, printed by M.. This could be an easy mistake after *ἀγείρω* (v. 7) and *ἀερθεῖς* (v. 8). The main verb of the sentence is still ἦθελον, and *αὔσαι* is supported

της; Nicetas David, *Homilia* 5 (p. 293.18 Lebrun); Suda ο 938 οὐρανοβάμονος: τοῦ οὐρανοφοίτου.

by *carm.* II.2.7.[1557] 86-7 (cited on p. 221) and *Od.* 9. 65 *πρίν τινα τῶν δειλῶν ἐτάρων τρις ἕκαστον αὖσαι.*

For *αὖω* with adverbial accusative (such as *μέγα, μακρόν, διαπρύσιον* and *δεινόν*) see DGE, s.v. 2 *αὖω* 1. For *βρονταῖον αὖω* cf. Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.1.2. 71 (ed. Moreschini) *βρονταίης φωνῆς*.¹⁶⁶ For *πάντεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν* (5 x Gr. Naz. *carm.*) cf. Hes. *Th.* 372 *πάντεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοισι* (= Theoc. 17. 125); *Od.* 8. 479 *πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν.*

10-14. Gregory asks a rhetorical question about the vanity of normal human activity. It is notable that in the first (more general) statement he includes himself (*φουσιόωμεν*), but when it comes to deceitful dreams, childish and wasteful activities, or vain wanderings, he changes the person of the verb (*ἀλάληθε*). His thoughts are full of commonplaces and his tone recalls particularly Ecclesiastes. For some interesting (but not always very close) parallels in classical literature see H. Fränkel, ‘Man’s “Ephemeros” Nature According to Pindar and Others’, *TAPhA* 77 (1946) 131-45. For later parallels, cf. e.g. the beginning of a troparion by John of Damascus from the *Troparia in the Funeral Service (Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα* [Venice, 1869], 413) with v. 38 of this poem:

ποῦ ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου προσπάθεια; Ποῦ ἔστιν ἡ τῶν προσκαίρων φαντασία; Ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ χρυσοῦς καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος; Ποῦ ἔστι τῶν οἰκετῶν ἡ πλημμύρα καὶ ὁ θόρυβος; Πάντα κόνις, πάντα τέφρα, πάντα σκιά.

10. Theophilus, in his apologetic work *Ad Autolyicum* 2. 36, cites an otherwise unknown Sibylline fragment (*Orac.Sib.* fr. 1 Geffcken); Clemens (*Stromata* 3.3.14. 3) cites its first verse only, which is here imitated by Gregory: *ἄνθρωποι θνητοὶ καὶ κάρκινιοι, οὐδὲν ἐόντες.* In fact, it is likely that Gregory was also aware of the next lines of this fragment; cf. l. 2 of the fragment *πῶς ταχέως ὑψοῦσθε βίου τέλος οὐκ ἐσορῶντες; ~ vv. 2-3 οἱ θανάτῳ ζῶντες ἐτώσια φουσιόωμεν, | μέχρι τίνος [...].*

ἄνθρωποι θνητοί: a commonplace; cf. e.g. *Od.* 24. 64 *θνητοὶ τ’ ἄνθρωποι.*

ροίης γένος: M. follows the accentuation of the manuscripts and prints *ροίης*: this form belongs to *ρόα*, or later *ροιά*, which means the pomegranate tree or fruit. But Gregory obviously uses here a form of the word *ρόη* (cf. Par. A ‘*ρέυσεως γένος, ρευστοί*’ and Par. B ‘*γένος ρευστόν*’), which is used as a philosophical term meaning ‘flux’; cf. Pl. *Tht.* 152e. 8 *Ὁμηρος, <δ> εἰπών — Ὀκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν πάντα εἶρηκεν ἔκγονα ροῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως* and LSJ, s.v. *ρέω* 1. 5, with references to Heraclitean philosophers. This form of *ρόη* should be accentuated as *ροία* (see Chandler [1881: §

¹⁶⁶ This is the earliest occurrence of the form *βρονταίη* and not the use by Nonnus cited in DGE (s.v. *βρονταῖος*). Under the same lemma, we get ‘*φωνή* Gr.Nyss. Eun.3.2.16’, but not Gregory’s verse.

107] and cf. LSJ, s.v.),¹⁶⁷ rightly printed at *carm.* II.1.28.[1288] 5-7 *εἰ ροίης γένος εἰμί, τί μ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἔσκεις, | εἰ πνεύσθην θεόθεν, τίπτε με πηλόδετον, | Χριστέ, φέρεις*; Cf. also *carm.* I.2.15.[769] 43 *ροίης [ροίης M.] μὲν γόνος εἰμί, μόγω δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ*; I.2.1.[554] 426 *ροίη [ροίη M.] τικτομένοισι καὶ ὀλλυμένοιισι γενέθλη*;¹⁶⁸ I.2.14. 73 (ed. Domiter) *ρέυσις γὰρ μ' ἐφύτευεν* (with Domiter's note).

οὐδὲν ἔόντες: 'being worthless' or 'counting for nothing'. The phrase occurs particularly in tragedy: e.g. *E. Cys.* 667 *οὐδὲν ὄντες*; *Andr.* 700 *ὄντες οὐδένας*; *HF* 634-5 *οἱ τ' ἀμείνονες βροτῶν | οἱ τ' οὐδὲν ὄντες*; it is used by Philoctetes of himself at *S. Ph.* 951 *οὐδὲν εἰμ' ὁ δύσμορος*, 1030 *ὅς οὐδὲν εἰμι*. Cf. Gregory's *carm.* I.2.15.[766] 3-4 *οὐδὲν ἔόντες, | ὄφρυν μαψιδίως τείνομεν ἡμέριοι*, and the Homeric formula *θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες* | (4 x *Il.*; 4 x *Od.*).

11. θανάτῳ ζῶντες: 'despite the fact that we live to die'; also at *carm.* II.2.5.[1532] 142 (on *ὄσοις νόος ἐκτὶ κάκιςτος*) *οἱ θανάτῳ ζῶντες, ἔδν μῶρον ἀμφαγαπῶσι*. Cf. *Eccl.* 3. 19

ὅτι συνάντημα υἰῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ συνάντημα τοῦ κτήνους, συνάντημα ἔν αὐτοῖς· ὡς ὁ θάνατος τούτου, οὕτως ὁ θάνατος τούτου, καὶ πνεῦμα ἔν τοῖς πᾶσιν· καὶ τί ἐπερίσσειεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος παρὰ τὸ κτήνος; οὐδὲν, ὅτι τὰ πάντα ματαιότης.

and Palladas (*AP* 10. 85)

πάντες τῷ θανάτῳ τηρούμεθα καὶ τρεφόμεθα
ὡς ἀγέλη χοίρων σφαζομένων ἀλόγως.

ἐτώσια φουσιῶμεν: the verb *φουσιῶ* in the sense 'to make proud' or 'to be puffed up' is largely limited to Christian literature (see NTL, s.v. *φουσιῶ*); cf. *AP* 8.28. 1 (= *carm.* II.2.7.[1573] 5) *ἐτώσια φουσιῶντα*; I.2.1.[550] 369 (= II. 1.1.[1005] 471) *ἐτώσια φουσιῶντες*. *φουσιῶ* already has the notion of exaggeration and pointless (*ἐτώσια*). Cf. also *Theoc.* 1. 38 (= 7. 48) *ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι* |.

12-13. = *carm.* II.2.7.[1557-8] 89-90.

μέχρι τίνος: cf. e.g. *Thgn.* 1299 *ὦ παῖ, μέχρι τίνος με προφύξαι*;

ψεύστησι καὶ ἡματιοῖσιν ὄνειροις: cf. *Eccl.* 5. 6 *ὅτι ἐν πλήθει ἐνυπνίων καὶ ματαιότητες καὶ λόγοι πολλοί*; *Gr. Naz. carm.* II.1.1.[976] 89 *τερπόμενον ψεύστησι καὶ ἀδρανέεσσιν ὄνειροις*, [992] 290-1 *οἱ με καὶ ἐννυχίοισι κακοῖς ἐρέθουσιν ὄνειροις* | (*φροντίσιν ἡματίαις γὰρ ὁμοῖα φάσματα νυκτός*); *Io. D. Troparia on the Funeral Service (Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα* [Venice, 1869], 413) *πάντα ὄνειρων ἀπατηλότερα*.

¹⁶⁷ LSJ prints *ροία*, although the only case it cites (*Hp. Loc.Hom.* 9) reads *ροίαί* (in the edition of Littré [Paris, 1849]). At *Hp. Loc.Hom.* 9. 2 and 21. 1 Joly (Paris, 1978) prints the *lectio facillior* *ροαί*.

¹⁶⁸ Sundermann (on I.2.1.[554] 426) keeps the form *ροίη* as transmitted by the MSS and printed by M..

For the diction cf. also Nonn. *D.* 15. 96 ἡματίοις δ' ὀάριζε νοοπλανέεσσιν ὄνειροις and *Od.* 19. 562 δοιαί γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὄνειρων, a verse cited by lexicographers (Photius s.v. τυφλῶν ὄνειρων [p. 611.18-9 Porson]; Suda τ 1218; *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. τυφλῶν ὄνειρων [p. 772.24 Kallierges]) with ψευστάων instead of ἀμενηνῶν.

παιζόμενοι, παίζοντες: a proverbial phrase, at least by Gregory's time; its meaning is perhaps 'playing like children' or 'wasting our time in useless pursuits'; cf. e.g. Ephr. Syr. Λόγοι (IV p. 66.11-12 Phrantzolas) ὦ, πῶς οὐκ ἠγωνικάμεθα οἱ ἄθλιοι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμελείᾳ τὸν καιρὸν ἀπωλέσαμεν, παίζοντες καὶ παιζόμενοι; George Pisides, *De vita humana* 69 παιζόμενοι παίζοντες ἐν εὐτροχάλοισι θεήτροις; for the metaph. use of παίζω cf. Heraclit. 52 D.-K. αἰῶν παῖς ἐστὶ παίζων. The combination of the active with the middle/passive in this case perhaps recalls phrases like πλανῶντες καὶ πλανώμενοι (2 Tim. 3. 13) or φερόντων καὶ φερομένων (e.g. Chrys. *Expositiones in Psalmos* M. 55.47. 42-3); cf. Gr. Naz. *or.*42.22. 14-21 (ed. Bernardi) referring to the opportunism of the bishops:

ὡςπερ οὖν εἰ μειρακίων ἐν ἀγορᾷ παίζόντων ἐν μέσῳ παιζομένων αἰσχρὸν ἂν ἦν λιαν καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν καταλιπόντας τὰς οικείας διατριβὰς ἐκείνοις συμφέρεσθαι — οὐ γὰρ ὠραῖον γῆρα παίδων ἀθύρματα —, οὕτως οὐδ' εἰ φερόντων καὶ φερομένων τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸς τι βέλτιον τῶν πολλῶν γινώσκων, δεξαίμην ἂν ἐκείνων εἰς εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ, ὅπερ εἰμί, μετὰ τῆς ἀφανίας ἐλευθερος.

For παίδων ἀθύρματα (in the passage cited above) cf. Heraclit. 70 D.-K. παίδων ἀθύρματα νενόμικεν εἶναι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα δοξάσματα. In the case of our poem the phrase παίζόμενοι παίζοντες is to be taken with ὄνειροις (v. 12): 'being dallied by and dallying with your false day-dreams'.

ἐπὶ χθονὶ μὰψ ἀλάλησθε: 'wander vainly on earth'. ἐπὶ χθονὶ is frequent in Homer (and Gregory) at this metrical *sedes* (e.g. *Il.* 18. 461 ἐπὶ χθονὶ θυμὸν ἀχεύων); for μὰψ (= μαψιδίως) ἀλάλησθαι cf. *Od.* 3. 72 (= 9. 253) ἦ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἢ μαψιδίως ἀλάλησθε and Gregory's μὰψ ἀλάλητο (*carm.* I.2.1. [527] 62).

14. For the exhortation cf. E. *IT.* 1322-4 μὴ ἴταυθα τρέψῃς σὴν φρέν', ἀλλ' ἄκουέ μου· | σαφῶς δ' ἀθρήσας καὶ κλύων ἐκφρόντιστον | διωγμὸν.

ἄθρει δῆ: 'now observe' or 'consider'; the imperative is particularly common in Plato.

πραπίδεσσι τεαῖς ἐπὶ πάντας ὀδεύων: 'passing by all (kinds of people) with your mind', 'visiting all in your fantasy'. *πραπίδεσσι* is a Hom. dat. of the poetic word *πραπίδες* = *φρένες* (cf. *carm.* I.2.2.[596] 235 *πραπίδεσσι τεῆσι*). For ὀδεύω with ἐπὶ cf. *Il.* 11.569 ἐπὶ νῆας ὀδεύειν |; [Opp]. *Cyn.* 2.228 ἐπὶ πόντον ὀδεύει |, 518 ἐπὶ χέρσον ὀδεύειν |.

15-16. Cf. *carm.* II.2.7.[1552] 18-20 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ (δὴ γάρ με Θεὸς μέγας ἴδριν ἔθηκεν | οὐρανίων χθονίων τε, νόος δ' ἐπὶ πάντα φορεῖται | βένθε' ἀνι-

χνεύων μεγάλου *ὦν Πνεύματος αἴγλη*). Cf. also A. R. 4. 1558-9 *ἔξερέω· δὴ γάρ με πατὴρ ἐπίστορα πόντου | θῆκε Ποσειδάων τοῦδ' ἔμμεναι* (for *ἐπίστορα* and *ἴδριν* cf. A. R. 2. 870-2 *οὐ μὲν ἄρηος | ἴδριν ἔοντ' ἐμὲ τόσσον ἄγει μετὰ κῶας Ἰήων | Παρθενίης ἀπάνευθεν ὄσον τ' ἐπίστορα νηῶν*).

ὡς καὶ ἐγώ: this phrase opens four Homeric lines and four verses of Gregory (in both cases three of the four read *ὡς*).

δὴ γάρ ... *κυγεῶν τε*: the exact meaning of this phrase is not clear. Gregory has clarified elsewhere that he is not grateful to God for his experiences with unpleasant people. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that an indirect complaint may be expressed here. *δὴ γάρ* is another Homeric touch; cf. A. R. 4. 1558 cited above.

Θεὸς μέγας: the phrase *θεὸς μέγας* or *μέγας θεός* occurs at the same metrical place in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 16.531, 21.248, 24.90; cf. Call. *Del.* 30; 6 x *Orac.Sib.*; 10 x Gr. Naz., always *Θεὸς μέγας*). Cf., e.g., Ps. 76.14 *τίς θεὸς μέγας ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*; 94. 3 *ὅτι θεὸς μέγας κύριος*. See M. Bissinger, *Das Adjektiv μέγας in der griechischen Dichtung* (Munich, 1966), 64-74. These parallels explain why the adjective *μέγας* better qualifies *Θεός* (the majority of the manuscripts, including L and Am) than *ἴδριν*, as in M. who prints *μέγαν*.

ἔθλων τε *κυγεῶν τε*: cf. e.g. *Od.* 20. 86 *ἔθλων ἠδὲ κακῶν*, 6. 189 *ἔθλοισ' ἠδὲ κακοῖσιν*; *Il.* 6. 489 *οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἔθλον*; Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.2. 4.[1514] 112 *ἔθλην τε *κυγεῶν* τε*; II.2.5.[1526] 64 | *ἔθλοισ τε *κυγεῶν* τε*.

νοός δ' ἐπὶ πάντα φορεῖται: 'and the mind travels everywhere'; this is how what he asks at v. 14 can be realized. Cf. Ps.-Macarius, *hom.* 18. 7 (ed. Berthold) *ὡςπερ ὁ θεὸς ἀκατάληπτός ἐστι καὶ ἀπερίγραφτος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ νοῦς πανταχοῦ φέρεται καὶ ἔνθα οὐκ ἐγένετο παραγίνεται*; Marcus Aurelius, *Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν* 8. 60.

φορεῖται (= *φέρεται* 'in repeated or habitual action': LSJ) occurs at the end of several Hellenistic hexameters: e.g. Call. fr. 178.17 Pfeiffer; Theoc. *Id.* 1. 83; Nic. *Th.* 343; 4 x Arat..

17-22. Cosmas comments only on these verses of our poem (Λόγος Η', p. 120.4-121.6 Lozza). He remembers ancient Greek heroes, and particularly Achilles in v. 17; Ajax in v. 18; Diomedes in *ἀγῶνι κύδιμος* (20-1); Hector in *ἀρήϊος* (21), because he is compared to Ares by Homer (Cosmas cites *Il.* 5. 592 and 603-4); overall he remembers Hercules. He adds that all these heroes have gone and they will not be resurrected and that Gregory uses the example of them to stress the permanent value of virtue (*ὥστε τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀοίδιμον κλέος καὶ κτῆμα διαιωνίζον εἴ τις ἤρατο τῶν ἐκ γῆς διαπλασθέντων, ἐπίδοξος καὶ ζηλωτὸς τοῖς οὐρανίοις*). However, the examples used by Gregory may not refer to specific people from the past. Gregory asks his reader to bring to mind all kinds of people (*πραπίδεσσι *τεαῖς ἐπὶ πάντας ὀδεύων**) and think about such typical cases as the ones he describes.

At vv. 8-9 Gregory places himself on an *ἡερίην σκοπιήν* and, if this is to help him not only address all people, but also locate his *exempla*, one could recall Lucian's *Icaromenippus* (15-16), where Menippus' flight over the earth gives him a critical view of human society.

17. εὐχος ἑταίρων: according to LSJ, *εὐχος* is used of persons first by Antip. Sid. (*AP* 7.27) *Ἀνάκρεον, εὐχος Ἰώνων*.

18. ὕψι βιβάσ: 'stepping high'. M. prints *ὕψι βιβάσ*. For *ὕψι βιβάσ* cf. my note on *ὕψι βιβάντα* at *carm.* II.1.19. 42 and *h.Ap.* 202 (= 516) | *καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάσ*.

μελέεσσι ἐριζώοι: 'with limbs full of life'. *ἐρίζωος* is a *hapax*; cf. Hesych. ε 5828 *ἐρίζωοισι· πάνν ζωίν* (*Greg. Naz. c. 2, 1, 32, 18*) and *Lex. Cas. ε 194 ἐριζώοισι· πολυζώοισι*.

πεπηγώς: M. prints *τεθηλώς*, but the majority of the manuscripts, including the oldest Am (s. X), and Cosmas¹⁶⁹ transmit *πεπηγώς*, which makes better sense in this context; cf. e.g. II.2.5.[1527] 83 *εἰ δὲ πένης, φρενοπλήξ τε καὶ οὐ μελέεσσι πεπηγώς*, *Plu. Cat. Ma.* 24. 1 *αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ σώματι πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην ἀσφαλῶς πεπηγώς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀντείχεν*. But *τεθηλώς* is not impossible and this, combined with a physical corruption of the MS or a possible influence of phrases like those cited below, may have contributed to the mistake: *Od.* 12. 103 *φύλλοισι τεθηλώς* |; II.1.13.[1232] 69 *ἀγγελικῆσι χοροστασίῃσι τεθηλός* |.

19. κάλλιμος: a Homeric word, 'poet. for *καλός*' (LSJ).

ἔωσφόρος: the word is used of the Morning-star by Homer, Hesiod and Pindar, among others, but this is perhaps the first time it is used 'of illustrious persons (cf. *ἀστήρ* II)': LSJ (Revised Supplement), which cites only *Nonn. D.* 5. 208 *Ἀονίης Πολύδωρον Ἐωσφόρον ἀστέρα πάτρης*.

ὄμματα πάντων: cf. *Xen. Symp.* 1.9 *ὥσπερ ὅταν φέγγος τι ἐν νυκτὶ φανῆ, πάντων προσάγεται τὰ ὄμματα, οὕτω καὶ τότε τοῦ Αὐτολύκου τὸ κάλλος πάντων εἴλκε τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς αὐτόν* (cf. *Ath.* 5. 188a and *Epit.* 5.188a [II.1 p. 65 Peppink]); *Gr. Naz. Carm.* I.2.4.[640] 1-2 *ἄγνευε πᾶσι, Παρθένε, καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι | πάντων μάλιστα*; *Theod. Prodr. Carm. hist.* 6. 43-4 (ed. Hörandner) *ὄμματα δ' ἀνδρῶν | πάντα περιτροπάδην ἐπικύρεται*.

20. εἶραρος ἄνθος ἐν ἀνδράσι: cf. *Sap. Sal.* 2.7 *καὶ μὴ παροδευκάτω ἡμᾶς ἄνθος ἔαρος*; *Tyrt. fr.* 10. 28-30 *West ὄφρ' ἐρατῆς ἤβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχη, | ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητὸς ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξὶ | ζωὸς ἐὼν, καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσῶν*.

21-2. ἔντεσιν ... ἀρήϊος: cf. *Il.* 3. 339 *Μενέλαος ἀρήϊος ἔντε' ἔδυνεν*; 10. 407 *ἔντεα κεῖται ἀρήϊα*; for the syntax cf. [Opp.] *C.* 4. 189 *ἐν πολέμοισιν ἀρήϊον ἄνδρα κραταιόν*, 3. 450 *μάλ' ἀρήϊος ἐν πραπίδεσσι*.

¹⁶⁹ In both his text and his scholia: *μέλεσι πεπηγότα μεγάλων ζώων τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντα* (p. 120.17 Lozza) ('Telamonian Ajax standing firm with limbs as of large animals').

ἄριστος ... οὐρεσι: in classical texts *θηροφόνος* is usually an epithet of Artemis, but *ἄριστος θηροφόνων* here seems to mean ‘the best hunter’; cf. E. *Phaeth.* 75-6 ἤδη δ’ εἰς ἔργα κυνα- | γοὶ στείχουσιν θηροφόνοι, Schol. on Opp. *H.* 2. 350 (θηροφόνων τις ἀνὴρ) θηροφόνων· κυνηγετικῶν, κυνηγετῶν; Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.50.[1386] 17-18 ὡς ὅτε τις λις | ἄλκιμος, ἐμπλεχθεὶς ἄρκυσι θηροφόνων.

κάρτος ἐγείρων: *κάρτος* is to be understood as ‘violence, force’ (LSJ, s.v. *κάρτος*) and the use of *ἐγείρω* (‘provoke’ or ‘rouse up’) here may have been influenced by cases like Thgn. 549 πόλεμον ... ἐγείρει; App. *Hann.* 177 θόρυβον πολὺν ἐγείρειν; Phil. 1. 17 θλίψιν ἐγείρειν (cf. DGE, s.v. *ἐγείρω* B II and NTL, s.v. *ἐγείρω* 5). Cf. Q. S. 5. 108 ὄρνυτο κάρτος and Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.88.[1437] 49-50 καὶ στέμμα τ’ ἐξ ἀγόνων | θηροκτόνον τε κάρτος.

The readings of the paraphrases deserve some attention here. Par. A offers ‘δόξαν συνάγων’ and Par. B ‘τὸ κράτος ἐπιδεικνύμενος’. *συνάγων* seems to represent *ἀγείρων* in Gregory’s text (not recorded as a variant in my manuscripts), while *κάρτος* is understood as *δόξα*; this is not accurate, but the paraphraser could have been influenced by examples like *Il.* 12. 214 (ed. West) *κράτος αἰὲν ἀέξειν*, where for *κράτος* A^{9p} reads *κλέος*. Par. B’s *ἐπιδεικνύμενος* as an explanation for *ἐγείρω* is not recorded in Byzantine or Modern dictionaries.

23. οὔτος δ’ αὖ: = v. 28 and *Il.* 3. 200 (at the beginning of the verse).

θαλίησι καὶ εἰλαπίνησι: ‘festivities and banquets’; cf. *Il.* 10. 217 αἰεὶ δ’ ἐν δαίτησι καὶ εἰλαπίνησι παρέσται; *Od.* 11. 415 εἰλαπίνη τεθαλίη.

μεμηλώς: the syntax with the object in the dative is later, e.g. *Orac.Sib.* 1. 126 *καλοῖς τ’ ἔργοις μεμηλώς* |; Q. S. 4. 530 *ἵππασίησι μεμηλώς* |; Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.2.1.[538] 212 *ἐπουρανίοις μεμηλώς* |; I.2.16.[781] 35 *νόος θείοις μεμηλώς* |; II.1.43.[1347] 11 *τεκέεσσι μεμηλώς* |. In Homer it takes the genitive, e.g. *Il.* 13. 297 *πτολέμοιο μεμηλώς* |.

24. Cf. A. R. 2. 657 *ἐπάκτια πώεα φέρβων* | (*φέρβων* not elsewhere); [Opp.] C. 1. 46 *γαίη καὶ πολίεσσι καὶ εὐθήροισιν αἰοδαῖς*; [Man]. *Apot.* 1. 140 *καὶ πόλεσιν καὶ νησι καὶ ἡέρι καὶ πελάγεσσι*. Cf. also [Palladius], *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus* 2. 47 (ed. Berghoff) *διαρρήγνυτε τὴν ἀθλίαν γαστέρα τὰ πρὸς γαστριμαργίαν ταύτη χορηγοῦντες. ἄερα θηρεύετε διὰ φιληδονίαν, θάλασσαν δικτύοις σήθετε διὰ τὰς πολλὰς ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμίας. ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη στρατεύεσθε διὰ τὴν ἀπληστίαν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπὶ κυνῶν ἀλκὴν ἀλαζονεούμενοι*.

25. **ῥικνός καὶ ἀναλκις:** ‘shrivelled and feeble’; cf. *Il.* 8. 153 *κακὸν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα*; 9. 35 *ἀπτόλεμον καὶ ἀνάλκιδα*. *ῥικνός* first at *h.Ap.* 317 *ῥικνός πόδας* (of Hephaestus); see Hollis on Call. *Hec. Fr.* 74.10.¹⁷⁰

ἀπὴνθησεν γὰρ ἅπαντα: ‘everything fades’ (gnomic aorist); *ἀπανθέω* is mostly used metaphorically as here (see LSJ and DGE, s.v. *ἀπανθέω*). Cf. Io.

¹⁷⁰ M.’s *ῥικνός* is a misprint. Caillau (the Maurist editor) prints *ῥικνός*.

D. *Troparia on the Funeral Service* ὡς ἄνθος μαραίνεται καὶ ὡς ὄναρ παρέρχεται καὶ διαλύεται πᾶς ἄνθρωπος. For γὰρ ἅπαντα cf. 3 x *Il.* ἐπέγναμψεν γὰρ ἅπαντας | and 2 x *Od.* δύναται γὰρ ἅπαντα |.

26. γῆρας ἔβη: ‘old age comes’; cf. LSJ, s.v. *βαίνω* A.I.4; *carm.* I.2.33.[945] 231 τὸ γῆρας ἦλθεν· ἔξοδον κήρυξ βοᾷ; II.1.28.[1288] 7; Chrys. in 1 *Thess.* (M. 62.437. 48-9) ποῦ ἢ νεότερος ἀπῆλθεν; πόθεν τὸ γῆρας ἦλθε;

τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἀπέπτατο: cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 1121 (on women’s fragrances) τὰ δ’ ἄλλ’ ἀπανθήσαντα πάντ’ ἀπέπτατο ‘when those others have lost their bouquet and completely evaporated’ (Henderson); cf. ἀπῆνθηγεν in the previous verse.

νεκρὰ τὰ γαστρὸς: at first sight the phrase can only refer to gluttony (see LSJ and DGE, s.v. *γαστήρ*). But the wording (and the preceding *κάλλος*) seem to suggest that sexual desires and activities are very likely to be implied, and indeed Gregory claims at *carm.* I.2.10. 588 (ed. Crimi) that ἐν πλημμονῇ τοι Κύπρις, ἐν πεινώσι δ’ οὐ. Cf. Democr. fr. 235. 1-5 D.-K.

ὅσοι ἀπὸ γαστρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ποιεῖονται ὑπερβεβληκότες τὸν καιρὸν ἐπὶ βρώσεσιν ἢ πόσεσιν ἢ ἀφροδισίοισιν, τοῖσιν πᾶσιν αἱ μὲν ἡδοναὶ βραχεῖαι τε καὶ δι’ ὀλίγου γίνονται, ὀκόσον ἂν χρόνον ἐσθίωσιν ἢ πίνωσιν, αἱ δὲ λῦπαι πολλαί.

Cf. also Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.2.10. 272 (ed. Crimi) ἔπειτα γαστρὸς ἡδοναῖς ἐφίεσαν (with Kertsch’s note) and Colos. 3. 5 νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, πορνείαν, ἀκαθαρσίαν, πάθος, ἐπιθυμίαν κακίην, καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἣτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρία.

27. Cf. *carm.* I.2.2.[590] 142-4 σοὶ κόρος, ἄλγος ἔμοιγε· μικρὸν, καὶ πάντα λέλασται. | “Ἐν πάντες μετὰ τύμβον, ἦ κόνις· Ἴσος ὁ χῶρος | δμῶεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσι. Τὸ δὲ πλεόν, οὐκ αἶδαο;

For the structure of this verse cf. Q. S. 1. 84-5 παῦρον μὲν γήθησε, τὸ δὲ πλεόν εἰσέτι παίδων | ἄχνητ’ ἀποκταμένων; Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.1.3. 29 (ed. Moreschini) βαιὸν τοῖσδ’ ὑπέλαμψε, τὸ δὲ πλεόν ἡμῖν ἔλειπεν;

βαιὸν ἔτ’ ἐν μερόπεσσι: Q. S. 3. 340 (= 6. 526) | βαιὸν ἔτ’ ἐμπνεῖοντα. For *μερόπεσσι* see note on v. 4.

28-30. Gregory describes a gifted, but arrogant, rhetor or author, as well as an old and a newly-ennobled aristocrat, who are proud of great tombs.

πνεῖων μέγα: ‘take great pride in’; cf. *carm.* I.2.10. 296 (ed. Crimi) ἀνήρ γένει τε καὶ κράτει πνεῶν μέγα.

εὐγενέτης: the word occurs six times before Gregory: in Euripides’ lyrics (*Andr.* 771; *Ion* 1060; *Ph.* 1510); Tim. *Pers.* PMG 15. 206; Castorio SH 312. 1 (cited by Duris and Athenaeus) and Strato, *AP* 12.195. 3. Gregory uses the word 19 times, e.g. *carm.* I.2.16.[779] 13-14 οἱ δὲ λόγοι πτερόεντες· ἀήρ, κλέος· αἶμα παλαιὸν | εὐγενέται, ῥώμη καὶ σὺς ἀγροτέρου. The word is used by later poets such as Christophoros Mitylenaios and Theodore Prodromos.

φρονέων: perhaps we should understand *μέγα* from the previous line; cf. *or.* 33.12. 19-20 (ed. Gally) *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐὲ μὲν ἀφήμι τοῖς τάφοις μέγα φρονεῖν ἢ τοῖς μύθοις*. But *μεγάλοισιν* includes *μέγα* and its sound could possibly help the reader or the listener understand quickly the use and meaning of *φρονέω* here; for this possible function of the sound of *μεγάλοισιν* cf. my note on *τε τυχήσαι* at v. 41 and my discussion on pp. 219-21.

δέλτοις ὀλίγησι: ‘with a few documents’ or (newly inscribed) ‘onto small tablets’ (Abrams Rebillard). Cf. *or.* 36.11. 14-17 (ed. Gally) *οἱ τὸ γένος κομπάζοντες, τὸν τρόπον ἐξευγενίστατε, ἢ φθέγγομαί τι τῶν ἀηδῶν μὲν, εὐγενῶν δέ. Τότε γὰρ ἀληθὲς εὐγενέστατον ἦν ἄν τι τὸ ὑμέτερον, εἰ μὴ καὶ δέλτοι τοὺς δυσγενεῖς ὑμῖν ἐνέγραφον*.

νεόγραφον: ‘newly-written (of a brand-new title of nobility)’ (PGL, s.v. *νεόγραφος*, on our verse); cf. Gr. Naz. *or.* 21.22. 20 (ed. Mossay) *νεόγραφον κακουργίαν*. The word is found first in Meleager (fl. 100 BC), in the proemium to his Garland (*AP* 4.1. 55), when he refers to the ‘newly written buds of many others’: *ἄλλων τ’ ἔρνεα πολλὰ νεόγραφα*. Cf. *νεόγραπτος* ‘new-painted’ at Theocr. *Id.* 18.3 *πρόθε νεογράπτω θαλάμῳ χορὸν ἐστάσαντο*; Gow notes that ‘the adj. does not occur elsewhere’, but it is found at Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.4. [1513] 109-10 *οὐδὲ τύποις πολλοῖσι χαράσσεται ἔνδοθεν ἦτορ, | ἀλλὰ νεογράπτοις καλοῖς μούνοισι τέθηλε*; cf. PGL, s.v. *νεόγραπτος* (‘newly inscribed’, with reference to Gregory’s poem).

αἶμα λελογχῶς: cf. Theodotus Jud. (ante 1 BC) SH 759.6 Lloyd-Jones-Parsons *ἦνασσε<ν> Κυρίης, †νεηγενὲς αἶμα λελογχῶς*,¹⁷¹ Orphica, *Argonautica* 81 (ed. Dottin) *εἰμι δ’ ἐγὼ Μινύαισι πανέξοχον αἶμα λελογχῶς*. But given Gregory’s irony in our context, the phrase could also recall an oracle at Luc. *Alex.* 11. 10, where

οἱ ὀλέθριοι ἐκεῖνοι Παφλαγόνες, εἰδότες αὐτοῦ (*sc.* Ἀλεξάνδρου) ἄμφω τοὺς γονεῶς ἀφανεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς, ἐπίστευον τῷ χρησιμῷ λέγοντι

Περσεΐδης γενεὴν Φοῖβφ φίλος οὗτος ὄραται

διὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, Ποδαλείριου αἶμα λελογχῶς.

οὕτως ἄρα ὁ Ποδαλείριος μάχλος καὶ γυναικομανῆς τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἀπὸ Τρίκκης μέχρι Παφλαγονίας στῦεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μητέρα.

31-3. Gregory mentions a powerful and influential man, who could be, e.g., a high councillor, a prefect or a senator. He also refers to a very rich man who is dreaming of more money.

καρτερόμητις: *harpax*, ‘mighty in council’ (PGL).

ἐνὶ πτολίεσσι: 4 x Gr. Naz. *carm.*

¹⁷¹ In the apparatus the editors note: ‘6 νεηγενὲς R. Stephanus : ξυνηγενὲς (cf. 5) ?’. Cf. Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor, fr. 9. 29 (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* III, p. 217 Müller) *ἦνασσαν Κυρίης, νεηγενὲς αἶμα λελογχῶς*.

πανδήμοις ... βοώμενος: cf. *carm.* II.2.4. 153 (ed. Moroni) *πανδήμοις στομάτεσσι βοώμενον οὐκ ἐπὶ δηρόν.*

ἄμετρον | πλοῦτον: *Ecclus.* 30. 15 *ὄλβος ἀμέτρητος;* [Longin.] 44. 7 *ἀμέτρῳ πλούτῳ;* *Chrys. in 1 Cor.* (M. 61.272. 51) *ἀμετρία πλούτου.*

For the composition of v. 33 cf. *Il.* 21. 19 *φάσγανον οἶον ἔχων, κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μῆδετο ἔργα,* 145 *ἔστη ἔχων δύο δοῦρε· μένος δὲ οἱ ἐν φρεσὶ θήκε* and *Od.* 11. 195 *μέγα δὲ φρεσὶ πένθος ἀέξειν* | (cf. *Hes. Sc.* 96 and 434 *φρεσὶ θάρσος ἀέξων*). Cf. also Gregory's *carm.* II.1.1. 362 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *φρεσὶ πένθος ἀέξων* and II.2.3.[1503] 326 *φρεσὶ κῆριν ἀέξεις.*

34. The verse seems to mention the pride of a judge; *γέγηθεν* (from *γηθέω*) means simply 'rejoice', but the word must imply here a high level of self-confidence and self-esteem. Cf. Ephraem Syr., *Oratio in vanam vitam, et de paenitentia* (IV, p. 406.11-4 Phrantzolas) on the Last Judgement:

ποῦ τότε γονεῖς, ποῦ ἀδελφοί, ποῦ πατήρ, ποῦ μήτηρ, ποῦ φίλος, ποῦ γείτων, ποῦ ἢ τῶν βασιλέων φαντασία, ποῦ ἢ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐξουσία, ποῦ ἢ τυραννίς, **ποῦ ἢ τῶν δικαστῶν ὑπερηφάνια;** Ποῦ τότε οἱ δοῦλοι, ποῦ αἱ δουλίδες, ποῦ ὁ καλλωπιζόμενος τῶν ἱματίων, ποῦ τὰ λαμπρὰ ὑποδήματα [...];

ὑψιθρόνιο: 'enthroned on high'; the word is used twice by Pindar (of one of the Nereids at *Nem.* 4.65 and of the Fate Clotho at *Isthm.* 6.16). It is then mentioned by Hdn. *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (III.2. p. 410.12 Lentz), and used 8 times by Gregory, applied mainly to God, Christ, officers and bishops (cf. PGL, s.v.). It is also found three times in Nonnus' *Paraphrasis*, and in later Byzantine authors, such as Theodore Prodromos and Michael Choniates.

δίκης πλάστιγξι: *πλάστιγξ* means 'beam of scale' or 'scale of a balance', and is often used metaphorically as here, e.g. *Trag. Adesp.* 179 Nauck *πλάστιγγες ἀστάτου τύχης;* *Clem. raed.* 1.10.89. 4 *καθάπερ ἐπὶ ζυγοῦ τὰς ἰσοστασίους ἀντισηκώσωμεν τοῦ δικαίου πλάστιγγας;* *Andreas Caes. Libri therapeutici secundi fragmenta* 5. 13 (ed. Diekamp) *τὴν τῆς δίκης πλάστιγγα;* *John Mauropous ep.* 11.8 (ed. Karpozilos) *ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀπαρέγκλιτον πλάστιγγα τῆς δίκης* and several times in Nicephoros Gregoras.

35-7. Beautiful lines containing clever hints, the result of a moment of inspiration. Gregory refers to the emperors, arrayed in purple still 'bloody' (*αἱματόεντι ῥάκει*) (namely the red purple colour is a reminder of the bloodshed usually necessary for taking the throne and keeping themselves in power); they were also decorated with a circlet upon their head (*δεσμῷ τε καρήνου*), 'the diadem of the Hellenistic kings, as if to show that the Hellenistic conception of the Ruler as a divinity become man had won the day' (Barnard [1973: 20]). The use of *ῥάκος* and *δεσμός* for the imperial purple robe and diadem respectively is ironic, and the use of *αἱματόεντι* to describe at the same time the purple colour of the robe implies strong criticism of the

imperial lust for power and luxury. It is worth noting here that the colour purple was reserved for the exclusive use of the emperor.

The emperors have power over the earth and they abuse even the sky itself (i.e. God) by thinking that they are or will be gods themselves. That the ruler was worshipped in the Hellenistic and Roman world is well known,¹⁷² but did this tradition continue into later times? According to Eusebius, ‘the Imperial power was the terrestrial image of the power of God’, and the Byzantine emperor was *θεοστεφής, ἰσαπόστολος, θεῖος, ἄγιος*, even *ἐνθεος* (see Barnard [1973: 21]). Constantius II ‘was praised by his contemporaries as a model of imperial deportment because he showed himself visibly, by his appearance and manners in public, to be above the faults and weaknesses of ordinary humans’ (Warren Bonfante [1964: 409]).

Could Gregory have a particular emperor in mind in writing these lines? It is very tempting to think that his former friend and great enemy, Julian, lies behind this description. In this case, *αἱματόεντι* could also refer (post-humously and ironically) to Julian’s murder, while the phrase *οὐρανὸν ... ἐλπωρήσι* finds perhaps its best instantiation in the case of the emperor who, apart from attempting a revival of paganism, is reported by Gregory himself to having dreamed of his own deification: at *or.* 5.14 (ed. Bernardi) Gregory describes how Julian once tried to throw himself into a river in the hope that he might be thought a god (cf. Nock [1957: 122, n. 50]). Libanius makes some comments on Julian’s posthumous deification (e.g. *ep.* 1220. 3 *περὶ οὗτὸν καλῶς δοξάζεις τοῦ τῶν θεῶν αὐτὸν (sc. Ἰουλιανόν) γραφόμενος χοροῦ*), while Gregory again speaks of those *τὰ ἐκείνου (sc. Ἰουλιανοῦ) ἐβροντες καὶ τὸν νέον ἡμῖν θεὸν ἀναπλάττοντες (or. 4.94 Bernardi)*; for Libanius’ (*or.* 18. 304) ‘statement that Julian was made *synnaos theos*’ see Nock (1957: 115 and 122, n. 49).

γαίης κάρτος ἔχων: A. *Supp.* 425 *πᾶν κράτος ἔχων χθονός*; E. *HF.* 464 *τῆς καλλικάρπου κράτος ἔχων Πελαγίας*; Orp. *H.* 1. 3 *ἐξερῶ, γαίης ὑπατον κράτος, Ἀτωνίνε*; Gr. *Naz. carm.* I.1.8. 67-8 (ed. Moreschini) (on man) *ἐχέφρονα μύστην | οὐρανίων, γαίης τε μέγα κράτος, ἄγγελον ἄλλον*.

καὶ οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἀτίζει: ‘he insults even God Himself. For *οὐρανός* used as ‘periphrasis for *θεός*’ or referring to the abode of the divine, meaning ‘kingdom of heaven’, ‘God of heaven’ or even, allegorically, ‘Christ’, see PGL, s.v. 4-10. For the expression *οὐρανὸν αὐτόν* cf. *carm.* II.1.51.[1395] 16 *λείψω δ’ ἠελίου γλυκερὸν φάος, οὐρανὸν αὐτόν* and *Orac.Sib.* 5.480 *ἔσται δὲ σκοτόμαινα περὶ μέγαν οὐρανὸν αὐτόν*.

μετήρορος ἐλπωρήσι: *μετήρορος* is ‘Epic form of *μετέωρος*, lifted off the ground, hanging’ (LSJ); *ἐλπωρή* is Epic form of *ἐλπῖς*. The phrase is prover-

¹⁷² See, e.g., S. F. R. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1984) and I. Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford, 2002).

bial and means ‘entertaining extravagant hopes’; cf. Plb. 30.1.4 *μετέωρος ἐγενήθη ταῖς ἐλπίσιν*; Charito 8.5. 10; Evagrius, *Practicus* 23.8 (on *τῆς κενοδοξίας λογισμὸν*) καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν μετέωρον ταῖς κεναῖς ἐλπίσι ποιήσας ἀφίπταται καταλιπὼν ἢ τῷ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας δαίμονι πειράζειν αὐτὸν ἢ τῷ τῆς λύπης; Gr. Naz. *or.* 32.27. 21-2 καὶ *κυτέλλει λύπη καὶ διαχεῖ ἡδονὴ καὶ τήκει φθόνος καὶ μετεωρίζει τύφος καὶ κουφίζει ἐλπίς*. The expression is frequently used by Diodorus Siculus and later writers.

38. Cf. *carm.* II.1.32.[1303] 38 *νῦν τάδε, χάσμα δ’ ἔπειτα, καὶ ἄντιπα πάντα τὰ τερπνά*.

In the context of similar Christian thoughts on the vanity of bodily excellence, one could perhaps cite the following troparion of John of Damascus from the *Funeral Service*. In this case a man reaches the same conclusion by visiting a cemetery and looking at the mixed bones of the dead (*Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα* [Venice, 1869], 414):

ἐμνήσθην τοῦ Προφήτου βοῶντος· Ἐγὼ εἰμι γῆ καὶ σποδός· καὶ πάλιν κατενόησα ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι καὶ εἶδον τὰ ὄσῳ τὰ γεγυμνωμένα καὶ εἶπον· ἄρα τις ἐστι, βασιλεὺς ἢ στρατιώτης, ἢ πλούσιος ἢ πένης, ἢ δίκαιος ἢ ἁμαρτωλός; [...]

κόνις: of the grave also at Pi. O. 8. 79-80 *κατακρύπτει δ’ οὐ κόνις | συγγῶνων κεδνὰν χάριν*.

πάντες ὁμοῖοι: Gregory seems to echo *Il.* 12. 269-71, thus stressing the sharp difference between the situation on Earth and that in Hades:

ὦ φίλοι Ἀργείων ὅς τ’ ἔξοχος ὅς τε μεχίεις
ὅς τε χειριότερος, ἐπεὶ οὐ πῶ πάντες ὁμοῖοι
ἄνερές ἐν πολέμῳ, νῦν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἅπασι·

39. Cf. *Od.* 4. 644 *θῆτές τε δμῶές τε*.

θῆτες: in the later meaning ‘hirelings’, as at Pl. *Plt.* 290a *μισθωτοὺς καὶ θῆτας* (see LSJ, s.v. *θής*).

σκηπτοφόροι: ‘sceptre-bearing’, a rare word (see LSJ, s.v.). Even rarer is the reading of some manuscripts *σκηπτοφόροι* (see LSJ, s.v. and cf. Pseudo-Zonaras p. 1650.15 Tittmann <*σκηπτοῦχος*>. *ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως σκηπτοφόρος. ἢ ὁ βασιλεύς.*)

πλούτῳ κομῶντες: ‘those pluming themselves on wealth’ (cf. LSJ, s.v. *κομάω*); cf. Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.2.4.[1514] 121 *καὶ πλούτῳ κομῶντα καὶ αἵματα καὶ πραπίδεςσιν*; Nonn. *D.* 2. 687 (= 26. 169) *κομῶντα βαθυπλούτοιςι μετάλλοις*. Cf. also my note on II.1.10. 3 *ἐπ’ εὐσεβίῃ κομῶντες*.

40-1. **ζόφος:** cf. *Il.* 15. 191 *Αἶδης δ’ ἔλαχε ζόφον ἠερόντα*.

δόμος: frequently applied to the House of Hades, e.g. *Il.* 3. 322 *δόμον Ἄϊδος εἶσω* (see further DGE, s.v. *δόμος* I 1).

τόσσον ... τυχήσαι: ‘the advantage of the haughty is limited to the more renowned groans and tomb that come to their lot.’

ὄφρυόεσσι: the adj. *ὄφρυόεις* means either ‘on the brow or edge of a steep rock’, as at *Il.* 22.411 and *Gr. Naz. carm.* II.2.7.[1571] 259 *ὄφρυόεις Ἐπίδαυρος*, or ‘metaph. majestic, solemn’ (LSJ, s.v. *ὄφρυόεις*). It is easy to understand that the word can be used ironically in the latter meaning. Cf. Hesych. ο 1991 *ὄφρυόεντες· ὑπερήφανοι (= Phot. and Suda) and Gregory’s *carm.* II.1.13.[1233] 76 *γάστορες, εὐρυτένοντες, ἀναιδέες, ὄφρυόεντες*; II.2.3.[1500] 278 *ἀπληρώτοιο βερέθρου | θώκουσ ὄφρυόεντας ἀπέπτυσας*; I.2.15.[766] 3-4 *εἴ τι μέγ’, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ γε ὄδομαι, οὐδὲν ἔοντες, | ὄφρὺν μαψιδίως τείνομεν ἡμέριοι*; *ep.* 173. 7 (ed. Gallay) *οὐ γὰρ ὡσπερ τῶν θρόνων καὶ τῆς ὄφρὺς τοῖς βουλομένοισι, οὕτω καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας παρεχωρήσαμεν* (for *ὄφρὺς* meaning ‘pride’ see LSJ, s.v. *ὄφρὺς* 2).

κλεινότεριο ... τύμβου: *AP* 7.4. 2 (Paul Sil.) *κλεινός ... τύμβος* (on Homer’s tomb).

τύμβου τε τυῆσαι: in Gregory’s time *τε τυῆσαι* could have sounded almost the same as *τετεῖχισαι*; the latter makes better sense with *τύμβου* in the context of this line (cf. *ζόφος* and *δόμος* in the previous line) and contributes to the irony of Gregory’s phrase. See pp. 219-20.

42. The structure for this line is noticeable: it starts with two nouns and ends with two complementary adjectives (n_1 n_2 a_1 a_2).

οὔνομα ... λιπεῖν: *AP* 8.130. 4 *οὔνομα δ’ ἐν χάρωι κάλλιπεν*.

οὔνομα ... ἐπικήδιον: ‘name in a dirge’ or ‘funereal name’, i.e. name after death; M. prints the usual form *ἐπικήδειον* (see LSJ, s.v.), transmitted only by E, Va, Ma, Vb and Ph. *ἐπικήδιος* occurs at *D. S.* 17.115. 4 *ἄδοντας ἐπικήδιον θρήνον* and as a noun four times at Ammon. *Diff.* (e.g. 178 *ἐπικήδιον καὶ θρήνος*) and perhaps at Gregory’s *or.* 18. 41 [M. 35.1040] *συμφιλοσοφῆσαι τὰ ἐπικήδια*. The 17 manuscripts with *ἐπικήδιον* include L and Am and, although there are cases of syllables with *ει* treated as short by Gregory (see Sicherl in Oberhaus [1991: 28]), I prefer to read *ἐπικήδιον*; it is not impossible that Gregory would have met this form in lost texts (cf. my note on *POxy* 4711 *φιλομειδ[* on p. 48-9).

λάεσσι ... οἰκτροῖς: ‘pitiful stones’; cf. *Pi. P.* 3.42 *οἰκτρότατῳ θανάτῳ*.

43. **ὄψε μὲν:** this is an echo of *AP* 7. 349 ([Simonides])

βαῖα φαγῶν καὶ βαῖα πίων καὶ πολλὰ νοσήσας
ὄψε μὲν, ἀλλ’ ἔθανον. ἔρρετε πάντες ὁμοῦ.

ἔμπα δέ: possibly a Callimachean echo (*epigr.* 12. 3 Pfeiffer *καὶ σφιν ἀνηρόν μὲν ἔρεῖς ἔπος, ἔμπα δὲ λέξαι*), also at *A. R.* 1. 781 at the same metrical *sedes* as in Callimachus; cf. *Gr. Naz. AP* 8.18. 2; 8.21. 2 *τυτθὴ καὶ Βηθλέμ, ἔμπα δὲ χριστοφόρος* and Hesych. ε 2403 *ἔμπα δέ· ὅμως δέ, ἀλλ’ οὖν* (*Greg. Naz. ep.* 18, 2).

πᾶσιν ἴσον: cf. *Hymnus in Asclepium* 6 (GDRK p. 171) *πάντεσσιν ἴσον τέλος ἀνδράσι θνητοῖς*. The phrase *πᾶσιν ἴσον* or *ἴσον πᾶσιν* is commonly

used in a wide range contexts; in later and Byzantine times it becomes proverbial. Cf. *Il.* 3. 454 Ἴσον γάρ σφιν πᾶσιν ἀπήχθετο κηρὶ μελαίνῃ; Dem. *In Aristogitonem* 1 16. 3 κοινὸν τοῦτο πρόσταγμ' ἀπεδείχθη, πᾶσιν ἴσον καὶ ὁμοιον; Call. *Ion.* 85 ἐν δὲ ῥηφηνίῃν ἔβαλέε σφισιν, ἐν δ' ἄλιε ὄλβον· | πᾶσι μὲν, οὐ μάλα δ' Ἴσον; Q. S. 7. 67 πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποιεσσιν ἴσον κακὸν ὤπασε δαίμων. Cf. also (at the same metrical *sedes*) *Orac.Sib.* 3. 488 ἀύχησει ἐπὶ πᾶσιν· ἴσον δὲ βοήσεται αὐλόε.

τάλαντον: the word at first sight suggests the Parable of the Talents (Matt. 25. 14-30). With some irony again, Gregory implies that this time the master offers an equal talent to all. But in classical literature, *τάλαντον* is also used 'of the scales in which Zeus weighed the fortunes of men' (see LSJ, s.v.), and this use of the word could also be recalled in our case to stress God's fairness; cf. e.g. A. *Pers.* 345-6 ἀλλ' ὦδε δαίμων τις κατέφθειρε στρατόν, | τάλαντα βρίςας οὐκ ἰσορρόπῳ τύχῃ ('it was some god who destroyed us, by loading the scales with an unequal weight of fate', tr. Edith Hall).

44. ὄστέα ... ἀφαιρά: 'powerless bones'; cf. the Homeric formula (4 x *Od.*) νεκύων ἀμενηνά κάρηνα (for which cf. Ar. fr. 233 K.-A.), copied by Gregory at *AP* 8.233. 1.

κεσηρότα, γυμνά κάρηνα: *κεσηρότα* is part. of *καίρω* 'bare one's teeth', found only in pf. with present sense. Gow (on Theoc. 7. 19) notes that 'when used of laughter, it commonly implies malice, contempt, or mockery'. Its use in Gregory's context is strongly ironic: the teeth of a skull are indeed displayed and closed, but if there is anything here Gregory has in mind it is the sickly laughter of Death. Gregory's verse might have been known to Theodore Studites, who in his *Μεγάλη κατήχησις* 95 (p. 678 Papadopoulios-Kerameus) wrote:

ἐνεκύψαμεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν τάφον, ἕκαστος κατιδόντες τοὺς προκεκοιμημένους. τί οὖν ἐκεῖσε εἶδομεν, ἀδελφοί; ἀπαγγείλατε, διδάξατε· οὐχὶ τέφραν καὶ κόνιν; οὐχὶ μελανίαν καὶ δυσωδίαν; οὐ διεφθορότα σώματα; οὐ **κρανία κεςηρότα**; οὐκ **ὄστέα γεγυμνωμένα**;

For *γυμνά κάρηνα* cf. e.g. Luc. *DMort.* 1. 3 ἀλλὰ πάντα μία ἡμῖν κόνις, φασί, κρανία γυμνά τοῦ κάλλους, 5. 1 ὄστᾶ μόνᾳ ὀρῶ καὶ κρανία τῶν σαρκῶν γυμνά, ὅμοια τὰ πολλά.

45-6. τύφος ('vanity'), **μόγος** ('trouble'), **νοῦσος** ('disease'), **ἔχθος** ('hate'), **ἀτασθαλίη** ('presumptuous sin'), **πλεόνων πόθος** ('avarice') and **ὑβριε ἀτειρήε** ('unyielding insolence') are all dying together with men.

πενίην δὲ μόγος λίπε: 'poverty' is no longer associated with toil or distress as it is in this life: cf. Theoc. *Id.* 21. 1-2 ἀ πενία, Διόφαντε, μόνᾳ τὰ τέχνας ἐγείρει· | αὐτὰ τῷ μόχθοιο διδάσκαλος; [Man.] *Arot.* 6. 17 ἀνέρες ἐν πενίῃ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι μοχθίζουσιν.

νοῦκος ἄϊστος: ‘disease is unknown’. *ἄϊστος* is Homeric and means ‘unseen’; cf. *carm.* Π.1.43.[1346] 1-2 ποῦ νεότητος | ἄνθος ἐμῆς; διόλωλε. Τὸ δὲ κλέος; ὄχετ’ ἄϊστον.

47. πάντ’ ἔθανε: cf. e.g. *AP* 8.212. 1-2 πάντ’ ἔθανεν νεκέεσσι. τί παίζομεν; οὔτις ἔτ’ αἰδῶς | ἐκ ζώντων φθιμένοις. Δέρκεο τόνδε τάφον; *carm.* Π.1.50. [1389] 55 πάντ’ ἔθανε ζώντι· βίος δέ μοι ἔστιν ἀφανρός.

φθιμένοισιν ὁμοῦ: cf. an oracle cited by Phlegon, *De mirabilibus* 3. 11 (ed. A. Giannini in *Paradoxographorum Graecorum Reliquiae*) ἔξει ἐνὶ φθιμένοισιν ὁμοῦ τέκνα μητρὸς ἀπούρας and A. R. 2. 889 ὁμοῦ φθιμένοισι.

πάντα μέμυκεν: ‘everything is lulled to rest’; the same phrase also of wounds which closed up at *Il.* 24. 420 οὐδέ ποθι μισρός· σὺν δ’ ἔλκεα πάντα μέμυκεν.

48. The sins will disappear with death, but they will accompany the resurrected bodies at Jesus’ Second Coming.

μέχρις ἀνεγρομένοις: possibly an echo of A. R. 2. 1228 ἦρι δ’ ἀνεγρομένοισιν ἐνκραῆς ἄεν οὔρος; but the meaning in our case is ‘raise up’ (i.e. return to life), a meaning of *ἐγείρω* which is common in the New Testament and other Christian literature (see NTL, s.v. *ἐγείρω* 6). Cf. Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.1. 20.[490] 36 καὶ νέκυες τύμβους λείψαν ἀνεγρόμενοι; Π.1.45.[1369] 224 δέξαντ’, ἠδὲ τάφου λεύσσαν ἀνεγρόμενον. The same participle also e.g. at [Theoc.] *Id.* 27. 69 χῆ μὲν ἀνεγρομένη πάλιν ἔστιχε μᾶλα νομεύειν (with Gow’s note); Posid. *ep.* 33. 5 (ed. Austin-Bastianini) ἦρι δ’ ἀνεγρόμενος δῆλων προσέμυγε φάλαγγι; Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.2.1.[577] 720 ἐνθεν ἀνεγρόμενοι, ζωῆς ἐπιβῶμεν ἐλαφρῆς (with Sundermann’s note).

M. prints *ἄχρις ἂν ἐγρομένοις* (Lb), but many more manuscripts (including the oldest ones) transmit *μέχρις ἀνεγρομένοις* (Am L RiVcECg Gu MaVb) or *μέχρις ἂν ἐγρομένοις*. For *ἀνεγρομένοις* cf. the examples from Gregory cited above. For *μέχρις* (without ἂν) + subjunctive in Gregory cf. *carm.* I. 2.10. 628 (ed. Crimi) δεῖ γὰρ δεδέσθαι, μέχρις ἐκλύσει Θεός.

συνέμπορα: the word means ‘fellow-travellers’ (e.g. A. *Supp.* 939; Gr. Naz. *carm.* Π.1.11. 882) and is often used in a Christian context by Gregory, e.g. *carm.* Π.2.4.[1511] 81-2 ὡς κεν ἀοσσητῆρα, συνέμπορον, ἠγεμονῆα | Χριστὸν ἔχων; I.1.37.[519] 19 ἀλλὰ μάκαρ, καὶ ἐμοὶ γε συνέμπορος ἐλθὲ καλεῦντι. But it is also used metaphorically with objects; e.g. A. *Ch.* 733 λύπη δ’ ἄμικθός ἐστί σοι ξυνέμπορος. Cf. also Crates fr. SH 352.2-3 οὐθ’ ὑπὸ χρησε<ί>ων δουλομένη οὐθ’ ὑπ’ Ἐρώτων | τηξινότων οὐδ’ εἴ τι συνέμπορόν ἐστι φιλυβρι (cited at Clem. *Strom.* 2.20.121. 1), and esp. Gregory’s *carm.* I.2.1.[555-6] 441-5 (with Sundermann’s notes), where *Παρθενίη* says that the material pleasures, the intellectual achievements and the various troubles in this world

οὐ γὰρ ἔμοιγε συνέμπορα πρὸς βίον ἄλλον
ἐνθεν ἐπειγομένη, τὰ δὲ γ’ ὄλβια πάντ’ ἀπολείται

κήμερον, ἢ κόσμοιο σὺν ἀστατέοντι ρέεθρῳ
 ῥευστὸς γὰρ ῥευστοῖο διεκπεράας βιότοιο,
 βαῖον ἐφαπτόμενός τε παρατροχῶν τροχάοντος.

Since the word is usually found with a positive meaning in a Christian context and even applies to Christ himself, a certain degree of irony is to be attached to our verse, where the sins mentioned in the previous verses will be a burden rather than a blessing on the Day of Judgement.

49. Cf. *carm.* I.2.15.[771] 75 ταῦτ' οὖν εἰσορόων, φρένα δάπτομαι; I.2.2. [620] 532 ταῦτα τίς εἰσορόων.

Ταῦτ' οὖν: cf. e.g. *S. Ant.* 1023 ταῦτ' οὖν, τέκνον, φρόνησον.

εἰσορόωντες: here it means 'look on with the mind's eye, perceive' (see LSJ, s.v. *εἰσοράω* 3); the word at the same metrical *sedes* at *Il.* 13. 88 τοὺς οἷ γ' εἰσορόωντες.

ἐμοῖς πείθεσθ' ἐπέεσσι: cf. *Od.* 10. 178 ὡς ἐφάμην, οἱ δ' ὄκα ἐμοῖς ἐπέεσσι πίθοντο (= 12. 222; cf. *Il.* 18. 273); *Eur. Hel.* 994 μᾶλλον γε μέντοι τοῖς ἐμοῖς πείθου λόγοις.

50. Gregory explains his relationship to his disciples in terms of spiritual adoption; cf. *carm.* II.1.12. 629-30 (ed. Meier) (on bishops) ἐπειτ' ἀσάρκων εἰς τέκνων προστάται, | ἅ πνεῦμα τίκτει σαρκὸς ἐξενωμένον and *or.* 43.58. 34-5 (ed. Bernardi) τὰ γὰρ πνευματικὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ ὁ τῆς πίστεως λόγος. Cf. 1 Cor 4. 14-5 οὐκ ἐντρέπων ὑμᾶς γράφω ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ὡς τέκνα μου ἀγαπητὰ νουθετῶν· ἐὰν γὰρ μυρίους παιδαγωγοὺς ἔχητε ἐν Χριστῷ, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς πατέρας, ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα; Gal. 4. 19 τέκνα μου, οὐς πάλιν ὠδίνω μέχρις οὗ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν (see NTL, s.v. *τέκνον* 3 b for more references).

παῖδες ἐμοί: = *Od.* 3. 475 and *Hes. Th.* 164 (at the beginning of the verse).

παῖδες ... εἶρσα Πνεῦμα: 'for you are my children, those of you whom I surpassed in drawing the breath of the Holy Spirit'; cf. *Ps.* 118. 131 τὸ στόμα μου ἤνοιξα καὶ εἶλκυσα πνεῦμα, ὅτι τὰς ἐντολάς σου ἐπεπόθουν. LSJ (s.v. *ἐρύω*) notes that 'in Hdt. *εἶρσα* takes the place of *εἶλκυσα*', as seems to happen in our case as well. Cf. *carm.* II.1.30.[1293] 93-4 ποῦ δ' ἄρτος, ἢ ποῦ χεῖρες, αἶ | τὸ Πνεῦμ' ἐφείλκυσαν; I.1.3. 13-4 (ed. Moreschini) καὶ εἴ τι Πνεύματος ἀγνοῦ | εἶρσεν ἢ κραδίῃ; in the last case, Sykes fails to see the allusion to the psalm, but instead he notes on *εἶρσεν*: 'the figure may be a Christianized version of *H. Il.* 8. 21, where *ἐρύω* depicts the drawing down of Zeus from heaven (cf. *οὐρανίοιο* v. 11).'

ὄσων is transmitted by Am L α₂E Gu Ma^{pc}. Several MSS (DiCg Ma^{ac}VbMq γ NDPj), mainly from the β family, offer *ὄσων*. In this case the meaning could be 'so far as I drew more Holy Spirit (into your hearts)', but this is not easy. The genitive of comparison makes better sense and is supported by a good number of MSS, including the oldest ones.

51. Gregory asks his disciples to get rid of this world (*κόσμον ἅπαντα*), and by this he means (as he explains later) all the distractions or temptations of this world; cf. the prayer of Christ to His Father at John 17. 15 *οὐκ ἐρωτῶ ἵνα ἄρῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἀλλ' ἵνα τηρήσῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ*.

δεῦρ' ἄγε: Homeric (*Od.* 8. 145, 205, at the beginning of the verse). It is used 5 times by Gregory. *δεῦρ'* has been mistakenly repeated later in the line (replacing *τῆδ'*) in several manuscripts.

κόσμον ἅπαντα: cf. Empedocles fr. 134.2 D.-K., on the nature of the divine (*sc. φρῆν ἱερὴ καὶ ἀθέσφατος*) *φροντίσι κόσμον ἅπαντα καταΐσσουσα θοῆσιν*. The phrase occurs 13 times in the *Orac.Sib.*, usually at the end of the line, but once at the same metrical *sedes* as in Gregory, who uses it 6 times, e.g. *carm.* I.2.31.[915] 59 *δεῦρ' ἄγε, κόσμον ἅπαντα καὶ ἄχθεια τῆδ' ἀπολείψας*.

ὄπποσα τῆδ' ἀλάληται: 'all those things which wander here' (see LSJ, s.v. *ἀλάλημαι*); cf. v. 13 *ἐπὶ χθονὶ μὰψ ἀλάλησθε. ἀλάληται* occurs at the end of verse at *Od.* 20. 340 and Hes. *Op.* 100 *ἄλλα δὲ μυρία λυγρὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλάληται*, where, according to M. L. West, it suggests 'a personification of the evils'.

52-3. **ρίψαντες κακότηας:** cf. I.2.1.[577] 719 (cited on p. 222). *ρίπτω* is used here metaphorically and means 'throw off or away' (see LSJ, s.v. *ρίπτω* IV); cf. its use of arms at E. *El.* 820 and clothes at Pl. *R.* 474a.

ἐπιχθονίου βασιλῆος: the phrase is also used at *carm.* II.2.4. 43-4 (ed. Moroni) *γαῖαν ἔλεν, δῶκεν δὲ νόον, μικτὸν δ' ἀνέδειξεν | ἐν γένος ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ἐπιχθόνιον βασιλῆα*, where it refers to man; cf. also Theod. Prodr. *Epigrammata in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* 200b. 3 *ἐπιχθόνιοι βασιλῆες* and 227b. 3 *ἐπιχθονίων βασιλῆες* (on earthly figures). But in our case it refers to the Devil, who is *ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου* (John 12. 31; cf. NTL, s.v. *ἄρχων* 1 c).

ἄρπαγος ἀλλοτρίων: cf. Matt. 13. 19 *παντὸς ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνιέντος, ἔρχεται ὁ πονηρὸς καὶ ἄρπάζει τὸ ἐπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ*; John 10. 1-21 (The Parable of the Sheepfold and Jesus the Good Shepherd), esp. John 10. 12 *ὁ λύκος ἄρπάζει αὐτὰ (sc. τὰ πρόβατα) καὶ σκορπίζει*. Cf. also Gr. Nyss. *De deitate adversus Evagrium* (IX p. 335 Gebhardt) *κλέψας τὸ ἡμέτερον κτήμα ὁ τῶν ψυχῶν λωποδύτης*; according to Theodoret, Satan is *λωποδύτης τῆς ἀρετῆς* and the devils are *ψυχῶν λωποδύται* (see PGL, s.v. *λωποδύτης* and s.v. *ληστῆς* 1).

For the diction cf. *carm.* I.2.1.[557] 462 *ἄρπαγας ἀλλοτρίων, ξείνης δηλήμονας εὐνής*; Doroth. Astrol. fr. II.15. 51 (p. 350.1 Pingree) *πανούργους, ἀλλοτρίων ἄρπαγας* and II.33. 43 (p. 360.25 Pingree) *τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἄρπαγας, ἀνοσίους*; AP (Strat.) 12.181. 4 *ψυχῶν ἄρπαγες ἀλλοτρίων*; Apoll.(?) *Met.Ps.* 108.21 (ed. Ludwich) *ἀλλότριον ἄρπαγες*; Nonn. *D.* 31. 91 *ἄρπαγες ἀλλοτρίων*; Psellos, *carm.* 8. 512 *ἄρπαγοςπραγμάτων ἀλλοτρίων*.

δηλήμονος: ‘noxious’; cf. *carm.* I.1.9. 9-10 (ed. Moreschini) *λυσσήεις ὅτε πρῶτον Ἀδὰμ βάλεν ἐκ παραδείσου, | κλέψας ἀνδροφόνιο φυτοῦ δηλήμονο καρπῶ;* (on men) I.2.2.[617] 497 *ἀνδροφόνους, τεκέων δηλήμονας ἤδὲ τοκήων.* Cf. also the Homeric formula *βροτῶν δηλήμονα πάντων* (on King Echetus at *Od.* 18. 85, 116; 21. 308) and *Il.* 24. 33 | *σχέτλιοι ἔστε θεοί, δηλήμονες.*

ἀνδροφόνιο: ‘murderer’; an interesting case of Gregory’s use of allusion to both classical and Biblical texts at the same time. The word at this metrical *sedes* recalls the Homeric formula *Ἐκτορος ἀνδροφόνιο* (8 x *Il.*). But in Gregory’s case *ἀνδροφόνιο* has a deeper, theological meaning and from this point of view it recalls the word *ἀνθρωποκτόνος* at John 8. 44, used to ‘designate the devil as the one who brought death into the world by misleading Adam’ (NTL, s.v. *ἀνθρωποκτόνος*). Cf. *carm.* II.1.55.[1399] 4 *νύξ, λοχέ, λύσσα, χάος, βάσκανε, ἀνδροφόνε* and I.1.4. 48-50 (ed. Moreschini), where Gregory speaks of the devil, who

αἰὲν ἀπεχθαίρει μερόπων γένος. ἐκ δ’ ἄρ’ ἐκείνου
γεύσατο καὶ κακίης πρῶτος βροτὸς ἀνδροφόνιο,
καὶ θανάτου, ῥίπικαντος ἔμοι φλόγα οἴκι δόλοισιν.¹⁷³

Cf. also, e.g., *carm.* I.1.6. 74 (ed. Moreschini) *δαίμονες ἀνδροφόνιο κακοῦ βασιλῆος ὀπηδοί;* I.1.7. 112-13 (ed. Moreschini); I.1.9. 9-10 (see note on *δηλήμονος* above) and its parallels: I.2.1.[531] 121; I.2.29. 129-31 (ed. Knecht); II.1. 45.[1361] 108; II.1.46.[1378] 6 and II.2.1.[1476] 346.

54. Cf. *carm.* I.2.1.[577] 718 (cited on p. 222); II.1.85.[1432] 12 *κάλλος, ἐϋκλείην, πλοῦτον, κράτος, ὄλβον ἄπιστον* and [Man.] *Aprot.* 3. 16 *εὐκλείῃ πλούτῳ.*

ὄλβον ἄπιστον: <Septem Sapientes> *Praecepta* (sub auctore Sosiade) (ap. Stobaeum) 218. 2-3 *πλούτῳ ἀπίσται;* Gr. Naz. *carm.* I.2.3.[640] 91-2 *μαραίνεται τὸ κάλλος, ἢ δόξα παρατρέχει, | ὁ πλοῦτος ἄπιστον ῥεῦμα, τὸ δύνασθαι δ’ ὀλίγων;* I.2.16.[779] 9 *ὁ πλοῦτος μὲν ἄπιστος ὁ δὲ θρόνος, ὀφρὺν ὀνειρών;* Bas. *ep.* 279. 1 *καὶ πλοῦτος μὲν ἄπιστος, δόξα δὲ εὐπερίτρεπος.*

55. **προτροπάδην:** first word at *Il.* 16. 304, a Homeric *hapax legomenon* meaning ‘turned forwards with headlong speed’; most frequently with *φεύγειν*, e.g. Xen. *Mem.* 1. 3.13 *φεύγειν προτροπάδην;* Pl. *Symp.* 221c. 1 *προτροπάδην φεύγοντας;* Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.1. 161 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) *προτροπάδην φεύγοντα κακοῖς ἀπὸ πάντα τινάξαι.*

ἐς οὐρανόν: with their *θέωσις* (see PGL, s.v.), Christians can now do what only gods could do in the past (*Il.* 24. 97-9):

ἀκτὴν δ’ ἐξαναβάσαι ἐς οὐρανὸν αἰχθήτην,

¹⁷³ ‘maintains constant hatred of the human race. For it was through his murderous agency when he fanned my human flame by his trickery that the first mortal came to taste evil and death’ (translation by Sykes in Moreschini [1997]).

εὔρον δ' εὐρύοπα Κρονίδην, περὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἅπαντες
εἴαθ' ὀμηγερέες μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες.

Or, at least, what only very exceptional heroes would have been able to achieve (see Theoc. *Id.* 24. 79-80; *AP* 7.529. 1 (Theodoridas) *τόλμα καὶ εἰς Αἶδαν καὶ ἐς οὐρανὸν ἄνδρα κομίζει*), is now possible for every man, even during his life: *AP* 8.151. 1 *αἰεὶ σοὶ νόος ἦεν ἐς οὐρανὸν οὐδ' ἐπὶ γαίης; carm.* I.2.9. 114 (ed. Palla) *εἰς γῆν ὕψος ἔθηκεν, ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐλπὶς ἄειρε* and I.2.9. 82-4 (ed. Palla)

εἰ δέ τις ἐνθάδ' ἐὼν Θεὸν ἔδρακεν ἢ πρὸς ἄνακτα
ἔδραμε σάρκα βαρεῖαν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἔνθεν ἀείρας,
τοῦτο Θεοῦ γέρας ἐστί. Βροτοῖς δέ τε μέτρ' ἐπικεῖσθω.

For the diction cf. also *Orac.Sib.* 5. 72 *ἔξ ἄστρων πέπτωκας, ἐς οὐρανὸν οὐκ ἀναβήρης*; *Dion. Per. Orb. Descr.* 67 *ἦχι τε καὶ χάλκειος ἐς οὐρανὸν ἔδραμε κίων*; *Gr. Naz. carm.* I.1.18.[485] 65 *κεῖνον Ἐνώχ, ὃς ζωὸς ἐς οὐρανὸν ἦλθεν ἀερθεῖς*.

ἦχι τε: *ἦχι* is an Epic adv. for *ἦ*; e.g. *Il.* 3. 326 *ἦχι ἐκάστῳ* | and *Od.* 6. 94 *ἦχι μάλιστα* |. *ἦχι τε* also at *Nic. Alex.* 7 *ἦχι τε Πείρης* |; *Dion. Per. Orb. Descr.* 258 *ἦχι τε μακραί* |; oracle ap. *Porph. Vita Plotini* 22. 54 *ἦχι τε καλός* | and *Q.S.* 8. 421 *ἦχι τε Τρῶες* |.

For *Vh*'s mistake cf. the Homeric formula *ἐς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα* | (*Il.* 15. 371, 19. 128; *Od.* 9. 527, 11. 17, 12. 380).

56. κάλλεα μαρμαίροντα: 'beauties sparkling'. Cf. *Il.* 13. 22 | *χρύσεια μαρμαίροντα*, 16. 664 (= 18. 131, 23. 27) | *χάλκεα μαρμαίροντα*. Also *AP* 8.188. 4 *κάλλει μαρμαίρων*; *John Chortasmenos, carm.* g. 33 (ed. Hunger) *δώματα δὴ τεὰ στίλβει κάλλει μαρμαίροντα*.

φάος πέρι τρισσὸν: 'around the threefold light'; cf. *or.* 40.34. 21-3 (ed. Moreschini) *ἐν τῷ φωτὶ Κυρίου θέασαι φῶς, ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Υἱὸν ἀγάσθητι, τὸ τρισσὸν φῶς καὶ ἀμέριστον*; *carm.* II.1.50.[1387] 32 *ἡνίκ' ἀπὸ γλώσσης τρισσὸν ἔλαμπε σέλας*; II.1.62.[1405] 2 (on Christ) *τρिसσὸν φάος*.

ἄφραστον: 'ineffable' or 'too wonderful for words'; cf. *or.* 16. 9 (M. 35.945. 46-8) *καὶ τοὺς μὲν τὸ ἄφραστον φῶς διαδέξεται καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ βασιλικῆς θεωρίας Τριάδος ἔλλαμπούσης*; *Ephr. Syr. Περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν λόγος* (IV p. 273 *Phrantzolas*) *ὡδε φῶς ἄφραστον, ᾧ νῦξ οὐκ ἐπακολουθεῖ*. God is light (1 John 1. 5) and *φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον* (cf. PGL, s.v. *φῶς* I A) and the kingdom of God is *βασιλεία φωτός* (see NTL, s.v. *φῶς* b and PGL, s.v. *φῶς* II E).

57-8. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι: several times at the beginning of Homeric lines (e.g. *Il.* 3. 73; 11. 75)

περσοῖσιν ἐοικότες: a nice metaphor used by Gregory to express the often unpredictable or changeable nature of human behaviour when men do not lead a Christian way of life. The same metaphor occurs at *carm.* II.1.85. [1432] 11-12, used of the instability of human fortune: *πάντα χρόνος περσοῖσιν*

ὁμοίᾳ τῆδε κυλίνδοι, | κάλλος, ἐυκλείην, πλοῦτον, κράτος, ὄλβον ἄπιστον. Cf *Od.* 1. 106-7 οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα | περσοῖσι προπάρουθε θυράων θυμὸν ἔτερπον and at the same metrical *sedes*, *Il.* 2. 800 φύλλοισιν ἑοικότες; 5. 782 λειούσιν ἑοικότες.

ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα: ‘here and there’; Homeric.

περσῶν τε κυλίμασι: ‘in the rolling of the draughts’; cf. *Il.* 1.12. 395-6 (ed. Meier) ὦ τῆς ταχείας τῶν τρόπων μεταστροφῆς | περσῶν κυλίματ’. M. prints *κυλίματι* (Pc).

59. ‘with deep blindness in their eyes’; for the syntax of ἐπίκειμαι with accusative see LSJ, s.v. ἐπίκειμαι III; cf. esp. *D. H.* 2. 70 ἄπικας ἐπικείμενοι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς. The image (see also the next verse) makes a strong contrast with the case of those who are leading towards φάος ἄφραστον (see previous line); cf. *Evagr. Sententiae ad virginem* 54. 5-6 δίκαιοι γὰρ κληρονομήσουσι φῶς, ἀσεβεῖς δὲ οἰκήσουσι σκότος.

δνοφερὴν σκοτόμαιναν: σκοτόμαινα or σκοτομήνη (see PGL, s.v. σκοτομήνη) means ‘dense darkness’ or, metaphorically, ‘spiritual ignorance’, ‘sin’ or ‘moral blindness’; cf. *Gr. Naz. or.* 21.12. 14 (ed. Mossay) τὴν ἡμετέραν σύγχυσιν καὶ σκοτόμαιναν.

Most of the manuscripts (apart from Cg, Gu, Ma and Mq^{ac}) transmit the erroneous form *σκοτόμηναν*: it should either be *σκοτόμαιναν* or *σκοτομήνην* (which in our case does not scan). *σκοτόμηνα* could be the result of a scribe’s attempt to change *σκοτόμαινα* to *σκοτομήνη*, which was then adapted to the metre; *σκοτομήνη* should have been the best-known form because of *Ps.* 10. 2 τοῦ κατατοξεῦσαι ἐν σκοτομήνῃ τοὺς εὐθεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ. But, in any case, the word seems to have confused the scribes, according to the critical apparatuses for Gregory’s speeches. Gregory writes *σκοτομήνη* at *ep.* 206. 4 (ed. Gallay); at *or.* 6.7. 16 and 13.19-20 (ed. Calvet-Sebasti) he also uses this word, but clearly alludes to *Ps.* 10. 2. He uses the form *σκοτόμαινα* 7 times: *or.* 2.78. 8 (ed. Bernardi); 21.12. 14 (ed. Mossay); 22.7. 4 (ed. Gallay); 26.3. 2 (ed. Mossay); 42.2. 14 and 22, and 43.42. 16 (ed. Bernardi); in most of these cases *σκοτομήνη* or *σκοτόμηνα* are found in a few manuscripts. Bernardi prints *σκοτόμηνα* at *or.* 5.31. 15; but the form does not occur elsewhere in Greek literature and he notes in his apparatus: ‘σκοτόμηναν: -μαιναν QBJWVTXS^{Pc}P^{Pc} -μήνην ACR, cf. *Ep.* 206, 4’.

ἑοῖς ἐπικείμενοι ὄσσοι: cf. the Homeric formula τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυπεν.

60. ‘while touching (or feeling) walls all around, let them fall upon each other’; he does not make a wish but describes the consequences of their way of life.

τοιχοὺς ἀμφοφώντες: ἀμφοφάω is Homeric (see LSJ, s.v.). Another nice metaphor to express the confusion and bewilderment of ‘the others’; cf. *carm.* I.2.15.[776] 139 τοίχους δ’ ἀμφοφών καὶ ἀλώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἴοιεν: cf. the Homeric formula (11 x *Il.*) οἳ δ' ὅτε δὴ χχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες; Call. *Del.* 146 πίπτοντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι (with Mineur's note). The manuscripts are divided between ἀλλήλοισι δ' ἴοιεν and ἀλλήλοισιν ἴοιεν (L LaPa Va Mq γ NPj), but δ' cannot have a place in our text (vv. 58-60): πίπτοιεν, ... τε ... ἔχοιεν ἢ ... ἴοιεν. The mistake could easily have been made, since δ' would be used (when needed) instead of the euphonic ν, e.g. Gr. Naz. *carm.* II.1.1. 134 (ed. Tuilier-Bady) ἀλλήλοισι δ' ἐριζέμεν; Q. S. 1. 491 ἀλλήλοισι δ' ἐπὶ.

Appendix

1. The Anonymous Paraphrase A

1. Διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοί

¹Εὐδαίμων ὅστις μεμονωμένον ἔχει βίον οὐδὲ ἐπιμεμιγμένον ²τοῖς τὰ τῆς γῆς φρονοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπεθέωσε τὸν νοῦν. ³Εὐδαίμων ὅστις πολλοῖς μεμιγμένος, οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ⁴στρέφεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἔπεμψεν ὅλην τὴν καρδίαν. ⁵Εὐδαίμων ὅστις πάντων τῶν χρημάτων ἠγόρασε τὸν Χριστὸν ⁶καὶ κτήμα μόνον ἔχει σταυρόν, ὄντινα εἰς ὕψος βαστάζει. ⁷Εὐδαίμων ὅστις καθαροῖς τοῖς ἰδίοις κτήμασι βασιλεύων ⁸τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ παρέχει τοῖς χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν. ⁹Εὐδαίμων τῶν ἀγάμων τῶν μακαρίων ὁ βίος, οἵτινες τῆς θεότητος ¹⁰εἰσὶν ἐγγὺς τῆς καθαρῆς, τὴν σάρκα ἀπορρίψαντες. ¹¹Εὐδαίμων ὅστις τοῖς νόμοις τοῦ γάμου ὀλίγον ὑποχωρήσας ¹²πλείονα τῷ Χριστῷ μοῖραν ἔρωτος ἄγει. ¹³Εὐδαίμων ὅστις ὄχλου φέρων ἐπικράτειαν καθαραῖς ¹⁴καὶ μεγάλας θυσίαις τὸν Χριστὸν ἄγει τοῖς ἐπιγείοις. ¹⁵Εὐδαίμων ὅστις ὑπάρχων ποίμνης υἱὸς οὐρανόυ, ¹⁶γῆν ἄγει τοῦ Χριστοῦ θρέμμα τελειότατον. ¹⁷Εὐδαίμων ὅστις καθαροῦ λογισμοῦ μεγάλας ὀρμαῖς ¹⁸τῶν οὐρανίων φῶτων ἐφορᾷ τὴν λαμπρότητα. ¹⁹εὐδαίμων ὅστις χερσὶ πολυκαμάτοις τὸν Θεὸν ²⁰τιμᾷ καὶ πολλοῖς ὑπάρχει παράδειγμα τοῦ βίου. ²¹(Πάντα ταῦτα δὲ τῶν οὐρανίων πληρώματα ὑπάρχει ληνῶν, ²²αἵτινες τοῦ καρποῦ ψυχῶν ὑποδέκτραι τῶν ἡμετέρων ²³ἄλλην ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ χώραν ἀγούσης. ²⁴Πολλοὶ γὰρ πολλῶν εἰσὶν καταμοναὶ βίων). ²⁵Εὐδαίμων ὄντινα πτωχὸν τῶν παθῶν τὸ μέγα Πνεῦμα ἀνέδειξεν. ²⁶ὅστις ἔχει ζωὴν ἐνταῦθα πενθικὴν. ²⁷ὅστις ἐπουρανίας αἰεὶ ἀχόρταστος τροφῆς, ²⁸ὅστις πραότητι κληρονόμος μεγάλων. ²⁹ὅστις τοῖς ἐγκάτοις τοῖς ἰδίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ μέγαν ἔλεον ἐφέλκει ³⁰καὶ εἰρήνης φίλος καὶ καθαρὸς τὴν καρδίαν. ³¹ὅστις πολλὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μεγαλοδόξου ἕνεκα ὑπέμεινε ³²κακὰ καὶ μεγάλης δόξης μεθέξει, μεταλήψεται. ³³Τούτων ἦντινα θέλεις ὁδεύε ὁδόν, εἰ μὲν ἀπάσας, ³⁴βέλτιον· εἰ δὲ ὀλίγας, δευτέρα τάξις· εἰ δὲ μόνην, ³⁵ἐξόχως ἐξαιρέτως, καὶ τοῦτο φίλον. Ζυγὰ δὲ ἄξια πᾶσιν ³⁶τοῖς τελείοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλάττοσι. ³⁷Καὶ ἡ Ῥαὰβ οὐκ εὐτακτον εἶχεν ζωὴν, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ταύτην ³⁸ἐνδοξον ἢ ἀκροτάτη ποιήσεν φιλοξενία.

12 μοῖραν] μερίδα LaRi 16 γῆν] δωρικῶς δὲ συνεστάλη add. Ri 17 καθαροῦ λογισμοῦ] καθαραῖς λόγος μου Pc 25 πτωχὸν] θεὸν Ri 38 ποιήσεν] ἐποίησεν La : καὶ τὰ Pc

³⁹Ἐκ δὲ μόνης ταύτης πλέον ἔσχε τοῦ Φαρισαίου ὁ τελώνης ⁴⁰τῆς ταπεινότητος τοῦ μεγάλως κουφίζομένου τοῦ ἐπαιρομένου. ⁴¹Κάλλιον ἢ ἀγαμία, ναὶ κάλλιον, ἀλλ' ἐπιμεμιγμένη ⁴²τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐπίγεια χείρων γάμου ⁴³σώφρονος. Τῶν ἀκτημόνων ὑψηλὸς βίος τῶν ἐν ὄρει φοιτῶντων, ⁴⁴ἀλλ' ὑπερηφάνια καὶ τούτους πολλακίς ἐποίησεν κάτω. ⁴⁵Οὐ γὰρ ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἄλλοις μετροῦντες ἀρίστοις ⁴⁶ἄκριτον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὕψος ἔχουσιν ὅτε ⁴⁷πολλακίς καὶ θερμῷ λογισμῷ πωλαρίοις ὁμοίως ⁴⁸θερμότεροις τοῦ καμπτοῦ πόρρω φέρουσι τὸν πόδα. ⁴⁹Τούτου χάριν ἢ πτεροῖς κουφίζου παντελῶς ἐλαφροῖς ⁵⁰ἢ κάτω μένων ἀσφαλῶς τρέχειν ⁵¹ἵνα μὴ τῷ βάρει τὸ σὸν πτερόν εἰς τὴν γῆν κλίνῃ ⁵²μηδὲ πέσης κουφισθεὶς πτώμα ἐλεεινότατον. ⁵³Ναὺς μικρὰ σφηναρίοις συνηρμοσμένη πυκνοῖς συνεχέσι ⁵⁴γόμενον βαστάζει μεγάλης πλείονα τῆς ἀδέτου. ⁵⁵Στενὴ μὲν τοῦ πυλῶνος ἢ ὁδὸς τοῦ θείου ὑπάρχει ⁵⁶πολλαὶ δ' ὁδοὶ εἰς μίαν συντρέχουσαι. ⁵⁷Οὗτοι μὲν ταύτην περῶεν, ὅσοις ἢ φύσις ἐνταῦθα κλίνει, ⁵⁸ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλην, τῆς στενῆς μόνον ἐφαπτόμενοι. ⁵⁹Οὔτε μία πᾶσιν ὁμοίως φίλον ὑπάρχει τροφή ⁶⁰οὔτε τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς εἰς βίος ἀρμόδιος ἐπιτήδειος. ⁶¹δάκρυα πᾶσι βέλτιον καὶ ἀγρυπνία καὶ πόνοι ⁶²καὶ τὴν μανίαν τῶν παθῶν τῶν χαλεπῶν κρατεῖν ⁶³καὶ κεντᾶν ἀναίρειν πολεμεῖν τὴν πλησμονὴν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν ἰσχυρὰν ⁶⁴κεῖσθαι, φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐπερχομένην. ⁶⁵Εἰ δὲ ὑψηλὴν τελείως πορευθεῖς ὁδὸν οὐκ ἔτι ἄνθρωπος, ⁶⁶ἀλλὰ τις τῶν οὐρανίων τοῦ Γρηγορίου ταῖς νομοθεσίαις.

2. Πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἱερέας καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν

¹Ἔθυσίας πέμποντες δίχα αἵματος ἱερεῖς ἐπίσκοποι ²καὶ τῆς μεγάλης μονάδος δοῦλοι ἐν Τριάδι, ³ὡ νόμοι, ὡ βασιλεῖς, ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ μεγαλοφρονοῦντες, ⁴ὡ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τὸ ἔνδοξον ἔδρασμα τοῦ μεγάλου, ⁵νεωτέρα μεταγενεστέρα Ρώμη, τοσοῦτον διαφέρουσα τῶν πόλεων, ⁶ὁπόσον τῆς γῆς ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ἀστέρας ἔχων. ⁷ὕμας τοὺς εὐγενεῖς ἐπικαλέσομαι ὅποια με εἰργάσατο ⁸ὁ φθόνος· πῶς τῶν ἱερῶν πόρρω ἔβαλε τέκνων, ⁹ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀγωνισάμενον, φωσφόρον φῶς φέροντα τοῖς θείοις ¹⁰δόγμασι καὶ πέτρας ἀποπροχέαντα ῥοῦν ῥεῦμα. ¹¹Ποία δίκη κάματον μὲν ἐμοὶ καὶ φόβον γενέσθαι ¹²τῆς πόλεως τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ πρῶτον χαρασσομένης καὶ κτιζομένης, ¹³ἄλλου δὲ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν τοῖς μόχθοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπευφραίνειν τὴν ψυχὴν ¹⁴κουφισθέντα ἐπαρθέντα ἐξαίφνης θρόνον ἐπ' ἀλλότριον ¹⁵οὔτινος καὶ Θεός με ἐπιβῆναι καὶ

1 ⁴¹ κάλλιον La : καλλίον Ri : καλὸν Pc ἀγαμία Ri : ἀγνεία PcLa ⁴⁴ ἐποίησας Ri
49 κουφίζου παντελῶς] κουφίζουσαν τέλωσ Pc ⁵³ συνηρμοσμένως Pc ⁵⁴ βαστάζει] τῆς add. Ri ἀδέτου] ἀσυνδέτου Ri ⁵⁷ περῶεν LaRi: περῶ Pc

2 ¹¹ κάματον] κάματα Pc ¹⁵ ἐπιβῆναι] ἐποίησεν add. LaRi

τοῦ Θεοῦ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ δούλοι; ¹⁶Ταῦτα νόσος χαλεπή, ταῦτα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἱ δούλοι, ¹⁷οἱ μάχην στενακτικὴν κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες, ¹⁸ὦ Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ, οὐδαμῶς μοι ταῦτα ἐννοοῦνται φίλως. ¹⁹Οὐ γὰρ μιᾶς ἐγενόμην μοίρας θρασὺς ἀπειδοφόρος ²⁰οὐδὲ ἔθελον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἄλλο τίποτε πρότερον φέρειν, ὃ ἔστιν προτιμᾶν. ²¹Ἀμαρτία δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν ὅμοιον ἡμάρτον τοῖς ἄλλοις ²²μηδὲ ὡς ναῦν μικρὰ φορτηγῶ πλοίῳ μεγάλῳ συμπεριφέρομαι, ²³ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐλαφρὸν νοῦν ἔχουσιν μισοῦμαι, οἵτινες δὴ ἀνέθηκαν ²⁴τὸ βῆμα τοῦτο οὐχ ὀκίως οὐ δικαίως καὶ ῥοτρέχουσι τοῖς φίλοις. ²⁵Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῆς λήθης κρύπτει ὁ βυθός, ἐγὼ δὲ ²⁶ἐντεῦθεν ἀφορμηθεὶς τέρψομαι τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ ²⁷πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ βασιλεία καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ²⁸ἠδέως φυγῶν ὡς ἐπεθύμουν τὸ πρότερον, ²⁹ὀπηνίκα ὁ Θεὸς με ἐκάλεσεν καὶ ἐν νυκτερινοῖς ὄνειροις ³⁰καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς φρικτῆς τοῖς φόβοις χαλεποῖς. ³¹Τούτου χάριν χαίρων τὸν φθόνον ἐξέφυγον, ἐκ μεγάλου δὲ ³²χειμῶνος ἐν εὐδίῳ τὸ σχοινίον ἔβαλον λιμένι, ³³ὅπου τοῦ νοῦ τοῖς καθαροῖς ἐνθυμήμασι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπαίρων προφέρων ³⁴θύσω καὶ σιωπὴν ὡς τὸ πρότερον λόγον. ³⁵Οὗτος τοῦ Γρηγορίου ὁ λόγος, ὄντινα ἔθρεψεν ἡ γῆ ³⁶τῶν Καππαδοκῶν, τῷ Χριστῷ πάντα ἀποδυσάμενον, ἀγωνισάμενον.

3. Σχετλιαστικὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ παθῶν

¹Πολλάκις τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν βασιλέα κακοῖς μοχθῶν μεγάλῳις ²ἀπεφαύλισα. Καὶ γάρ τις δεσπότης δούλου ὑπήνεγκεν ³δουλικὸν ἐν στόμασι λαλούμενον ἡσυχῶς γογγυσμὸν· ⁴ὁμοίως δὲ πατὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀνοήτου υἱοῦ ἰδίου ⁵πολλάκις φανερώς λόγων θράσος ἠρέμα ἡσυχῶς ὑπεδέξατο. ⁶Τούτου χάριν καὶ σὺ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις θεὸς εὐμενῆς γένοιο, ⁷οὐστίνας σοι λυπουμένη ἡ καρδία, ὧ πρῶτατε, πέμψει, ⁸μικρὰν θεραπείαν τοῖς πάθεσιν φθεγγομένη τῆς διανοίας ἢ ὠδὶς ὁ τοκετός. ⁹ὦ Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ, τί τοσοῦτοις με κακοῖς διεπόρθησας ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ¹⁰ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου τῆς μητρὸς ὠλίθησα τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν γῆν; ¹¹εἰ μὴ καὶ ταῖς λαγόσιν ἐν σκοτειναῖς ἔδησας, ¹²διατί τοσοῦτοις πένθεισι λύπαις καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ καὶ κατὰ γῆν ¹³καὶ ἐχθροῖς καὶ φίλοις καὶ ἄρχουσι κακοῖς, ¹⁴ξένοις καὶ πολίταις καὶ φανερώς ἐνεδρεύουσιν ¹⁵καὶ λόγοις ἀντιθέτοις καὶ λιθίνας χιόνος βολαῖς, ὃ ἔστι καὶ λιθοβολίας ὡς τὸ χιόνι, ¹⁶βέβλημαι; τίς πάντα διακεκριμένως δημηγορεῦσει διηγῆσεται;

2 18 ἐννοοῦνται| ἐνθυμοῦνται Ri 22 ναῦς VbLa 26 τέρψομαι| ἔρχομαι Pc
30 χαλεποῖς| τοῖς χαλεποῖς Ia : τοῖς φοβεροῖς Pc

3 2 ἀπεφαύλισα| ἔμεψα add. N 4 υἱὸς ἴδιος Pc : υἱοῦ ἴδιος D 5 φανερῶν LaB
ND 12 τοσοῦτοις RiB N : τούτοις Pc 13 ἄρχουσι κακοῖς| ἀρχικακοῖς Ri 15 ὃ
ἔστι καὶ λιθοβολίας ὡς τὸ χιόνι| om. B N : ὃ ἔστι λιθοβολίας ὡς ἐπὶ χιόνος LaRi

¹⁷μόνος ἐγὼ πᾶσι περιβόητος οὔτε ἐπὶ λόγοις ¹⁸οὔτε ἐπὶ ἰσχύϊ χειρὸς ἔχων πλεόντων ἄλλων, ¹⁹κακὰ καὶ στεναγμοὺς περιεστηκότων, ὥσπερ λέοντα ²⁰πανταχόθεν περιυλακτοῦσι κακωτικοὶ βλαπτικοὶ κύνες, ἐλεινὸν ἄσμα, ²¹καὶ ἐν ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν δύσει. Ταχέως ἂν ποτε καὶ τοῦτο γένοιτο ²²ἢ τις ποτὲ ἀνὴρ εὐωχίαις λύων τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ τις ὀδοιπόρος ²³ἢ τις ποτὲ εὐήχῳ κιθάρα ἐπιβάλλον τὸς δακτύλους, ²⁴φωναῖς μὴ λαλούσαις ἄλλοις τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν ὀμιλητῆς ἀφηγητῆς λέκτης, ²⁵τοῦ Γρηγορίου μνήμην ἔχοι, ὄντινα ἔθρεψε τοῖς Καππαδόκαις ²⁶ἢ τῶν Διοκαισαρέων μικρὰ πόλις. Ἄλλοις ἐπιμοχθοῦντα ἢ ἄλλο μοχθηρόν, ²⁷ἄλλοις πλοῦτον ἐχαρίσω παρέσχες τὸν ἄπειρον, παῖδας ἄλλοις ²⁸ἀγαθούς, εὐειδῆς ἄλλος, ὁ δὲ ἰσχυρός, ἄλλος δὲ δημηγόρος. ²⁹ἐμοὶ δὲ δόξα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πάθειν· εἰς ἐμὲ δὲ πάντα ³⁰τῆς σῆς γλυκερᾶς χειρὸς πικροποιά ἐπεμψας βέλη· ³¹ἄλλος Ἰωβ νεαρός εἰμὶ τὸ αἴτιον δὲ οὐκέτι τὸ αὐτό. ³²Οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἀγωνισάμενός με ἄγει, ὦ μάκαρ, καθάπερ τινὰ ἄριστον ³³κατέναντι ἀθλητοῦ ἀγωνιστοῦ σκληροῦ τῇ ἰσχύϊ θαρρῶν, ³⁴ὅπως ἂν νικήσαντι τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν παράσχῃς. ³⁵Οὐπω τοσοῦτος ἐγὼ οὐδὲ πάθειν δόξα ἔπεστιν, ³⁶ἐκδίκῃν δὲ τιμωρίαν ἀπόδοσιν τῆς ἀμαρτίας παρέχω ταῦτα. Τίς δὲ ἐστὶν ἀμαρτία ³⁷ζητῶ ἐν πολλοῖς μου ἀμαρτήμασιν, ὅπερ σοὶ ἀμάρτημα πλεόν μισεῖται τῶν ἄλλων. ³⁸Λέξω πᾶσιν, ὅπερ μοι ὁ νοῦς ἔσω κατέχει συνεχέι. ³⁹ἢ ταχέως ἂν σπαράξειεν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ὁ λόγος ὁ ἄφωνος. ⁴⁰Ἐνόμιζον ὑπελάμβανον (ὅτε σε προσφιλὲς μέρος μόνον ἐδεξάμην, ⁴¹ὄλον ὁμοῦ τοῦ βίου τὸν κυρφετὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ῥίψας ⁴²καὶ τὸν νοῦν εἰς ὕψος βαίνοντα τῇ σῇ θεότητι προσεγγίζων ⁴³τῆς σαρκὸς χωρὶς ἔθῃκα, ὁ νοῦς δὲ μοι προηγέιτο) ⁴⁴πάντων μὲν κρατεῖν, πάντων δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν αἰθέρα περᾶν βαδίζειν ⁴⁵χρυσαῖς τιμαῖς πτέρυξιν, ὅπερ μοι φθόνον δεινὸν συνήγαγεν ⁴⁶καὶ με κακωτικαῖς ἐνέδῃσεν ἀφεύκτοις λύπαις. ⁴⁷Ἡ σὴ δόξα εἰς ὕψος ἐκούφισεν, ἢ σὴ δὲ δόξα εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔβαλεν. ⁴⁸Αἰε ταῖς ὑπερηφανίαις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὀργίξῃ ταῖς μεγάλαις. ⁴⁹Ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν ἀκούοιτε καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα γράφοιτε, ⁵⁰οἱ ὄχλοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες, μισητοὶ βαρεῖς καὶ πρᾶοι ἰλαροί, ⁵¹τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου τὸν προσφιλεῖς θρόνον οὐκ ἐφαύλις· ⁵²οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ πρέπει τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς νόμοις μάχεσθαι. ⁵³Ἐκεῖνὸς ὁ νόμος ἔδωκε· ἐγὼ δὲ τῇ χειρὶ τῇ γεροντικῇ ⁵⁴τὴν νέαν χεῖρα ὑπέθῃκα, τοῦ πατρὸς δὲ ὑπέβηκα ὑπεχώρησα ἠκολούθησα ταῖς λιταῖς· ⁵⁵τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ὄντινα ἐτίμησε καὶ ὅστις πάννυ πόρρω τοῦ μοναστηρίου, ⁵⁶σεβόμενος ἐντρεπόμενος καὶ τὴν πολιὰν καὶ τὴν ὀμήλικα τοῦ πνεύματος λαμπηδόνα. ⁵⁷Ὅτε δὲ τῆς ζωῆς τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ ἐξουσιαστῇ καὶ τοῦτο ἤρεσεν ⁵⁸τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἄλλοις με τὸν λόγον καὶ πνεύματος ἀναφανερῶσαι ⁵⁹ξένοις,

19 περιεστηκότας B : περιεστηκότως LaRi N 20 κακωτικοί] om. B ND 21 ἐν
 δύσει] δύσει PcLa καὶ τοῦτο] om. PcB 24 ὀμιλητῆς ἀφηγητῆς λέκτης] ὀμιλητῆς B
 33 ἀθλητοῦ] ἀεθλευτοῦ add. ND 36 ἀπόδοσιν ... ἀμαρτία] om. Pc παρέχει B
 37 ἀμάρτημα] ἀμαρτήματα Pc 47 ἐκούφισεν] μὲ ἐκούφισεν ND : ἐκούφισεν B : ἐκούφισεν Pc
 51 ἐφαύλις Pc

τραχέει καὶ ἀκανθοφόροις γαίαις· ⁶⁰μικρὰ μὲν σταγῶν ὑπάρχω, πολὺν δὲ ὄχλον ἐφήρμοσα συνήγαγον. ⁶¹Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ πάλιν ἤρρεεν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς παλινπόρευτον ἐνταῦθα πέμψαι ⁶²καὶ νόσῳ μισητῆ καὶ χαλεπαῖς φροντίσιν ⁶³τακέντα ἐξαίφνης. Ἰὸς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἢ μέριμνα. ⁶⁴Ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον ὑπῆρχον τοῖς ἐμοῖς μέλεσιν ἀδελφοῖς βοηθός, ⁶⁵ποιμενικὴν διδασκαλικὴν φωνὴν λόγον βοηθὸν ἀγαθὸν παρασχών, ⁶⁶μή πως τις τοῖς ἐμοῖς προβάτοις μαθηταῖς ἀφυλάκτοις ἐπελθὼν ⁶⁷ὁ ἐχθρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χορτάσῃ πληρώσῃ ἀναιδῆ γαστέρα τροφῆς. ⁶⁸Ὅτε δὲ ἐσαλεύοντο ἐκινουῦντο οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἐσαλεύοντο δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ⁶⁹καὶ τοῦ προκαθηγητοῦ τῷ πόθῳ καὶ τοῖς θηρεῖ τοῖς ὀλεθρίοις, ⁷⁰οἵτινες τὸν θεὸν ἀνθρωπίνους ἐν ἐντέροις σαρκωθέντα ⁷¹ἔξωθεν νοῦ, ἄνουν ψυχὴν νομιζοῦσι, νοῦ χωρὶς ἀναπλάσαντες. ⁷²Πλείστοι μὲν ἐγόγγυζον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πάθεισιν ἄπιστοι ⁷³καὶ με ταῖς ὑπερηφανίαις τὸν θεοσεβῆ ὄχλον ἀτιμάζειν ⁷⁴ἢ εἶπαν ἢ ὁ νοῦς εἶχε· τῷ θεῷ δὲ τὸ πάθος ἐδείκνυον. ⁷⁵Πλείστοι δὲ πάλιν νυκτερινοῖς ἐμὲ ἐκρινον ὄνειροις, ⁷⁶ζωγράφος ὦντινων ὁ ἔρωσ ὑπῆρχεν παίγνια πολλὰ ὑπὸ γράφων διαγράφων· ⁷⁷ἢ ὁ θεὸς ἐφάνέρωσεν, ἐμοὶ τέλος ἀγαθὸν χαρίζομενος, ⁷⁸ὅπως ἂν μὴ χαλεπαῖς σὺν ἐλπίσι δαμασθεῖην, ⁷⁹τὴν ἐξοδικὴν κάκωσιν ἐνδυσάμενος ἐπιφερόμενος τοῦ βίου. ⁸⁰Τούτου χάριν τὸν τράχηλον ἔκαμψα, τὴν σὴν δὲ ὑπὸ χεῖρα τὴν ἰσχυρὰν ⁸¹δεδεμένος ἔρχομαι ἐγὼ, ἢ δίκη δὲ ἄλλοις μέλοι. ⁸²Οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἐμοὶ κρινομένης τῆς ἐμῆς ζωῆς δῆλον ὅτι. ⁸³Ἐνταῦθα νῦν, ὦ Χριστέ, φέροις με ὅπου σοὶ φίλον, τοῖς πάθει ἐκάμφθην. ⁸⁴Κήτους γαστρί καταπεπονημένος εἰμὶ προφήτης. ⁸⁵Σοὶ παρέχω τῆς ζωῆς τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόλειμμα. Ἄλλ' ἐλέησον, ⁸⁶νεκρὸν ἔτι ἀναπνέοντα. Διατί με πάθεισιν τοσοῦτον ἀπελαύνει; ⁸⁷οὔτε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς μόνοις ἀπέθανες ὁ θεός, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ⁸⁸ἦλθες —(ὄντως μέγα θαῦμα, θεὸς ἄνθρωπος τῷ αἵματι καθαίρων ⁸⁹τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ σώματα)— οὔτε κάκιτος ⁹⁰μόνος ἐγὼ· πολλοὶς χεῖροσι κατωτέροις δόξαν παρέσχες. ⁹¹Τρεῖς ἐν ταῖς βίβλοισι ταῖς σαῖς μεγαλόδοξοι εἰσὶν τελῶναι· ⁹²ὁ Ματθαῖός τε ὁ μέγας καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ ναῷ δάκρυα σκεπάσας ⁹³καὶ ὁ Ζακχαῖος πρὸς τούτοις· ὁ τέταρτος ἐγὼ αὐτὸς γενοίμην. ⁹⁴Τρεῖς δὲ παράλυτοι, καὶ ὁ κληνῆρης (λέκτρον γὰρ ἢ κοίτη) καὶ ὅστις ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν ⁹⁵καὶ ἦντινα τὸ πνεῦμα ἔδιδεν· ὁ τέταρτος αὐτὸς ἐγὼ γενοίμην. ⁹⁶Τρεῖς δὲ σοὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν τὸ φῶς ἐθεάσαντο· οὕτως γὰρ ἐκέλευσας· ⁹⁷τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἢ θυγάτηρ, τῆς χήρας ὁ παῖς, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τάφου ⁹⁸ὁ Λάζαρος ἡμίφθορος, τὸ ἡμικυ διακεκομμένος· ὁ τέταρτος αὐτὸς γενοίμην. ⁹⁹Καὶ νῦν φάρμακα ἔχοιμι τὰς ὀδύνας καταπαύοντα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ¹⁰⁰ζῶν ἄτρεπτον, ὦ ἀγαθέ, τῆ σὴ μεγάλης δόξης γαυριῶν. ¹⁰¹Ποίμνης ἦρξα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ φρονούσης. Εἰ δὲ λυθειῖν, ¹⁰²ἀρχιμανδρίτου οὗτοι τύχοιεν βελτίονος· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίου, ¹⁰³ἦττονος ἐν πάθει-

60 σταγῶν] βανίς ND
La N : καὶ ἐτάκησαν PcRi
λιμμα Pc : λειψανον ND
LaRi

61 παλινπόριτον Pc: παλινπόρευστον La
84 καταπεπονημένος] τετρυχωμένος add. ND
86 νεκρὸν] μικρὸν B D
103 πάθεισιν ἐν πόσοις] νόσοις

63 τακέντα
85 ὑπό-

κιν ἐν πόσοις, μακαριώτατε· οὐ γὰρ πρέπει ¹⁰⁴τὸν τῶν νόσων ἀπηλάτην κακοῖς πάθει νόσοις κάμνειν μάχεσθαι.

4. Περί τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιότητος καὶ ἀπιστίας καὶ κοινοῦ πάντων τέλους

¹Ἦθελον ἢ περιστερὰ ταχύτερος ἢ χελιδῶν ²εἶναι, ὅπως φύγοιμι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν βίον ἢ τινα ἔρημον ³οἰκεῖν τοῖς θηρίοις ὁμοίκοις (οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσὶν ⁴πιστότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων) καὶ ἡμερινὸν βίον ἔλκειν ⁵ἀπενθῆ καὶ ἄλυπον, ἀτιμώρητον· ἐν τούτῳ ἀθήρευτον ⁶μόνον ἔχειν, τῆς θεότητος ἔμπειρον νοῦν, εἰς οὐρανὸν φοιτῶντα, ⁷ὅπως ἂν ἠσυχάζοντι βίῳ φῶς αἰετῶν συνάγων, ⁸ἢ τινος ὑψηλῆς ἀκρωρείαις ἐπάνωθεν κουφισθεῖς, ⁹μέγα πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιγείοις βοήσω· ¹⁰ᾧ ἀνθρωποὶ φθαρτοί, ρεύσεως γένος ρευστοί, οὐδὲν ὄντες, ¹¹οἵτινες τῷ θανάτῳ ζῶντες μάταια φερόμεν, ¹²ἕως τίνος ψεύσται καὶ ἐφημέριοι ὄνειροι ¹³καταπαλιζόμενοι καταπαλιζόντες ἐπὶ τῇ γῆ μάτην πλανᾶσθε; ¹⁴θεῶρει δὲ ἐν ταῖς διανοαῖς ταῖς καῖς ἐπὶ πάντας ὁδεύων βαδίζων ¹⁵ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ. Καὶ γὰρ με ὁ μέγας θεὸς ἔμπειρον ἐποίησεν ¹⁶καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν, ὁ νοῦς δ' ἐπὶ πάντα φέρεται. ¹⁷Οὗτος ἦν καὶ ἀκμαῖος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς, δόξα τῶν ἐταίρων, ¹⁸εἰς ὕψος βαίνων μέλεσιν πολυζῶοις πεπηγμένους· ¹⁹οὗτος εὐπρεπῆς ἦν αὐτόχρομα ἐωσφόρος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πάντων ²⁰ἔλκων ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν, ἕσπερος ἄνθος ἐν ἀνθρώποις· οὗτος τοῖς ἄθλοισι ²¹ἐνδοξος, τοῖς ὅπλοισι οὗτος πολεμικός, οὗτος κάλλιστος ²²τῶν τοὺς θῆρας φονευόντων ἐν τοῖς σταδίοις καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι δόξαν συνάγων, ²³οὗτος δὲ πάλιν ταῖς εὐωχίαις καὶ ταῖς ἐορταῖς φροντίσας ²⁴τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ πελάγους καὶ ἀέρος τὴν γαστέρα τρέφων· ²⁵νῦν ἐρρυσώμενος γέρον καὶ ἀσθενῆς (ἀπέρρευσε γὰρ ἐμαράνθη γὰρ πάντα)· ²⁶τὸ γῆρας ἦλθε, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἀπέφυγε, νεκρὰ τὰ τῆς γαστροῦ· ²⁷ὀλίγον ἔτι ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἄδου· ²⁸οὗτος δὲ πάλιν λόγοις φερόμενος μέγα παντοίοις ποικίλοις, ²⁹οὗτος δὲ εὐγενῆς τάφοις φρονῶν μεγάλοις ³⁰ἢ δέλτοις μικραῖς νεωστὶ γεγραμμένον αἷμα λαχῶν· ³¹οὗτος ἰσχυρὸς τὴν γνώμην ἐν πόλεσι μέγιστος ³²τοῖς τοῦ δήμου παντὸς στόμασι φωνούμενος, οὗτος πολὺν μέτρον μὴ ὑποβαλλόμενος ³³πλοῦτον, τὸν μὲν ἔχων, τὸν δὲ ταῖς διανοαῖς, ὃ ἔστιν τῆς φαντασίας, ἔσω αὐξάνων· ³⁴οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἐν ὕψει τὸν θρόνον ἐχούσης δίκης τοῖς ζυγοῖς χαίρει· ³⁵οὗτος δὲ αἱματώδει πορφυρῷ ἱματίῳ καὶ διαδήματι τῆς κεφαλῆς ³⁶τῆς γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχων καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἀτι-

3 103 ἐν πόσοις] om. D

104 ἀπελάτην La : διώκτην RiB

4 2 ὅπως] ἂν add. Gu

7 αἰετῶν] καὶ διὰ παντὸς add. Gu

12 ὄνειροις] ἡμερινῶν

ὄνειρους καλεῖ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ

πράγματα> add. Gu

20 ἔλκων] κύρων LaRi

21 κάλλιστος] ἄριστος Gu

25 ἐρρυσώμενος Pc : ἐρρυσωμένος Gu

34 τοῖς ζυγοῖς

Ri Gu : ζυγῆς Pc

μάζει, ³⁷φθαρτὸς ἐν ἀθανάτοις μετέωρος ἐλπίσι. ³⁸Νῦν ταῦτα μικρὸν μετέπειτα μετὰ μικρὸν γῆ καὶ πάντες ἴσοι ³⁹οἱ δούλοι, οἱ βασιλεῖς, οἱ μισθωτοί, οἱ τῷ πλούτῳ κομῶντες· ⁴⁰εἷς σκότος, εἷς δε οἶκος τοσοῦτον πλέον τοῖς μεγάλοφροσιν, ⁴¹ὀπόσον ἐνδοξοτέρου θρήνου καὶ τάφου τυχεῖν ⁴²καὶ ὄνομα ἐν λίθοις καταλιπεῖν ἐπιτάφιον ἐλεεινόν· ⁴³βραδέως μὲν, ὅμως δὲ πᾶσιν ἴσον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τάλαντον ὁ ζυγός· ⁴⁴ὄστ᾽ ἄρα πάντες ἀσθενῆ κεχηνῶτα ἀνεωγμένα γυμναὶ κεφαλαί· ⁴⁵ἐπαύσατο ἡ ὑπερηφάνια, τὴν πενίαν δὲ ὁ μόχθος κατέλιπε, ἡ νόσος ἀφανής, ⁴⁶ἡ ἔχθρα, ἡ ἀδικία, τῶν πλειόνων ὁ ἔρωσ, ἡ ὕβρις ἡ ἀκαταπόνητος· ⁴⁷πάντα ἀπέθανεν ἀποθανοῦσιν εἰσὶν καὶ πάντα κέκλειται, ⁴⁸ἔως ἂν ἐγειρομένοις ἀνισταμένοις συνοδεύων τὰ ἐκείθεν παραγένηται. ⁴⁹Ταῦτα οὖν βλέποντες τοῖς ἐμοῖς πείθεσθαι λόγοις, ⁵⁰ὦ ἐμοὶ παῖδες (παῖδες γὰρ ὀπόσων πλέον εἴλικυα πνεῦμα), ⁵¹δεῦρο ἄγε τὸν κόσμον ὅλον καὶ ὀπόσα ἐνταῦθα πλανᾶται ⁵²καταλιπόντες, τὰς κακίας τοῦ ἐπιγείου βασιλέως, ⁵³τοῦ ἄρπαγος τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, τοῦ βλαπτικοῦ, τοῦ τοὺς ἄνδρας φονεύοντος, ⁵⁴τὸν πλοῦτον, τὴν δόξαν, τὰ συνέδρια, τοὺς συλλόγους, τὸ γένος, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι ἀβέβαιοι, ⁵⁵ἀποτρεπτικῶς φεύγωμεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ὅπου τὰ πολλὰ ⁵⁶κάλλη τὰ λάμποντα, τὸ φῶς τὸ περιεσσόν, τὸ ἀνεκδιήγητον. ⁵⁷Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι τοῖς βολίοις ὅμοιοι ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐκεῖ ⁵⁸πίπτουσι καὶ τῶν βολίων τοῖς πώμασι τὴν τέρψιν ἔχουσι ⁵⁹ἢ μέλαιναν σκοτίαν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπικείμενοι ὀφθαλμοῖς ⁶⁰τοὺς τοίχους ψηλαφῶντες, ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι δὲ περθεῖεν.

43 τὸ τάλαντον ὁ ζυγός] τὸ ταλαντόζυγον PCLa : ὁ ζυγός Ri Gu 45 ἐπαύσατο Ri
Gu : ἐνύσατο (sic) Pc 54 τὸ γένος] τὸ γένος LaRi Gu : om. Pc 58 πώμασι Pc :
πώμασι LaRi : κυλίμασι Gu

2. The Anonymous Paraphrase B

Note: the number on the left side in this paraphrase indicates correspondence with the text of the poems.

1. Διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοί

Μακάριος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ, ὁ τὸν βίον ἐρημικὸς καὶ τοῖς χαμαὶ
κυρομένοις ἀνεπίμικτος, ἅτε θεώσας τὸν νοῦν καὶ μετάρσιον
ἐργασάμενος. Μακάριος ὁ πολλοῖς μὲν ἀναμεμιγμένος, οὐκ ἐν
πολλοῖς δὲ στρεφόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς καρδίας ὅλην τὴν ῥοπήν
5 δούς Θεῷ τῷ ποιήσαντι. Μακάριος ὁ πάντων κτημάτων ὠνησα- 5
μενος Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν μόνον ἐπ' ὧμων ἀράμενος καὶ

εἰς ὕψος φερόμενος. Οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν μακαριζομέ-
 νων ἐκπτωτος, ὃς ἐκ δικαίων πόρων χρηματικάμενος καὶ δε-
 σπόζων περιουσίας καθαρᾶς τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκεῖ, χεῖρα
 Θεοῦ τούτοις ἐκτείνων συμπαθῆ καὶ φιλόανθρωπον. Καὶ ὁ τῶν 10
 10 ἀζύγων βίος μακάριος, οἱ τῇ καθαρᾷ θεότητι προσεγγίζουσι, τὸ
 σαρκικὸν πάχος ἀποσεισάμενοι. Τί δὲ ὁ θεσμοῖς γάμου πρὸς
 βραχὺ λειτουργήσας καὶ τὴν πλείω μοῖραν τοῦ ἔρωτος τρέψας
 εἰς Χριστόν; Καὶ οὗτος δηλαδὴ μακαριώτατος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαοῦ
 πεπιστευμένος τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ θυσίαις μεγάλαις καὶ καθαραῖς 15
 15 Χριστὸν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κατάγων τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ ὄντι
 μακάριος. Μακάριος καὶ ὁ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ποιμένης πρόβατον καὶ
 τέκνον πνευματικόν, διδασκαλικαῖς ὁδηγίαις εἰς Χριστοῦ χώ-
 ραν ἀναγαγὼν καὶ οὐρανία μάνδρα κατακλείσας, θρέμμα τελει-
 ὄτατον. Ἄξιός μακαρίζεσθαι καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς νοὸς ὑψηλαῖς ἀνα- 20
 20 βάσει τῶν οὐρανίων φώτων τὴν αἴγλην θεώμενος. Μακαρίζω
 κάκεῖνον, τὸν ἐργαζόμενον χερσὶ καὶ ἐξ ἰδίων καμάτων τιμῶντα
 Θεὸν καὶ πολλοῖς νόμον γινόμενον καὶ ὑπόδειγμα βίου μετρίου
 καὶ σώφρονος. (Πάντα ταῦτα πληρώματα τῶν οὐρανίων λη- 25
 25 νῶν, αἱ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν τοὺς καρποὺς ὑποδεχόμεναι
 ταμιεύουσιν, ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἐπ' ἄλλην ἀγούσης ἀνάπαυσιν.
 Πολλῶν γὰρ βίων καὶ μοναὶ διάφοροι.) Μακάριος καὶ οὗτος ὁ
 πτωχὸς παθῶν τῷ πνεύματι γενόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐνταῦθα
 διανύων ζωὴν ἐν πένθει διηνεκεῖ· ὁ τροφὴν ἐπουρανίαν διαπα- 30
 30 ντὸς πεινῶν καὶ ταύτης ὦν ἀκόρετος· ὁ πραότητι καρδίας τῶν
 μεγάλων κληρονόμος γινόμενος· ὁ δι' εὐσπλαγχνίας καὶ ἐλεη-
 μοσύνης τῆς εἰς τοὺς πένητας οἶκτον θεῖον εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐφελκό-
 30 μενος· ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης φίλος· ὁ τὴν καρδίαν καθαρῶτατος· ὁ
 πολλοὺς ἐνεγκῶν πειρασμοὺς ἔνεκεν Χριστοῦ καὶ δόξαν ἀντι-
 λαβὼν ἀκατάλυτον. Τούτων, ἦν βούλει, τρίβον διόδευε. Εἰ μὲν 35
 35 ἀπάσας, βέλτιον· εἰ δὲ τινάς, δεύτερον· εἰ δὲ μίαν, καὶ τοῦτο
 ἀγαπητόν. Ἄξιός γέ μιν πᾶσιν ὁ μισθὸς ταλαντεύεται καὶ τοῖς
 μεῖζοσι καὶ τοῖς ἥττοσι. Καὶ Ῥαὰβ τᾶλλα μὲν οὐκ ἐπαινετὸν
 ἔχουσα βίον ἐκ μόνης φιλοξενίας ἐπίδοξος γέγονεν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ
 40 τὸν μεγάλαυχον Φαρισαῖον ἐκ μόνης ταπεινοφροσύνης ὁ τελῶ- 40
 40 νης ὑπερήλασε. Μέγα παρθενία, ναί, πάμμεγα καὶ ὑψηλόν· ἀλλ'
 ἢ φιλόκομος καὶ πρὸς γῆν ἀπονέουσα συζυγίας χείρων. Μέ-
 γας ὁ τῶν ἀκτημόνων καὶ ὀρεσιτρόφων βίος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους
 45 45 πολλακίς τύφος ἐταπείνωσε καὶ κάτω κατέσπασεν. Οὐ γὰρ τὴν
 ἑαυτῶν ἀρετὴν ἄλλοις παραμετροῦντες μεῖζοσι ταπεινοφρονοῦ-

10 ἐκτίων Vb

35 διόδευον Vb

οἱ χρηστοὶ ποιμένες, οἱ Θεοῦ λειτουργοὶ καὶ διάκονοι, οἱ τὸ
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλόνηκον τρέφοντες· οὐ μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὦ
 Χριστέ, ταῦτα καλῶς ποιεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτοῖς ἐγενόμην 15
 20 μοίρας πλήκτης καὶ ἰταμὸς καὶ θρασύς μαχητής, οὐδ' ἐποη-
 κάμην ἄλλο τι Χριστοῦ προτιμότερον. Ἀμαρτία δέ μοι τὸ μὴ τὰ
 αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαρτεῖν μηδὲ συνενεχθῆναι καθάπερ ναῦν
 25 ὀλίγην φορτίδι μείζονι. Ὡσπερ δὴ καὶ τοῖς κουφοτέροις τὸν
 νοῦν ἀπεχθάνομαι, οἱ δὴ τὸ βῆμα τοῦτο τοῦ καιροῦ φίλοις οὐ 20
 25 καλῶς ἀνέθηκαν φέροντες. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λήθης καλύπτου
 βυθός, ἐγὼ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀφορμηθεῖς, ἡσυχίας ἀπολαύσομαι,
 πάντα ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλεία καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἱερεῖς ἀκρίτως διαφυ-
 γῶν, ὡς ἐπόθουν πρότερον, ὀπηνίκα με Θεὸς καὶ διὰ νυκτερι-
 30 νῶν ὀνείρων καὶ διὰ φόβων θαλαττίων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλεσε. 25
 Ταῦτα ἄρα καὶ τὸν φθόνον χαίρων ἐξέφυγον, ἐκ μεγάλου δὲ
 χειμῶνος ἐν ἀκλύστῃ προσωμικάμην λιμένι καὶ γαλήνης
 γέμοντι ἔνθα τοῦ νοῦ καθαροῖς νοήμασιν ὑψούμενος, θύσω καὶ
 35 σιωπὴν ὑπὲρ λόγον ἔμπροσθεν. Γρηγορίου λόγος οὗτος, τοῦ
 Καππαδοκῶν γῆς θρέμματος καὶ γεννήματος, ὃς ἀπεδύσατο 30
 πάντα Χριστῷ καὶ κούφος καὶ εὐσταλῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνέδραμεν.

3. Σχετλιαστικὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ παθῶν

Πολλάκις Χριστοῦ κατεγόγγυσα τοῦ παντάνακτος μεγάλοις
 κακοῖς πιεζόμενος· ἤνεγκε γὰρ καὶ δεσπότης δούλου γογγυ-
 5 σμὸν ἡρέμα ὑπὸ τοῖς χεῖλεσι ψιθυριζόμενον, ὡς δὲ καὶ πατὴρ
 ἀγαθὸς ἄφρονος υἱοῦ καὶ φανερὰν πολλάκις θραυστομίαν 5
 ἀνεξικάκως ἐδέξατο. Καὶ σὺ τοιγαροῦν, ὦ μακρόθυμε, τοῖς
 ἐμοῖς λόγοις ἴλεως εἶης, οὐκ ἐκ καρδίας ἀλγυνομένης προήσο-
 10 μαι τολμηρότερον. Βραχὺν συμφοραῖς παραμύθιον ὠδίνες φρε-
 νὸς ἐρευγόμεναί. Τί με τοσοῦτοις κακοῖς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, διεπόρη-
 15 σασ ἄνωθεν, ἀφοῦ τῆς μητρικῆς νηδύος ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα γῆν ἐξέ-
 πεσον; ἵνα μὴ λέγω ὅτι καὶ μητρός με λαγόνι σκοτειναῖς καὶ ἄ- 10

2 15 τῆς αὐτῆς] τοῖς αὐτοῖς D 21 καλύπτει Vb 24 ὀπηνίκα] ἡνίκα Vb
 24-5 διὰ νυκτερινῶν ὀνείρων καὶ διὰ φόβων θαλαττίων] νυκτερινοῖς ὀνείροις καὶ φόβοις
 θαλαττίοις Vb

3 6 προήσομαι] ποιήσομαι Vb

φεγγέει δεσμώτην συνέσχηκας. Τί δήποτε τοσοῦτοις λυπηροῖς
κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν, ἔχθροῖς καὶ φίλοις, καὶ λύκοις
ποιμέσιν ἐκκλησιῶν, ξένοις καὶ ἡμετέροις φανερώς ἐπιτιθεμέ-
15 νοις καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐνεδρεῦουσι, λόγοις ἀντιπάλοις καὶ νιφάκι
λίθων βέβλημαι; τίς ἂν πάντα σαφῶς διαγράψει; Μόνος ἐγὼ 15
πᾶσι διαβόητος, οὐτ' ἐπὶ λόγοις οὐτ' ἐπὶ δυνάμει χειρὸς τῶν
ἄλλων ἔχων τὸ ἐξαίρετον. Πόνοι δέ με καὶ στεναγμοὶ περι-
20 στοιχίζουσι πάντοθεν, ὥσπερ κύνες ἀναιδεῖς ὑλακτοῦντες
λέοντα. Ἐλεεινὸν ἐγὼ διήγημα καὶ δύσει καὶ ἀνατολῇ τάχα ἂν
ποτε καὶ τοῦτο γένοιτο, καὶ τις ἀνὴρ ἀφροσύνας ἐπιτραπε-
20 ζιοῖς ἀνεθεῖς ἢ τις ὁδοιπόρος ἢ κιθαριστής, φθόγγοις ἀλαλή-
τοις χορδῶν μέλους ὑπόθεσιν τὰς ἐμὰς ἀληθόνας ποιούμε-
25 νος, ἐπιμνησθεῖη Γρηγορίου τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν θρέμματος καὶ
τῆς Διοκαιοσαρέων μικρὰς μὲν πόλεως, βλαστὸν δ' ἐνεγκούσης
πολύμοχθον. Ἄλλοις πλοῦτον ἀμέτρητον δέδωκας, ἄλλοις 25
παῖδας ἀγαθοῦς, τὸν μὲν καλὸν τῷ εἶδει καὶ ὠραῖον ἐδημιούρ-
γησας, τὸν δὲ ἄλκιμον καὶ ἰσχυρόν, ἄλλον δημηγόρον εὖλα-
30 λον. Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ κλέος ἐπὶ κακοπαθείας μέγιστον. Καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ
πᾶν πικρὸν βέλος τῆς γλυκείας σου χειρὸς ἐξεκένωσας. Ἄλλοις
εἰμὶ νέος Ἰώβ, οὐκ ἐφ' ὁμοίαις πάσχωσι αἰτίαις. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς 30
ἀθλητὴν με κράτιστον πέμπεις ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον, ὃ ἀθλοθέτα
μακάριε, τῷ ἀνταγωνιστῇ συμπλακισόμενον, ὡς τῇ δυνάμει
θαρρῶν τοῦ παλαίοντος, ἵνα στεφανώσῃς καὶ ἀνακηρύξῃς
35 νικήσαντα. Οὐ τοσοῦτος ἐγὼ τὴν ἰσχύν, οὐδὲ τις ἔνεστι δόξα
τοῖς παθήμασιν. Ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτίας ποινὴ μοι ταῦτα γίνεται. Τί δὲ 35
τὸ ἁμάρτημα, πολυπραγμονῶ διερευνώμενος ἐν τοῖς πλειοσίν,
ὅπερ σοὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων μεμίσηται. Ἐξαγορεύσω πᾶσι τὸ
ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κρυπτόμενον· ἢ γὰρ ἂν ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἐκλαλού-
40 μενος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν πλέον ἀναξάνειεν. Ὡμιμην ὅτε δὴ σε μόνον
κλῆρον ἔλαχον, πάντα βίου συρφετὸν ρίψας εἰς θάλατταν καὶ 40
νοῦν τῆς σαρκὸς χωρίσας, τῇ σῆ θεότητι προσεπέλασα εἰς
ὑψος αὐτὸν διάρας· καὶ πως βίου καθηγεμῶν ὁ λόγος ἦν-
πάντων κρατεῖν καὶ πάντων ὑπερφέρεσθαι καὶ εἰς ἀέρα πε-
45 ρύσσεσθαι χρυσαῖς, ὃ λέγεται, πτέρυξι. Τοῦτό μοι τὸν φθόνον
ἐπήγειρεν καὶ με δειναῖς καὶ ἀφύκτοις ἀνίαις περιέβαλε. Τὸ 45
σὸν με κλέος ὑψηλὸν πεποίηκε· καὶ αὐθις εἰς γῆν καταβέβλη-

12 θάλασσαν Vb 15 ἐγὼ] om. Vb 19 τάχα ἂν] ταχ' ἂν Vb 27 ἰσχυρόν] πε-
ποίηκας add. Vb 28 κακοπαθείας Vb 31 πέμπης Vb 33 στεφανώσης Vb
ἀνακηρύξῃς Vb 36 διερευνώμενος Vb 38 οὐκ] om. Vb 41 χωρίσας Vb
41-2 εἰς ὑψος αὐτὸν διάρας] om. Vb 42 πως] μοι Vb

κεν. Ἐγκοτεῖς γάρ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, αἰεὶ ταῖς εἰς ἄκρον ἐπάρσεσιν.
 50 Κεῖνο γέ μιν ἀκούοιτε καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα γράφοιτε, λαοὶ καὶ
 ποιμένες, ἐχθροὶ καὶ φιλίως διακείμενοι· τὸν πατρικὸν θρόνον
 οὐκ ἀπεδοκίμασα οὐδὲ ἐμυκτήρισα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Θεοῦ νόμοις εἰκὸς 50
 ἀντιτάσσεσθαι. Νόμος ἐκείνῳ τὴν ποιμαντικὴν καθέδραν δέδω-
 κε. Νόμῳ κἀγὼ θείῳ πειθόμενος, χειρὶ γηραιᾶ χεῖρα νεαρὰν
 55 ὑπεστήριξα καὶ πατρὸς ἐκάμφθην δεήσεσι, πατρὸς ἐμοῦ, ὃν καὶ
 ὁ λίαν ἄπιστος ἐτίμησε καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς μάνδρας πόρρωθεν ἐστῶς,
 τὴν πολιὰν αἰδούμενος καὶ τὴν συνακμάσασαν αὐτῷ λαμπηδό- 55
 να τοῦ πνεύματος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρεστὸν ἔδοξε Θεῷ τῷ τὴν ἡμετέραν
 ζωὴν διεξάγοντι ξένην ἄρουραν κατασπεῖραί με, τραχεῖαν καὶ
 ἀκανθῶν γέμουσαν, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνακαλύψαι τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν
 60 χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος, καίτοι μικρὰ ῥανὶς ὢν, πολὺν ἐπήρδευσα
 λαόν. Αὐθις δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δόξαν τῷ κρείττονι, ἐπανήλθον ἐν- 60
 ταῦθα παλιμπόρευτος, νόσῳ χαλεπῇ καὶ βαρεῖαις φροντίσιν ἐκ-
 τετηκῶς. Μέριμνα γὰρ ἀνδρὶ θανατηφόρος ἰός. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ
 65 χρόνον μικρὸν τοῖς ἐμοῖς τέκνοις ἐπήρκεσα, ποιμενικῇ κύριγγι
 διαφυλάξας τὸ ποίμνιον, μὴ που τις ἐχθρὸς ἀφυλάκτοις ἐπιδρα-
 μῶν τοῖς ἐμοῖς θρέμμασι τὴν ἀναιδῆ γαστέρα αὐτοῦ κορέσειε 65
 τροφῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κλόνος ἦν ποιμένων, κλόνος λαῶν, ἡγεμόνος
 οὐκ ὄντος, ὠρυομένων τῶν θηρῶν, οἱ τὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα
 Θεὸν ἄνουν ἐβλασφήμουν ἀνοηταίνοντες, πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἀπί-
 70 στων τῆς ἐμῆς ἀσθενείας κατεγόγγυζον· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπερηφα-
 νοῦντα Θεοῦ λαὸν ἀτιμάζειν ἔλεγον, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔλεγον μὲν, 70
 ὑπενόουν δέ. Θεῷ γε μὴν καὶ τὸ κρυπτὸν αὐτῶν ἄλγος ἦν
 75 φανερόν. Πολλοὶ δὲ περὶ ἐμοῦ τὰ βελτίω κρίνοντες καὶ ἐν
 ὄνειροις νυκτὸς ἐφαντάζοντο τὰ ὅμοια, τῶν τοιοῦτων θεαμά-
 των ζωγράφον τὸν πόθον ἔχοντες, νυκτὸς διαχαράσσοντες
 80 παίγνια· ἢ καὶ Θεὸς ἐξεκάλυπτεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐνύπνια, τέλος ἀγα-
 θὸν ἐμοὶ χαριζόμενος, ἵνα μὴ πονηραῖς ἐλπίσι συναποθάνοιμι
 βίου, κακὸν ἐπιφερόμενος ἐξόδιον. Τούτου χάριν ὑπὸ τὴν κρα-
 85 ταιάν σου χεῖρα, δέσποτα, τὸν τράχηλον ἔκαμψα καὶ σοὶ ἔρχο-
 μαι δέσμιος. Ἄλλοι δὲ τὰ τοῦ βίου μοι δικαζέτωσαν καὶ ἡ τού-
 των ἔρρενα μελέτω τοῖς φιλοπράγμοσιν· οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης 80
 πολυπραγμοσύνης ἐμοὶ τὸ ὄφελος. Δέξαι με, Χριστέ, καὶ ὅπου
 σοὶ φίλον ἄγε τὸν δοῦλόν σου. Ἐκάμφθην τοῖς λυπηροῖς
 παντάπασιν. Προφήτης εἰμὶ τετρυχωμένος ἐν σπλάγχθοις θα-
 85 λασσίου θηρός. Σοὶ δίδωμι τόδε τὸ λείψανον τῆς ζωῆς, ἀλλ' ἐλέ-

48 ἐκεῖνο Vb

72 βελτίονα Vb

83 θαλαττίου Vb

ησον, νεκρὸν ἔτι ἐμπνέοντα. Τί με τοσοῦτον ἐλαύνεις ἐν κακοῖς; 85
 Οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μόνων Θεὸς ὦν ἀπέθανες (ὃ μεγάλου
 θαύματος, ῥαντίζων σου τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι ψυχὰς ἡμετέρας καὶ
 90 σώματα) οὔτε μόνος ἐγὼ κάκιτος· πολλοὺς ἐμοῦ χείρονας
 ὄντας ἐδόξασας. Τρεῖς ἐν ταῖς σαῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις εἰς τελῶναι.
 Ματθαῖος ὁ μέγας καὶ ὁ δακρύσας καὶ τὸ στήθος πατάξας ἐν τῷ 90
 ναῷ καὶ Ζακχαῖος ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μεγαλόψυχος. Αὐτὸς εἶην ὁ
 τέταρτος. Παράλυτοι τρεῖς, ὁ ἐπὶ κλινίδος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ τοῦ
 95 Σιλῶα καὶ ὃν ἔδρασε πνεῦμα δαιμόνιον. Αὐτὸς εἶην ὁ τέταρτος.
 Τρεῖς δὲ τὸ φῶς αὐθις ἔβλεψαν, ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν, ὡς
 ἐκέλευσας. Ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, τῆς χήρας τὸ γέννημα καὶ 95
 Λάζαρος ὁ ἡμισπάρακτος. Αὐτὸς εἶην ὁ τέταρτος. Ἔχοιμι καὶ
 100 νῦν τῶν ὀδυνῶν παυστικὰ φάρμακα καὶ μετέπειτα ζῶην ἄτρε-
 πτόν τε καὶ ἀκατάλυτον, τῇ σῆ δόξῃ γαυριῶν καὶ σεμνυνόμε-
 νος. Ποίμνης καθηγησάμην θεόφρονος· εἰ δὲ τῶν τῆδε ἀπέλ-
 100 θοιμι, τύχοιεν οὔτοι ποιμένος κρείττονος· εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁμοίου, ἀλλ'
 ἐν πάθεσιν ἤττονος, ὃ μακάριε· οὐ γὰρ ἀρμόδιον τὸν ἐλατῆρα
 ταχθέντα νόσων καὶ παθῶν, δεινὰ πάσχειν ἀνήκεστα καὶ συμφο-
 ραῖς παλαίειν καὶ θλίψεσιν.

4. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιότητος καὶ ἀπιστίας καὶ κοινοῦ πάντων τέλους

Ἦθελον ἢ περιστερᾶς ἢ χελιδόνος πτερωτὴν φύσιν ἀναλαβεῖν,
 ὡς ἂν διαπτὰς βίον ἀνθρώπων ἐκφύγοιμι, ἢ τινα κατοικεῖν ἔρη-
 5 μον, θηρσὶν ὁμοδαίαιος (οὔτοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους πιστότε-
 ροι) καὶ βίον ἔλκειν ἐφήμερον, ἀδάκρυτον, ἄπονον, ἀφρόντιδα,
 λύπης ἀνώτερον. Ἐν τούτῳ μόνον ἔχων θηρσὶν ἀκοινωνήτον 5
 καὶ ἤρεμον, νοῦν ἐπόπτην θεότητος, οὐρανοβάμονα, ἄχρι καὶ
 οὐρανοῦ διικνούμενον, ἴν' εἴ χριστὸν αἰεὶ προσλαμβάνειν φῶς ἐκ
 ζάλης ἀπηλλαγμένῳ βίῳ καὶ γαλήνης γέμοντι. Ἡ σκοπιᾶς ὑψη-
 10 λῆς ἐφ' ὑπερθεὺς ἀρθεῖς, βοῆσαι διαπρύσιον ἐπιχθονίοις ἅπασιν·
 «Ἄνθρωποι θνητοί, γένος ῥευστόν, ὄντες οὐδέν, οἱ θανάτῳ 10
 ζῶμεν φυσῶντες διακενῆς, μέχρι τίνος ψευδέσι καὶ προσκαίροις
 15 ὀνειροῖς παιζόμενοι καὶ παίζοντες ἐπὶ γῆς, εἰκῆ πεπλάνησθε;
 σκόπει δὲ τῷ νῷ διεξοδεύων ἅπαντα, καθὰ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγώ.

3 89 ὄντας] om. Vb 102-3 καὶ παθῶν ... θλίψεσιν] om. Vb

4 6 οὐρανοβάμονα] om. Vb 7 ἴν' εἴ χον (*nomen sacrum*) D : ἴν' εἶχον Vb
7-8 ἐκ ζάλης] ἐν ζάλῃ Vb

Καὶ γάρ με Θεὸς ἐπιστήμονα μέγαν πεποίηκεν ἀγαθῶν καὶ
 κακῶν· ὁ δέ μοι νοῦς ὀξέως ἐπὶ πάντα φέρεται. Οὗτος ἦν 15
 ἀκμαῖος, νεάζων καὶ ἰσχυρός, δόξα φίλων καὶ καύχημα, βαίνων
 ὑψοῦ καὶ θάλλων καρξίν· οὗτος ὡς περ ἕως φόρος λαμπρὸς τὰ
 20 ὄμματα πάντων ἔλκων εἰς ἑαυτὸν, ἄνθος ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἑαρινόν·
 οὗτος ἐν ἄθλοις διαβόητος, ἐν ὄπλοις οὗτος πολεμικώτατος·
 ἄλλος θηροφόνων ἄριστος, ἐν ὄρεσι καὶ σταδίοις τὸ κράτος ἐπι- 20
 δεικνύμενος· οὗτος εὐωχίαις καὶ δειπνοῖς ἐπεντυφῶν, καὶ γῆ
 25 καὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἀέρι γαστέρα τρέφων ἄπληστον· νῦν ἀσθενῆς
 καὶ ἀναλκις, πάντα γὰρ ἀπήνησε· τὸ γῆρας ἐπῆλθε, τὸ κάλλος
 ἀπῆλθε, νεκρῶται τὰ γαστρός· ὀλίγον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔτι, τὸ δὲ
 πλεον ἐν ἄδου τοῦ στυγεροῦ καὶ θρήνων γέμοντος· οὗτος δ' αὖ 25
 ἐν λόγοις παντοδαποῖς μέγα πνέων καὶ ὄφρουόμενος· οὗτος
 30 εὐγενῆς, τάφοις μεγάλοις ἐπαιρόμενος ἢ δέλτοις μικραῖς λαχῶν
 αἶμα νεόγραφον. Οὗτος βουλευῆσαι δεινός, ἐν πόλεσι μέγιστος,
 πανδήμοις βωόμενος στόμασι· οὗτος ἀμέτρητον πλοῦτον, τὸν
 μὲν ἔχων, τὸν δὲ ἐλπίζων καὶ φρεσὶν ὄνειροπολῶν· οὗτος δικα- 30
 35 στῆς ὑψίθρονος· οὗτος αἱματοφύρτῳ ῥάκει καὶ δεσμῶ κεφαλῆς,
 γῆς ἔχων τὸ κράτος καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζει, θνητὸς ἐν
 ἀθανάτοις, ἐλπίζει μετέωρος. Νῦν ταῦτα, μικρὸν ὕστερον κόνις
 καὶ πάντες ὅμοιοι, δούλοι, βασιλεῖς, μισθοφόροι καὶ πλοῦτῳ
 40 βρίθοντες· εἷς ζόφος, οἶκος εἷς, τοσοῦτον πλεον τοῖς ἀλαζόσιν,
 35 ὅσον ἐνδοξότερου θρήνου καὶ τάφου τυχεῖν καὶ ἐν λίθοις οἰκ-
 τροῖς ὄνομα λιπεῖν ἐπιτύμβιον· ὅψ' ἐμὲν, ὅμως δὲ πᾶσι θνητοῖς
 ἴσον τὸ τάλαντον. Ὅστεά πάντες ἀσθενῆ· γυμνὰ καὶ σεσηρότα
 45 κρανία· τύφος ἐπαύσατο, μόχθος καὶ ταλαιπωρία τὴν πενίαν
 ἐπιτέλειπεν· ἡ νόσος ἀφανῆς· ἐκποδῶν ἔχθρα καὶ ἀδικία, καὶ ἡ 40
 τῶν πλειόνων ἔφεσις μετὰ τῆς ὕβρεως. Πάντα θνήσκουσι συνα-
 πέθανεν, πάντα μέμυκεν, ἕως οὗ τῆ ἀναστάσει συναναστήσεται
 ἅπαντα. Ταῦτ' οὖν ὀρῶντες τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις πείθεσθε,
 50 παῖδες ἐμοί (παῖδας γὰρ ὑμᾶς καλῶ, καθόσον πλείονος ἔσπασα
 πνεύματος), δεῦρο δὴ κόσμον ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ τῆδε πλανώμενα 45
 55 ῥίψαντες, πλοῦτον, εὐκλειαν, θρόνους, γένος, ὄλβον ἄπιστον
 μετὰ σπουδῆς φεύγωμεν εἰς οὐρανόν, ὅπου τὰ λαμπρὰ κάλη
 περὶ τὸ τῆς Τριάδος ἄφραστον φῶς. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τῆδε κάκεισε
 60 πιπτέτωσαν ὀϊκότες πεσσοῖς καὶ πεσσῶν τερπέσθωσαν κυλίεμα-
 50 σιν ἢ σκότος τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικείμενον ἔχοντες ψηλα-
 φάτωσαν τοίχους καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων φερέσθωσαν».

25 στυγεροῦ] στυγνοῦ Vb

46 γένους Vb

3. The Anonymous Paraphrase C

1. Διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοί

¹Μακάριος ὅστις ἐρημικὸν καὶ ἐλεύθερον ἔχει βίον καὶ ἀνεπίμικτον ²τοῖς χαμαὶ κυρομένοις, τοῖς ὑψηλοτάτοις δὲ νοήμασι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν ἐθέωσεν. ³Μακάριος δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἐν πολλοῖς μεμιγμένος οὐ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ⁴πολιτεύεται, ὄλην δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀνέπεμψεν τῷ Θεῷ. ⁵Μακάριος καὶ ὁ πάντων ὧν εἶχε τὸν τίμιον μαργαρίτην ὠνήσατο Χριστὸν ⁶καὶ μόνον ἔχει κτήμα τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου σταυρόν, ὃν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέρων τὰς θείας ὑψώσεις ποιεῖται. ⁷Μακάριος καὶ ὁ καθαροῖς πλεονεξίας τοῖς ἰδίοις κτήμασιν ἐγκαθήμενος, ⁸χεῖρα βοηθὸν παρέχει τοῖς δεομένοις. ⁹Μακάριος καὶ ὁ τῶν παρθένων τῶν ἀθανάτων βίος, ¹⁰οἷ τῆς σαρκὸς τὰς ὀρέξεις ἀποσεισάμενοι πλησίον εἰς τῆς καθαρωτάτης καὶ ὑπεράγνου θεότητος. ¹¹Μακάριος ὁς πρὸς ὀλίγον τοῖς γάμοις ὑποκλιθεῖς ¹²τὴν πλείονα τοῦ πόθου μοῖραν παρέχει Χριστῷ, τῷ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ἔραστῇ. ¹³Μακάριος ὅστις ἄρχων λαοῦ εὐαγοῦς ¹⁴Χριστὸν καταλλάττει τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς διὰ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ καθαρῶν θυσιῶν. ¹⁵Μακάριος ὅστις ποιμνησὸς οὐρανοῦ τυγχάνων ἄξιος ¹⁶ἐν τοῖς ἀγομένοις εἶναι βούλεται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ποιμένοις, Χριστοῦ θρέμμα ὧν τελειότατον. ¹⁷Μακάριος ὁς καθαροῦ νοὸς μεγάλας καὶ καθαραῖς ἀνατάσει τῶν ¹⁸οὐρανοῦ ἀγαθῶν καθορᾶ τὴν λαμπρότητα. ¹⁹Μακάριος ὁς καὶ δι' ἔργων τῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκειῶν χειρῶν ²⁰τιμᾶ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πολλοῖς εἰς μίμησιν ἀγαθοῦ βίου κεῖται. (²¹Πάντα ταῦτα τὰ διάφορα τῶν βίων εἶδη ἄπερ ἠριθμικάμεθα οὐρανοῦ ἀποθηκῶν ὑπάρχει πληρώματα. ²²αἴτινες ἀποθῆκαι δοχεῖα εἰς τοῦ καρποῦ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ²³ἄλλης ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄλλην χώραν ἀγοῦσης τοὺς διαφορῶς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁδὸν τέμνοντας. ²⁴Πολλῶν γὰρ καὶ διαφορῶν ὄντων τῶν βίων πολλοὶ εἰς καὶ μοναὶ ὅπου σαββατίζουσιν αἱ ψυχαί). ²⁵Μακάριος ὃν πτωχὸν παντὸς πάθους ἀνέδειξεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ²⁶καὶ ὅστις ἔχει ζωὴν ἐνταῦθα πένθους καὶ κατηφείας μεστήν. ²⁷καὶ ὅστις ἀκορέτως ἔχει διαπαντὸς τὴν θείαν δικαιοσύνην πεινῶν καὶ διψῶν. ²⁸καὶ ὁ διὰ πραότητος κληρονομῶν τὴν ἐπουράνιον γῆν. ²⁹καὶ ὁ δι' ἀγάπης καὶ συμπαθείας τὸν μέγαν οἶκτον ἐπισπασάμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ. ³⁰καὶ ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης φίλος καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς τὴν καρδίαν, ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς Θεοῦ κληθῆσεται, ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν δέξεται τοῦ Θεοῦ καθαρώτερον. ³¹καὶ ὁς ἔνεκεν Χριστοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ πολλὰς ὑπέμεινε ³²θλίψεις, ὅτι μεγάλων ἔσται κληρονόμος ἀγαθῶν. ³³Τούτων τοῖνυν τῶν τριῶν, ἢν ἂν ἐθέλης, ἐλοῦ· εἰ μὲν ἀπάσας ὀδεύειν δύνασαι, ³⁴τούτο κάλλιον· εἰ δ' ὀλίγας, δεύτερον μὲν τοῦ πρώτου, πλην καὶ τοῦτο ἀπόδεκτον· εἰ δὲ μίαν τῶν εἰρημένων, ³⁵ἐξόχως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προσφιλες τῷ Θεῷ. Ἀντίδοσις δὲ ἀξία πάντως ³⁶τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις τελείοις ἢ τελείαις, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τούτους ἢ τοιούτοις ἀρμόζουσα. ³⁷Καὶ Ῥαὰβ δὲ ἡ πόρνη οὐκ ἀγαθὸν βίον εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ³⁸ἡ ἄκρα φιλοξενία περιβλεπτο

ἐποίησεν. ³⁹Ὁ τελώνης δὲ πλεον ἔσχε τοῦ φαρισαίου ⁴⁰τοῦ μεγάλα κομπάζοντος ἐκ μόνης τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης. ⁴¹Κάλλιστον ἢ ἀζυγία καὶ κάλλιον τῆς συζυγίας, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπίμικτος ⁴²κόσμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ τερπνοῖς χείρων τῆς συζυγίας ⁴³πολύ. Σώφρων ὁ ὑψηλὸς τῶν ἀκτημόνων βίος τῶν διαιτωμένων ἐν ὄρεσιν, ⁴⁴ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους πολλάκις ὁ τύφος κατήγαγεν. ⁴⁵Οὐ γὰρ ἔχοντες μετρεῖν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν πρὸς ἄλλους κατωρθοῦντας ⁴⁶ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπαίρονται παράλογον ἔπαρσιν, ⁴⁷πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἵπποις ὁμοίως ἀτάκτοις ἀτάκτως κινούμενοι λογισμῷ ⁴⁸πόρρω φέρονται τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ὁδοῦ. ⁴⁹Διὰ τοῦτο ἢ νοῦ πτεροῖς παντάπασιν ἐλαφροῖς ἀνάγου πρὸς τὰ θεῖα θεάματα ⁵⁰ἢ κάτω μένων ἀσφαλῶς τὴν τρίβον τέμνε τῆς θείας ὁδοῦ, ⁵¹μή πως ὑπὸ βάρους τινὸς σαρκώδους φρονήματος εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ νοῦς σου ἀθλίως κατενεχθῆ ⁵²μήδ' ἔξ ἐπάρσεως πέσης ἐλεεινότατον πῶμα. ⁵³Ναῦς γὰρ μικρὰ γόμοις ἤρμοςμένη πυκνοῖς ⁵⁴φόρτον πολλάκις φέρει πλείονα τῆς μεγάλης καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλοῦς. ⁵⁵Στενὴ μὲν τῆς θείας πύλης ἀληθῶς ἡ ὁδός, ⁵⁶πολλοὶ δὲ ὁδοὶ εἰς πρὸς μίαν ταύτην φέρουσαι τὴν στενήν. ⁵⁷Οἱ μὲν ταύτην ὀδεύετσαν, ὅσοις ἢ φύσις ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχει πρὸς ταύτην, ⁵⁸οἱ δὲ τινες ἄλλην, μόνον τῆς στενῆς ἐφάπτοιτο ἅπαντες. ⁵⁹Οὔτε μία πᾶσι φιλεῖται τροφή ⁶⁰οὔτε τοῖς χριστιανοῖς εἰς βίος ἀρμόδιος ἐστίν. ⁶¹Πᾶσι δὲ ἄριστον δάκρυα, ἀγρυπνία καὶ πόνος σωματικὸς ⁶²καὶ τὸ τῆς λύσεως κρατεῖν τῆς σαρκὸς ⁶³καὶ τὸ κολάζειν τὸν κόρον, ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρά τε ⁶⁴κεῖσθαι τὴν κραταιὰν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τρέμειν ἐκείνην τὴν ἐρχομένην. ⁶⁵Εἰ δ' ἐκτελέσεις ἄκρως ταύτην τὴν τρίβον, οὐκ ἔτι ἔση θνητός, ⁶⁶ἀλλὰ τις οὐράνιος ἐπὶ γῆς ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι.

2. Πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἱερέας καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν

¹Ὡ ἱερεῖς, οἱ τὰς ἀναιμάκτους θυσίας ἀναφέροντες τῷ Θεῷ ²καὶ λατρευταὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐν τριάδι μονάδος, ³ὡ νόμοι, ὡ βασιλεῖς, οἱ ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ μεγαλυνομένοι, ⁴ὡ κλεινὸν ἔδαφος, ὡ πόλις λαμπρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, ⁵νεωτέρα Ῥώμη, ἡ τοσοῦτον ὑπερφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων, ⁶ὅσον ὑπέρεστι τῆς γῆς ὁ κατὰστερος οὐρανός. ⁷ Ὑμᾶς τοὺς εὐγενεῖς ἐπικαλέσομαι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶπω οἷά με εἰργάσατο ⁸ὁ φθόνος καὶ ὅπως τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων τῶν ἱερῶν, τῶν πιστῶν ἐκείνων ἀπεστέρησε, ⁹καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ πολὺν ἀγωνισάμενον με χρόνον καὶ ἄλλον ἥλιον ὄντα ταῖς ¹⁰τῶν δογμάτων ἀκτίσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φωτίζοντα καὶ ἄλλον Μωυσεῖ γινωριζόμενον ἐκ πέτρας ὕδωρ προχέοντα. ¹¹Ποῖα δικαιοσύνη ἐμὲ μὲν κοπιάσαι καὶ μυρίους ὑποστῆναι φόβους περὶ ¹²τῆς πόλεως ἄρτι τυπουμένης παρ' ἐμοῦ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ¹³ἄλλον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καμάτοις εὐφραίνεσθαι ¹⁴ἐξαίφνης ὑψωθέντα ἐπ' ἀλλότριον θρόνον, ¹⁵ἐφ' οὗ με ὁ Θεὸς ἀνεβίβασεν καὶ οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεράποντες; ¹⁶Ταῦτα εἰργάσατο ἢ χαλεπὴ νόσος, ὁ φθόνος, ἢ φιλαρχία, ταῦτα οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεράποντες, ¹⁷οἱ μάχην στεναγμῶν ἀξίαν ἔχοντες κατ' ἀλλήλων ¹⁸οὐκ ἔμοιγε ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν ἀπόδεκτα. ¹⁹Οὐ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτοῖς ἐγενόμην γνώμης θρασὺς στρατιώτης

τυγχάνων —οἶδας ταῦτα, Χριστέ μου— ²⁰οὐδὲ γὰρ ἤθελον ἄλλο τι προτιμᾶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου. ²¹Ἄμαρτία δέ μοι καὶ ἔγκλημα καὶ αἰτίαμα, ὅτι μὴ ὅμοια τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔπραττον ²²καὶ ὅτι μὴ συμφέρομαι τούτοις καθάπερ μικρὰ ναῦς τῇ φορτηγῷ καὶ μεγάλῃ νηϊ. ²³Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς κουφοτέροις μισοῦμαι, οἱ δὲ ²⁴καὶ τοῖς καιροσκοποῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν ἀνέωξαν τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀσεβῶς. ²⁵Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν λήθη κρύπτοιο, ²⁶ἐγὼ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὑποχωρήσας τέρψομαι τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ, ²⁷πάντα ὁμοῦ καταλιπὼν τὰ βασιλεία, τὰς πόλεις, τοὺς ἱερεῖς ²⁸ἀσπασίως καὶ ὡς ἐπόθουν τὸ πρότερον, ²⁹ἠνίκα με Θεὸς ἐκάλεσε καὶ δι' ὄνειράτων νυκτερινῶν ³⁰καὶ διὰ φόβων μεγάλων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ προσγενομένων μοι. ³¹Διὰ τοῦτο χαίρων τὸν φθόνον ἐξέφυγον, ἐκ μεγάλου δὲ ³²χειμῶνος ἐν γαληνῷ λιμένι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀπέδησα, ³³ὅπου δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν μου κουφίζων θεῖοις νοήμασι, ³⁴θύσω καὶ σιγῇ, ὡς τὸ πρότερον τοὺς λόγους. ³⁵Οὗτος ὁ λόγος τοῦ Γρηγορίου, ὃν ἔθρεψεν ἡ γῆ τῶν ³⁶Καππαδοκῶν, τῷ Χριστῷ πάντα ἀποδυσάμενον.

4. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιότητος καὶ ἀπιστίας καὶ κοινοῦ πάντων τέλους

¹Ἦθελον ἢ περιστερὰ ταχύπτερος εἶναι ἢ χελιδῶν, ²ἵνα ἐδυνήθην φυγεῖν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. Ἐβουλόμην οἰκεῖν εἰς ἔρημον τινὰ τόπον, ³ὁμοδιαιτος τοῖς θηρίοις —οὔτοι γὰρ οἱ θῆρες πιστότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς καὶ ἀσφαλέστεροι εἰς συνοίκησιν— ⁴καὶ βίον ἔχειν ὡς οἱ θῆρες, ἐφήμερον καὶ ἀμέριμον, ⁵ἀπενθῆ, ἀτιμώρητον, ἄλυπον. Ἐν δὲ ⁶μόνον ἔχειν ὃ μὴ ἔχουσι θῆρες· ποῖον τοῦτο; Νοῦν ἐπιστήμονα τῆς θεότητος, οὐρανοφοίτην, ⁷ὡς ἂν διὰ ἡσύχου καὶ ἀταράχου βίου φῶς αἰεὶ συναθροίζω καὶ εἰς ὕψος ἀνάγωμαι διαγνώσεως. ⁸Οὕτως ἂν ὑπεράνω ὑψηλῆς ἀκρωρείας κουφισθεῖς ⁹μέγα βοήσω πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώποις. ¹⁰Ἀνθρωποὶ θνητοί, φθορᾶς γένος, οὐδὲν ὄντες, ¹¹οἵτινες τῷ θανάτῳ μόνῳ ζῶντες μάτην ὀγκούμεθα, ¹²ἕως τίνος ψευδέει καὶ προσκαίροις ὄνειροις ¹³παίζοντες καὶ παιζόμενοι πλανᾶσθε μάτην ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; ¹⁴Βλέπε δὴ ἐπὶ πάντας ὀδεύων τῇ διανοίᾳ σου ¹⁵ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ θεωρῶ. Καὶ γὰρ με ὁ Θεὸς ἔμπειρον ἐποίησε ¹⁶κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν· ὁ νοῦς δὲ ἐπὶ πάντα φέρεται. Τί οὖν εἶδον; ὅτι πολλοὶ θαυμαζόμενοι ἐν τῷ βίῳ κατήνησαν εἰς οὐδέν. ¹⁷ἄλλος γὰρ τις ἦν καὶ νέος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ καύχημα τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ, ¹⁸μέγα φρονῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἠδρασμένος ἐν εὐπαγέει καὶ στερεοῖς μέλεσιν· ¹⁹ἄλλος ἦν εὐπρεπῆς ὡς ἥλιος, πάντων ἔλκων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς ἑαυτόν, ²⁰ἄνθος ἑαρινὸν δοκῶν ἐν τοῖς ἡλίξιν· ἄλλος ²¹ἔνδοξος ἦν ἀθλητῆς· ἄλλος πολεμιστῆς γενναῖος· ἄλλος ²²τῶν θηριομάχων ὁ βέλτιστος, δόξαν ἔχων παρὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν τοῖς σταδίοις μαχόμενος τοῖς θηρῶσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διώκων αὐτούς. ²³Ἄλλος τραπέζαις καὶ ἑορταῖς εὐφραϊνόμενος ²⁴καὶ τρέφων αὐτοῦ τὴν γαστέρα τοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀέρος καλοῖς. ²⁵Νῦν γέρων ἐστὶ κατεψυγμένος καὶ ἀσθενής· ²⁶καὶ τὸ μὲν γῆρας ἦλθε, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἀπέπη, νεκρὰ δὲ τὰ γαστρός· ²⁷ὀλίγον μένων ἐν τῷ βίῳ, τὰ πλέον

δὲ τοῦ ἄδου ἐγένετο. ²⁸Ἄλλος ἐν λόγοις μέγα φυσαῖ φιλοσόφοις τε καὶ ῥητορικοῖς· ²⁹ἄλλος εὐγενὴς ἐπὶ τάφοις μεγάλοις ὀγκοῦμενος ³⁰ἢ γραφαῖς εὐτέλεσι καὶ συλλαβαῖς ὀλίγαις νεόγραφον εὐγένειαν κληρωσάμενος. ³¹Ἄλλος δόκιμος ἐν βουλαῖς καὶ μέγας καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, ³²παρὰ πολλῶν στομάτων θρυλούμενος καὶ ἀδόκιμος· ἄλλος ³³πλοῦτον τὸν μὲν ἔχων ἤδη, ἄλλον δὲ πάλιν ἐπινοῶν ὅπως κτήσεται καὶ ὅπως αὐξήσει τὸν ὄντα σκοπούμενος. ³⁴Ἄλλος χαίρει δικάζων καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἐπαγάζεται. ³⁵ἄλλος ἔχων τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐν ῥάκει λαμπρῶ ἐκ πορφύρας καὶ λαμπρῶ διαδήματι ³⁶καὶ αὐτὸν ἀτιμάζει τὸν οὐρανόν, ³⁷ἀθανάτοις ἐλπίζει μετεωριζόμενος αὐτὸς θνητὸς ὢν. ³⁸Νῦν ταῦτα, μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ σποδὸς καὶ τέφρα καὶ κόνις καὶ πάντες ὅμοιοι, ³⁹καὶ δούλοι καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ μισθωτοὶ καὶ πλούτῳ κομῶντες. ⁴⁰Εἷς πᾶσι ζόφος, εἷς οἶκος· τοσοῦτον πλεον τοῖς μεγάλοις κομπάζουσιν, ⁴¹ὅσον ἐνδοξοτέρου θρήνου καὶ τάφου τυχεῖν καὶ ὅσον λιπεῖν ⁴²τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ἐπιτύμβιον ἐν τοῖς λίθοις τοῖς ἐλεεινοῖς. ⁴³Βραδύτερον μὲν ἢ ταχύτερον, πᾶσι δὲ ὅμως τὸ τοῦ θανάτου τάλαντον ὅμοιον· πάντες ὅστέα ἀσθενῆ· ⁴⁴πάντες γυμναὶ κεφαλαὶ κεχηνυῖαι ἀπρεπῶς. ⁴⁵Ἐπαύσατο ἢ ὑπερηφανία, ἀπέλιπε δὲ τὴν πενίαν ὁ μόχθος· ἢ νόσος ἀπέβη· ⁴⁶ἠφάνισται ἢ ἔχθρα, ἢ ἀδικία, ἢ ἐπιθυμία τῆς πλεονεξίας, ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἔπαρσις· ⁴⁷πάντα συναπῆλθε τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσι καὶ συναπέθανε· καὶ συνέκλειται ⁴⁸ἕως ἂν πάλιν ἀνισταμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα συνέψεται. ⁴⁹Πρὸς ταῦτα οὖν ὀρώντες τοῖς ἐμοῖς πείθεσθαι λόγοις, ⁵⁰ὦ παῖδες ἐμοὶ —παῖδες γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἐστε πάντες ἄνθρωποι ὄσων ἐγὼ περιεσσοτέραν πείραν καὶ χάριν ἔλαβον. ⁵¹Φέρε δὴ κόσμον ἅπαντα ῥίψαντες καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ παρέρχεται, ⁵²τὰς κακίας λέγω τοῦ ἐπιγείου βασιλέως, ⁵³τοῦ ἄρπαγος τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, τοῦ βλαπτικοῦ, τοῦ ἀνδροφόνου, ⁵⁴τὸν πλοῦτον φημί καὶ τὴν δόξαν, τοὺς θρόνους τε καὶ τοῦ γένους τὴν περιφάνειαν καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἄστατον καὶ ἀβέβαιον. ⁵⁵Ὅλη γνώμη φεύγωμεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ὅπου εἰς ⁵⁶τὰ ἀληθῆ κάλλη τὰ ταῖς ἀκτίσι λαμπόμενα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἔνθα τὸ ἄφραστον ὑπάρχει φῶς καὶ ἡ ἀληθὴς ἀγαλλίασις. Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες τοῖς ἐμοῖς πειθόμενοι λόγοις οὕτως ἄγοιθε. ⁵⁷οἱ δ' ὅσοι μὴ ἀκούειν ἐθέλουσιν ἄλλοτε ἄλλως φερόμενοι ⁵⁸πίπτοιεν, ἐοικότες τοῖς τῶν παιζόντων βόλοισι καὶ τέρψιν ὁμοίαν ἔχοιεν τοῖς παιζοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς· ⁵⁹ἢ ζοφερὰν σκοτίαν ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν ἔχοντες ⁶⁰καὶ ψηλαφῶντες τοὺς τοίχους κατ' ἀλλήλων δὲ χωροῖεν ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ποῦ βαίνοσιν.

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Wenn Sie weiterlesen möchten ...

Kai Rupprecht

Cinis omnia fiat

Zum poetologischen Verhältnis der pseudo-vergilischen »Dirae« zu den Bucolica Vergils

Hypomnemata, Band 167

Die Dirae der Appendix Vergiliana wurden bisher fast nur in Hinblick auf Textgestalt oder Verfasser untersucht. Kai Rupprecht geht es dagegen um eine Interpretation des Gedichts: Es erweist sich mit Hilfe von Methoden der modernen Literaturwissenschaft (vor allem Sprechakttheorie und Gérard Genettes Narratologie- und Transtextualitätskonzepte) als genuin bukolisch im Sinne der Eklogen Vergils – entgegen früheren Sichtweisen, die das Gedicht in die Tradition des antiken Fluchgedichtes einreichten.

Als zentrale Phänomene werden die mise en abyme und die Metalepse herausgestellt. Im Rahmen eines Gattungsbegriffs, der sich am Russischen Formalismus, Harald Bloom und Stephen Hinds orientiert, zeigt sich, dass sich die Dirae als bukolisches Gedicht poetologisch gegen die eigene Gattung richten.

Torsten Krämer

Augustinus zwischen Wahrheit und Lüge

Literarische Tätigkeit als Selbstfindung und Selbsterfindung

Hypomnemata, Band 170

Augustin stand vor dem Problem, die christliche Lehre zu verkünden und zu rechtfertigen, ohne dass zu diesem Zweck ein spezifisch christliches literarisches System bereitgestanden hätte. Der Kirchenvater befand sich in dem Dilemma, die ihm vertrauten traditionellen Formen benutzen zu müssen, es als Christ eigentlich aber nicht zu dürfen.

Die vorliegende Studie behandelt ausgewählte Werke, Briefe und Predigten, die auf die Position untersucht werden, die Augustin im Umgang mit der heidnisch-antiken Kulturtradition des lateinischen Westens und der christlichen Lebens- und Gedankenwelt eingenommen hat. Die Arbeit zeigt, dass der Kirchenvater nicht, wie häufig behauptet, nur einer der beiden Bildungswelten zugeordnet werden kann.

Wenn Sie weiterlesen möchten ...

Anja Heilmann

Boethius' Musiktheorie und das Quadrivium

Eine Einführung in den neuplatonischen Hintergrund von »De institutione musica«

Hypomnemata, Band 171

Während sich die Forschung bislang besonders der mittelalterlichen und späteren Rezeption von Boethius' »Einführung in die Musiktheorie« gewidmet hat, nutzt Heilmann erstmals den philosophisch-systematischen Hintergrund des spätantiken Musiklehrbuches für eine Erschließung des Textes. Es handelt sich um die neuplatonische Mathematikphilosophie, die der Musiktheorie zusammen mit den anderen drei mathematischen Disziplinen (Quadrivium) eine mittlere Position zwischen der wahrnehmbaren und der intelligiblen Welt zuweist.

Die Einbettung der Musiktheorie in diesen Kontext ermöglicht ein präziseres Verständnis ihrer anagogischen, d. h. zur Philosophie hochführenden, Funktion und eröffnet neue Wege, sich bisher ungeklärten Fragen zu nähern, z. B. der Beschränkung der schönsten Intervalle auf fünf und der Rekonstruktion des fehlenden Schlusses von »De institutione musica«.

Ute Lucarelli

Exemplarische Vergangenheit

Valerius Maximus und die Konstruktion des sozialen Raumes in der frühen Kaiserzeit

Hypomnemata, Band 172

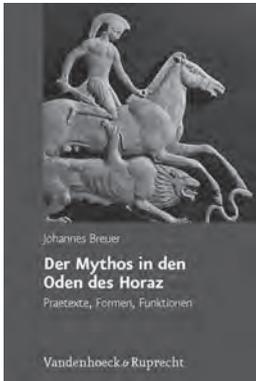
Die frühe Kaiserzeit war infolge der vorangegangenen Bürgerkriege durch Instabilität sozialer Beziehungen geprägt. Vor diesem Hintergrund wird die unter Tiberius entstandene Exempelasammlung des Valerius Maximus in den Blick genommen. Im Zentrum stehen die formale Konstruktion des Werkes und die Frage nach den dort entworfenen »Bildern« sozialer Beziehungen.

Ute Lucarelli zeigt, wie es Valerius gelingt, einen umfassenden, durch »Werte« strukturierten Erinnerungsraum zu entwerfen, der problematische Episoden einbezieht und doch ein Bezugspunkt gesamtaristokratischer Selbstverortung sein kann.

Hypomnemata

Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben

V&R

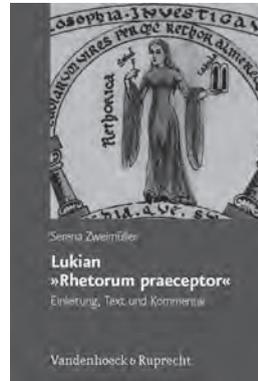


Band 178: Johannes Breuer
**Der Mythos in den Oden
des Horaz**

Praetexte, Formen, Funktionen

2008. 444 Seiten, gebunden
ISBN 978-3-525-25285-7

Durch die eingehende Analyse von Praetexten, Formen und Funktionen der Mythologumena in neun ausgewählten Gedichten entwirft Johannes Breuer eine Phänomenologie des Mythos in den horazischen Oden.



Band 176: Serena Zweimüller
**Lukian
»Rhetorum praeceptor«**

Einleitung, Text und Kommentar

2008. 499 Seiten mit 3 Abbildungen,
gebunden
ISBN 978-3-525-25284-0

Kommentar zu Lukians Satire »Rhetorum praeceptor« mit einem Einleitungsteil zu rhetorisch-literarischer Gestaltung und Intertextualität, zum soziokulturellen Hintergrund der Zweiten Sophistik und zur Verortung der Schrift im zeitgenössischen Bildungsdiskurs.

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

Hypomnemata

Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben

V&R



Band 175: César Fornis

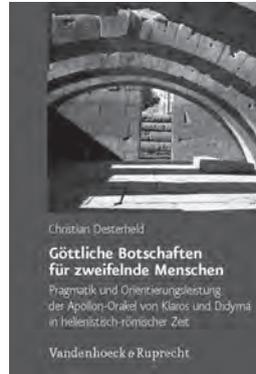
Grecia exhausta

Ensayo sobre la guerra de Corinto

2008. 362 Seiten, gebunden
ISBN 978-3-525-25286-4

Diese soz. ganzheitliche Darstellung des Korinthischen Krieges (395-386 v. Chr.) ist originell, da sie auch die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Komponenten mit in den Blick nimmt.

Ein echtes Referenzwerk für alle, die über dies Thema etwas wissen möchten.



Band 174: Christian Oesterheld

Göttliche Botschaften für zweifelnde Menschen

Pragmatik und Orientierungsleistung der Apollon-Orakel von Klaros und Didyma in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit

2008. 670 Seiten, gebunden
ISBN 978-3-525-25283-3

Wie sah die soziale Wirklichkeit der Befragung von Orakeln im hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Griechenland aus?

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht