The Hymns of Gregory of Nazianzus and

their Place in the History of Greek

and Early Christian Hymnography

(i.e. carm.1.1.29-1.1.38 and 2.1.38 in

Migne, PG 37 cols 507-22 and 1325-29)

by

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Abstract

The present research concerns some hymns attributed to Gregory Nazianzen: carm.1.1.29-1.1.38 and 2.1.38 (M.37. cols 507-22 and 1325-29). The primary aim in the examination of these poems is to see their position in the Greek and early Christian hymnographical tradition. To fulfil this in the best possible way it seemed necessary to spend the first part of the Introduction on surveying very briefly: a) the definition of the term ὕμνος as this is used in Greek literature and the various types of Greek pagan hymns, b) the extant examples of them in a chronological order with particular emphasis on the hexameter hymns, and c) the form and content of these hymns. To these I have added a very brief history of the extant early Christian hymns, placing particular emphasis on hymns written in quantitative metres.

The second part of the Introduction is spent on general observations with regard to the language, style, content and metre of the hymns under discussion, in order to give the reader a general view of these hymns as a group and allow him to see the degree of the poet's conformity to traditional Greek practice , particularly with regard to his usage of the hexameter.

The text of the hymns in the form it appears in the Migne edition is unreliable in a number of cases, and so I decided to attempt to produce a critical edition based on the extant MSS.

The main body of the research consists of a commentary on these hymns since I considered a commentary to be the best way to analyse these poems and show their place in the literary genre to which they belong.

Since the authenticity of some of these hymns is disputed, I place particular emphasis in the commentary on parallel expressions and ideas from genuine Gregorian works in order to support their authenticity.

Contents

Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviations

a) Collections of Pagan Works

CAF = Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta, 3 vols, edited by T.Kock
(Leipzig, 1880-88)

Coll.Alex. = Collectanea Alexandrina, edited by J.U.Powell (Oxford:
Clarendon Press, 1925)

FGH = Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, edited by F.Jacoby
(Berlin, 1923-)

Heitsch = Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der Römischen Kaiserzeit,
edited by E. Heitsch, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissen-
schaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse,
series 3, 49, vol.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck-Ruprecht,1961)

IG = Inscriptiones Graecae (further details in LSJ p.xxxix)

PLF = Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta, edited by E.Lobel - D.Page
(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955)

PLG = Poetae Lyrici Graeci, edited by T.Bergk, fourth reprint ed.,
3vols, 3: Poetae Melici (Leipzig: T,1914-15)

PPF = Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta, edited by H. Diels
(Berlin, 1901)

SVF = Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, edited by H. von Arnim
(Leipzig, 1903)

TGF = Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, edited by A. Nauck, second
edition (Leipzig, 1889)

Vorsokr.= Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, edited by H. Diels, fourth
edition (Berlin,1922)

West = Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Cantati, edited by
M.L.West, 2vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971-72)

b) Pagan Authors and Works

AP = <u>Anthologia Graeca</u>, books 1-9 edited by P.Waltz (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1928-74), book 10 by W.R.Paton, in <u>The Greek Anthology</u>, vol.5 (London: Heinemann,1956),book 11 by R.Aubreton (Paris,1972), books 13-15 by F.Büffière (P.,1970)

APl. = <u>Anthologia Planudea</u>, edited by R.Aubreton (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1980)

Aesch. = Aeschyli, <u>Septem quae supersunt Tragoedias</u>, edited by D. Page (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1972)[1]

Apoll. Rhod. <u>Argon</u>. = Apollonii Rhodii, <u>Argonavtica</u>, edited by H. Fränkel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961)

Arat. <u>Phaen</u>. = The <u>Phaenomena</u> of Aratus with an English Translation, edited by G.R.Mair (London: Heinemann, 1921)

Archiloch. = Archilochus (<u>PLG</u> ii Bergk: see Abbreviations (a))

Aristides <u>orat</u>. = Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei, <u>quae supersunt omnia</u>, edited by B. Keil, 2vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1958)

Aristoph. = Aristophanes Comicus, edited by V. Couton (Paris: Les Belles Lettres,1924-34)

Aristot. <u>hymn.Arete</u> = Aristoteles Philosophus (<u>PLG</u> ii Bergk: see Abbr. (a))

Bacchyl.= Bacchylides, <u>The Poems and Fragments</u>, edited with Intoduction, Notes and Prose Translation by Sir R.C.Jebb (Cambridge:Univ. Press, 1905)

Callim = Callimachus, edited by R.Pfeiffer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarend. Press, 1949-53) and for Hymns the edition by É.Cahen (Paris: Les Belles Lettres,1948)

Carm.Pop. = <u>Carmina Popularia</u> (<u>PLG</u> iii Bergk: see Abbr. (a))

Chrysip.= Chrysippus Stoicus (<u>SVF</u> ii, iii Arnim: see Abbr. (a))

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1. For titles of individual works of this and other common authors see the list of authors and works in LSJ pp.xviff.

Cleanth.hymn. = Cleanthes Stoicus, Hymnus in Jovem, edited by G.

Zuntz, in 'Zum Kleanthes-Hymnus', Harvard Studies in

Classical Philology, 63 (1958), 289-308 (pp.301-303)

Corp.Herm.= Corpus Hermeticum, 2 vols, edited by A.D.Nock - A.-J.

Festugière (Paris:BL, 1945)

Democr. = Democritus Philosophus (H.Diels, Vorsokr., ii: see Abbr.(a))

Empedocl. = Empedocles Poeta Philosophus (PPF H.Diels: see Abbr.(a))

Ep.   = Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus conlecta, edited by G.

Kaibel (Berlin: G.Reimer,1878)

Eur.   = Euripidis Fabulae, 3 vols, edited by G.Murray (Oxford:

Clarendon Press)

Heraclit. = Heraclitus Philosophus (H.Diels Vorsokr.i : see Abbr.(a))

Hesiod. fr.= Hesiodus Epicus, Fragmenta, edited by Merkelbach -M.L.

West

_____ Oper. = Hesiod, Works and Days, edited with Prolegomena and

Commentary by M.L.West (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1978)

_____ Theog.= Hesiod, Theogony, edited with Prolegomena and

Commentary by M.L.West (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1966)

Hom.hymn.= The Homeric Hymns, edited by T.W.Allen - W.R.Halliday and

E.E.Sikes, second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1936)

Il.   = Ilias. Homeri Opera, edited by D.B.Monro - T.W.Allen,

second edition, vols 1-2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908-)

Julian.orat.8 and 11 = The Works of the Emperor Julian with English

Translation, by W.C.Wright, vol.1 (London: Heinemann, 1913)

Liban. orat.5 = Libanii Opera recensuit R.Foerster, vol.1.1 (Leipzig:

Teubner, 1903)

Mag.hymn. = Magic Hymns,edited in Abel (see below Orph.Arg.), Heitsch

(see Abbr.(a)), and Preisendanz, Pap.Mag.Gr.,vol.3 (see

below Pap.Mag.Gr.)

Marc.Aurel.= Marcus Aurelius Imperator, edited by J.H.Leopold (Oxf.)

Men.Rhet. = Menander Rhetor, edited with Translation and Commentary
by D.A.Russell - N.G.Wilson (Oxf.:Clarendon Press,1981)

Mesom. = Mesomedes Lyricus edited by Heitsch: see Abbr. (a)

Nonn. = Nonnos, Dionysiaca, edited with English Translation by W.H.
D.Rouse 3 vols (London: Heinemann, 1940)

Od. = Odyssea. Homeri Opera, edited by D.B.Monro - T.W.Allen,
second edition, vols 3-4 (Oxf.:Clarend. Press)

Olymp. = Olympiodorus, In Platonis Gorgiam Commentaria, edited by L.
G.Westerink (Leipzig: Teubner, 1970)

Oppian. = Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus, edited with English Trans-
lation by A.W.Mair (London: Heinemann, 1928)

Orac.Chald. = Oracula Chaldaica, edited by E. des Places (Paris:
SC, 1971)

Orph.Arg. = Orphica. Argonautica, edited in Orphica by E.Abel, Biblio-
theca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum (Leipzig: G.Freutag,
and Prague: F.Tempsky,1885)

_____ fr. = Fragments, edited in Abel, Orphica, or in Orphicorum
Fragmenta, by O.Kern (Berlin: Weidmann,1922)

_____ hymn. = Orphei Hymni, edited by G.Quandt, new edition (Berlin,
1962)

_____ Lith. = Lithica, edited in Abel, Orphica

Pap.Mag.Gr.= Papyri Graecae Magicae, Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri,
edited by K.Preisendanz, 3 vols (Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner,
1928-41)

Pap.Oxyrh. = Oxyrhynchus Papyri, edited by B.P.Grenfell - A.S.Hunt
(London, 1898-)

Philo Alex. = Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt, edited by L.
Cohn, P.Wendland, S.Reiter, 6 vols (Berlin: G. Reimer,1896-
1915)

Pind. = Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis, edited by B. Snell - H.

Maehler, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner,1971-75)

Plat.   = Platon, <u>Oeuvres Complètes</u>, edited by various sholars, 14

vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1923-56)

Plot.   = Plotini <u>Opera</u>, edited by P. Henry - H.-R. Schwyzer, 3 vols

(Paris-Bruxelles, 1951-73)

Plutarch.(<u>Anton.</u>)= Plutarchi <u>Vitae Parallelae</u>, edited by K.Ziegler,

second edition, vol.3.1 (Leipzig: Teubner,1971)

_____ (<u>Cim.</u>)= Plutarchi <u>Vitae Parallelae</u>, reedited by K.Ziegler,vol.

1.1(Leipzig: Teubner, 1957)

Procl.<u>hymn</u>. = Procli <u>Hymni</u>, edited by E.Vogt, klassisch-philologische

Studien, 18 (Wiesbaden, 1957)

_____ <u>Inst.Theol</u>. = Proclus, <u>The Elements of Theology</u>, edited by E.R.

Dodds, second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963)

_____ <u>Theol.Plat</u>. = Proclus, <u>Theologia Platonica</u>, books 1-4, edited

by H.D.Saffrey - L.G.Westerink, 4 vols (Paris:BL,1968-81)

Soph.   = Sophoclis <u>Fabulae</u>, edited by A.C.Pearson (Oxf.:Clar.Pr.,1924)

Theocr. = Theocritus, edited with a Translation and Commentary by A.

S.F.Gow, 2 vols (Cambridge: Univ.Press,1950-52)

Theogn. = <u>Theognidea</u> edited by West: see above Abbrev. (a)

c) Collections of Christian Works

Hahn   = Listed below in the bibliography

LB   = <u>Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha</u>, edited by R.A.Lipsius and M.

Bonnet, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1891-1903)

M.   = <u>Patrologia Graeca</u>, edited by J.P.Migne (Paris, 1857-66)

d) Christian Authors and Works

Amph. <u>Seleuc</u>. = Amphilochius Iconiensis, <u>Iambi ad Seleucum</u>, edited by

E.Oberg (Berlin, 1969) and ap.Gr.Naz. <u>carm</u>.2.2.8 (M.37.1577)

Apoll. <u>Met.Ps</u>. = Apollinarius Laodicenus, <u>Metaphrases in Ps</u>., edited

by A. Ludwich (Leipzig : Teubner, 1912)

Basil. = Basilius Caesariensis Cappadociae, cited from M. (see the

previous section) unless otherwise stated

Chrys. = Chrysostomus Joannes, cited from M.

Clem.Alex.= Clemens Alexandrinus (paedagogus, protrepticus, stroma-

teis) edited by O.Stählin in GCS 1-3, apart from hymn.Christ.

ap. paed. cited from Heitsch (see above section (a))

Clem.Rom. = Clemens Romanus (epistula ad Corinthios), cited from The

Apostolic Fathers, edited by J.B.Lightfoot, vol.2, part 1

(London-N.York: Macmillan, 1890)

Const.Apost. = Constitutiones Apostolorum, cited from Didascalia et

Constitutiones Apostolorum, edited by F.X.Funk (Paderborn:

Schöningh, 1905), vol.1

Cosm. schol. = Cosmas Hierosolymitanus Melodus, scholia in Gregorii

Nazianzeni carminibus (M.38. 341-)

Dion.Areop.= Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita (M.3 :see section (c))

Epist.Diognet. = Epistula ad Diognetum, edited by H.I.Marrou,SC

(Paris, 1951)

Euseb. = Eusebius cited from M. or GCS

Gr.Naz. carm. = Gregorius Nazianzenus, carminum libri duo (M.37.397-,

38.11-)

_____ epist. = _____ , epistulae (M.37.21-)

_____ or. = _____ , orationes (M.35.396-, 36.173-)

I omit the name of the author in most cases for brevity

and give the text also from more recent edd when available

(see the list of edd below in the bibliography)

Hippol. haer. = Hippolytus Romanus, refutatio omnium haeresium sive

philosophoumena in GCS 3 (1916) (included in Origen's works)

LXX = Septuagint, cited from The Old Testament in Greek according

to the Septuagint, edited by H.B.Swete, second edition, 3

vols (Cambridge : Univ.Press, 1896-)[1]

Liturg. = Liturgiae, cited from Liturgies Eastern and Western, edited
　　　　by F.E.Brightman, vol.1: Eastern Liturgies (Oxford, 1896)

Max.Conf. schol. = Maximus Confessor, scholia in Ps.-Dion.Areop.(M.4)

Method.Olymp. Parthen. = Methodius Olympius, Parthenion ap. Symposium
　　　　edited by H.Musurillo-V.H.Debidour, SC　(Paris, 1963)

NT　　　= New Testament, cited from The New Testament in the Original
　　　　Greek, edited by B.F.Westcott - F.J.A.Hort (Cambridge- Lond.:
　　　　Macmillan, 1890)

Nonn. par.Jo. = Nonnus Panopolitanus, paraphrasis in Joannis evangeli-
　　　　um (M.43.749-), cited by Biblical reference

Orac.Sibyl. = Oracula Sibyllina, edited by J.Geffcken, GCS 1902, p.1-

Origen. = Origenes, cited from GCS and occasionally M.

Serap. Euch.= Serapion Thmuitanus, Euchologium, edited in Funk, vol.2
　　　　p.158- (see under Const.Apost.)

Symbol.Nic.(325)= Symbolum synodi Nicaenae anno 325, ap.Eusebius epi-
　　　　stula ad Caesarienses 4 in Athanasiuswerke, edited by H.G.
　　　　Opitz, vol.3 p.51- (Berlin 1934-41) or M.20.1540-

Synes.hymn. = Synesius Cyrenensis, hymni, cited from Synesii　Cyre-
　　　　nensis Hymni, edited by N.Terzaghi, vol.1 (Rome,1939)

　　e) General Abbreviations

AJP　　= American Journal of Philology

BL　　= 'Les Belles Lettres', Paris

BZ　　= Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Leipzig

DACL　= Dictionnaire d' Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, 15
　　　　vols (Paris, 1924-)

1.　The abbreviations of the books of LXX are those used by Lampe
　　(see his list on p.xliv) and the same applies to those of the
　　NT (but with the addition of Ep. and Ev. for Epistles and
　　Gospels).

GCS	=	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Leipøig
RAC	=	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum (Stuttgart, 1941-)
RE	=	Real-Encyclopädie, by Pauly – Wissowa
SC	=	Sources Chrétiennes, Paris
T	=	B.G.Teubner
TS	=	J.A.Robinson, Texts and Studies, Cambridge
TU	=	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, Leipzig[1]

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1. For other common abbreviations see the lists in Lampe (p.xlvif.) and LSJ (pp.xliii-xlv).

I. Introduction

I.1 Brief Account on Gregorian Studies

Of the vast number of Gregorian poems (amounting to about 18.000 lines[1]) I have chosen only eleven short poems (281 lines in all). These poems (although not all edited together in the Migne edition) may form a group since they are the only poems of the Gregorian poetic corpus to have been written in the form of a hymn as this is defined and described below (p. 16   and 21ff. respectively).

Among the innumerable prayers and supplications to Christ (included in Gregory's 'autobiographical' poetry: M.37. 968-1452) there are some which appear to contain some features commonly found in hymns: carm.2.1.3 (1020f.) and the first twelve lines of carm.2.1.22. 1-12 (1281) which seem to form themselves a poem separate from the rest of 2.1.22[2].   On grounds of the similarity in subject of these poems with 1.1.36, they are discussed below pp.188ff. where I give the reasons which led me to exclude them from the scope of the present research (see below p.162).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century there was a

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1.   See A.J.Phytrakis, 'Τὸ ποιητικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιαν-
     ζηνοῦ', in 'Εθνικόν ...Πανεπιστήμιον 'Αθηνῶν, 'Επίσημοι Λόγοι,
     vol.14 (Athens, 1966-67), pp.143-94 (p.155); also J.Quasten,
     Patrology, vol.3 (Westminster Md.:Newman Press,1960), p.244 and
     A.Benoit, Saint Grégoire de Nazianze sa vie, ses oeuvres et son
     époque, reprint from the Paris ed. of 1876 (Hildesheim: Georg
     Olms, 1973), pp.725-42.
2.   Apart from the internal evidence and the fact that Cosmas of Je-
     rusalem gives a paraphrase of only lines 1-12 (see below p.196)
     this may be inferred also from the fact that in many MSS the two
     parts appear as two distinct poems: Vaticanus Chisianus gr.16
     (s.xiv), Florent.Riccard.64 (K.I.5)(s.xiv) and Vaticanus gr.482
     (s.xiv), while Vat.gr.497 (s.xiii) contains only lines 1-12 (this
     information is collected from the brief descriptions of these
     MSS in the various catalogues). This has been noticed also by
     the annotator in the Migne edition (M.37.1281).

flourishing interest (shown by scholars of different disciplines and for various reasons - usually other than the literary) in Gregorian studies in the form of general works on Gregory's poetry as a whole, or on its major sections (didactic/dogmatic, autobiographical/historical, moral poems)[1]. This resulted mainly from the fact that a critical edition of this poetry, though constantly expected, had not appeared[2].

In recent years Gregorian studies have revived and a number of works (primarily editions with a commentary) on individual poems (or groups of them) have been published[3].

However, no systematic research has been undertaken on these hymns as a group, apart from some articles dealing either with individual hymns (to which reference is made in the appropriate place), or with all of them, but not in depth and so they contribute little to our understanding of these hymns[4].

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1. See e.g. E.Dubedout, De D. Gregorii Nazianzeni carminibus (thes., Paris,1901), P.Stoppel, 'Quaestiones de Gregorii Nazianzeni poetarum scaenicorum imitatione et arte metrica' (inaug. diss., Acad. Rostock, Rostock,1881), W.Ackermann, Die didaktische Poesie des Gregorios von Nazianz (diss.,Leipzig: Fock,1903), J. Focken, 'De Gregorii Nazianzeni orationum et carminum dogmaticorum argumentandi ratione' (inaug. diss., Berl.Univ.,1912), L.F.M. de Jonge, De S. Gregorii Nazianzeni carminibus quae inscribi solent 'περὶ ἑαυτοῦ'(Amsterdam. 1910), G.Misch, Geschichte der Autobiographie,vol.1 (Leipzig-Teubner,1907), pp.383-402 and M. Pellegrino, La Poesia di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno (Milan, 1932).
2. On this see below p. 63
3. See e.g. the list of editions (below p.348), H.L.Davids, De gnomologieën van Sint Gregorius van Nazianze (diss., Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1940) and D.A.Sykes, 'Poemata Arcana of St Gregory Nazianzen' (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Univ.Oxford,1967).
4. See e.g. H.Musurillo, 'The poetry of Gregory of Nazianzus', Thought,45 (1970), 45-55 (pp.51-54), Phytrakis (cited in n.1 of the previous page), particularly pp.168-70, and R.Keydell, 'Die literarhistorische Stellung der Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz', in Atti del 8. Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini (Palermo 3-10 Apr. 1951), vol.1 (Rome , 1953), pp.134-43 (p.136).

My primary aim in examining this particular group of hymns is to see their place in the History of Greek hymnography (pagan and early Christian).

I.2.a) Definition of the Term Ὕμνος and Types of it

When we are confronted with the word 'hymn' today, we immediately think of a sacred lyric or song in honour of God[1]. However, ὕμνος, from which this word derives, did not always carry with it a similar connotation: so many are the uses of the word ὕμνος throughout Greek literature[2].

Originally, ὕμνος did not have a strictly religious sense, but meant merely a 'lay' (see Od.8.429: (ὄφρα)/ δαιτί τε τέρπηται καὶ ἀοι-δῆς ὕμνον ἀκούων which refers to the performance of Demodocus who, accompanied by the phorminx, sang at a feast of the Wooden Horse of Troy). Later, from the occurrence of such phrases as πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνή-σω (Hom.hymn.Apoll.19; cf.ib.207) in poems narrating some incident in the life of a god or hero[3], ὕμνος acquired by association its more specific meaning of a song in praise of a god[4].

The first literary hymns were written in hexameters, the metre of epic poetry, and were recited in competitions to the accompaniment of kithara by bards or rhapsodes at games (ἀγῶνες), or at a god's festi-val. Prizes were awarded[5]. Examples of such hymns seem to be the

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1. See J.Edgar, The Homeric Hymns (Edinburgh, 1891), p.13.
2. The etymology of the word ὕμνος is uncertain. For various suggestions see RE s.v. Hymnos cols 140-42.
3. Cf. Demodocus's lay of Ares and Aphrodite in Od.8.266-366.
4. In a number of passages: Plat. Rep.607a, Aelianus Varia Historia b.39, Aristot. Poet.1448b.27, Procl. Chrestom. ap. Photius Bi-blioth.319bf. (ed. Henry,BL, vol.v, p.159) etc. ὕμνος - mainly in its restricted meaning of a lyric hymn - is contrasted to ἐγκώμιον - a eulogy to a man . There also seems to be a re-ference specifically to lyric hymns in the definition of ὕμνος in Plat. Leges 700b (a passage cited very often with regard to the subject under discussion). See also Allen-Halliday-Sikes, The Homeric Hymns, second edition (Oxf.,1936), p.xcif.
5. This is implied from Hesiod. Oper. 654-57, where Hesiod relates how, with a ὕμνος, he won a tripod at the games in honour of Amphidamas; and from Hesiod's dubious fr.357 (ed. Merkelbach-West p.176). See also Allen-Halliday-Sikes, p.lxxxviiif.

longer hymns of the Homeric Collection, which are unanimously dated during the last stage of the epic period. Hexameter hymns could also be used by rhapsodes as preludes (προοίμια) to a recital of epic poetry. The hymns referred to a deity in whose honour the bard was about to recite the rhapsody, or for whom the festival was being held. Most of the short Homeric hymns seem to fall into this category. In them we find expressions such as ἐκ σέο δ' ἀρξάμενος κλήσω μερόπων γένος ἀνδρῶν/ ἡμιθέων ὧν ἔργα θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν ἔδειξαν (Hom.hymn.31.18-19; cf. hymn.32.18-19). These hymns (with the exception of hymns 8,19, 31 and 32 which are even later) are dated at the end of the genuine epic period[1].

In the course of time and as new forms of art appeared, the hexameter hymn lost its dignity and importance and was replaced by different forms of melos, so that the meaning of ὕμνος was restricted to a melic religious song in praise of any god[2]. Lyric hymns embrace all sorts of address to the gods. Alexandrian scholars attempted to classify lyric poetry in general and hymns in particular. However, more recently such attempt has been severely - and convincingly - criticized as based on artificial distinctions and not on real differences of technique in the compositions themselves[3]. According to the Alexandrian classification lyric hymns include : ὕμνος, προσόδιον, παιάν, διθύραμβος, νόμος, ἀδωνίδιον, ἰόβακχος, and ὑπόρχημα[4].

The classification of lyric poetry by the Alexandrians was later

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1. See Allen-Halliday-Sikes, pp.xciii-xcv, where a discussion on the two usages of Homeric hymns (i.e. as distinct hymns, or as preludes to rhapsodic recitals) and p.cix for the dating of the long and short Homeric hymns. Besides, it is worthwhile to mention here the remark made by J.Edgar, op.cit., p.17 that some of the short Homeric hymns could have been used also as closing hymns in the rhapsodic recitals.
2. See H.W.Smyth, Greek Melic Poets (London, 1900), p.xxviii.
3. See A.E.Harvey, 'The classification of Greek lyric poetry', Class. Quart., N.S. 5 (1955), 157-75 (p.164).
4. See Smyth, op.cit., p.xxivf.

taken over by later authors -notably by Proclus - who used ὕμνος in
its generic sense to mean all types of melic (ὡς εἴδη πρὸς γένος)[1].

A different classification of lyric hymns (according to the
particular god they are addressed to) is that whereby ὕμνος is said
to have been sung in honour of Zeus, whereas paeans and dithyrambs
were offered to Apollo and Dionysus[2].

Furthermore, the passage from Didymus (referred to in n.1) goes
on to regard ὕμνος as a species of lyric poetry distinguished from
the rest by the fact that it was sung to the accompaniment of kithara.
The same distinction (according to the accompanying musical instru-
ment) is made also by Proclus (Chrest. ap. Photius Biblioth.320a 18-
20, ed. Henry, BL, vol.v, p.159f.) between what he calls 'ὁ κυρίως
ὕμνος' and the other forms of melic. Harvey (art.cit., p.166f.) has
made an attempt to determine the form, content and performance of
this type of hymn on the basis of a number of passages, mainly taken
from Plato. However, such an attempt can only create more difficult-
ies, since the information we get from the ancient sources is not
only contradictory in itself, but also insufficient and ambiguous.

Another way of classifying hymns is to divide them according to
their content and structure. This way was followed by Menander the
Rhetor in his treatise on epideictic oratory. He uses ὕμνος (the
praise of a god: see 331.20 ed. Russell - Wilson) in its generic
sense and divides it into eight species: 1) κλητικός (cletic), 2)
ἀποπεμπτικός (apopemptic), 3) φυσικός (scientific), 4) μυθικός (my-
thical), 5) γενεαλογικός (genealogical), 6) πεπλασμένος (fictitious),
7) εὐκτικός (precatory) and 8) ἀπευκτικός (deprecatory): 333.1-344.14

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1.   See Procl. Chrest. ap. Photius Biblioth.320a 15 (ed. Henry, BL,
     vol.v,p.159) and cf. Didymus Ἐν τῷ περὶ λυρικῶν ποιητῶν (Orion
     ap. Etymol.Magn.777.1 s.v. ὕμνος).
2.   See Menander Rhetor 332.1f. (ed. Russell-Wilson) and cf. Acron in
     Horatius Sermon.ii.1.1 (ed. Keller p.116).

Menander admits the existence also of a mixed-hymn which may contain two or more of these types (343.27-344.4). His scheme is actually a conflation of: a) two opposing pairs (hymns calling on god and saying farewell (1,2) and hymns praying for good and seeking to avert evil (7,8)), and b) a group of four types based on the content (3-6). More precisely, the scientific hymns (3) are those of the physicists and philosophers in which the nature of the god is seen and analysed as a natural force (e.g. Apollo as the sun and Hera as the wind: 337. 2-4). The mythical hymns (4) deal with the mythology of the god , while the genealogical ónes (5) - which are in real terms a subdivision of the former hymns - deal with the divine birth, e.g. of Hermes mentioned in a hymn by Alcaeus (cf. Alcaeus _fr_.308 (b) ed. Lobel-Page _PLF_): 340.15. Finally, the fictitious hymns (6) refer to abstract nouns: e.g Δεῖμος, Φόβος, Ὕπνος, Πενία for which a mythology is invented by the hymn-writer.

From the above it appears that Menander's classification (partly based on the content of the hymns (3-6) and partly on their structure and purpose (1,2,7,8) is no less inadequate than the classifications mentioned above and that therefore the employment of Menander's terminology would be misleading, even if this is followed by some scholars [1].

All the above illustrate the distortions of over-systematization by late grammarians and show that ὕμνος in antiquity was a somewhat protean conception and could be used in a broader or a narrower sense; and yet it always had the basic sense of a sacred composition.

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1.   See e.g. J. Haldane, 'The Greek hymn with special reference to the Athenian drama of the fifth century', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Univ. London, 1963), pp.34 and 138-40, M.Mantziou, 'Hymns and hymnal prayers in fifth century Greek tragedy with special reference to Euripides'(unpublished Ph.D. diss., Univ. London, 1981), p.16; cf. also Cairns, Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry, passim and Russell-Wilson, Menander the Rhetor, p.xxxi.

I.2.b) Brief History of Greek Pagan Hymnography

We now pass on to give a brief account of most of the extant Greek pagan hymns, with emphasis on the hexameter ones.

First comes the collection of Homeric Hymns[1]. As has been said above the long Homeric hymns differ from the short ones, not only in the date of composition , but also in the purpose and place of perform- ance. Both categories of hymns are more secular than ritual composi- tions, since they seem to have arisen from the rhapsodic tradition and not to have been composed for the service of a particular temple[2].. The two categories of hymns differ also in style: in the long hymns the epic narrative (dealing with the birth and other incidents in the life of the god[3]) predominates so that, if one leaves out the formulaic be- ginning and end[4], they will not differ from some epic passages dealing with a similar subject[5]. This obviously does not apply to the short hymns[6]. Both categories, together with the Homeric and Hesiodic epics, are of primary importance to the student of Greek hymnography, since they are the main source of stock vocabulary (particularly of divine epithets) used by hymn-writers of all periods.

In the archaic period lyric hymns flourished. These are of various types: some are folk compositions mainly preserved in second- ary reports[7], and some are personal poetry unfortunately surviving in

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1. The attribution of this collection to Homer is discussed in Allen- Halliday-Sikes, pp.lxivff.
2. See Allen-Halliday-Sikes, p.lxxxvi.
3. On these themes (used generally in hymns) see below p.28.
4. On this see below p. 23 and p. 31 respectively.
5. See e.g. the reference cited above on p. 13 n.3.
6. One of these (the hymn to Ares: 8) is written in a style very close to that of the Orphic hymns: see Allen-Halliday-Sikes, p. 384f.
7. See Carmina Popularia (PLG iii pp.654ff. Bergk).

a severely fragmentary state[1].

From the classical period onwards we have inscriptional lyric hymns from Delphi, Epidaurus and other cult-centres[2]. Lyric hymns are found also in Greek drama. The dramatic dimensions of such hymns and the degree of their connection with the plot of the play have been examined in a number of dissertations[3]. Here belong also the parodies of hymns found in the comedies of Aristophanes and other Greek (as well as Roman) comedians[4].

In the Hellenistic period the hexameter form reappears in the hymns of Callimachus (apart from the fifth which is written in elegiacs) and in some Idyls of Theocritus (e.g. 22: to the Dioscuri, 15.100-44: to Aphrodite and Adonis and 1.64-145: the song of Daphnis).

From the same period there are some further hexameter hymns in a narrative style and with the characteristics of syncretism and apotheosis of men: e.g. the Aretalogy to Sarapis by Maiistas (Coll. Alex. pp.68ff.) and the fragmentary hymns on Papyrus Chicaginiensis (ib. pp.82ff.)[5].

The hexameter was also the metre of the philosophical hymn. From this period comes the hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes and from the imperial the hymns of the Neoplatonic Proclus. In the same category one may also include some Orphic fragments: 62 (Apollo), 21, 21a, 168 (Zeus), 237 (Dionysus) and 32 c-e (underworld deities) (ed. Kern). The main characteristics of these hymns are first the philosophical ideas used in the exposition of the nature and functions of the god they refer to;

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1. An account on these hymns may be found in Haldane p.76f.
2. See Coll.Alex. pp.132ff. Some inscriptional hymns (though from a later period are written also in hexameters: e.g. the hymn to Athene and Rhamnousian Artemis in IG 14.1389 ii.
3. See the dissertations of Haldane and Mantziou (mentioned above p.16 n.1) and R.Knoke, 'De hymnis tragicorum Graecorum' (diss., Göttingen, 1924).
4. See W.Horn, Gebet und Gebetsparodie in der Komödien des Aristopha-nes, Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft, 38 (Nürnberg,1970) and H. Kleinknecht, Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike (Hildersheim, 1967).
5. See below p.22 ;cf. the encomia of Dioscorus (Heitsch p.127ff.).

and second the moral nature of the requests made in them.

In the imperial period belong the Orphic hymns which provide a good example of the syncretism which characterized the religion of late antiquity, since they are not only addressed to Greek gods, but also to Oriental deities (Semele, Sabazius, Korybas)[1]. The peculiarity of their structure lies in the fact that they are composed mainly of an accumulation of epithets and other phrases in vocatives and in apposition to the name of the god (although this style is occasionally replaced with relative clauses with ὅς : e.g. hymn.13.3ff., 18. 4ff.)[2]. Guthrie has suggested that most of these epithets were not used for any deity indifferently, but that they were in close association with the particular deity they were addressed to[3]. Besides, we may observe that the majority of them are compound epithets (descriptive of the various characteristics, actions or even feelings of the deity and not occurring elsewhere)[4]. A probable explanation for the over-grouping of such epithets and cult-names has been brought forward by Gruppe: with these epithets the initiates (μύσται) somehow constrained the deity to appear perforce[5].

From the same period date the hymns on Magic papyri which have

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1. See W.K.C.Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion, second edition (London: Methuen,1952), p.258. For the authorship, the purpose and the place of composition of these hymns see the bibliography cited in Quandt's edition p.44*, and RE s.v. Orphische Dichtung cols 1321ff. (Keydell). The similarities of their vocabulary with that of 3rd and 4th cen. poets led van Liempt to date the hymns at the same period :see L. van Liempt, 'De vocabulario Hymnorum Orphicorum atque aetate' (inaug. diss., Purmerend,1930)..

2. See U.von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Der Glaube der Hellenen, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann , 1932), p.514 and I.M.Linforth, The Arts of Orpheus, reprint edition of Berkeley-Los Angeles: Univ.Calif. Press,1941 (N.York: Arno, 1973), p.181.

3. See W.K.C.Guthrie, 'Epithets in the Orphic hymns', Class.Rev., 44 (1930), 216-21.

4. See below p.26   cf. also M. Hauck, De hymnorum Orphicorum aetate (Breslau,1911).

5. See Roscher, Lexik. Griech. Römisch. Mythol., vol.3, s.v. Orpheus (O. Gruppe) col. 1150.

been collected and edited in verse form (mainly hexameters) by Preisendanz and others[1]. The characteristics of magic hymns appear in two poems (to Asclepius and Hecate respectively) found in Hippolytus's Refutatio omnium haeresium and edited in Heitsch p.170f.

Two alphabetical hymns in hexameters (to Dionysus and Apollo) are found in AP 9.524, 525 respectively. They are composed throughout of epithets arranged in an alphabetical order[2].

Besides, there are a number of severely fragmentary oracular hymns: e.g. the hymn to Apollo and Artemis (ap. Clem. Alex. Strom.v.8 48,4 (GCS 2 p.359.5)) and the hymn to Apollo (ap. Euseb. Preparat. Evang. iii 14.4f. (ed. Heitsch p.168)[3].

Papyrical fragments from the same period include hymns of various types such as those edited in Heitsch pp.165ff. A collection of lyric hymns in short verses is edited also in Heitsch pp.22ff. and is attributed to Mesomedes.

Finally, from the same period come some prose hymns such as those of Aelius Aristides: to Athene (orat.37), Heracles (40), Dionysus (41), Asclepius (42), Zeus (43) and Sarapis (45); and from the fourth cen.A. D. the hymn to Artemis (orat.5) by Libanius and the hymns to the King Helius (orat.11) and to the Mother of the Gods (8) by Julian the emperor.

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1. See Preisendanz, Pap.Mag.Gr., vol.iii, pp.24-47; also Heitsch pp.179-99 and Abel, Orphica, pp.286-95.
2. The composition of alphabetical poems was very popular in Byzantine times. A fair amount of such poems has been collected and discussed in D.N.Anastasijewić , 'Die paränetischen Alphabete in der griechischen Literatur' (inaug. diss.,Munchen,1905). An example of such poems (written in iambics) is found among Gregory's works: carm.1.2.30 (908-10).
3. In this category of hymns one may add some invocations from the Oracula Chaldaica: frs 26,61,216,218,220 (ed. des Places) and some prose prayers from Corpus Hermeticum: i.31-32, v.10-11, xiii. 17-20 (ed. Festugière).

I.2.c) The Form and Content of the Greek Pagan Hymn

The main parts of a Greek pagan hymn are: 1) Introduction or Prooemium, 2) Praise or Main body and 3) Prayer. I have avoided using the term invocation for the first part, since, as will be seen below, this is not appropriate for all the types of Greek hymns (particularly for most of the Homeric hymns). Besides, I used the broader terms Praise[1] or Main body for the second part (since the main reason for its inclusion in the hymn is the praise of god) instead of the inexact term 'Pars Epica' used by Ausfeld[2], or the very general one 'Middle Section' followed by Haldane[3], or even the term 'Begründ-ung' used by Schwenn[4] and followed by Mantziou[5] (as this is based on the secondary purpose of this part, namely to reinforce the prayer with a 'Ground' and secure its fulfilment :see below p. 30).

All three parts are constructed according to certain tradi-tional principles and contain various topoi which have been discussed by a number of scholars to whom reference is made below.

1) Introduction

This part usually gives the proper name of the recipient of the hymn, or one of his by-names (which may replace the proper name if this is not mentioned) accompanied by one or more epithets, or other titles, and the patronymics of the particular god. In the case of

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1. The term 'Praise (part)' has no authority outside the present research and has been employed only conventionally to replace equivalent terms followed by other scholars which I found not entirely accurate and sufficient for our purpose.
2. See C. Ausfeld, 'De Graecorum precationibus quaestiones',Jahrb. klas.Philol.,suppl.28 (1903), 507-47 (p.514f.).
3. See J. Haldane, 'The Greek hymn with special reference to the Athenian drama of the fifth century', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Univ. London, 1963), p.103.
4. See Fr. Schwenn, Gebet und Opfer, (Heidelberg, 1927), e.g. p.59.
5. See M. Mantziou, 'Hymns and hymnal prayers in fifth century Greek tragedy with special reference to Euripides' (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Univ. London, 1981), p.5. It is used also by Beck-mann (pp.46ff.).

more elaborate hymns this part may be extended to include also participial phrases or relative clauses, all in apposition to the name of the deity. A reference to the leading cult-centres and other abodes of the deity may also be made.

The addressee of a Greek pagan hymn may be any god from the Greek pantheon: Olympian gods (Zeus,Apollo), minor gods (Pan,Asclepius), or demigods and heroes (Heracles, Leto). To these one may add personified abstract nouns (Tyche, Hygeia), natural phenomena (Boreas, Nyx) and celestial bodies (Helius, Selene). Finally, hymns were composed for Oriental deities, both Egyptian and Asiatic (Sarapis, Isis, Sabazius). However, when from the Hellenistic period onwards the apotheosis of men became an important characteristic of the political and religious life of the Greeks, hymns could be composed also for emperors, as well as governors, as the extant fragments of the paean to Titus (Coll.Alex. p.173) and the hymn to Demetrius Poliorketes (ib. p. 173f.) show. In these hymns we have an addressee-variation, according to Cairns's definition[1].

The recipient of a Greek pagan hymn could be one or more gods who have something in common : Hom.hymn.25 (Apollo, Muses,Zeus); or all the gods in general : Procl. hymn.4.

On the significance of the knowledge of the divine name and the various topoi employed to express it in hymns, namely the listing of alternatives : εὔτε ... εὔτε and πότερον ... ἤ ... ἤ ... (hymn.Fortun. 8-10: Coll.Alex. p.196), or the phrase ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν (Aesch. Agam. 160) and the epithets πολυώνυμος and ἄρρητος (both common in Orph.hymn) see, among many others, Norden pp.144ff., Ausfeld pp.517ff., Adami pp. 221ff. and Haldane p.115f.

I distinguish hymns into two main types: **the direct apostrophes**

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1. See F. Cairns, <u>Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry</u> (Edinburgh: Univ.Press, 1972), pp.218ff.

to gods and the hymns in which the name of the god and any expression attributed to it are in the accusative. The former type of hymns is called by Wünsch 'subjective' and the latter 'objective' (see RE s.v. 'Hymnos' col.142 (Wünsch)).

We may have the following types of 'objective' hymns according to the verb which is used to introduce them:

1) Hymns introduced with a verb of singing such as ᾄδειν, ἀείδειν, ἀείσεσθαι, μέλπειν, ὑμνεῖν, ἄρχεσθαι ἀείδειν, μνήσεσθαι. This type is commonly found in the Homeric hymns : hymn.12: Ἥρην ἀείδω and the hexameter hymns of later poets: Procl. hymn.5 : Ὑμνέομεν ... Κουραφροδίτην and Theocr. Idyl.22: Ὑμνέομεν .../ Κάστορα καὶ ... Πολυδεύκεα. An example from the lyric hymns is Aristonous hymn.Vest.2 (Coll.Alex. p.164): Ἑστίαν ὑμνήσομεν[1].

In the Orphic hymns, however, these verbs are rare as one finds only ἀείσεσθαι in hymn.3 and μέλπειν in hymn.62. Here, verbs of the third category are used instead and the same applies also to the Magic hymns.

The usage of such verbs resulted from similar introductions to the heroic narrative. The beginning of the Prooemium to Hesiod's Theogony is an example of this: Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' ἀείδειν. The hymnodic features of most of such prooemia have been investigated by Stenzel[2].

2) Hymns (mainly the Homeric ones) in which the poet asks the Muses to celebrate the god: Hom.hymn.Merc.: Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει Μοῦσα and Theocr. Idyl.1.64: ἄρχετε ... Μοῖσαι ... ἀοιδῆς.

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1. It seems that such verbs are rarely used in lyric hymns. I could find only three more examples: Lasus fr.1 (PLG iii p.376 Bergk) Attic Schol.3 (ib. p.644) and Alcman fr.2 (ib. p.15). Examples of the various introductory verbs may be found in Adami p.220f.

2. J. Stenzel, De ratione, quae inter carminum epicorum prooemia et hymnicam Graecorum poesin intercedere videatur (Diss. Breslau, 1908).

In the case of lyric inscriptional hymns (e.g. of paeans) the poet may exhort others to praise god: Isyllus Paean Apoll.-Asclep.1 (Coll.Alex. p.133): Ἰὲ Παιᾶνα θεὸν ἀείσατε λαοί,/ and Macedonius Paean Apoll.1f. (ib. p.138): Δήλιον .../ εὐφημ[εῖτε.

3) Hymns introduced with a verb of summoning: καλεῖν, κλῄζειν, κικλήσκειν, ἐκπροκαλεῖσθαι examples of which are: Orph.hymn.25: Πρωτέα κικλήσκω and 2 hymn.Attis (PLG iii p.686 Bergk): Ἄττιν κλήσω.[1]

On the other hand, in the 'subjective' hymns the name of the god and his titles are in vocatives which implies a more personal relationship between the god and his suppliant. Again here we may have further subdivisions:

1) Hymns introduced with a verb of summoning, singing and celebrating, or praying in the first person ('singular or plural) and the name of a god in the vocative accompanied by a second person pronoun (personal or possessive) which may be repeated (sometimes at the beginning of successive clauses): Orph.hymn.52.1: Κικλήσκω σε, μάκαρ ... Βακχεῦ, Cleanth. hymn.6: σὲ (sc. Ζεῦ) καθυμνήσω τε καὶ σὸν κράτος αἰὲν ἀείσω and Sappho fr.1 (Lobel - Page): ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα ... λίσσομαί σε. Such hymns are generally characterized as written in 'du-Stil' (following Norden's terminology)[2].

2) Hymns in which the name of the god (in vocative) is not followed closely by any main verb as happens e.g. in Orph.hymn.26; or it may be followed by one or more relative clauses (sometimes headed by the same pronoun producing thus Norden's 'Relativstil'[3]): Hom.hymn. 24.1f.: Ἑστίη, ἥ ... ἀμφιπολεύεις,/ ; or even it may be accompanied

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1. For further instances see K. Ziegler, 'De precationum apud Graecos formis quaestiones selectae' (inaug. diss., Breslau, 1905), p.40 and Adami p.220f.
2. See Norden pp.143ff.; also Stenzel p.18ff. for examples of 'du-Stil' hymns.
3. See Norden pp.168ff.; also Adami p.242 for other examples.

by one or more participles in the participial style of predications
(Norden's 'Participialstil' on pp.166ff. where examples).

3) Hymns introduced with a verb in the imperative (or its
equivalents: optative, archaic imperatival infinitive or negative sub-
junctive). This may be: a) a cletic verb : ἐλθέ, μόλε, βαῖνε, φάνη-
θι, (ἀφ-)ικοῦ, ἴθι with or without the addition of ΄ δεῦρο or δεῦτε:
Orph.hymn.34: Ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, Παιάν[1], b) a verb of appealing to the
deity's attention, usually to his sight or hearing: κλῦθι (κέκλυθι,
κλῦτε), (εἰσ-)ἄκουσον, ἰδέ, ἐφόρα, βλέψον : Procl. hymn.1.1: Κλῦθι ...
Τιτάν and Pind. Nem.7.1f.(Snell-Maehler,1971), and c) a verb of
salutation: χαῖρε (χαίρετε): 1hymn.Attis (PLG iii p.686 Bergk) and
Cleanth. hymn.3[2].

In the Introduction (and the rest of the hymn) the divine epithets[3],
titles and by-names (ἐπωνυμίαι[4], ἀνακλητικὰ ὀνόματα[5]) of the god
(which are usually taken from traditional vocabulary, found primarily
in the Homeric epics[6]) have particular prominence. They are general-
ly divided into two categories: a) those which apply generally to
any god and may be thus called universal[7]: θεός, ἄναξ, δεσπότης, βασι-

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1. For other examples see Adami p.221 and Ausfeld p.516.
2. For examples on this category see Keyssner p.129 and 132 and on
   category (b) see Ziegler pp.59ff., Adami p.221 and Ausfeld p.516.
3. By this term I mean any qualifying word or expression added to
   the name of the god without the intermediary of the copula. Thus,
   it is not only an adjective, but it may be also a substantive, a
   composite expression, a participle, or even a clause (particular-
   ly a relative one). On this see Ausfeld p.521.
4. The term is used e.g. in Plat. Rep.394 a 2.
5. For the term see Menander Rhetor 445.25f.(ed. Russell-Wilson).
6. On the divine epithets in Homer see e.g. M.Parry, 'The traditional
   epithet in Homer', in The Making of Homeric Verse, edited by Ad.
   Parry (Oxf.,1971), pp.1-190 and R.J.Cunliffe , Homeric Proper
   and Place Names (London-Glasgow: Blackie,1931) which is a suppl.
   to "A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect" compiled by the same
   author.
7. See Haldane p.116, Ausfeld p.521 and Keyssner p.83f.

λεύς, δῖος, μάκαρ, ἀθάνατος, ἄμβροτος, σεμνός, ἁγνός, φύλος, μέγας

and their feminine forms, and b) those of a more restricted application

as κωμαστής for Dionysus (Aristoph. Nubes 606) and ἑκηβόλος for

Apollo (Hom.hymn.Ven.151)[1].

Of these epithets the category of compound ones (διπλᾶ ὀνόματα[2])

has particular significance. They may describe: 1) the physical

characteristics of god : ἑλικοβλέφαρος of Aphrodite in Hom.hymn.6.19,

2) what the deity wears or carries ending in -πέπλος, -στέφανος,

-μίτρη, -αμπυξ, -πέδιλος : εὐστέφανος of Dionysus in Orph.hymn.74.2,

3) anything connected with the deity and beginning with χρυσο- : χρυ-

σότοξος of Apollo in Isyllus Paean Apoll.-Asclep.48 (Coll.Alex. p.134),

4) the character of god ending in -θυμος, -φρων, -μῆτις,-μήτης : πρό-

φρων of Hygieia in Ariphron 2 (PLG iii p.596 Bergk), 5) certain divine

actions: σαόμβροτος of Athene in Procl.hymn.7.40, 6) the gifts of the

god ending in -δότης, -φόρος : πλουτοδότης of Dionysus in 5 Carm.pop.

(PLG iii p.656 Bergk), 7) particular delights of the god ending in

-χαρής or beginning with φιλο- : ὁπλοχαρής of Ares in Orph.hymn.65.2,

and 8) anything the god possesses or does in a great degree begin-

ning with πολυ-, παντο- (παν-), μεγα- : πολυστάφυλος of Dionysus in

Hom.hymn.26.11[3].

Some epithets can be used predicatively (mainly in the Prayer) with

εἶναι, γενέσθαι, ἐλθεῖν : 1) εὐμενής, εὔφρων and other similar epi-

thets: ἐλθέ ... εὔφρων of Selene in Orph.hymn.9.11 and 2) σωτήρ, σύμ-

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1. The divine epithets have been collected by C.F.H.Bruchmann in his
   Epitheta Deorum quae apud poetas graecos leguntur (Leipzig,1893),
   Supplement 2 to Ausführliches Lexikon Griechischen und Römischen
   Mythologie, edited by W.H.Roscher.
   see also Ausfeld pp.521ff. and Adami pp.223ff.
2. See G.Meyer, 'Die Stilistische Verwendung der Mominalkomposition
   im Griechischen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Διπλᾶ 'Ονόματα',
   Philologus, suppl.16, part 3 (1923), 1-215 (particularly pp.48-
   78).
3. See K.Keyssner, Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im Grie-
   chischen Hymnus (Stuttgart,1932),pp.127f.,133,124f.,130,45ff.,
   and Haldane p.177f. for examples on these categories of epithets.

μαχος, ἐπίκουρος, ἐπαρωγός, ἐπιτάρροθος: (Ares) βροτῶν ἐπίκουρε in Hom.hymn.8.9[1].

The by-names of the deity belong also to the category of divine epithets. An elaborate example of extended usage of by-names is Orph. hymn.34 where one finds fifteen such by-names[2].

The parentage (γένος) of the god (when it is used) may be given with patronymics, or with other expressions of origin, or even with participles or relative clauses: Hom.hymn.26.1f.: Διόνυσον .../ Ζηνὸς καὶ Σεμέλης ... υἱόν, and hymn.Curetum 1f.(Coll.Alex. p.160): Κοῦρε,/ ... Κρόνειε,/. Sometimes other relatives besides the parents might be mentioned: Hom.hymn.9.1: Ἄρτεμιν ... κασιγνήτην Ἑκάτοιο[3].

A final feature of the Introduction is the reference to the birth-place, cult-centre , or other abode of the god. This is made through phrases with the verbs μέδειν, κατέχειν, νέμειν, ἐφέπειν, ἀμφιπολεύειν: Orph.hymn.48.5: (Σαβάζιε)... Φρυγίης μεδέων, or with λείπειν: Mag.hymn. 1.1 (Abel): (Ἀπόλλων) ... λεῖπε Παρνάσιον ὄρος καὶ Δελφίδα Πυθώ,/[4].

The hymns where the poet is wondering about the 'polytopy', 'poly-nomy' and parentage of a god using various disjunctive expressions : εἴτε ... εἴτε, ἤ ... ἤ, are called by Menander the Rhetor ἀπορητικοί or διαπορητικοί (343.17-26 ed. Russell - Wilson).

The transition to the second part, namely the Praise, is achieved in various grammatical and syntactical ways: 1) with any sort of con-nective: γάρ, ὥσπερ, νῦν αὖτε, εἴ ποτε, 2) with the syntactical de-pendence on a word from the first part of a participle, a relative clause or a vocative in the second part: Hom.hymn.26.3: (Διόνυσον) ὅν

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1. For other examples on both categories see Keyssner pp.87ff.,102f., Ausfeld p.538 and Ziegler p.56f.
2. On various by-names see H.Usener, 'Beinamen der Götter', in his Götternamen, second edition (Bonn, 1929), pp.216-47.
3. For various examples of the deity's parentage see Adami p.226f.
4. Further examples may be found in Keyssner pp.75ff., Adami p.241 and 227ff.

τρέφον ἠΰκομοι νύμφαι and 3) without any connectives in an asyndetical way[1].

2) Praise

The main purpose of this part is the praise of the deity which may be achieved in various ways. One is with a narration of his birth-myth (Hom.hymn.18.3-9) usually followed by an account of his nurture and education (Hom.hymn.26.3-6). In the long hexameter hymns other incidents or activities in the life of the god may be added: for example the slaying of Python by Apollo in Hom.hymn.Apoll.300-74. Geographical lists and landscape descriptions are often included in them (Hom.hymn.Apoll.30-44)[2].

Another important topic is the description of the epiphany of the god: e.g. of the Dioscuri during a storm at sea: Hom.hymn.33.8-17 (cf. Theocr. Idyl.22.10-22); or the ἄνοδος of Persephone in Orph.hymn.43. 7-9 and the return to earth of Adonis in Theocr. Idyl.15.102-05. The commonest verb used of the deity is φαίνεσθαι and sometimes ἐλθεῖν or παρεῖναι and the corresponding for the worshipper is δέχεσθαι[3]. Sometimes the god's epiphany may bring terror and tremor to the whole nature and sometimes joy and calmness (as may happen also at the time of his birth)[4].

The various benefits granted by the god to mankind may be expressed with a narration of the εὕρεσις-legend (Hom.hymn.Merc.25-64,108-14, and Hom.hymn.20.2-7). Expressions with πρῶτος or πρώτιστα are regularly used in this connection (Hom.hymn.Ven.12)[5].

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1. See G. Zuntz, 'Zum Hymnus des Kleanthes', Rhein.Museum, 94 (1951), 337-41 (pp.339ff.).
2. A detailed account of the various themes featuring in narrative hymns may be found in Haldane pp.123ff.
3. See RE s.v. 'Epiphanie', cols 279, 312 (Pfister).
4. Examples of both cases may be found in Adami pp.231ff. and Keyssner p.33f.
5. For further examples see Keyssner p.17f.

Apart from the above narrative and descriptive themes, this part may also include an exposition of the nature (φύσις) and other characteristics (ἀρεταί) of the god, since, according to Plato, it is lawful to praise Eros (and generally any god) with reference first to his nature and then to his benefits: (Ἔρωτα) ... δίκαιον ἐπαινέσαι, πρῶτον αὐτὸν οἷός ἐστιν, ἔπειτα τὰς δόσεις (Sympos.195 a). This is achieved not only with the use of relevant epithets (which we have already mentioned), but also with certain topoi and expressions.

The nature of the god may be illustrated with reference to his power and generally his virtue (δύναμις, μένος, σθένος, ἰσχύς, ἀλκή, κράτος, ἀρετή): Orph.hymn.prooem.28: Αἰῶνος μέγ' ὑπείροχον ἰσχύν[1]. In turn the power and other characteristics of god may be revealed in expressions with: a) μοῦνος: Orph.hymn.10.28: (Φύσι) σὺ γὰρ μούνη τάδε τεύχεις, and b) πᾶς or πάντα: Theogn.373ff.(West): Ζεῦ φίλε ...· σὺ γὰρ πάντεσσιν ἀνάσσεις/ τιμὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μεγάλην δύναμιν,/.../ σὸν δὲ κράτος πάντων ἔσθ' ὕπατον, βασιλεῦ·/. Both expressions (as well as those with ἀεί and the epithets in παν-, παντο-, πολυ-, ἀει-) serve in praising gods in a 'hyperbolic' style[2].

Gods may be celebrated also for being the begetters /creators of all things, as well as of mankind. Thus they are called γένεσις, γενέτωρ, γενετήρ, γενέτειρα, or μήτηρ and πατήρ, or even προπάτωρ and προμήτωρ: Hom.hymn.1.6 (Zeus):πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε[3].

Furthermore, gods may be celebrated for their gifts to men:Hom.hymn. 10.1f.(Aphrodite):βροτοῖσι/ μείλιχα δῶρα δίδωσιν[4], and for being ταμίας: Procl.hymn.1.2 (Helius): φάους ταμία[5].

The character of gods is revealed in the things they delight in,

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1. For other examples see Keyssner pp.48ff.
2. See Keyssner, 'Der hyperbolische Stil', pp.28-48.
3. For further cases see Keyssner pp.20ff.
4. Examples on this subject are collected in Keyssner p.71.
5. For other examples see Adami p.242 and Keyssner p.82f.

and this may be expressed in phrases with χαίρειν, φιλεῖν, (ἐπι-)τέρπεσθαι: Orph.hymn.74.4: /κύμασι τερπομένη (sc. Leucothea)[1].

The secondary purpose of this part (Praise) is to incur the pleasure of the deity so that he may fulfil the petitioner's requests which follow in the Prayer. So, all the attributes of the god are carefully recalled to secure this fulfilment and his various characteristics are chosen to show that he has the power to solve the particular problems of his petitioner.

Besides, in hymns where a personal relationship between god and devotee exists, a reference to past kindnesses rendered by the former to the latter, or to any link between god and mortals in general, is another method the petitioner may employ in order to receive a favourable response. For the same reason a promise of a dedication or sacrifice may also be included in this part, although the proper place for these features is the Prayer where the poet may even promise to praise god again, if he fulfils his requests[2].

The transition to the Prayer is achieved by the usage of νῦν, ἀλλά, ἀλλ' ὦ, ἀλλὰ νῦν, καὶ νῦν , or without any connectives (i.e. asyndetically)[3].

3) Prayer

The subject of this part depends on whether the hymn is offered by a whole congregation (or by one person on behalf of a community), as happens with Orphic hymns in particular and cult-hymns in general, or whether it concerns only an individual petitioner. In the latter case the petitioner asks for the fulfilment of various personal needs, while in the former the requests made to gods refer to the needs of

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1. For further examples see Keyssner pp.130ff., 67ff.
2. These and other topics have been examined with many examples in Ausfeld pp.525ff.; see also Th. Beckmann, 'Das Gebet bei Homer' (inaug. diss. Univ. Würzburg, 1932), p.46f.
3. See Adami p.234f. and Ausfeld p.537. Very rarely a request in the Prayer may be introduced also with ναί: Procl.hymn.6.8,11.

a whole community.

In general the Prayer may include requests for the material necessities of daily life, for the family and city, or for a pleasant life and happiness (ἱμερόεις (ἡδύς) βίος, ὄλβος, εὐδαιμονία, εὐτυχία); or even requests of a moral character (mainly in the philosophical hymns)[1]. Besides, requests could be made for the averting of any misfortune expressed mainly with the verbs: ἀποτρέπειν, ἀποπέμπειν, (ἀπ-)ἀλέξειν, ῥύεσθαι, παύειν, λύειν[2]; or simply for deliverance expressed with σώζειν[3].

At the beginning of the Prayer there is usually a new invocation to god followed most of the time either by a verb of summoning, of appealing to the god's attention and of salutation, or by a verb of praying: λίτομαι, εὔχομαι, αἰτοῦμαι, ἱκετεύω[4]. Common in the Prayer are the imperatives of διδόναι and δέχεσθαι and the use of various propitiatory verbs: ἱλήκειν, ἱλάσκεσθαι, ἵληθι and the epithet ἵλαος or ἵλεως[5].

The various verbs used in the Prayer may occur in the imperative or its equivalents: optative, negative subjunctive, or archaic imperatival infinitives[6].

Finally, the Prayer may close with a farewell expression with the verb χαῖρε , featuring particularly in the Homeric hymns[7].

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1. All these requests are discussed in detail and with many examples in Keyssner pp.136-69. Further examples of such requests (mainly taken from the Homeric epics and Greek tragedy) are collected in Ausfeld pp.539-47.
2. For examples see Keyssner pp.106ff.
3. Examples may be found in Keyssner pp.104ff.
4. For examples see Adami pp.234ff., Ziegler pp.36ff. (particularly pp.43ff. where a list of these verbs), and above p. 24f.
5. Examples are cited in Ausfeld p.537f., Keyssner pp.91ff.,124, and Stenzel p.13f.
6. On this see Ziegler pp.9ff., Beckmann pp.49-55 and Ausfeld p.537.
7. See Stenzel p.12f., Meyer, p.22,24,34 and Keyssner p.132,134.

I.3.a) Brief History of Early Christian Hymnography

The so-called early Christian hymnography[1] covers a variety of texts, most of which are in prose, or non-quantitative metre[2]. According to hymnologists these texts may be classed into three major categories: 1) quantitative hymns (personal or anonymous), 2) liturgical hymns in 'rhythmic' prose or non-quantitative metre and 3) hymns in apocryphal and heretical literature (in prose or verse-form). Since all the poems of the present research (with the exception of 1.1.32) are written in quantitative metres I shall place more emphasis on early Christian hymns of this kind (1) and less on the non-quantitative hymns (2). Besides, the hymns of category (3) should be omitted on grounds of their complete dissociation from our hymns, not only in themes, but also in style[3].

In category (1) belongs the hymn to Christ attributed to Clement of Alexandria and appearing at the end of the Paedagogus[4]. It consists of 66 short lines (according to the edition of Heitsch pp. 157-59) which are formed mainly of epithets and other titles in apposition to the name of Christ. Most of these epithets are taken from the Bible.

Next come the long hymns of Synesius of Cyrene in short lyric lines which, although later than Gregory's, are important for our re-

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1. The term has been invented by hymnologists dealing with Byzantine hymnography which begins in the sixth cen. A.D. with Romanos Melodos: see K.Mitsakis, Βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία, vol.1 (Salonica , 1971) and J. Szövérffy , A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography. A Classified Bibliography of Texts and Studies I (Brookline, Mass., 1978), pp.1ff.
2. On this type of metre see below p. 58, n.1.
3. On these hymns see: Mitsakis pp.141-68, J.Rendel-Harris , The Odes and Psalms of Solomon (Camb.,1909), E.Preuschen, Zwei gnostische Hymnen (Giessen,1904), A.A.Bevan, The Hymn of the Soul contained in the Syriac Acts of St Thomas, TS v.3(Camb.,1897), D. I.Pallas,'Ο Ὕμνος τῶν Πράξεων τοῦ Ἰωάννου κεφ.94-99'.in Mélanges Merlier,vol.2(Athens,1956),221-64 and Szövérffy, op.cit., p.7f.
4. On the authenticity of the hymn see Stählin's edition in GCS 1 p. lxxvf. and Christ-Paranikas, AGCC, p.xviii.

search, not only for the metrical structure of hymns 5 and 9 (which
is similar to that of 1.1.30)[1], but also because they employ various
features and topoi of Greek pagan hymns and contain expressions ,
above all divine epithets, and themes (**from the Bible and** Christian
literature as well as from various pagan philosophico-religious
areas) featuring in our hymns[2]. Reference to these is made below in
the commentaries.

In the same category of quantitative hymns hymnologists include
the Parthenion of Methodius, bishop of Olympus, which is found at the
end of his Symposium and consists of twenty-four stanzas with an
alphabetical acrostic, each followed by a refrain (ὑπακοή) . This
poem, however, has no connection with our hymns either in metre (which
seems to be predominantly iambic with resolutions and syncopations)[3],
or in form and content.

In this category (1) one may include also some Christian epigrams
from the first book of the Palatine Anthology which appear in hymn-
form such as for example the epigrams to the Saviour: AP 1.19-28
(Claudianus), although the date limits of such epigrams in general
extend well after Gregory's time.

Finally, this category contains some papyrical Christian hymns
which have come down to us anonymously and mainly in a fragmentary
state. Of these the earliest seems to be the hymn to the Holy Trini-
ty on Papyrus Oxyrh. 1786 which is dated in the third century[4]. Its
fragmentary state prevents us from determining the content of the
hymn which ends with the common doxological formula (see below p.301).

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1. See below pp.55ff.
2. According to J.Bregman, Synesius of Cyrene. Philosopher - Bishop
   (Berkeley: Univ.Calif.Press,1982), p.78 n.1,2 Synesius composed
   his hymns between A.D. 396-409.
3. See Méthode d' Olympe, Le Banquet, edited by H. Musurillo (Paris,
   SC, 1963), p.310 n.1 and Mitsakis p.128f.
4. See Heitsch p.159 and Mitsakis p.111.

With regard to its metrical form it has been suggested by Wellesz that it is based on a combination of anapaestic metres[1].

A hymn to Christ appears on <u>Papyrus Berol.Mus</u>. 8299 of the fourth cen. A.D.[2]. It consists of the last six long anapaestic lines of a poem with an alphabetical acrostic[3]. The extant part of it is based on the theme of the Good Shepherd (cf.<u>Ev.Jo</u>.10.11ff., <u>Ev.Lc</u>.15.4ff.) and ends also with the common doxological formula.

The poem on <u>Papyrus Amherst</u> (written in a triple alphabetical acrostic[4]) is addressed to Christians giving them instructions and rules of a moral character to follow in their lives. Having this content, the poem obviously cannot be characterized as a hymn (in the sense I have described the word above p. 16) despite opposite views of Byzantinologists[5].

We may now proceed to examine the texts of the second category, namely the liturgical hymns in 'rhythmic'[6] prose or non-quantitative metre. In this category hymnologists include various passages from the Old and New Testament : e.g. Psalms and other prayers (particularly those collected together by Swete in vol.3 of his edition of <u>The Old Testament in Greek</u>, pp.811-830)[7] and the so-called Christological

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1. See E. Wellesz, <u>A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography</u>, second edition (Oxford,1961), p.155.
2. See Heitsch p.160.
3. See Heitsch p.161 (who notes that eighteen lines are missing - possibly those beginning with α - σ) and the bibliography cited by him.
4. See the text as this is edited in Heitsch p.161-64.
5. See Mitsakis pp.114ff. and Szöverffy <u>op.cit</u>., pp.8-10 (where bibliography).
6. The term is used by hymnologists (e.g. Mitsakis p.9; cf. P.N.Trempelas, Ἐκλογὴ Ἑλληνικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ὑμνογραφίας, second edition (Athens,1978), p.126) to refer to prose texts which may be divided into cola (parallel or antithetical) where various rhetorical figures may appear: anaphora, isocolon etc.
7. On these prayers - known as Canticles - see J.Mearns, <u>The Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western in early and medieval Times</u>,(Camb.,1914) and for their place in the service of the early Church H.Schneider,'Die biblischen Oden im Christlichen Altertum',<u>Biblica</u>,30(1949),28-65; cf. also his articles in the same periodical pp.239-72 and pp.433-52.

and other hymns of NT in rhythmic prose[1]. The introduction of such
texts into the liturgical life of the early Church and the origins of
their antiphonal chanting[2] have attracted the interest of many hymn-
ologists and liturgiologists[3]. However, neither this, nor their colo-
metrical reconstruction is of any importance to us, but only the
various themes they include (particularly attributions to the God-
head or Christ) which, as Biblical, were known to Gregory and could
be used in the present hymns (as other Biblical passages are used
too).

In the same category hymnologists include some early patristic
texts which they divide into cola[4]: the long prayer in the first
epistle To the Corinthians by Clement of Rome (59-61 ed. Lightfoot)
The Didache of the twelve Apostles (9-10 ed. Funk), the anonymous
epistle To Diognetus (ed. Marrou, SC) and the homily On Pascha by
Melito of Sardis (edited colometrically by S.G.Hall,1979). However,
these texts (far from being hymns at all) have no relevance to our
hymns[5].

Two short hymns (also rearranged colometrically) appear in the
Apostolic Constitutions: the Morning Hymn (Προσευχὴ ἑωθινή or ὕμνος
ὀρθρινός) which is prefixed by the Gloria (Ev.Lc.2.14) and the
Evening Hymn (Ἑσπερινός) in Const.Apost.7.47 and 48 respectively[6].
The main characteristics in both hymns are the accumulation of verbs

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1. See J.T.Sanders, The New Testament Christological Hymns (Camb.,
   1971) and R.Deichgräber, Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der
   frühen Christenheit: Untersuchungen zu Form, Sprache und Stil
   der frühchristlichen Hymnen (Göttingen, 1967).
2. On this see also below the note on 1.1.32.37: ἀντίφωνον.
3. See H.Avenary, 'Formal structure of Psalms and Canticles in
   early Jewish and Christian Chant', Musica Disciplina, 7 (1953),
   1-9, and the bibliography in Szövérffy, op.cit., p.2f.
4. They are divided into cola e.g. by Leclercq: see DACL s.v.
   'Hymnes' cols 2832ff.
5. For a general discussion on them see Mitsakis pp.47-50, and J.
   Kroll, Die Christliche Hymnodik bis zu Klemens von Alexandria,
   second reprint edition (Darmstadt,1968), pp.21ff.
6. See Kroll, op.cit., p.32.

of singing or glorifying and the common doxological formula at the
end. More interesting with regard to the various attributes or
epithets of God, and other Biblical themes they use are the prayers
of the seventh book of Apostolic Constitutions and the liturgical
ones in the eighth book. For the same reasons the various liturgies
(of St James, Mark and Basil) and the prayers in the Euchologion of
Serapion are equally important.

Finally, the fragmentary eucharistic hymns and other short non-
quantitative hymns on papyri have also little relevance, either in
form or content, to our hymns[1].

At the end of the exposition on early Christian hymnography it
would be necessary to say a word about the rendering in hexameters of
the Psalms attributed to Apollinarius of Laodicea[2]. Despite the
severe criticism on the value of this paraphrase [3], it offers us
parallel expressions (mainly divine epithets) to our hymns (as do
also the verse paraphrase of the Gospel of St John by Nonnus and
various passages from the Oracula Sibyllina [4]).

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1. On these hymns see e.g. Mitsakis pp.51-57 and pp.62-64 respective-
   ly; and Szövérffy p.10 and pp.8ff. respectively for bibliogra-
   phies on them.
2. For the disputed authorship see e.g. J.Golega, 'Verfasser und
   Zeit der Psalterparaphrase des Apollinarios', BZ, 39 (1930), 1-22,
   and Idem, Der Homerische Psalter (Ettal, 1960).
3. See Mitsakis p.166.
4. See Kroll, op.cit., p.29.

I.3.b) The Meaning, Form and Content of Early Christian Hymns

As we have seen in the brief survey of the history of early
Christian hymnography until the fourth cen.A.D. (I.3.(a)) it becomes
obvious that it includes a variety of texts most of which can not be
strictly called hymns in the Greek pagan sense of the word.   There-
fore, it would be unnecessary to attempt here to examine the meaning
and application of words like: ὕμνος, ψαλμός, (πνευματικὴ) ὠδή
despite   the fact that these terms (first appearing in Ep.Col.3.16
and Eph.5.19) have been interpreted by various scholars and in a
variety of ways: e.g. as denoting different types of the musical
performance of Christian hymns[1].

However, it would be interesting to note the meaning Gregory
gives to ὕμνος and other terms related to it.   This is found in carm.
1.2.34.138-144(955f.):

δέησιν οἴου τὴν αἴτησιν ἐνδεῶν

τὴν δὲ προσευχὴν ἴσθι τῶν ἀμεινόνων

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

αἶνος δ' ἔπαινος εἰς θεὸν σεβάσμιος.

ὁ δ' ὕμνος αἶνος ἐμμελής, ὡς οἴομαι

For the same reasons (i.e. multiplicity of early Christian hymn-
ography) I think that it is pointless also to describe here their
form which not only differs from that of all our hymns except 1.1.32,
but is also not fixed[2].   Nor, is it necessary to raise again the
dispute as to whether the various rhetorical figures (particularly the

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1.   This view has been expressed by Wellesz (see Wellesz op.cit., pp.
     32-42). For other views see Mitsakis pp.39-41; and Kroll p.5 n.2
     and p.7 n.1.
2.   A survey of the various theories of Byzantine metric featuring
     in an unformulated form already in the examples of early Christ-
     ian hymns (written in rhythmic prose or non-quantitative metre)
     may be found in Trempelas, op.cit., pp.54-93 and Mitsakis pp.266-
     329.

parallel and antithetical cola) owe their introduction into these hymns to the influence of Greek rhetoric, or of the semitic style in general and 'parallelismus membrorum' in particular .

Nor, finally would it be worthwhile to discuss the content of the early Christian hymns, since this is far more general than that of the Greek pagan hymns and may include any religious subject and not simply themes related only to God . These hymns show little similarity in content with Gregory's hymns apart from the Biblical themes commonly found in any early Christian hymn.

I have decided to exclude from the brief survey of both the Greek pagan and early Christian hymns any discussion on the subject of the performance – mainly in public – of the two categories of hymns, since we do not know whether Gregory's hymns were intended for use in public worship, or more likely, whether they were used only for his own adoration of God[1]. The latter possibility may be implied from one of the reasons which led Gregory to compose poetry in general (which are described in a poem written by him particularly for this purpose: carm.2.1.39 (1329-36)). The reason was to console himself in his old age. This possibility is implied also from carm.2.1.34.71-91 (1312f.) where Gregory describes the content of his poetry in which the praise of God has a prominent place: μέλπω δ' ὑψιμέδοντα θεὸν μέγαν, ἠδὲ φαεινῆς/ εἰς ἓν ἀγειρομένης λάμψιν ἐμῆς Τριάδος/ (...) καὶ Χριστοῦ παθέων κλέος ἄφθιτον, οἷς μ' ἐθέωσεν,/ ἀνδρομέην μορφὴν οὐρανίῃ κεράσας (77-78, 83-84:1313).

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1. For the performance of Greek pagan hymns see the discussion in Haldane pp.36-91 and for that of the early Christian hymns see J.Quasten, Musik und Gesang in der Kulten der Heidnischen Antike und Christlichen Frühzeit, reprint edition (Münster,1973) passim.

I. 4 Language, Style and Content of the 'Gregorian' Hymns

The language of our hymns is a mixture of epic and late Greek

forms - including koine - as is the language of late poets in general

and of Gregory in particular[1]. A closer examination of these

hymns reveals that their metre affects their language so that the

epic forms predominate in the hexameter and elegiac hymns (1.1.29,

1.1.31, 1.1.33-1.1.38, 2.1.38), while in 1.1.30 and 1.1.32 (one in

anacreontics and the other in non-quantitative metre) the language is

closer to, if not the same as, that of Gregory's time.

With regard to the epic forms used in our hymns we observe that

the poet follows the practice of late epic writers in extending them

to cover non-epic words.[2] Thus he uses: a) the epic/Ionic ending -η

in ἀκηρασίης :1.1.35.10 and οὐρανίην :1.1.36.21 (see the notes ad

loc.), b) the unaugmented form of aorist in ὄδευσας : 1.1.36.14,

στῆσας : 1.1.34.3 (see the notes ad loc.), and c) the epic ending

-σεαι in ἵξεαι : 1.1.36.16 (see the note ad loc.). Furthermore, he

avoids the doubling of the introductory ρ in augmented tenses for

metrical reasons: ἔρεξα: 2.1.38.51 (see E.Schwyzer, Griechische

Grammatik, vol.1,p.654, Maas, Greek Metre 130; and cf. West, Greek

Metre, p.15f.). For other examples of this feature in Gregory's De

Vita Sua: carm.2.1.11(1029-1166) see Jungck p.29 and Cummings p.51.

In 1.1.36.8 Gregory uses the form ἐμεῖο, although in other poems

he prefers the alternative ἐμοῖο (see Knecht, Gegen die Putzsucht

der Frauen, Exkurs 1, p.136f.).

Other features of the language in these hymns is the use of the

rare form βροτόει in 2.1.38.27 which is used in a non-classical

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1. On this see Pellegrino pp.85ff., Davids p.130ff., Jungck p.28
    n.13, Cummings p.60 and 61ff. and Sykes pp.40ff.
2. Construction of new forms by analogy with existing ones has been
    observed by Cummings (p.73) in Gregory's De Vita Sua.

sense (see the note ad loc.). The poet's custom of using old words

with a different meaning appears also in 1.1.32.44: θροέειν, 2.1.38.

38: ἀπερεύγεσθαι, and 1.1.29.14: ὑπερνεφέειν. Such a custom has been

observed in Gregory's poetry by Pellegrino (p.87): see also below

the section on the hapax legomena (β); cf. Gallay, Langue et Style, p.79f.

In the poems the language is varied by the use of the word θε-

ράπων in the hexameter hymns (e.g. 1.1.34.20) and its equivalent in

sense δοῦλος in 1.1.30.46 (see the note ad loc.); and by the use of

the Attic -ττ- instead of -σσ- in γλώττῃ: 1.1.31.11 and τριττοῦ:

1.1.32.5 (see also Jungck p.27 for the same feature in Gregory's De

Vita Sua)[1]. Furthermore, one finds the epic and lyric form ἵλαος in

1.1.29.15 and the alternative late Greek ἵλεως in 1.1.30.36,48; while

in the same hymn appear both the classical word ὁ ἔλεος and the alter-

native word of koine τὸ ἔλεος (1.1.34.27,19). Finally on the fre-

quency of post-classical words in Gregory's writings see Cummings p.

73f.[2]. In this category belongs also a large number of Biblical words

(including those found in the Septuagint)[3], required by the content

of the hymns. A list of such words - though appearing in Gregory's

De Vita Sua - may be found in Cummings pp.68ff.[4].

The language of our hymns is enriched with some hapax legomena[5]

which may be divided into three categories:

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1.   Gregory uses both -ττ- and -σσ- indifferently in his epistles and
    funeral orations : see Gallay, Langue et Style, p.15f. and X.
    Hürth, 'De Gregorii Nazianzeni Orationibus funebribus', Disserta-
    tiones Philologicae Argentoratenses selectae, vol.12 (Argentora-
    ti: C.I.Truebner, 1908), p.73f. respectively.
2.   Frequency of such words has been observed in Gregory's orations,
    mainly his funeral orations: see Hürth, op.cit., pp.117-31 and Q.
    Fabricius, Zu den Jugendschriften des Johannes Chrysostomos.
    Untersuchungen zum Klassizismus des vierten Jahrhunderts, (Lund,
    1962), p.116f. For his epistles see Gallay, Langue et Style, p.76f.
3.   Hürth, op.cit., pp.132ff. has shown that for the majority of the
    quotations of OT in his funeral orations Gregory follows the
    Septuagint version and in few cases possibly Origen's Hexapla.
4.   See also Hürth, op.cit., pp.132-38.
5.   For these I rely mainly on information derived from various Lexica.

1) New words, first ocurring in these hymns: πατροφαές: 2.1.38.
5, οἰόγονε: ib.6, συμφαές ib.8, πείρημα ib.9, μαργάρεον ib.34, ἀκατα-
σκόπητον: 1.1.30.32 and πανώνυμε: 1.1.29.13.

2) Old words with a different declension: νωμητά: 2.1.38.11,
ἐπιστέφιον: ib.48.

3) Old words in a different meaning : ὑποσκιάων: 1.1.36.8,
βροτόει: 2.1.38.27, σύνθεμα: 1.1.29.10 and ἀκλήϊστον: ib.14.

Most of Gregory's hapax legomena have been collected by Pelle-
grino p.86f. (see also Jungck p.25, Knecht p.142 and Cummings p.65f.)[1].

A final point to note with regard to the language of these hymns
is the absence of any distinction in sense among the suffixes -ιος,
-ιων and -ιδης appearing in the adjectives οὐράνιος (1.1.31.4), οὐ-
ρανίων (2.1.38.23) and οὐρανίδης (1.1.29.15) which are all used in
the meaning of οὐράνιος, namely 'heavenly'. This feature had al-
ready been in progress well before Gregory's time (see J.Wright, Com-
parative Grammar of the Greek Language (Oxford, 1912), §269 and
Smyth 845-50 and 858).

We come now to note some peculiarities of these hymns with
regard to their syntax. The poet appears to have mixed the syntax
of εἰς ὅ + indicative with εἰς ὅ κε(ν) (or ἄν) + subjunctive when he
uses εἰς ὅ κε + indicative in 1.1.35.8f. (see the note ad loc.). He
introduces a temporal clause with the rare μέσφ' ὅτε in 1.1.36.29
(see the note ad loc.). He also uses: a) οἷα (+ infinitive) instead
of οἷαν, b) the syntactical pleonasm ἐέργειν τινὰ τηλόθι ἀπό + genit.
in 1.1.36.22, c) ἀγινέειν τινά τισιν in 1.1.36.24f. following the
syntax of ἄγειν in Homer, d) φθέγγεσθαί τινα + ἀπὸ στομάτων in 2.1.
38.1f. combining two different syntactical usages of the same verb

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1. New coinages appear not only in Gregory's poetry, but also in
   his orations: see Hürth, op.cit., pp.141-45.

followed by Pindar, e) ὑπερτέλλειν transitively in 2.1.38.16 follow-
ing **the** syntax of ἀνατέλλειν as this is used in the Bible, f) the
middle verb δέεσθαι transitively in 2.1.38.13f. and g) a participle
(θεύς) in 1.1.32.16 in anacoluthon instead of a main verb (see oh all
the above the notes ad loc.). In these poems one finds the irregular
corresponsion τέ ... δέ in 1.1.29.8, instead of the more common τέ
... τέ (mainly used in poetry and appearing in 1.1.34.10 and 2.1.38.
21), or τέ ... καί found in 2.1.38.45 (see the notes ad loc.).

Finally, the poet uses ἀλλά in postposition in 2.1.38.32 (see
the note ad loc.) and the preposition ἔνι in anastrophe in 1.1.29.11
(on this see Jungck p.29 and Werhahn on Comparatio Vitarum: carm.1.
2.8.58).

The use of optative in Gregory's writings has been examined by
Sister Rose de Lima Henry in her doctoral dissertation under the
title 'The Late Greek Optative and its Use in the Writings of Gregory
Nazianzen' and published in the Patristic Studies (vol.68) of the
Catholic Univ. of America (Washington, D.C.,1943)[1]. In the hymns
under discussion - provided they all belong to Gregory - one finds
eighteen optatives eleven of which are wishing optatives commonly
used in prayers and which may be replaced by imperatives, negative
subjunctives or archaic imperatival infinitives (see above p.31
and Henry op.cit., pp.9-13). These are: 1.1.29.15, 1.1.32.33, 1.1.
33.5, 1.1.34.19, 1.1.36.20,33, 1.1.37.4,5,6, and 2.1.38.32,50 (four
of these are not mentioned by Henry). From the remaining seven:
a) two are optatives without ἄν contingent found in final clauses: 1.
1.31.7: ὄφρα ... ὑμνήσειε and 1.1.36.24: ὄφρα ... ἀγινοῖ, (see the
note ad loc.), b) two are optatives in temporal clauses: 1.1.36.29,
30: μέσφ' ὅτε ... ἐξανύσαιμι ... ἔλθοιμι (see the note on line 29),

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1. The same subject has been examined for Gregory's De Vita Sua and
Arcana by Jungck (pp.31-34) and Sykes (Appendix A) respectively.

and c) three are potential optatives without ἄν contingent: 1.1.35.
12, 1.1.37.7 and 1.1.36.27 (see the note ad loc.).   Henry too

mentions the examples of (a) (see pp.74-83, particularly p.82), but

none of (b). Furthermore, in the case of (c) she classes under this

category only the first example: 1.1.35.12 (see pp.25-28, particular-

ly p.27); while she considers the optatives in the other two examples

as assimilative found in relative purpose clauses after a wishing

optative, although she goes on to observe that they 'could be analyzed

as pure potentials in relative characteristic clauses as most pro-

bably they are.' (see p.66).

Another feature to discuss in the present hymns is the use of

the interjection ὦ in order to see whether it conforms with the

practice followed in Greek pagan hymns, prayers and other addresses

to gods. God is generally invoked with vocatives used without ὦ:1.1.33.5,

6, 1.1.34.14,15,19, 1.1.35.1, 1.1.36.1,8,19,28, 1.1.37.2,6, 1.1.38.

6, 2.1.38.1,5-11,15,27-28,37, 1.1.31.12, 1.1.30.36,48, 1.1.32.2,46,

and 1.1.29.13.   This is the normal pattern of prayers and address-

es to gods in early Greek epic poetry (Homer, Hesiod)[1], adhered to

also by the Alexandrian epic writers (Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius)[2].

However, there are seven instances of ὦ vocatives in our hymns which

may be divided into three types : 1) 1.1.33.1 = 1.1.34.1,12: ὦ

πάντων βασιλεῦ, 1.1.29.1,16 ,   2) 2.1.38.26 : ὦ φάος, and 3)

1.1.36.31: ὦ ἄνα Χριστέ. The first and second types follow the

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1.   This has been elucidated by J.A.Scott, 'The vocative in Homer
      and Hesiod', AJP, 24(1903), 192-6.
2.   The relevant attestations on the vocative in Apoll.Rhod. were
      first listed by B.L.Gildersleeve - C.W.E.Miller, 'The vocative
      in Apollonius Rhodius', AJP, 24(1903), 197-99 and later analysed,
      together with similar instances in the Homeric Hymns i-v and
      Callimachus, by G.Giangrande, 'On the use of the vocative in
      Alexandrian epic', in Scripta Minora Alexandrina, vol.1
      (Amsterdam, 1981), 25-32.

practice of tragedians (Aeschylus, Sophocles) by conforming: the first to Scott's rule that ' the interjection must be used with an adjective in the vocative, when the adjective is used without a substantive, unless the substantive idea is given by the context'; and the second to his rule that 'the interjection must be used in addresses or apostrophe to inanimate objects or abstract qualities'[1].

The use of ὦ in the third case may be explained by analogy to the religious epicletic formula : ὦ ἄνα(ξ) ± name of Apollo (or even Zeus) which is found first in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (179,526), later in early lyric poets and sparingly in Greek tragedy (see Giangrande art.cit., pp.25ff. and MacLennan on Callim. hymn.Jov.8 for such vocatives in Callimachus).

We may say in conclusion that in avoiding ὦ the poet of our hymns adheres with a high degree of accuracy both to the stylistic usage of the vocative as fixed in epic genre by Homer and to the style of NT in which ὦ completely vanished from prayers (see Scott, AJP, 26 (1905), p.43 n.1) in opposition for instance to the contemporary epic writer Quintus Smyrnaeus who uses ὦ in Scott's estimations seventy times in less than 125 vocatives, although he is an otherwise extremely accurate Homerist (see Scott, AJP, 24 (1903), p.195).

A feature similar to the above is the avoidance of the article in an elevated, sacred or religious context such as the hymn (see Adami p.242). While 1.1.33 and 1.1.35 have no articles, in 1.1.34, 1.1.29, 1.1.36, 1.1.37 and 1.1.38 this is used once or twice, usually needed by the meaning: e.g. 1.1.34.2 τὰ νοητά, τὰ ὁρατά and 1.1.36.11 : τήν (standing for the pronoun ἥν). In the two elegiac hymns (2.1.38, 1.1.31) it is used four and five times respectively sometimes

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1. See J.A.Scott, 'Additional notes on the vocative', AJP, 26 (1905), 32-43 and Idem,'The vocative in Aeschylus and Sophocles',AJP,25 (1904), 81-84 where both rules appear (p.82f.).

unavoidably.   However, great departure from this rule is seen in
1.1.30 and 1.1.32 in which it is used thirteen and nineteen times
respectively.   This may be explained from the fact that both hymns
are written in a 'sermo vulgaris' (or 'Umgangssprache')[1], and a
somewhat 'loose' metre (anacreontics and non-quantitative metre)
so that their style departs from the solemnity of the previous
hymns (written in hexameters or elegiacs).

With regard to the word-pattern of the hexameter and the elegiac
couplet we observe that the poet occasionally employs the stylistic
device whereby an adjective (or participle) and the noun it describes
occupy each: a) the first <u>sedes</u> of the two lines in an elegiac
couplet : 2.1.38.21-22: /ἀπλανέες .../ ἀστέρες (see the note <u>ad loc</u>.),
or, b) the first and last <u>sedes</u> of the same line : 2.1.38.46, 1.1.
35.9: ταρταρέων ... δεσμῶν following thus a common pattern in epic
poetry (see the note <u>ad loc</u>. and A.Wifstrand, <u>Von Kallimachos zu</u>
<u>Nonnos</u>, pp.133ff.).

The hexameters are usually not self-contained, since the poet ex-
pands the sentence to more than one line by the regular use of en-
jambement. An important type of enjambement is that where the sense
continues into the first foot or second princeps of the following
line, after which there is a break or pause : 1.1.33.3,8,9, 1.1.34.2,
17, 1.1.35.2,3, 1.1.36.11,13,15, and 1.1.29.9.   Such enjambement
is extremely common, among others, in Callimachus (see McLennan on Call.
<u>hymn.Jov</u>.11 and his Appendix I, and West, <u>Greek Metre</u>, p.153) and in
Nonnus (see West p.177).

In the case of the elegiac couplet we see that the poet follows
the earlier elegists in largely avoiding enjambement between two or

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1.   The two terms are taken from Scott, <u>AJP</u>,26 (1905), p. 42 and
     Giangrande, <u>art.cit</u>., p.32 respectively.

more successive elegiac couplets (see McLennan's edition of Callima-
chus's Hymn to Zeus, Appendix I, particularly pp.140ff.).

Self-contained lines of the form abba (or other similar types)
in which two adjectives are attributed to two nouns do not appear
in these hymns and are very rare in other hexameters of Gregory as
well (see Sykes pp.58ff. and Wifstrand, op.cit., p.138).

The symmetry and balance in our hymns is the result, not only of
the careful arrangement of the various themes, but also, and above all,
of the extensive use of rhetorical figures : a) antithesis which may
be produced either by μέν - δέ (1.1.32.25,27), or by the juxta-
position of antithetical words : ἄμβροτέ μοι βροτόει τε (2.1.38.27),
b) anaphora, isocolon, homoioteleuton (1.1.29.2a,3a), c) chiasmus
(1.1.30.20-21), d) asyndeton or polysyndeton (2.1.38.8-12a, 1.1.31.
11), e) repetitions[1] and anadiplosis (1.1.29.1=16, 1.1.32.30f.), f)
oxymoron (1.1.29.10b) and g) alliteration (of -σ- in the three-
syllable sigmatismus in 1.1.29.2,3: see the note ad loc.).

The use of such figures is common in Gregory's poetry in general
(see Pellegrino pp.93ff., Jungck p.24 n.13, Cummings p.76f. and
Knecht on carm.1.2.29, Index C (pp.142-44))[2]; and is generally thought
to be the result of the influence of rhetoric upon him, so that the
view of Carpenter that Gregory was a rhetorician in his poems and a
poet in his orations seems to have some validity[3].

We come now to the question of imagery and themes in our poems.
Since they are hymns of a concise length there is little space in

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1. See below Appendix III.
2. Such figures are abundant in Gregory's orations too : see M.
   Guignet, S. Grégoire de Nazianze et la rhétorique, (diss.,Paris,
   1911),106ff. and Ruether pp.59ff.
3. See M.Carpenter, 'The paper that Romanos swallowed', Speculum,
   7 (1932), 3-22 (p.22); cf. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa, vol.2,
   pp.562ff.

them for extended use of imagery. However, they occasionally contain some similes and metaphors[1]: a) the series of four metaphors all taken from the natural world in 2.1.38.34-36 (see the notes ad loc.), b) the comparison of the sun (overshadowing with its light the stars) with Christ (surpassing the 'minds') in 2.1.38.15-16 (see the notes ad loc.), c) the image of the creation (as a whole, or in various parts) praising its Creator is a very common theme in our hymns (1.1.30.5-12, 1.1.31.7-10, 1.1.29.6-7), d) various Biblical images : the picturesque scene of the throne in heaven in 1.1.34. 4-13, and the Exodus theme and the calming by Christ of the sea-storm in 1.1.36.3-11 and 17-18 respectively, and finally e) various light-images (so common a theme in various philosophico-religious areas[2]), mainly used to describe the relationship of the three persons of the Trinity (2.1.38.5,6,8,26, 1.1.36.28, 1.1.38.6 and the entirety of 1.1.32). Such images are commonly used by Gregory, above all in his orations[3]. Examination of the imagery in Gregory's poetry may be found in Pellegrino pp.49ff, and Sykes pp.61-65, in his orations in Ruether pp.86-105 and Guignet, op.cit., pp.131-86, and in his epistles in Gallay, Langue et Style, pp.82-87.

The use of divine epithets in our hymns has particular importance since, as happens also in the Greek pagan hymns, this is one of the main ways of praising God.(see above p.25ff.). They may be divided into: a) universal epithets as they are used of many Greek gods in-

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1. Ruether (p.86) remarks that from the study of Gregory's use of images in his orations it becomes clear that there is no essential difference in the way he uses simile and metaphor.'.
2. See F.J.Dölger, 'Sonne und Sonnenstrahl als Gleichnis in der Logostheologie des christlichen Altertums', Antike und Christentum, 1 (1929), 271-90; cf.A.Theodorou, ''Η εἰκονικὴ-συμβολικὴ ἀναλογία τοῦ φωτὸς ἐν τῇ θεολογίᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου Ναζιανζηνοῦ', Theologia, 47 (1976), 248.
3. See Theodorou, art.cit., pp.28-44, 235-272, and 500-30, J.Egan, 'The knowledge and vision of God according to Gregory Nazianzen', (Ph.D. thes.: Inst. Cathol. de Paris, 1971), particularly pp.99ff, Gottwald pp.37-41 and M.Kertsch, Bildersprache bei Gregor von Nazianz (Graz, 1978), pp.150ff.

differently : ἄμβροτος (1.1.33.11), ἄφθιτος (1.1.30.1), b) epithets
of a restricted application, used of only one or a few Greek gods:
εὐρυμέδων (2.1.38.8), πανεπίσκοπος (1.1.35.1 :see the note ad loc.),
c) epithets originating in Greek philosophy : δημιουργός (2.1.38.11),
or extensively used in Greek philosophy as the negative epithets :
ἄναρχος (2.1.38.7). In our hymns there are nine such epithets, some
of which are the poet's own coinages. An explanation for Gregory's
use of both negative and positive epithets to describe God may be
found in his or.28.9 (Gallay p.118; M.36.37Af.): δεῖ πρὸς τῷ εἰπεῖν ἃ
μή ἐστι, καὶ ὃ ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ... ἵνα ἔκ τε τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ὧν οὐκ ἔστι,
καὶ τῆς οὗ ἐστι θέσεως, περιληφθῇ τὸ νοούμενον[1]. A final category of
epithets (d) includes those which apply only to the Christian God and
are: 1) used by other patristic writers : πανσθενής (2.1.38.10), 2)
taken from the Bible : σφραγίς, εἰκών (2.1.38.7)[2] , and 3) formed by
the poet himself : πατροφαής (2.1.38.5), πανώνυμος (1.1.29.13).

According to Gregory these epithets (προσηγορίαι[3], κλήσεις[4]) may
describe God's οὐσία (or.30.18 (Gallay p.262; M.36.125B)), or His
attributes (ἰδιότητες) in which case   they   may
be   subdivided into: a) προσηγορίαι τῆς ἐξουσίας, and b) προσηγο-
ρίαι τῆς οἰκονομίας (ib.19 (p.264f.;128BC))[5].

From the above it appears that the poet of our hymns combines
the trends of Greek pagan hymnographers (particularly of the later
period) in using categories (a) and (b) (although he avoids complete-

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1.   An accumulation of eight negative epithets may be found in or.
     41.9 (M.36.441B), used of the Holy Spirit. On Gregory's negati-
     ve theology in general see Moreschini pp.1374-78, Gottwald p.19,
     Smolak p.443 n.58 and Sykes on carm.1.1.3.41.
2.   All the divine epithets appearing in the Bible and early Christ-
     ian texts have been collected and examined by Deichgräber: see
     R. Deichgräber, Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen
     Christenheit, (Göttingen, 1967), particularly pp.87ff. and pp.
     178ff. for God's and Christ's epithets respectively.
3.   See or.28.13 (Gallay p.126; M.36.41C).
4.   See or.30.19 (Gallay p.266; M.36.128C).
5.   See Theodorou art.cit., p.243f, and below the note on 1.1.33.1.

ly for obvious reasons epithets related to an anthropomorphic conception of god) with epithets applying to a monotheistic conception of God (used not only of the Christian God, but featuring also in Greek philosophy and other relevant areas).

A final point to discuss in this chapter is the allusions to previous authors. Apart from the range of pagan and Christian hymns and prayers, and the texts from various philosophico-religious areas (which are all compared in certain aspects with our hymns below in the commentary) one may here refer briefly to some allusions to other texts. First come the Homeric formulae in 1.1.33.11 (Il.8.539), 1.1.34.9a (Il.7.415), ib.23 (Il.5.2), 2.1.38.45b (Il.20.350) and 1.1.37.4a (Il.9.238).

The poet uses the periphrasis ὄμμα τὸ νυκτός of the moon recalling Pind. Olymp.3.20 and Aesch. Sept.390 (see the note below ad loc.) and in 1.1.35.14b he recalls Aristoph. Nubes 357. The phrase in 2.1.38.41b may be compared to AP.7.439.4 (Theodor.).

Most of the Biblical allusions are easily recognizable and so do not need here any particular comment apart from the observation that the poet appears innovatory in presenting Biblical ideas mainly with epic language and above all in replacing the Biblical words with philosophical ones (see below the note on carm.2.1.38.26: νόες οὐρανίωνες).

A collection of allusions to Greek literature in Gregory's poetry in general may be found in Dubedout pp.81-96, Stoppel pp.3-19, A.Rzach, 'Zu den Nachklängen hesiodischer Poesie', Wiener Studien,21 (1899), 198-215, Sykes pp.65-68 and Cummings pp.61-64 (including also Biblical allusions). As has been observed, the echoes of and allusions to Greek literature in the writings of 'a trained rhetorician like Gregory do not necessarily imply direct knowledge of the original source; many such passages may have been known to him simply as excerpts transmitted by the rhetorical tradition.' (see Cummings p.61).

I.5. Metre

Following the practice of other scholars in this chapter I
examine first various metrical aspects of the hexameter and elegiac
hymns (quantity, hiatus, caesura and diaeresis, the long monosyllable,
the propotion of dactyls and spondees) in order to assess the place
of these poems in the history of these types of metre.

I then analy e the metre of 1.1.30 in connection with other
poems written in a similar metre.   In the case of 1.1.32 I summarize
the various theories provided to explain its metrical structure and,
finally, I examine all the hymns of the present research with regard
to the position of the final accent in each line.

A) Hexameter and Elegiac Hymns

Examination of these hymns may begin with the question of
prosody.

1.   The short vowel before a combination of a plosive and a
liquid or nasal consonant remains short (as happens sometimes in
Homer: see Monro, Homeric Grammar, 370), or becomes long according
to the metrical requirements. This may be illustrated with the
following examples where, as we see, the poet uses in close position
the same (or cognate) word but with a different quantity.

a)	ἄκρον	–	ἀκροτάτου	both in 2.1.38.6
b)	ἔγρετο	–	ἔγρετο	2.1.38.44 – 2.1.38.40
c)	δὲ πρός	–	σὲ πρῶτον	1.1.36.15 – 2.1.38.1
d)	οἷα βροτός	–		1.1.33.8
e)	τὲ δρόμον	–	ὑψίδρομος	1.1.36.9 – 2.1.38.15
f)	Πατρός	–	πατρός	2.1.38.7 – 1.1.35.7

g) ὑψίθρονε — ῥέεθρον 2.1.38.10 - 1.1.36.9

h) κύκλος — κύκλον 2.1.38.19 - 2.1.38.16

i) τε πλάνοι — ἀπλανέες both in 2.1.38.21

j) ἁγνόν — ἁγνοτάτου both in 2.1.38.3

k) ἔπνευσα — θεοπνεύστοις 2.1.38.49 - 1.1.35.11

Similar observations have been made by Sykes (p.47) on Gregory's Arcana poems (in hexameters), Davids (p.147f.) on the elegiac poems: carm.1.2.31, 1.2.29, 1.2.14 (910-15,884-908,755-65), Stoppel (p.20), on Gregory's iambic poetry, and Cummings (p.50f.) and Jungck (p.35) on De Vita Sua.

The above practice is followed in other late epic poems too: see for the Orphic Hymns Quandt p.40* and for the Hymns of Proclus Vogt p.43.

2. In the present hymns there is one example of a short vowel which does not become long before μν : 1.1.37.4 τέμνω . For other examples in Gregory's poetry see Werhahn's note on Comparatio Vitarum 33 (p.35) and Cummings p.51.

3. Short syllables ending in a consonant are lengthened in arsis, although the next word begins with a vowel. There are four examples of this licence in our hymns : 1.1.36.2 ὁδὸς ἰθεῖα (also in 1.1.37. 3), 1.1.36.18 βιαζόμενον ἀνέμοισι, 1.1.36.33 ἐσθλὸν ἐπί, and 1.1.38. 3 οὐρανόθεν ὗσας . This licence appears in Homer (see Monro 375) and in Callimachus and Euphorion (see Maas 128). However, the above examples appear rather to conform to the practice followed in the Orphic Hymns (see Quandt p.40*). The same licence has been observed in Gregory's Arcana (see Sykes p.49). See also West p.156 and 179.

4. In these hymns there are some examples where the quantity of α,ι,υ varies for the same word. These are: πανευφήμῳ - παναγίῳ (both in 1.1.31.2), νῦν (1.1.36.33) - νῦν (1.1.38.5), ἀΐδαο (2.1.38. 41) - ἀΐδονῇος (1.1.33.8). Such variable quantities are common in

Greek poetry (see O.Schneider, Callimachea, vol.1 (Leipzig, 1870), p. 152f. and McLennan, on Callim. hymn.Jov.55).   The change of quantity is common in Gregory's poetry too : see Werhahn p.11, Davids p.156, Stoppel p.29 n.1 and p.23 n.1, Dubedout p.107 n.1, Sternbach, EOS,30 (1927), p.362f., Sykes p.49f., Cummings p.52 and finally Jungck p.35.

5. The practice described in (3) and (4) is followed also in the pentameters when a short vowel precedes the middle caesura:1.1.31.10 μέγᾶν, ‖ ὡς, 2.1.38.10 οὐράνιε, ‖ πανσθενές and 2.1.38.44 θάνεν,‖ οἷς.   This licence has been observed by Dubedout (p.107) who gives other examples taken from other elegiac poems of Gregory,(see West p.181f.)

Hiatus

Most examples of hiatus in these hymns conform to the regular Homeric patterns and they may be divided into the following categories:

a) Epic correption.   There are thirty-three cases where hiatus is used to shorten a preceding long syllable and these are arranged in the hexameter as is shown below.

$$\_\cup^1\cup^5\_\cup^1\cup\ 2\ \_\cup\cup^{11}\_\cup\cup^8\ \_\cup^1\cup^4\ \_\underset{\smile}{\cup}$$

On hiatus in Homer and other Greek poets see Monro 380, Maas 129 and West, Greek Metre, p.11f., and in Gregory's De Vita Sua and some of his elegiac poems see Cummings p.60 and Davids p.148f;also Sykes pp.51-53.

Two further cases of hiatus appear also in the pentameter:

$$\_\cup^1\cup^1\ \_\cup\cup\ \_\ |\ \_\cup\cup\ \_\cup\cup\ \_$$

in 1.1.31.12 and 2.1.38.32 respectively.

b) Hiatus where the preceding vowel is short occurs in 1.1.36.25 and 2.1.38.17 at the trochaic caesura of the third foot and in 1.1.37. 1 and 2.1.38.13 before the bucolic diaeresis (see Monro 382 and for the same practice in the Orphic Hymns Quandt p.41*).

c) The hiatus in the third foot diaeresis in 1.1.34.28 appears

also in carm.1.1.7.93 (446) and may find, according to Sykes (p.53)
its parallel in Il.24.593. For other cases in Greek poetry (part-
icularly of the later period) of this licence see R.Keydell,
'Quaestiones metricae de epicis Graecis recentioribus. Accedunt
critica varia' (inaug. diss., Univ. Berlin, 1911), p.30f., and in the
Orphic Hymns Quandt p.41*.

d) Hiatus before words originally beginning with the digamma (see
Monro 388-90 and West p.15).   In this category belong five cases, all
involving the word ἄναξ : 1.1.36.1, 1.1.37.2,6, 2.1.38.1 and 1.1.36.31
(although this case may fall also under (e)). However, the digamma
is not always observed as we see from 2.1.38.15 : σοὶ μέν, ἄναξ . The
same attitude towards 'Digamma hiatus' appears in Gregory's Arcana
(see Sykes p.51f.; also cf. Dubedout p.107f.) and may be compared to
that followed in the Orphic Hymns (see Quandt p.41*) and other late
Greek poets (see Keydell, op.cit. p.45f.).

e) In hiatus the preceding long vowel or diphthong may remain un-
changed in arsis and seldom in thesis (see Monro 380). In this
category belong the cases in 2.1.38.3,41, and 1.1.29.11 (where the
diphthongs ου and οι are in the arsis) and that in 1.1.36.20 (where
καί in hiatus remains long at the fourth biceps).

This kind of hiatus has been observed in Gregory's iambics as
well (see Werhahn p.10 and Jungck p.38) and may be compared to that
followed in the Orphic Hymns (see Quandt p.41*), and those of Proclus
(see Vogt p.44).

In the same category falls also the hiatus occurring once in
2.1.38.20 after the third princeps and before the middle caesura of
the pentameter. This kind of hiatus has already been observed in
Gregory's pentameters by Bertels (see J.Bertels,'De Pentametro In-
scriptionum Graecarum Quaestiones' (diss., Münster, 1912), p.23f.).
For examples on this from Greek poetry see West p.158.

Caesura and Diaeresis

From Table 1 (in Appendix I) we see that in 145 hexameters weak (trochaic) caesura in the third foot occurs in 98 lines, strong caesura in the third foot occurs in 47 lines and strong caesura in the fourth foot appears nowhere. This shows a preponderance of the trochaic third caesura. According to similar investigations made by Sykes (p.53f.) in Gregory's Arcana the ratio between trochaic 3rd and strong 3rd caesurae is 79% : 16.5%, namely far greater than what happens in our hymns where the ratio is 67.59% : 32.41%.

In Homer the ratio is 58.27% : 40.43% (see Monro 367), while in Proclus the trochaic 3rd is used 134 and the strong 52 times , namely in a ratio 72.04% : 27.96% (see Vogt p.42', and for other epic writers Davids p.142ff.). Thus, the poet of our hymns shows the influence of post-Homeric verse-techniques (see West p.177f. and 153f.).

Most of the lines which have a strong 3rd caesura follow the practice of other epic writers (Callimachus, Nonnus) in having also a secondary caesura after the fourth princeps (7th element) or a bucolic diaeresis, or both (see Maas 93). There are two exceptions to this in 1.1.34.5 and 1.1.35.10.

The caesura in the fourth foot, which in Homer occurs once in 100 lines (see Maas 85), is absent from these poems, but appears 35 times in 773 lines of Gregory's Arcana (see Sykes p.54).

With regard to diaeresis we observe that the poet follows epic practice in avoiding it at the end of the third foot (see Maas 86).

In our hymns there are five cases of a σπονδειάζων hexameter: 1.1.34.4,10. 1.1.31.7, 1.1.37.7 and 2.1.38.21. In all these cases, as well as in nine more from Gregory's Arcana (see Sykes p.55), the verse ends with a four-syllable word following the Homeric practice of avoiding diaeresis after the spondee of the fifth foot (see Monro 368 ; also West p.154 and 178).

Finally, the caesura after the second princeps featuring in 1.1.33.3,8,9, 1.1.34.17 and 1.1.35.2,3 is discussed in connection with the feature of enjambement above (p.45f.).

The long Monosyllable

From Table 2 (in Appendix I) it appears that the poet avoids the long monosyllable in the 3rd and 6th principes (5th and 11th elements) and 5th and 6th bicepitia(10th and 12th elements), while he uses it mainly in the 1st, 2nd and 5th principes (1st, 3rd and 9th elements). In this he follows the practice of post-Homeric epic poets (see A. Wifstrand, Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos, Publications of the New Society of Letters at Lund, 16 (Lund, 1933), pp.55ff., and Maas 99). Similar practice has been observed by Sykes (pp.55ff.) for Gregory's Arcana.

The Proportion of Dactyls and Spondees

In their study of Gregory's hexameters Sykes (p.57) and Davids (pp.143ff.) pointed out that dactyls outnumbered spondees in the proportion of 5 to 1. As we see from Table 3 (Appendix I) for our poems this proportion is 4 to 1. In Homer and Hesiod the ratio of dactyls to spondees is roughly $2\frac{1}{2}$: 1 and a similar figure may be given for Callimachus and Asclepiades, while later writers tend to employ fewer spondees :in Quintus the ratio is $4\frac{1}{2}$: 1, and in Nonnus and Proclus $5\frac{1}{2}$: 1 (see Davids pp.150ff.). Our poet thus appears to follow the practice of late epic writers.(see West p.177f. and 154).

The above observations apply also to the pentameters as we see from Table 5 (Appendix I). Here the spondees are absent from the second hemiepes.

B) Carm. 1.1.30

We come now to examine the metre of 1.1.30. The poem is written in ionic dimeters : ∪∪--∪∪-͜ (b), or ionic dimeters with anaclasis :

υυ-υ-υ-$\overset{\cup}{-}$ (a) (known as anacreontics : see West p.168 and D.S.Raven, Greek Metre (London,1962), p.84). There is, however, one irregularity in the metre of line 3 where the word δεσπότην, scanning -υ-, stands in the place of υ-- . This has been noticed by Boissonade who emended it by replacing, in his edition of this hymn, this word with δυνάστην (see J.F.Boissonade, Lyrici Graeci. Poetarum Graecorum Sylloge, vol.15 (Paris,1825), pp.161-63 (text) and p.216f. (notes)). However, since there is no evidence from the MSS for such emendation I would rather agree with Nissen to retain δεσπότην by regarding the metre of this line as a variant of the anaclastic form (a) (see T. Nissen, 'Die Byzantinischen Anakreonteen', Sitzungsber. Bayer. Akad. Wiss.,Philos.-hist. Kl. Abteilung, 3(Munchen,1940), p.7). The poet seems here to have been influenced by the accent of this word and treated its accented short syllable as long and the preceding unaccented long as short (see West p.164).

In line 19 the metre is υυ---υ-$\overset{\cup}{-}$. In order to restore the ionic dimeter Scheidweiler emended τῷ with τέ (see Scheidweiler, BZ, 49(1956), p.346). This has been suggested earlier by Nissen too (p. 7). However, as it stands, the metre of this line has been used occasionally, among others, by Synesius (see Terzaghi p.xxxiiif. and West p.168).

As we saw in the case of hexameter and elegiac hymns, here too the short vowel before a combination of a plosive and a liquid may either remain short ($\overset{\cup}{}$φρ :28, $\overset{\cup}{}$χρ :51,44), or become long ($\overset{-}{}$τρ; 27, $\overset{-}{}$χρ :35).

The poet uses alternately the above two types of metre, beginning with (a), namely abab etc. Nevertheless, this order is reversed:1) in lines 8-9 (where instead of ba we have ab),2) is broken after line 16 (b),(as the following line is also (b)),and 3)in line 19 (which, as we have said above, is a form of (a), while the order requires (b)).

The second disturbance in the sequence of the two types of metre, namely the absence of an anaclastic dimeter (a) between lines 16 and 17 has been observed by Scheidweiler and Musurillo. To restore the order the former scholar claims that line 16 should be omitted because it repeats the content of line 13 (see Scheidweiler, art.cit. p.346); while the latter thinks that ' a line has been lost after line 16, which must have referred to the union of the Father and the Son in the creation of the world' (see H.Musurillo, 'The poetry of Gregory of Nazianzus', Thought, 45(1970), 45-55 (p.53 n.24). The rejection of both suggestions is made below in the commentary on 1.1.30.16.

Dubedout (p.99) remarks that this poem may be divided into five strophes of unequal number of lines (12,12,11,12,4). However, since these units are of unequal length and there is no metrical agreement between them (see West p.5), I do not think that this remark can be taken seriously, although these units correspond to sense-divisions (see below the introductory analysis to this hymn).

Gregory wrote another poem with the same metre, namely carm.1. 2.7 (648f.). It consists of ten lines only in the order bbbaaaaaba. Hanssen and Mercati have shown that the epitaph In Paulum :carm.2. (epit.)2.129 (M.38.79-82), also in anacreontics , is spurious.[1]

The anacreontic was a popular metre in the imperial period, particularly in many of the Anacreontea (see West p.168). Yet, neither in these, nor in the poems of John of Gaza, Georgios Grammatikos and others , which are found in the Appendix Anacreonteorum (PLG iii pp.339-75 Bergk), are the ionic dimeters used in so great a degree and alternately to anacreontics as happens in our hymn.

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1. See G.S.Mercati, 'Di un carme anacreontico spurio e mutilo di Gregorio Nazianzeno', BZ, 17(1908), 389-96 and F.Hanssen, 'Accentus grammatici in metris Anacreontico et hemiambico quae sit vis et ratio explicatur', Philologus,Suppl. 5 (1889), 197-228.(p. 204 n.11).

In writing his hymn in this metre Gregory in not alone. Synesius too wrote his fifth and ninth hymns in the same metre using not only the two types mentioned above, but also ∪∪---∪-$\breve{∪}$ (as in line 19): see Terzaghi p.xxxiiif., Nissen, op.cit., pp.9-13 and Wilamowitz, Sitz. Berlin.Akad.,i (1907), p.290f.

C) Carm.1.1.32

Let us now discuss the metre of 1.1.32. This hymn, together with Exhortatio ad Virgines : carm.1.2.3 (632-40), is generally regarded as written in an early form of a non-quantitative metre (see West, p.162ff.)[1]. The peculiarity of its metre seems to have been the reason why the hymn is preserved in the poetic and prose MSS in three froms: 1) in 50 short lines, 2) in long lines (of two short verses each), and 3) in prose form, although even here the cola are usually marked with dots.

In non-quantitative metre the accent is regulated in each line and the total number of metrical syllables is the same (after taking into account any synecphonesis/synizésis).. This has led Christ and Paranikas in their edition of the first 28 lines of this hymn to violate it, by making arbitrary changes to its text, so that all lines (with the exception of line 13) became heptasyllabic (see W. Christ - M.Paranikas, Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum (Leipzig,1871), p.29 (text) and p.xiiif.). They went on to consider this heptasyllabic line as an accentuated hemiamb (based not on the

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1. This type of poetry is called by some 'rhythmic' (see Pellegrino p.77 and Meyer, 'Die zwei rhythmischen Gedichte des Gregor von Nazianz', p.141) or 'unprosodic' (see Hanssen, Philologus 44 (1885), 228-235); while Maas 24 speaks of a 'Byzantine (stress-regulated) metric' and Wilamowitz, Die Griechische Literatur und Sprache (Berlin-Leipzig, 1912), p.297 of 'Akzentuierende Poesie'.

quantity of the syllables, but on the dynamic accent) in the form :

x x́ x x́ x x́ x . In this they seem to have been influenced by a

scholion in Cod. Monacensis gr. 416 (Mo) which describes the metre of

this poem as hemiambic (see apparatus criticus of 1.1.32).

Hanssen (Philologus, 44, p.232), followed by Nissen ('Die Byza-

ntinischen Anakreonteen', p.8f.), rejected this idea, because hemiambs,

as the metre of jocular and satirical poetry are used in carm.2.1.88

(1435-42), but are in his view inappropriate to the hymnic content of

this poem.

Another scholion which is found in various forms in a number of

MSS could throw some light on the problem of the metrical construct-

ion of our hymn.   In Cod. Parisinus Coislianus gr. 56 (D) it reads:

ὕμνος ἑσπερινὸς ἤτοι πρὸς τῷ τέλει εἰρημένος· ὅμοιος τῷ περὶ παρθενί-

ας (see also the appar. crit. ad loc.). But the metre of Exhortatio

ad Virgines is no less obscure. The only thing we know about it

comes from another scholion found at the beginning of this poem in a

number of MSS in which we are told that in this poem Gregory has

imitated Sophron, the mime writer from Syracuse : Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ

τὸν Συρακούσιον Σώφρονα μιμεῖται· οὗτος γὰρ μόνος ποιητῶν ῥυθμοῖς

τισι (τισιν /V/, τε Billy) καὶ κώλοις ἐχρήσατο μετρικῆς (ποιητικῆς

D, Billy) ἀναλογίας καταφρονήσας (L,D,/V/)[1]. According to the Suda

Sophron wrote mimes καταλογάδην. This testimony is interpreted by

Körte (RE s.v. 'Sophron', 1103) as meaning that Sophron wrote in

prose. On the other hand, Norden in his Die antike Kunstprosa, vol.

1, p.46ff. divided into cola some of Sophron's fragments which are

edited in Kaibel, CGF,i,p.152ff. following the scholion on the Ex-

hortatio ad Virgines. The long papyrus fragment of a mime, most

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1.   The scholion is cited in Meyer's edition of 1.1.32, p.144. Cf.
     also Pellegrino p.77 n.1 and Kaibel, Comic.Graec.Fragm.,i, p.
     153 (testimony 9).

probably belonging to Sophron and discovered in recent years sheds
some light to the way Sophron wrote his mimes. For its text see e.g.
Page, Greek Literary Papyri, fr.73 (pp.328-31). It is written in
cola of unequal number of syllables (varying from seven to ten, with
the octasyllabic cola predominating) in which the colon-end coincides
with the word-end (see G.Vitelli - M.Norsa, 'Da un Mimo di Sophron',
Stud.Ital.Filol.Clas.,10 (1932),119-24 (p.120)). Despite Gallavotti's
attempt to explain the metrical structure of this fragment, our pro-
blem remains unsolved, since Gallavotti disproves the validity of the
scholion at the beginning of 1.2.3 and thus sees no real connection
with regard to metre between 1.2.3 and Sophron's Mime (see C. Galla-
votti,'Per il nuovo Sophrone', Riv.di Philol.,11(1933),459-76 (p.470).

Another view expressed by Meyer and Bouvy is that both poems
(1.1.32, 1.2.3) are written in rhythmic hexameters (see Meyer op.cit.,
p.50 and Pellegrino p.79 n.1; also Christ-Paranikas, AGCC,p.xiv).
However, such a view was correctly challenged by Pellegrino (p.79f.).
He compared both poems (divided in long lines) with the first one
hundred hexameters of carm.1.2.1 (520-30) and showed that while the
majority of the hexameters contains 16 or 17 syllables, in the case
of the two rhythmic poems the lines with 14 syllables prevail. More-
over, the first hemistich of the hexameters is usually shorter than
the second, while in the rhythmic poems it is usually equal or longer.

The majority of the 14-syllable lines led Dubedout (p.110) and
Pellegrino (p.80) to reject the opinion of Lambeccius that the two
poems are written in acatalectic or catalectic iambic tetrameters.

A final theory with regard to the 'metrical accent' is that
provided by Hanssen (art.cit. p.234f.). He first observed that the
fifth syllable of the heptasyllabic and octasyllabic cola is unaccent-
ed with the exception of 1.2.3.34b,56a, 1.1.32.17,18[1], and that

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1.   The accent of prepositions, articles and monosyllabic particles
      is not taken into account.

therefore the heptasyllabic cola are never proparoxytone. He then went on to suggest that these cola are somehow a catalectic form of the octasyllabic in which the metrical accent (which sometimes coincides with the word-accent) is distributed in the form : - ´ - ´ - ´ - ´ . To this form he adjusted the heptasyllabic cola by lengthening the penultim : Χριστέ μου, Λόγε θε-ε -ου (1.1.32.2) and τριττου φωτος εις μι-ι-αν (ib.5). In the case of the two 9-syllable lines (1.1.32.9,13) Hanssen says that they must be considered as having lengthened the penultim. However, this is only a theory —certainly the most plausible of all.

D) Position of the final accent in the line

A final point to discuss on the metre of our hymns is the place of the final accent . It has been observed that the change from the quantitative to the accented metre took place by the gradual placing of the dynamic accent at a regular position in the line, and that from the first century A.D. there became a trend to end quantitative verses with a paroxytone word (see West pp.162ff. and Maas 21)..

From Table 6 (Appendix I) we see that in the case of the hexameters 54.48% of the lines are stressed on the penultim , 26.90% on the antepenultim and 18.62% on the ultim . Similar is the versification of Nonnus who avoids proparoxytones and oxytones of more than two syllables in which the last is short (see West p.180).

In the case of the pentameters we observe a complete aversion to an accented syllable at the end of the line, a tendency which begins in the Hellenistic period and is gradually increased in the imperial times (see F.Hanssen, 'Ein musikalisches Accentgesetz in der quantitirenden Poesie der Griechen', Rhein.Mus.,N.F.38 (1883),

222-44 (particularly pp.228-33) and West p.159 and 182). In Hanssen's calculations (p.231) in 1473 pentameters Gregory ends only 14 lines with an accented syllable (i.e. 1%). The predominance of the lines in a stressed penultim is even higher than in the hexa-meters : 88.57%.

The position of the final accent in Gregory's anacreontics has been examined by Hanssen (Philologus,suppl.,5(1889), 197-228 (p.211)) who gives similar figures to the present ones : 78.7% of the lines end with a word stressed on the penultim, 8.2% on the ultim and 13.1% on the antepenultim.

Finally, similar figures apply in the case of 1.1.32, as well as for Gregory's iambics in which the ratio is 18.9% (final accent on the ultim), 64.3% (penult.) and 17.8% (antepenult.) : see Hanssen, Rhein.Mus.,38(1883),p.236f., West p.184 and Cummings p.53f.). From Table 7 (Appendix I) we see that the majority of the cola in 1.1.32 are the heptasyllabic most of which are stressed on the penultim.

I. 6. Manuscripts

The task for the production of a critical edition of the Grego-
rian poetic corpus was first attempted by Leo Sternbach and his col-
laborators under the auspices of the Academy of Cracow. Unfortunate-
ly, in the disaster of the second world war all the unpublished
material disappeared[1]. Later, H.M. Werhahn made a collection of
microfilms and collations from the various MSS with Gregorian poems,
the study of which led him to divide them into twenty groups. The
result of this research is the unpublished 'Übersichtstabellen zur
handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz'
(Aachen, 1967). Since 1971 Werhahn's research project has been taken
over by Prof. M. Sicherl of the Institut für Altertumskunde in the
University of Munster under the auspices of Görres-Gesellschaft[2]. The
complete works are published in the series 'Forschungen zu Gregor von
Nazianz', and the first two volumes have already come- to light[3]. But,
although the research in groups I, XI, XVIII and XX was announced in
the second Symposium Nazianzenum to have reached an advanced stage,
nothing has been published yet[4].

Professor Sicherl was very kind to send me the first collation of
the majority of the MSS containing my poems. I have at my disposal
also some photographs or photostats with the hymns under discussion.

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1. See J. Mossay, 'Le Professeur Léon Sternbach, byzantiniste et pa-
triote', Rev.Hist.Eccles.,65(1970), 821-28 and Lefherz p.28.
2. See J. Mossay, 'Travaux préparatoires à une édition critique de
Grégoire de Nazianze', Rev.Hist.Ecclés.,74(1979),626-40 (632-35).
3. The first is 'Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes - Textus Graecus
1. Codices Galliae'. Recensuit J. Mossay (1981) and the second
'II. Symposium Nazianzenum (Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-28 august 1981),
edited by J. Mossay (1983). A third volume is about to be publish-
ed on the MS tradition of groups XX and XI by Wilfried Höllger, M.
Sicherl and H. M. Werhahn.
4. See M. Sicherl, 'Bericht über die Arbeit an den Gedichten Gregors
von Nazianz seit Koblenz (1976)' in II. Symposium Nazianzenum, For-
schungen zu Gr. von Naz. 2 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh,1983),
137-40.

I have seen in the original only Cod. C (see below). From this it becomes obvious that only a provisional text may be established, the final and more accurate form of which will appear only after consulting all the MSS in the original and when the research on their stematic relationship, undertaken by Prof. M. Sicherl and his collegues is completed. However, as may be seen from the Abstract , the establishment of a critical text, as accurate as the external evidence allows it to be, is not the primary purpose of the present research.

The hymns under discussion may be divided into four groups according to the MSS in which they appear. The first group contains 1.1.31, and 1.1.33 - 1.1.35 which are found in two MSS only, while 1.1.31 appears also in Cod. Np . None of these MSS is included in any of Werhahn's twenty groups of MSS.

The second group is formed of 1.1.36 and 2.1.38. These poems appear in MSS from Werhahn's group V and XVIII. Two of these MSS include also 1.1.37 and 1.1.38. The third group contains 1.1.30 and 1.1.32 which are both found in MSS belonging to Werhahn's group XX, while the former poem alone appears also in Werhahn's group XII and the latter in XI. Besides, the latter poem is also extant in Syriac and Arabic MSS[1]. In the fourth group belongs only 1.1.29 which (with regard to its Gregorian MSS) is found in Werhahn's group XX.

Group A (1.1.31 and 1.1.33 - 1.1.35)

W = Vindobonensis Theologus 43 (s. xv)

It is a miscellaneous codex the first part of which contains

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1. See André de Halleux, 'La Version syriaque des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze' and Jacques Grand Henry, 'La Tradition manuscrite de la Version arabe des "Discours" de Grégoire de Nazianze', both in II. Symposium Nazianzenum, pp.75-111 (particularly p.87f.), and pp.113-18 respectively.

an anthology of 126 Gregorian poems (see D. Nessel, Catalogus ...
Codicum MSS Graecorum ... Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis, vol.
1 (Vindobonae ,1690), p.126f.). According to the information I re-
ceived from Prof. Sicherl the MS contains 1.1.30, 1.1.32 in ff.79^V-
80^r(vv. 29-40/ 41-50: W^I) - cited in short lines - and in ff.110^V-
111^r (vv. 1-50: W^{II}), 1.1.34 in f.80^{rv} (1-21/ 22-30), 1.1.31 in f.80^V,
1.1.33 in f.86^V (with incorrect verse-division between lines 4-6,
although the end of each line is marked with an angle ∟) and 1.1.35
in ff.86^V- 87^r (1-11/ 12-13) (also with incorrect verse-division in
lines 3-4). All the poems, apart from 1.1.30 and 1.1.32 (W^{II}), are
available to me on photostats.

Werhahn considers these poems dubious because they are found
only in Cod. W (in his view in a dubious environment) and in Cod. Bg
which is described below (see Werhahn, TU 92, p.342f.).

Let us see in more detail from the photostats what poems precede
or follow our hymns and how. In f.79^V, before 1.1.32. 29-50, there
are lines 2-14 and 15-20 of Gregory's carm.1.1.16 (477f.) cited as
two separate poems and written in iambics. The latter section (i.e.
lines 15-20) is entitled 'Ελισσαίου θαύματα and without even ending
with a fullstop it is followed by 1.1.32. 29-50, a poem with far
shorter lines, without any sign to show that this is part of a differ-
ent poem. The style of the handwriting shows that the scribe is the
same in both poems. However, the change from one poem to the other
was noticed by a Latin annotator who added in the margin: 'Desunt :ō
versus hîc, qui in Paris. extant.' and ' haec non videntur huc per-
tinere, extant in hymno vespertino, infra. suntq(ue) illius extremi'.
The first marginal note refers to carm.1.1.16 and informs us that a
number of ō (70 ?) lines are missing which are found in the Paris
edition (possibly that of 1609-11 by de Billy - Morel). However,
from 1.1.16 only lines 21-30 (i.e. 10 lines) are omitted. In the

second note the annotator correctly observes that the short verses
belong to 1.1.32 (Hymnus Vespertinus) which appears in its complete
form later in ff.110^v-111^r.

Between the two poems (1.1.16 and 1.1.32) there is a lacuna of
at least 39 lines (¿ the last 10 lines of 1.1.16 and the first 28 of
1.1.32). The most probable explanation for this is that one or more
leaves of the MS from which Cod. W was copied had been lost and the
scribe of Cod. W was too careless to have noticed it.

After 1.1.32. 29-50 follow 1.1.34 and 1.1.31. A Latin marginal
note (of a different handstyle than the one mentioned above) at the
beginning of each poem informs us that these poems are absent from
the extant editions: 'deest in editis'.

Following the above poems and before 1.1.33 and 1.1.35 are in
turn <u>carm</u>.2.1.21, 1.1.17 and 2.2.8 which is entitled 'Αμφιλοχΐου ἐπι-
σκόπου 'Ικονΐου. ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Σέλευκον[1] and 2.1.99 with the heading
'τοῦ θεολόγου' (which implies that the poems from 2.1.99 onwards
belong to Gregory).

Werhahn was led to consider the hymns of this group as dubious
by the fact that: a) 2.1.21 reappears in Cod. W in f.111^r (as does
also 1.1.32), b) 1.1.17 is separated from its sister poem 1.1.16
and c) 2.2.8 is a non-Gregorian poem. However, repetitions of the
same poem in MSS need not surprise us, since these appear also in the
edition by de Billy (ed.1609-11), most probably because it was based
on MSS containing such repetitions[2]. On the other hand, the separa-
tion of 1.1.16 from 1.1.17 appears also in the same edition by de
Billy (in which different poems are inserted between the two poems).
Finally, and contrary to what Werhahn thinks, the attribution by the

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1. See Amphilochius Iconiensis, <u>Iambi ad Seleucum</u>, edited by E.
Oberg (Berlin, 1969), p.5.
2. See for instance the Index of the poems in this edition cited in
M¡38. cols.1211ff.

copyist of 2.2.8 to Amphilochius supports the Gregorian authorship
of our hymns and so does also the addition of the heading τοῦ θεολόγου
at the end of 2.2.8 and before 2.1.99. It appears therefore that
Werhahn casts doubts on the authenticity of these poems without
strong reasons.

Bg = Vaticanus Borgianus gr. 22 (s. xv) in membr.(ff.I,168).

The codex consists of two main parts: one with the Ps.-
Dionysian De Divinis Nominibus (ff.5-115), and the other with the
Platonic Epinomis (ff.116-145) and fragments of Platonic epistles
(ff.146-154^v). The part with ff.156-167 (in chart.) has been insert-
ed in the MS and contains excerpts of philosophical works by Thomas,
Proclus, Plotinus and Plato which were written in Latin possibly by
Marsilius Ficinus (see P.F. de' Cavalieri, Codices graeci Chisiani
et Borgiani (Rome, 1927), p.137f.).

In this MS 1.1.30 - 1.1.35 appear in various folia. From the
photostats at my disposal I see that 1.1.30 is found in ff.1^v-2^r (1-
40/ 41-51) - where two verses with no clear demarcations are written
in the same line - followed by 1.1.32 in f.2^{rv} (1-32/ 33-50) under
the title ὕμνος ἑσπερινός and written in long lines. Next comes
1.1.34 in f.2^v (1-14) and is completed only in f.155^r (15-30), where
it is followed by 1.1.31 in f.155^{rv} (1-2/ 3-12) and 1.1.33 in f.155^v
Finally, 1.1.35 appears, unfortunately very badly preserved, in f.168^r
with incorrect verse-division in lines 3 and 4 (as happens also in
Cod. W).

The first poem (1.1.30) bears no title, but on the top margin
one reads in parenthesis : 'gregorius nazanzenus'. The poems are
written by a second hand, possibly that of Marsilius Ficinus in de'
Cavalieri's view. This fact, together with the way they appear in
the MS (particularly 1.1.34 which is written on two well-distant
folia), show that the hymns are inserted in the MS. A further reason

in favour of their insertion is the fact that (always according to de'
Cavalieri) the folia on which our poems appear (ff.1,2,155,168) do
not belong to any quire but are loose. Finally, in the top margin
of f.168^r and above 1.1.35 appears the name of Marsilius Ficinus
which de' Cavalieri is right not to consider as indicating the
authorship of the poem (as did the 18th-19th cen. Latin annotator:
see his note in f.I^v), but as only showing the possessor of the codex.

From the above observations we may derive the conclusion that
our poems have no authorship connection with the writers of the works
included in this MS. The reason for their inclusion in this MS should
be sought in the desire of the second hand scribe (most probably that
of Marsilius Ficinus) to introduce and end his MS with poetic texts,
possibly for the same reason for which 1.1.29 was inserted in the Ps.-
Dionysian and Proclean MSS (see below group D).

Now, whether Marsilius Ficinus took all or some of these hymns
from a Gregorian MS is for the time being impossible to decide. Nor,
is it clear who added Gregory's name in Latin on the top margin of f.
1^v. If this was written by Ficinus himself, he is likely to have
copied all the poems from a Gregorian MS. However, since Gregory's
name appears on top of a non-disputed hymn (1.1.30) it is, I think,
more probable that it was added by a much later annotator who knew
(possibly from the early editions of Gregory's poems) the ownership
of 1.1.30 and implied the same authorship for the rest of the hymns.

Whatever the case may be one thing is certain: the inclusion in
Cod. Bg of this group of authentic and disputed hymns shows that they
should have something more substantial in common than simply being
only hymns to God.

Of these hymns 1.1.31 is found also in:

Np = Neapolitanus Borbon. gr. 128 (II D 32) (s. xv)

The MS contains a 'Dictionarium Graeco-Latinum et Latino-

Graecum (see S. Cyrillus, <u>Codices graeci manuscripti Regiae Bibliothe-</u><u>cae Borbonicae descripti atque illustrati</u>, vol. 1-2(Naples, 1826-32).

The hymn is found in f.130^V. Unfortunately, and despite my re-peated efforts I have not yet been able to get hold of any readings of this MS.

Group B (1.1.36 and 2.1.38)

C = Oxoniensis Clarkianus 12 (s. x)

This is the oldest extant MS of the Gregorian poetic corpus and the only one I had the opportunity to see in the original. Accord-ing to Sternbach Cod. C is the oldest representative of family Ω, while Cod. L (which is described below) of family Ψ (see L. Sternbach, <u>EOS</u>, 30(1927), 349).

The MS contains 1.1.36 on ff.150^{rv} (1-3/ 4-26). As we see the hymn is unfortunately, preserved incomplete, since the rest of it, to-gether with four other poems, should have been on the missing two leaves after f.150. Such a loss may be easily attested : a) from the fact that the MS contains, with the exception of the last quire and that with the number ιη´, quires of eight leaves, while quire κβ´ (which includes 1.1.36)contains only six leaves ; and b) from the numeration of the poems : while 1.1.36 has in the MS the number ξ´, the first poem in the following leaf has the number ξε´. From this we may imply that the presumed two lost leaves should have contained four poems and the last lines of 1.1.36. The numeration of the poems may explain also why the last unnumbered quire contains only six leaves. In this case the lost leaves are the first two. Quire ιη´ appears between f.120 and 121 and to be differentiated is marked with an asterisk : ff.121*- 126*. Here too, the last two leaves seem to be missing.

The second hymn (2.1.38) is found in ff.148^V-149^V (1-22/ 23-45/

46-52). The same MS contains also 1.1.30 and 1.1.32 (see below group C).

L = Laurentianus plut. 7,10 (s. xi)

It is the second oldest MS which contains most of Gregory's poems and has been collated by R.Vari in Egyetemes philologiai közlöny. Our poems appear in vol.21 (1897), p.141f.

From the photostats of the relevant folia I see that 1.1.36 is on f.57^r (1-30/ 31-33), with its two parts separated by the insertion of 1.1.37 and 1.1.38, while 2.1.38 is found in f.56^{rv} (1-35/ 36-52). Poems 1.1.37 and 1.1.38 bear no title and the only sign which shows that they form different poems is their first letter which is in larger size than the rest and the sign ~.~ ~ in the side margin . The same sign appears in the margin beside line 39 of 2.1.38, while the first letter of the same line is also enlarged. This may imply that possibly the two parts of 2.1.38 (1-38, 39-52) form two different hymns (if this sign, as equivalent to a paragraph (—), does not simply denote here the division of the poem into two main parts)?[1]. Such a possibility with regard to the internal evidence is discussed below in the introductory analysis to 2.1.38.

The titles of both hymns appear to have been written by a second hand. The same codex contains also 1.1.32 (see below group C).

Am = Ambrosianus H. 45 sup. (= 433) (s. xi)

This is a miscellaneous MS including a collection of poems by Gregory in ff.13^v-60.

Hymn 2.1.38 appears in f.40^v (1-5) and f.45^{rv} (6-35/ 36-52), and 1.1.36 in f.46^{rv} (1-9/ 10-30) with its last three lines missing. The latter hymn is followed by 2.1.3 (632-40) which is entitled ἄλλα (sc. ἐνόδια) in the margin.

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1. See E. M. Thompson, An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography (Oxford, 1912), p.58f.

I see from the photographs of the above folia that beside the title of 2.1.38 (which is written with capital letters) there is a marginal note: 'edita', while the sign ⸭ is used to show the beginning of every poem. From the description in the catalogue of this MS we learn that the order of the folia is wrong and that , among other changes ff.45-60 should be placed immediately after ff.31-40 (see A. Martini - D. Bassi, <u>Catalogus Codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae</u>, vol.1 (Milan, 1906), pp.522-24). In this case the apparent break between lines 1-5 and 6-52 of 2.1.38 disappears.

Beside the first line in f.45^r (i.e. beside line 6 of 2.1.38) there is a marginal note : 'edit.', while the text of lines 26-34 is for the most part illegible because it appears to have been covered by an ink spot. Beside line 39 there is another marginal note written (as it seems) by a second hand : ὅτε ἐν πάσχ(α) ἐγρά(φη). The total number of lines included in the hymn is cited in the margin at the end of it .

At the beginning of 1.1.36 there is the same marginal note : 'edita' and the number λ´ (30) at the end indicates the total number of lines.

Mq = Mosquensis Synodalis 156 (s. xii)

According to Prof. Sicherl's list of MSS this codex contains 1.1.36 and 2.1.38 the readings of which have unfortunately not been available to me. The following two MSS (again according to Prof. Sicherl) descend from this codex.

N = Neapolitanus Borbon. gr. 24 (II A 24) (s. xiv)

Hymn 1.1.36 appears in f.104^v and 2.1.38 in ff.110^v-111^v. See also G. Pierleoni, <u>Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Neapolitanae</u>, vol.1 (Rome, 1962), pp.82-85.

D = Parisinus Coislianus gr. 56 (s. xiv-xv)

According to the description of it the MS is formed of

two parts, both with Gregorian poems (see R. Devreesse, Bibl. Natio-
nale: Catal. des MSS grecs , vol.2,'Le Fonds Coislin' (Paris, 1945),
p.52f.). In the first part (ff.1-168) the poems are followed by an
anonymous paraphrase as happens in Cod. Vb (see below) and with inter-
linear glosses. In this part one finds 1.1.36. and 2.1.38 with their
paraphrase in ff.118-19 and 124^V-26 respectively. The second part
(ff.169-94) is without any marginal notes or interlinear glosses. In
this part we find 1.1.30 and 1.1.32 (see below group C).

A copy of the first part of this MS is according to Astruc -
Concasty the part with Gregory's poems in the following miscellaneous
codex.

Ps = Parisinus Suppl. gr. 1090 (s. xvi).

In this MS 1.1.36 appears in ff.150^V-151^V and 2.1.38
in ff.158^V-160 where it is cited as two different poems : No 47 lines
1-38 and No 48 lines 39-52. See Ch. Astruc -M.L. Concasty, Bibl.
national. :Catal. des MSS grecs, vol.3,'Le Supplement grec' (Paris,
1960), p.216.

Lb = Laurentianus Plut. 32,16 (a. 1283)[1]

This is a miscellaneous codex part of which (pp.322-79)
contains Gregorian poems, among them 1.1.36 in p.360 and 2.1.38 in p.
366. See A. M. Bandini, Catalogus Codicum MSS Bibliothecae Mediae
Laurentianae, vol.2 (Leipzig, 1961), pp.140-46.

From this MS descends, according to Gertz, the following
codex (see N. Gertz, 'Der Palatinus graecus 90', Scriptorium, 35
(1981), 65-70).

Vp = Vaticanus Palatinus gr.90 (s. xiii-xiv)

This is a miscellaneous MS consisting of two volumes.
See H. Stevenson, Codices Manuscripti Palatini Graeci Bibliothecae

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1. See A. Turyn, Dated Greek Manuscripts of the 13th and 14th cens
   in the Libraries of Italy, vol.1 (Urbana, Ill.,1972), p.30

Vaticanae (Vatican, 1885), p.43f.   In the first volume and among a

section with forty-four Gregorian poems one finds 1.1.36 and 2.1.38

in f.92^{rv} and ff.96^{v}-97^{v} respectively. According to Gertz (art.cit.

p.68f.) the Aldine edition of 1504 is based on this MS.

Ma = Marcianus gr.82 (s. xiii)

A brief description of this MS may be found in A.M.Zanetti-

A.Bongiovanni, Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca Codicum MSS per Titulos

digesta, vol.2 (Venice, 1740).   The codex contains 1.1.36 (but

only lines 1-30) in ff.217^{v}-218^{v} and 2.1.38 with a paraphrase in ff.

229^{v}-231^{v}.

Vb = Vaticanus gr.497 (s. xiii)

This is a miscellaneous codex which contains in section 12

fifty-six Gregorian poems accompanied by a paraphrase. See R. Dev-

reesse, Codices Vaticani Graeci, vol.2 (Rome, 1937), pp.325ff.

According to the photostats at my disposal 1.1.36, followed

by its paraphrase, appears in ff.290^{v}-291^{r}.   Two verses well disti-

nguished from each other are written in the same line, while the

paraphrase is in prose. Hymn 2.1.38 with its paraphrase is found in

ff.295^{r}-296^{r} (1-6/ 7-52 and paraphr.) written in the same way as

1.1.36.   An apograph of this MS, according to Prof. Sicherl is the

codex which follows:

I = Hierosolymitanus Hag. Taph. 254 (s. xvi)

See A. I. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βι-

βλιοθήκη ... , vols 1-5(Saint-Petersburg,1891-1915). Hymns 1.1.36

and 2.1.38 appear in ff.234^{v}-236^{r} and ff.249^{v}-250^{v} respectively.

Va = Vaticanus gr.482 (s. xiv)

This is a miscellaneous codex which includes a section of

various Gregorian poems (ff.19^{v}-144^{v}) among which 1.1.36 in ff.110^{v}-

111^{v} (lines 1-30 as No 92) and f.112^{r} (31-33 as No 96), and 2.1.38 in

ff.108^{r}-109^{v}.· See R. Devreesse, Cod. Vat. Gr., vol.2 (Rome,1937), pp.

284-90. The poems which are written between the two parts of 1.1.36 are: carm.2.1.22. 1-12 (in f.111^V as No 93) and 1.1.37 and 1.1.38 (in f.112^r as Nos 94 and 95 respectively). From the photostats I have I notice that the only indication that a new poem begins after 1.1.36.30 is the enlarged first letter whereby 2.1.22 begins; while for 1.1.37, 1.1.38 and 1.1.36. 31-33 there is no such indication but on the contrary they appear as if belonging to 2.1.22.

Pj = Parisinus gr.1220 (s. xiv)

This is another miscellaneous codex containing a section with Gregorian poems among which 1.1.36 in f.145^{rv} and 2.1.38 in ff.149^r- 150^r. The same codex contains also 1.1.30 and 1.1.32 (see below group C). For the description of this MS see H. Omont, Inventaire sommaire des MSS grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres Bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements, vol.1:'Ancien fonds grec' (Paris,1886), p.270f.

Vt = Athos Vatopedi 120 (s. xiv)

This codex contains mainly Gregorian poems. See S. Eustratiades - Arcadios Vatopedinos, Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos (Cambridge,Mass., 1924), p.30f. Hymn 1.1.36 is found in ff.80^V-81^r and 2.1.38 in ff. 85^V-86^r.

Cg = Rom. Colleg. gr. 8 (s. xv)

This is a Gregorian MS. See Sp. Lambros, ' Τὸ ἐν Ρώμῃ 'Ελληνικὸν Γυμνάσιον καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἀρχείῳ αὐτοῦ 'Ελληνικοὶ κώδικες', Neos Hellenomnemon, 10 (1913), p.16f. Hymn 1.1.36 is found in p.437^{rv} and 2.1.38 in pp.461^r-466^V. From this MS descends the following one:

Pe = Parisinus gr. 992 (s. xv)

See Omont, Inventaire, vol.1, p.198. In it 1.1.36 appears in ff.244^r-245^V and 2.1.38 in ff.253^V-255^V.

Ld = Leidensis Vossianus gr. 0.10 (s. xvi)

This MS is based on the Aldine edition of 1504. (see Gertz, art.cit., p.69) and contains 1.1.36 in f.125^{rv} and 2.1.38 in f.130^{rv}.

Apart from the above MSS 2.1.38 may be found also in the following two codices:

Bs = Basiliensis F viii. 4 (s. xv)

See H. Omont, Catalogue des MSS grecs des Bibliothèques de Suisse (Leipzig, 1886), p.18f. The hymn appears in ff.269^{v}-271^{r}.

Ie = Athos Iviron 193 (s. xvi)

See Sp. P. Lambros, Catalogue of the Greek MSS on Mount Athos, vol.2 (Cambridge, 1900), p.55. The hymn is found in f.1^{rv}.

Group C (1.1.30 and 1.1.32)

I have decided to put these two poems in the same category because they are both written in short verses and the MSS containing 1.1.30 contain also 1.1.32. The latter poem shows some peculiarity in its MS tradition, since it is found not only in poetic MSS, but also in prose ones. Therefore, in order to facilitate things, I shall mention first the MSS containing both 1.1.30 and 1.1.32, then the rest of the poetic MSS which contain only 1.1.32 and finally I shall refer in brief to some of the prose MSS in which 1.1.32 is appended among other texts.

a) Poetic MSS containing both 1.1.30 and 1.1.32

C = Oxoniensis Clarkianus 12 (s. x)

The description of this MS is given above under group B. Here it is sufficient only to mention that 1.1.30 (as No 40) appears in f.127^{rv} (1-30/ 31-51). Two verses are written in one line with enough empty space between them. In the outside margin and beside the first line appears the number 185 which indicates the page on which the poem is found in the edition of 1609-11 by de Billy; while beside the last line the number 51 indicates the total number of lines in the poem.

Hymn 1.1.32 precedes 1.1.30 (as No 39) and is found in ff.126^v-127^r (1-36/ 37-50). It is written in the same way as 1.1.30 and the total number of lines in the hymn is cited also in the margin beside the last line. The same MS contains, as we have seen, also 1.1.36 and 2.1.38.

Mo = Monacensis gr. 416 (s.xii)

This is another fairly early Gregorian MS. See I. Hardt, Catalogus Codicum MSS Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae, vols 1-5(Munich, 1806-12). It contains 1.1.30 in ff.161^v-162^v (1-22/ 23-46/ 47-51) and 1.1.32 in f.169. The text of the former poem is available to me on photographs.

Pj = Parisinus gr. 1220 (s.xiv)

The description of this MS may be found under group B as it contains 1.1.36 and 2.1.38. Hymn 1.1.30 is in f.207^r and 1.1.32 in ff.207^v-208^r.

D = Parisinus Coislianus gr. 56 (s. xiv-xv)

The MS contains 1.1.36 and 2.1.38 and therefore its description is found above under group B. Hymn 1.1.30 and 1.1.32 appear in the second part of the MS in f.193^{rv} and f.193 respectively.[1]

P = Papiensis 80 (s. xv)

This is another Gregorian MS which contains 1.1.30 in f.20^v and 1.1.32 in f.20. See E. Martini, Catalogo di Manoscritti greci esistenti nelle Biblioteche Italiane, vol.1. part 1 (Milan,1893), p. 211f. The same MS contains also 1.1.29 in f.11^v (see below group D). Apographs of this MS according to Prof. Sicherl are the following five MSS:

a = Ambrosianus gr. Z 78 sup. (=753) (s.xv)

For the description of this MS see A. Martini - D. Bassi, Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, vol.2 (Milan, 1906), p.862f. Hymn 1.1.30 is in f.32^r and 1.1.32 in f.31. The same

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1. After Cod.D follows Cod. G (described below on p.81).

MS, as well as the rest of the apographs of Cod. P, contains also
1.1.29 (see below group D).

v = Vaticanus gr.480 (s. xvi)

See R. Devreesse, Cod.Vat.Gr., vol.2 (Vatican,1937), pp.
280-82. Hymn 1.1.30 appears in ff.29^v-31^r and 1.1.32 in f.29^{rv}.

M = Monacensis gr. 582 (s. xvi)

The description of this MS is not included in Hardt's
Catalogue. As an apograph of Cod. P and following the order in which
the various Gregorian poems are cited in the latter MS , we infer
that both hymns (1.1.30,1.1.32) should have been written somewhere on
pp.49-64 which are now missing from Cod. M. See the description of
this MS in Amphilochius Iconiensis, Iambi ad Seleucum, edited by E.
Oberg (Berlin,1969), p.6.

R = Vaticanus gr.1347 (a. 1554)

A desription of this MS is, as far as I know, not yet
available. Hymn 1.1.32 is found in ff.180-181^r, while for the exact
position of 1.1.30 in this MS I have unfortunately no information.

V = Vaticanus gr. 1949 (s. xvi)

From the description of this MS in P. Canart, Codices
Vaticani Graeci, Codd 1745-1962 (Vatican,1970), pp.734-62 (particular-
ly p.745) it appears that the MS contains only 1.1.32 in f.200^{rv}.

A MS descending indirectly from Cod. P (according to Prof. Sicherl)
is the one which follows:

Mr = Marcianus gr. II 55 (s.xvi)

Hymn 1.1.32 is in ff.6^v-7^v (1-18/ 19-42/ 43-50) and is
followed by 1.1.30 in ff.7^v-8^v (1-17/ 18-42/ 43-51). As I see from
the photostats of these folia Cod. Mr is an inferior MS with omiss-
ions and repetitions.

Bg = Vaticanus Borgianus gr.22 (s.xv)

The description of this MS is given above under group A,

since it contains also the poems of that group.   Hymn 1.1.30 is found in ff.1^V-2^r (1-40/ 41-51) and is written in long lines each containing two verses which are not always distinguishable from one another.   Immediately after it comes 1.1.32 in f.2^{rv} (1-32/ 33-50) written also in long lines of two short verses each.

W = Vindobonensis theologus gr.43 (s. xvi)

This MS contains also the poems of group A and therefore its description is given under that group. Hymn 1.1.32 appears, as we have seen, twice: in f.79^V (29-50: W^I) and f.110^V (1-50: W^{II}). For the exact position in the MS of 1.1.30 I have unfortunately no information.

b) Poetic MSS containing only 1.1.32

L = Laurentianus Plut. 7,10 (s. xi)

The description of this MS is given under group B since it contains also the poems of that group. Hymn 1.1.32 is found in f. 165^V (1-50). From the photograph of this folio I see that in the side margin there is a paragraph (—) after lines 6,12,18,20 and 32 which is very likely to have been used in order to mark the subdivisions of the hymn (see E.G. Turner, Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World (Oxford,1971), p.10 and R. Devreesse, Introduction à l' Étude des Manuscrits Grecs (Paris,1954), p.26 n.2).

K = Athos Karakallou 74 (s. xiv)

This is a miscellaneous codex containing, among other texts, some groups of Gregorian poems in one of which we find 1.1.32 in f. 387^{rv} . For the description of this MS see Sp.P. Lambros, Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos, vol.1 (Cambridge,1895), p. 137f.

Vi = Vaticanus gr. 1226 (s. xvii)

As far as I know no description of this MS is at present available. Hymn 1.1.32 is in ff.33^V-34 written in long lines. THe

same MS contains also 1.1.29 (see below group D).

c) Prose MSS containing 1.1.32

Hymnus Vespertinus (1.1.32), together with Exhortatio ad Virgines (carm.1.2.3 in M.37.632-40) and some other prose texts (Significatio in Ezechielem, Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten, Epistles 243,202,101 and 102, Vita Gregorii, Testamentum, scholia and other minor texts) is appended to a large number of prose MSS (containing Gregory's orations)[1]. Sinko divided these MSS in two families (N,M) according to the total number and the order of the orations included in them. The first includes MSS containing 52 orations and the second 47[2]. Of these MSS I have the readings of twenty-one (eighteen sent from Munster and three on photostats). But before listing them I think it is necessary to mention that our hymn (together with Exhortatio ad Virgines) has been edited also by Hanssen[3] and Meyer[4] who used both poetic and prose MSS. However, the sigla they used for the same MSS usually differ from one another, while some are the same as those employed here for the poetic MSS. In order to avoid any confusion, and at the same time enable the reader to distinguish the prose from the poetic MSS, I have decided: 1) to keep the sigla Meyer used for his prose MSS, 2) to replace with new the sigla used by Hanssen, 3) to invent my own sigla for the three MSS I have on photostats, and 4) to enclose each of them in parallel lines : /P/.

The list of prose MSS used in the present edition has as follows:

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1. See J. Mossay, Repertorium Nazianzenum, pp.13ff. and T. Sinko, De Traditione Orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni I, Meletemata Patristica 2 (Cracow, 1917), pp.149ff.
2. See Sinko, op. cit., p.2 and pp.84ff.
3. See F. Hanssen, 'Über die unprosodischen Hymnen des Gregor von Nazianz', Philologus, 44 (1885), 228-35.
4. W. Meyer, 'Die zwei rhythmischen Gedichte des Gregor von Nazianz', in Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1905), pp.141-52 (also pp.48-51).

/Co/ = Parisinus Coislianus gr.51 (s.x-xi) f.472[1]

/Bs/ = Parisinus Suppl. gr.215 (s.x) f.450 (1-33 only)

/P/ = Parisinus gr. 510 (s. ix) f.215

/V/ = Marcianus gr. 70 (s. x) f.435

/L/ = La.b
  /La/ = Laurentianus plut.7,22 (s.xi) f.420, f.425

    (the poem is cited twice)

  /Lb/ = Laurentianus plut. 7,7 (s.xii) f.289^v-290^r

/M/ = Ma.b.c
  /Ma/ = Marcianus gr.74 (s. xi-xii) f.303

  /Mb/ = Marcianus gr.72 (s. xii-xiii) f.182

  /Mc/ = Marcianus gr.75 (s.xiii) f.202

/A/ = Aa.b.c.d.e
  /Aa/ = Vindobonensis gr. 16 (s.xi) f.333

  /Ab/ = Vindobon. theologus gr. 19 f.95-96

  /Ac/ = Vindobon. theol. 79 f.310

  /Ad/ = Vindobon. theol. 80 f.327

  /Ae/ = Vindobon. theol. 84 f.255

/B/ = Monacensis gr. 216 (a. 1349) f.336

The first two MSS have been used by Hanssen as Codd A and B respectively, together with the poetic MSS: Mo,D,W^I,W^{II} and a; while the rest by Meyer, together with the poetic MSS: L,D,W^{II} and Mo.

I received from Prof. Sicherl the readings of the following MSS as well:

/T/ = Vindobonensis theologus gr. 30 (c. a.1000) ff.257^v-258^r

/Af/= Vindobonensis theologus gr. 74 (s. xi) f.329^{rv}

/Pa/= Patmiacus 33 (a. 941)

In addition to these MSS I have photostats of three more:

/Va/= Vaticanus gr. 497 (s. x) ff.256^v-257^r

/Vb/= Vaticanus gr. 469 (s. xi) f.71^v

/Vu/= Vaticanus gr. 97 (s. xiv) f.304^v

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1. The description of all the Paris MSS may be found in J. Mossay, Repertorium Nazianzenum, passim. Some of the folia given above denote the beginning of 1.2.3 when 1.1.32 follows it.

Apart from the above prose MSS there are about forty further which are mentioned in Sinko, op. cit., p.149f., or are used for the edition of Gregory's orations and his epistles 101 and 102 (see Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 1-3, edited by J. Bernardi, SC 247 (Paris, 1978), pp. 53ff. and Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres Théologiques, edited by P. Gallay and M. Jourjon, SC 208 (Paris, 1974), pp. 29ff. For the Paris MSS with 1.1.32 see J. Mossay, Repertorium Nazianzenum, Paris. gr.518,532,552,560,562 and Paris. Suppl. gr.154; while the Catalogues of the Vatican MSS mention about ten such MSS on top of those already mentioned above.

Before proceeding to examine group D I must add here a codex belonging to the first category of poetic MSS containing both 1.1.30 and 1.1.32 which I failed to mention above on p.76, after Cod. D. This is:

G = Laurentianus Plut. 7,2 (s. xv)

This is a Gregorian MS in which 1.1.30 appears in p.137 and 1.1.32 in p.136[b]. See Bandini, Catalogus, vol.1, p.201.

Group D (1.1.29)

The MSS with 1.1.29 are divided into two groups: α,β mainly on grounds of their three different readings: 12:καὶ οὐδέν (α) -ὑπάρχεις (β); 13: πανώνυμε (α) - πολύλλογε (β), 14: ὑπερνεφέας (α) - ὑπερφανέας (β) .

Group α : Lines 8-10 are missing (see below pp.305, 313ff.).

Vh = Vaticanus gr. 485 (s.xiii)

The MS contains an anthology with works of Gregory, Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor. See Devreesse, Cod.Vat.Gr., vol.2, pp.294-98. Hymn 1.1.29 appears in f.167[r] at the beginning of a section which includes some of Gregory's hexameter poems. The discussion on the position of the poem in the MS is given below in the introduction to 1.1.29.

Vaticanus gr. 484 (s. xvi) is a copy of this MS (see Devreesse, op.cit. pp.293f.).

P = Papiensis 80 (s. xv)

The description of this MS and its apographs is given above under group C since it contains also 1.1.30 and 1.1.32. Our hymn is found in f.11^v. The following MSS derive from Cod. P :

a = Ambrosianus Z 78 sup. (=753) (s. xv) in which 1.1.29 is in f.18^r, v = Vaticanus gr. 480 (s. xvi) with 1.1.29 in f.16^{rv},

M = Monacensis gr. 582 (s. xvi) with 1.1.29 in p.32,

R = Vaticanus gr. 1347 (a. 1554) with 1.1.29 in f.181^r. As I see from the photostat of this folio there are three marginal glosses: γρ. πολύλογε (for πανώνυμε of the text: 13), γρ. σεῦ (instead of the second σού in line 11) and γρ. ὑπερνεφέας (for ὑπερφανέας of the text: 14). These glosses, together with the interlinear gloss πολύ-λογε (above πανώνυμε:13) in Cod. P, show that groups α and β have been contaminated at some stage of the MS transmission. In Cod R the hymn bears no title and follows immediately after the text of 1.1.32.

V = Vaticanus gr. 1949 (s. xvi) with 1.1.29 in f.200.

Vj = Vaticanus gr. 1282 (s. xvi ex.)

The hymn appears in f.I^v. As I see from the photostat of this folio the hymn is entitled : Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου. Ὕμνος εἰς τὸν θεόν.

Vi = Vaticanus gr.1226 (s. xvii)

In this late MS 1.1.29 appears in f.33^r. Unfortunately, the text of it in the photostat is in the most part illegible. The poem carries a heading which seems to read: Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου. Ὕμνος εἰς θεόν.

Group β

Vk = Vaticanus gr. 1525 (s.xi,xiii)

This is a Ps.-Dionysian MS, partly of the 11th and partly of the 13th century (see C. Giannelli, Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codd 1485-1683 (Vatican, 1950), pp.80-82). The hymn appears in f.88^v and is a later interpolation by a 14th cen. scribe (see the discussion below in the introduction to·1.1.29).

Lr = Laurentianus Plut. 5,32 (s.xv)

This is another Ps.-Dionysian MS with 1.1.29 in f.135 introducing the scholia on the preceding Ps.-Dionysian works (see below the introduction to 1.1.29). The text of the hymn is cited in Bandini's Catalogue, vol.1, p.57.

Pl = Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 39 (s. xv)

This is too a Ps.-Dionysian MS in which the hymn (attributed to Ps.-Dionysius himself) appears in f.138^v-139^r (1-4/ 5-16) after the text of De Divinis Nominibus and before De Mystica Theologia (see below the discussion on this MS in the introduction to 1.1.29). The appearance of the hymn in this MS was first noticed by J. B. Pitra who then published it as belonging to Ps.-Dionysius in his Analecta Sacra, vol.2 (Typis Tusculanis, 1884), p.xlvif.

Ms = Monacensis gr. 547 (s. xv)

This is a Proclean MS in which the hymn appears written on an interpolated parchment leaf :f.II^v (see below the discussion on this MS in the introduction to 1.1.29).

I.7. Editions

The hymns under discussion all appear only in Caillau's edition
of 1840 (which was reprinted by Migne in 1862: see the Table of
editions below in Appendix II)[1].

A) Carm.1.1.31, 1.1.33 – 1.1.35

These poems appear first published by Tollius, nearly two
centuries after the editio princeps of the Gregorian poetic corpus:
J. Tollius, Insignia itineris Italici (Traiecti ad Rhenum : Franci-
scus Halman, 1696)[2]. This edition was reprinted in : Bibliotheca
veterum Patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum ... edited
by Presbyter A. Gallandius, vol.6 (Venice : J.Baptista, 1770).

The hymns are later included in the Paris edition of Gregory's
works in 1840 which is reprinted in the series of Patrologia Graeca
by Migne in 1862 : S. Patris nostri Gregorii Theologi ... opera omnia
... edente et accurante D.A.B.Caillau, vol.2 (Parisiis: P.Desparres,
1840)[3] and J.- P.Migne, Patrologia, series Graeca, vol.37 (Paris, 1862).

B) Carm.1.1.36, 2.1.38 (1.1.37, 1.1.38)

These are the only poems of the hymns under discussion to have
been included in the editio princeps of Gregory's poetry, namely the
Aldine edition of 1504 : Gregorii Nazianzeni carmina ad bene beateque
vivendum utilissima e Graeco in Latinum ad verbum conversa ab Aldo
Manutio Romano et eiusdem typis excusa Graece et Latine (Venice : Ald.

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1. The task of collecting the information used in this chapter has
   been extremely laborious, not only because such old books (as
   these edd are) are difficult to be found (unless a number of
   visits to the major British Libraries – and not always with
   success – are undertaken), but also because, as will be seen,
   our hymns are not included only in Gregorian edd. Therefore, I
   fear that some edd might have escaped my attention for which I
   beg for the reader's appreciation.
2. The exact page on which each poem appears is listed in the Table
   of Editions (below Appendix II) and the same applies to all edd.
3. As Cummings showed (p.24), this ed. is based on the ed. of 1609-11
   and Codd Paris. Coisl. 56 (D) and Vat. gr. 480 (v).

Manutius, 1504). The dependence of this edition on Vaticanus Pala-
tinus gr. 90 (Vp) has been shown by N. Gertz (see in I.6.C. the de-
scription of Cod. Vp).

The two hymns are found also in the Basel edition of 1550 which
is largely based on the previous one[1]: Gregorius Nazianzenus, opera
omnia, graece et latine (Basel :Joh. Hervagius, 1550). They were in-
cluded in Löwenklau's latin rendering in 1571 : Operum Gregorii Nazia-
nzeni tomi tres, ... quorum editio ... elaborata est per Joannem Lev-
venklaium, vol.2 (Basel :J. Hervagius, 1571). As Löwenklau says in
his edition (f.4^r) the contents of vols 1-2 are all taken from the de
Billy edition (of 1569?), while in the third volume (which includes
1.1.29, 1.1.30 and 1.1.32 and is characterized by him as 'Cygneorum
carminum liber') he includes poems based on a MS at his possession[2].
Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult the de Billy edition
which seems to include these two poems and contains only a latin
rendering of Gregory's works : Divi Gregorii Nazianzeni opera omnia
... nunc primum latina facta sunt J. Billio Prunaeo labore (Parisiis:
Joan. Benenatus, 1569). This edition was later revised in: D. Gre-
gorii Nazianzeni ... Opera omnia quae extant ... in duos tomos
distincta ... J. Billio Prunaeo ... interprete et scholiaste (Paris.:
Nic. Chesneav, 1583).[3]

Later the two poems appear in the de Billy - F. Morel edition
of 1609-11: S. Patris nostri Gregorii Nazianzeni Theologi opera edd.
Jac. Billius - Fed. Morellius (Paris: Cl. Morel, 1609-11 reprinted in
Paris in 1630 and Cologne in 1690).[4] This edition, as Cummings show-

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1. See M.35 cols 13-14, A. Misier, 'Origin de l' édition de Bale',
   Rev. Philol., N.S. 27 (1903), 125-38 and Cummings p.21.
2. See on this edition Cummings p.19 , Jungck p.47 and Sykes p.83.
3. See Cummings p.19.
4. On this edition see Sykes p.85f.

ed (p.19ff.), was based on the Basel edition of 1550 and the exemplar

of Codd P,M,a,v - listed in group C - (see also Jungck p.48).

Hymn 2.1.38 appears among other Gregorian poems in the edition

of Zimmermann in 1647 : Divi Gregorii Nazianzeni Theologi, Poemata

quaedam select ... Addita est ... interpret. , maximam partem metri-

ca (Lunaeburg : M. Lamprecht, 1647).

Finally, the two hymns are found in the Paris edition of 1840 by

Caillau (reprinted by Migne in 1862); while 2.1.38 alone is included

also in the Anthology of Christ - Paranikas : Anthologia Graeca Carmi-

num Christianorum, edited by W. Christ - M. Paranikas (Leipzig :B.G.

Teubner, 1871).

The two short hymns: 1.1.37 and 1.1.38 are first published by

Muratori in 1709 : Anecdota Graeca, quae ex MSS codicibus nunc primum

eruit ... Ludovicus Antonius Muratorius, vol.2(Patavia :J. Manfrè,

1709). The same edition was reprinted in Monumenta Graecae veteris

Ecclesiae ... ed. Bandini, vol.2 (Florent., 1762) and in Bibliotheca

veterum patrum ... ed. A. Gallandius, vol.6 (Venice, 1770)[1]. They

were later edited by Vari in his collation of Cod. Laur. plut. 7,10

(see above p.70). Finally they were included in Caillau's edition(1840).

C) Carm.1.1.30, 1.1.32

The two hymns appear first in Synesius's edition of 1568 by

Portus[2]: ... Synesii Cyrenaei episcopi Ptolemaidis Hymni vario ly-

ricor. versuum genere.   Gregorii Nazianzeni Odae aliquot. Utris-

que, nunc primum in luce prodeuntibus. Lat. interpretationem adiunxit

Fr. Portus Cretensis ([Geneva] : H.Stephanus, 1568). Unfortunately,

of 1.1.32 only the first twenty-eight lines are included . The

Greek text of the entire hymn appears only in 1696 in Tollius's edition,

although it is included together with 1.1.30 in vol.3 of the Latin

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1. See Lefherz p.21.
2. See Terzaghi p.xxxixf.

edition of Löwenklau in 1571 (see above).

A number of editions (all Synesian apart from the last) seem to have been based on that of Portus :1) Synesii Cyrenaei Episcopi ῾Υμνοι δέκα, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ, ᾠδαὶ τέσσαρες ... (Paris :I. Benenatus, 1570), 2) Συνεσίου τοῦ Κυρηναίου ἐπισκόπου Πτολεμαΐδος ῾Υμνοι ἐν διαφόροις μέλεσι (Rostoch :St. Myliander, 1586), 3) Synesii Cyrenaei ... Hymni ... Gregorii Naz. Odae ... Lat. interpretatio Fr. Porti Cretensis (Paris : Cl.Morel, 1618) and 4) the edition of Zimmermann in 1647 (mentioned above).

Hymn 1.1.30 alone appears in the small Paris edition of de Billy of 1575 : D. Gregorii Nazianzeni ... opuscula quaedam, nunc primum in lucem edita, aliáque item versibus reddita, magnáque ex parte Cyri Dadybrensis episcopi commentariis illustrata. Interprete Jacobo Billio Prunaeo ... (Paris : I.Benenatus, 1575),[1] but only in latin; and later in the major edition of 1609-11 (see above) and that of Boissonade in 1825 (see above p. 56); while 1.1.32 is included in the ed. of Gallantius in 1770 (see above).

Both hymns, finally, occur in the edition of Caillau in 1840, that of Migne in 1862 and in the Anthology of Christ - Paranikas in 1871 (in which only lines 1-28 of 1.1.32 are edited).

In 1890 1.1.32 was edited by Sakkelion : Joh. Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη (Athens, 1890), p.23. Its text is based on Cod. Patm. gr. 33 (/Pa/) as Lefherz informs us (see Lefherz p.66).

The more recent editions of 1.1.32 by Hanssen and Meyer are mentioned above (p. 79).

D) Carm.1.1.29

The hymn appears first in the editio princeps of Synesius's works by Canter in 1567 : Synesii De dono ... Hymni carmine. ... interprete

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1. See Sykes p.83f.

Gulielmo Cantero (Basel : I. Oporinus, 1567)[1].

The hymn appears among Gregorian poems in vol.3 of the latin edition by Löwenklau in 1571 (see above), and in Greek only in the de Billy - F. Morel edition of 1609-11 in which verse 6 is missing from the Greek text, but not from the latin verse-translation which accompanies it , so that this omission should be regarded as a simple typographical error.

Later we find 1.1.29 in the edition of Caillau in 1840 (which is reprinted in 1862 by Migne . : see above).

Finally, the hymn was edited by Jahn : A.H. Jahn, 'Hymnus in Deum platonicus' in Eclogae e Proclo de philosophia Chaldaica sive de doctrina oraculorum Chaldaicorum (Halis Saxonum : M. Pfeffer, 1891), p.76 (where the text is based on Monacensis gr. 547 (Ms) and the hymn is attributed to Proclus); and by J.B. Pitra in his Analecta Sacra, vol.2 (1884), p.xlvif., based on Cod. Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 39 and attributed to Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite (see below the introduction to 1.1.29 and above I.6.D, the description of these MSS).

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1. See the introduction to 1.1.29, Terzaghi p.xxxviiff. and Jahn p.49ff. for a discussion on the edd of 1.1.29.

II.   Sigla - Text

As I have said in the introduction to the chapter on manuscripts, the hymns under discussion may be classed into four groups with regard to their MS tradition, as this is not the same for all of them.   This classification, together with the metrical structure of each hymn, determines the order in which I have arranged their texts below and the subsequent commentaries on them.   Besides, to enable the reader I cite the sigla of the various MSS and editions used at the beginning of the apparatus criticus in each hymn, as these usually differ from one hymn to the other. · I also mention there · for which MSS I have readings available on photostats· or photographs and for which I rely on the readings I received from Munster (i.e. from Prof. Sicherl).

In the apprarus criticus I avoid mentioning common errors re-lated to orthography (i.e. iotacism and the like), particularly when these appear in inferior MSS.   However, I have decided to use all the MSS for which I have the readings, even if this results in having an over-loaded apparatus criticus (particularly in the case of 1.1.32), since the stemmatic relationship of these MSS has not been fixed yet by Prof. Sicherl and his collegues (who are still working on it: see above p.63, n.3).

Carm. 1.1.33

1 Σοὶ χάρις, ὦ πάντων βασιλεῦ, πάντων δὲ ποιητά.

οὐρανὸς ἐπλήσθη δόξης σέο, πᾶσά τε γαῖα

σῆς σοφίης. θεὸς Υἱὸς ὁ σὸς Λόγος ἔκτισε πάντα.

σὸν ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ζωὴν πάντεσσι χορηγεῖ.

5 ἱλήκοις κόσμῳ θεία Τριάς· ἵλαθι δ᾽ ἡμῖν,

Υἱὲ θεοῦ κατὰ πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ σάρκα,

ὅστις ἐπὶ σταυροῖο μόρον τέτληκας ἐπισπεῖν,

οἷα βροτός· τριτάτῃ δὲ πύλας λίπες ἀΐδονῆος,

οἷα θεός· θανάτου γὰρ ἔλυσας δεσμὸν ἀναστὰς

10 καὶ βροτέῃ γενεῇ φύσιν ὤπασας, οἷα καὶ ἡμᾶς

ζώειν ἤματα πάντα, σὲ δ᾽ ἄμβροτον αἰὲν ἀείδειν.

Codd : W,Bg (readings available on photostats)
tit. : προσευχὴ ἡρωϊκή W, omit. Bg
7. ὅς τις W   10. ἡμᾶς Tollius] ὕμμεν W , ὕμμιν Bg

Carm. 1.1.34

1 Σοὶ χάρις, ὦ πάντων βασιλεῦ, πάντων δὲ ποιητά.

σοὶ χάρις· ὅς τὰ νοητὰ λόγῳ, τὰ θ᾽ ὁρατὰ κελεύσει

στήσας τ᾽ οὐ πρὶν ἐόντα καὶ ἐξ ἀφανοῦς κατέδειξας.

σὸν θρόνον ἀμφιέπουσιν ἀκήρατοι ὑμνητῆρες,

5 ἔνθεν μυριάδες καὶ χιλιάδες πάλιν ἔνθεν,

ἀγγελικῆς στρατιῆς πυρόεις χορός, ἄφθιτοι ἀρχαί·

Codd.: as above
tit. : προσευχὴ διὰ ἡρωϊκοῦ W, omit. Bg
1. δέ] τέ Bg 3. τ᾽ omit. W; ἐξαφανοῦς W   6. ἀρχαί Bg
ἀρχήν W

λαοὶ πρωτοτόκων καὶ λαμπομένων χορὸς ἄστρων,

πνεύματα θεσπεσίων ἀνδρῶν, ψυχαί τε δικαίων,

πάντες ὁμηγερέες καὶ σὸν θρόνον ἀμφιέποντες,

10 γηθοσύνη τε φόβῳ τε διηνεκὲς ἀείδουσι

ὕμνον ἀνυμνεύοντες ἀκήρατον ἢ καὶ ἄπαυστον·

'σοὶ χάρις, ὦ πάντων βασιλεῦ, πάντων δὲ ποιητά.'

οὗτος ἀκήρατος ὕμνος ἐπ' οὐρανίοιο χοροῖο.

ναί, λίτομαι κἀγώ, Πάτερ ἄφθιτε, καὶ γόνυ κάμπτω

15 ἡμετέρης κραδίης, Πάτερ ἄμβροτε, καὶ νόος ἔνδον

πρηνὴς σοῦ προπάροιθε· κάρη δέ μοι ἐς χθόνα νεύει

λισσομένῳ· κεῖμαι δ' ἱκέτης καὶ δάκρυα χεύω.

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιός εἰμι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀντία λεύσσειν.

ἀλλὰ σύ μ' οἰκτείροις, ἐλέους Πάτερ, ἵλαος ἔσσο

20 σῷ κινυρῷ θεράποντι· σάου δέ με χεῖρα τανύσσας

ἐξ ὀνύχων θανάτοιο νοήματα πάντα καθήρας.

μή μ' ἀπογυμνώσῃς σοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον

χεῦε μένος καὶ θάρσος ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν,

ὄφρα σὲ καὶ κραδίῃ καὶ χείλεσι καλὸν ἀείσω.

25 ὥσπερ ἐμῷ γενετῆρι, τεῷ θεράποντι, παρέστης,

δὸς καὶ ἐμοὶ καθαρὸν βίοτον, καθαράν τε τελευτήν,

ἐλπωρήν τε τυχεῖν ἀγαθήν, ἔλεόν τε, χάριν τε.

πάντα δ' ἀμαλδύνῃς ὅσσ' ἤλιτον ἐκ νεότητος

ὡς ἀγαθὸς βασιλεύς· ὅτι σοὶ χάρις ἤματα πάντα,

30 σοὶ χάρις ἤματα πάντα καὶ εἰς αἰῶνας ἅπαντας.

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11. ἢ omit. W, sed ἠδέ in marg. ἀνυμνεύον καὶ Bg
13. οὐρανοίο Bg 15. ἄβροτε W 16. ἐχθόνα W 18.
λεύσειν Bg 19. ἔσο W   23. ἐνὶ στήθεσιν W 24. χεύ-
λεσιν W 25. γενετῆρι τεῷ corr. Caillau] γενετῆρι σῷ codd,
γενετῆρ' ὡς σῷ Tollius 26. βίοττον W 28. ἀμαλδύνῃς ὅσσ'
corr. Tollius] ἀμαλδύνει ἄσα W, ἀμαδάνειας ὅσσ' Bg, ἀμαλδύ-
νει ὄσα ed. 1840 29. ὅτι] ἔστι sed ὅτι in marg. W

Carm. 1.1.35

1 Κλῦθι, Πάτερ Χριστοῦ πανεπίσκοπε, τῶνδε λιτάων

  ἡμετέρων· μολπὴν δὲ χαρίζεο σῷ θεράποντι

  θεσπεσίην. ζαθέην γὰρ ἐς ἀτραπὸν ἴχνος ἐλαύνει

  οὗτος, ὃς αὐτογένεθλον ἐνὶ ζωοῖς θεὸν ἔγνω

5 καὶ Χριστὸν θνητοῖσιν ἀλεξίκακον βασιλῆα·

  ὅς ποτ' ἐποικτείρας μερόπων γένος αἰνὰ παθόντων

  Πατρὸς ὑπ' ἐννεσίῃσιν ἑκὼν ἠλλάξατο μορφήν·

  γείνετο δὲ θνητὸς θεὸς ἄφθιτος, εἰς ὅ κε πάντας

  ταρταρέων μογέοντας ὑφ' αἵματι λύσατο δεσμῶν.

10 δεῦρ' ἴθι νῦν, ἱερῆς καὶ ἀκηρασίης ἀπὸ βίβλου

  ψυχὴν σὴν ἀτίταλλε θεοπνεύστοις ἐνὶ μύθοις.

  ἔνθα γὰρ ἀθρήσειας ἀληθείης θεράποντας

  ,ζωὴν ἀγγελέοντας ὑπ' οὐρανομήκεϊ φωνῇ.

Codd.: the same as for 1.1.33
tit.: ἐπίκλησις διὰ ἡρώων W, omit. Bg
2. χαρίζω W 3. ἐλαύνει scripsi] ἐλαύνων codd, ἐλαύνοι
Tollius 4. αὐτογένεσθλον ut vid. W; ζώοις W 7. ὑπεννε-
σίῃσιν W 8. γείνετο Tollius] γείτονα W, γίγνετο Caillau;
ἄφθιττος W 9. ταρταρίων W; λύσαιτο ut vid. W

Carm. 1.1.36

1 Χριστὲ ἄναξ, ὃς πάντα πέλεις σοῖσιν μερόπεσσιν

  ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἐν πάντεσσιν ὁδὸς ἰθεῖα τέτυξαι,

  ὃς πυρὶ καὶ νεφέλῃ στρατὸν ἤγαγες, ὅς θ' ὁδὸν εὗρες

Codd.: C (consulted in the original), L,Am,Vb,Va (readings
available on photostats or photographs), N,D,Lb,Ma,Cg (readings
sent from Munster), Mq,I,Pe,Vp,Vt,Pj,Ld,Ps, (readings not
available).
tit.: ἐνόδια L,Am,D,N,Lb,Vb, ἐνόδια δι' ἐπῶν C
1. σοῖσι Am,D,N,Vb,Ma,Cg; μερόπεσσιν Vb 2. πάντεσσιν Vb;
ἠσθεῖα ut vid. Vb 3. καί post primum ὅς Va

ἐν πελάγει τμηθέντι φίλοις, Φαραὼ δ' ἐκάλυψας,

5 ἄρτον δ' οὐρανόθεν ξένον ὤπασας, ἐκ δ' ἄρα πέτρης

ἔβλυσας ἀκροτόμοιο ῥόον, μέγα θαῦμ', ἐν ἐρήμῳ·

δυσμενέων δ' ἀνδρῶν στῆσας μένος, εὖτε διέσχε

σταυρὸν ὑποσκιάων Μωσῆς χέρας, ἄλκαρ ἐμεῖο·

μήνη δ' ἠέλιός τε δρόμον σχέθον. ὡς δὲ ῥέεθρον

10 εἶξεν ἐπειγομένοισιν, ὁδὸς δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐτύχθη

ῥηϊδίη, τὴν αὐτὸς ὑπέσχεο καὶ κατένευσας.

αὐτὸς δ' οὐρανίην οἶμον μερόπεσσιν ἔδειξας

ὕστατον, ἀρχαίῃ δὲ νέην ἐπέμιξας ἀταρπόν,

εὖτε θεὸς θνητός τε κραθεὶς ἐπὶ γαῖαν ὄδευσας

15 ἡμετέρην· αὖθις δὲ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἔνθεν ἀερθεὶς

ἵξεαι ἐλδομένοισι φαάντερος ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν.

αὐτὸς καὶ πελάγους ἐπεβήσαο, σοῖς δὲ πόδεσσιν

οἶδμα πέσεν, χαλεποῖσι βιαζόμενον ἀνέμοισιν.

ἀλλά, μάκαρ, καὶ ἐμοί γε συνέμπορος ἐλθὲ καλεῦντι

20 σήμερον, εὐοδίην δὲ πόροις καὶ ἄγγελον ἐσθλόν,

πομπόν, ἀλεξητῆρα, βοηθόον, ὄφρα με πάντων

ἡματίων νυχίων τε κακῶν ἄπο τηλόθ' ἐέργων

καὶ τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὁδοῖο χαριζόμενος μογέοντι

οἴκοθεν ἀρτεμέοντα καὶ οἴκαδε μ' αὖθις ἀγινοῖ

7. δ' omit. Cg,Pe, edd 1550, 1609-11; στησάμενος edd 1504,
1550; διέσχεν Vb,C,Va 8. ὑπὸ σκιάων Am; χέρας] μέγας L
11. κατεύνασας Vb 12. ὁμον μερόπεσιν ὑπέδειξας Vb 13.

ἐπέμιγξας Am; ἀτραπόν Vb 14. τέ post θεός Vb; ὄδευσας
scripsi] ὤδευσας C,Vb, ὠδεύσας Va, ὀδεῦσας Φett codd et
edd 15. δέ omit. Am 16. ἵξε' ἐελδομένοισι Lb, ἵξε ἐελ-
δομ. Cg, edd 1504, 1550, ἥξεαι ἐλδομ. D, ἵξεαι Vb; φαάντε-
ρον C.Vb 17. ἐπέβησας D; πόδεσσι C, πόδεσιν Vb 18.
πέσε D,N,Vb, post scr. ν supra lin. Cg; ἀνέμοισι C 19.
γέ ed. 1840] σύ L, omit. cett codd, et edd ; καλευνῶντι Vb
20. δέ] τέ N 22. ἡματίων νυχίων] νυκτὸς ἡματίων Am; τηλό-
θεν εὔργων L 23. ὁδοῖο omit. Ma 24. ἀρτεμέοντι Vb; μ']
μέ edd 1504, 1550, omit. Am; ἀγινοῖ] ἀγάγοις Va, ἄγνοι Cg

25 πηοῖσίν τε φίλοις τε ὁμὸν βίον ἀμφιέπουσιν·

ἔνθα σε νύκτα καὶ ἦμαρ ἐλεύθερος ἀτρεμέων τε

λισσούμην κακότητος ἀμιγέα σοι βίον ἕλκων,

σού τε νόον πτερόεντα, βίου φάος, αἰὲν ἀείρων,

μεσφ' ὅτε καὶ πυμάτην ξυνὴν ὁδὸν ἐξανύσαιμι,

30 ἐς δὲ μονὴν ἔλθοιμι, μόγου τέλος εὐσεβέεσσι.

σοὶ ζῶ, σοὶ λαλέω, σοὶ δ' ἔξομαι, ὦ ἄνα Χριστέ,

σοὶ δ' αἴρω ποδὸς ἴχνος, ἐπεὶ σύ με χειρὶ καλύπτεις·

ἀλλά με καὶ νῦν ἄγοις ἐσθλὸν ἐπὶ τέρμα πορείης.

25. πηοῖσι D,N,Vb,Va,Cg; primum τε omit. Vb; ἀμφιέπουσι Am,
Vb   26. ἀτρομέων Va   27-33 omit. C   27. λισούμην Vb;
βίον] omit. sed add. supra lin. Cg   28. ἀείρων] ἐγείρων Va
30. μόγου] λόγου Am; εὐσεβέσιν Vb, εὐσεβέεσσιν Va,Am,Ma,L
31-33 omit. Am,Ma, add. post carm. 1.1.37 et 1.1.38 L, add. post
carm. 2.1.22. 1-12, 1.1.37 et 1.1.38 Va   31. tertium σού]
corr. σού ex σοις ut vid. Cg, σου Va   32. ἀείρω Va

Carm. 1.1.37

1 Οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ ποδὸς χωρὶς σέο ἴχνος ἀεῖραι

Χριστὲ ἄναξ, ὃς πάντα πέλεις σοῖσιν μερόπεσσιν

ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἐν πάντεσσιν ὁδὸς ἰθεῖα τέτυξαι.

σοὶ πίσυνος καὶ τήνδε τέμνω τρίβον. ἀλλά με πέμποις

5 ἀσκηθῆ καὶ πάντα πόροις, ὅσ' ἐέλδεται ἦτορ,

καί με, Ἄναξ, παλίνορσον ἄγοις ἐπὶ δῶμα πενιχρόν,

ἔνθα σε νύκτα καὶ ἦμαρ ἐλεύθερος ἱλασκούμην.

Codd : L,Va (readings available on photographs)
tit. : Omit. codd
1. χωρὶς σέο edd] σέο χωρὶς codd   5. ὅσσ' ἔλδεται Va

<u>Carm.</u> 1.1.38

1 Ὅς πυρὶ καὶ νεφέλῃ στρατὸν ἤγαγες, ὅς θ' ὁδὸν εὗρες

  ἐν πελάγει πήξας κύματ' ἐλαυνομένοις,

  ἄρτον δ' οὐρανόθεν ὗσας ξένον οὐ δοκέουσιν,

  ἐκ δὲ πέτρης πηγὴν ἔβλυσας ἀκροτόμου,

5 καὶ νῦν σῷ θεράποντι συνέμπορος ἐλθὲ καλεῦντι,

  Χριστέ, φάος μερόπων, δεξιὰ πάντα φέρων.

Codd : the same as in 1.1.37
tit. : omit. codd
2. καί post πελάγει L 3. ὗσας] βλύσας sed corr. in marg.
Va

<u>Carm.</u> 2.1.38

1 Χριστὲ ἄναξ, σὲ πρῶτον, ἐπεὶ λόγον ἤέρι δῶκα

  δηναιὸν κατέχων, φθέγξομ' ἀπὸ στομάτων,

  ἀγνοτάτου ἱερῆος ἁγνὸν θύος, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν,

  τόνδε λόγον προχέων ἡμετέροιο νόου.

5 πατροφαές, μεγάλοιο Νόου Λόγε, φέρτερε μύθου,

  φωτός τ' ἀκροτάτου φῶς ἄκρον, οἰόγονε,

  εἰκὼν ἀθανάτοιο Πατρὸς καὶ σφρηγὶς ἀνάρχου,

  Πνεύματι τῷ Μεγάλῳ συμφαές, εὐρυμέδων,

  αἰῶνος πείρημα, μεγακλεές, ὀλβιόδωρε,

10 ὑψίθρον', οὐράνιε, πανσθενές, ἄσθμα νόου,

Codd : the same as for 1.1.36 plus Bs and Ie the readings of
which are not available.
tit. : ὕμνος εἰς Χριστὸν μετὰ τὴν σιωπήν L,Am, add. δι' ἐλ(εγεί-
ων) C, ἐν τῷ Πάσχα Vb, μετὰ τὴν σιγήν, ὕμνος τῷ κυρίῳ ἐκ νεκρῶν
ἀναστάντι Va 5. μύθων Vb 6. φωτός] φῶς Cg; τ' ed. 1550]
ἀπ' L,Am,Ma,Va, omit. Vb,D,N,C,Lb, scr. ἐξ supr. lin. Cg 8. εὐ-
ρυμέδον Ma,Lb; συμφυές L 9. μεγακλέος Ma 10. ὑψίθρων C,Vb

νωμητὰ κόσμοιο, φερέσβιε, δημιοεργὲ

    ὄντων, ἐσσομένων. σοὶ γὰρ ἅπαντα πέλει,

ὃς κόσμοιο θέμεθλα καὶ ὁππόσα ἐστὶ θέλοντος

    δησάμενος φορέεις νεύμασιν ἀπλανέως.

15 σοὶ μέν, Ἄναξ, Φαέθων ὑψίδρομος ἄστρα καλύπτει

    κύκλον ὑπερτέλλων ἔμπυρον, ὡς σὺ νόας.

σοὶ ζώει φθινύθει τε ἀμοιβαδὶς ὄμμα τὸ νυκτός,

    μήνη πλησιφαὴς αὖθις ἐπερχομένη.

σοὶ δὲ ζωοφόρος τε κύκλος καὶ μέτρα χορείης

20   ὥραις μέτρα φέρει ἤπια κιρναμέναις.

ἀπλανέες τε πλάνοι τε παλύμπορον ἀΐσσοντες

    ἀστέρες ἠγαθέης εἰσὶ λόγος σοφίης.

σὸν φάος εἰσὶν ἅπαντες, ὅσοι νόες οὐρανίωνες

    μέλπουσι Τριάδος δόξαν ἐπουρανίης.

25 σὸν βροτὸς αὖ κλέος ἐστίν, ὃν ἄγγελον ἐνθάδ' ἔθηκας

    ὑμνοπόλον τῆς σῆς, ὦ φάος, ἀγλαΐης.

ἄμβροτέ μοι βροτόει τε, παλιγγενές, ὕψος ἄσαρκον,

    ὑστάτιον θνητῶν πήμασι σαρκοφόρε,

σοὶ ζῶ, σοὶ λαλέω, σοὶ δ' ἔμπνοός εἰμι θυηλή,

30 ἢ μούνη κτεάνων λείπετ' ἀφ' ἡμετέρων.

σοὶ καὶ γλῶσσαν ἔδησα καὶ οὔασι μῦθον ἔλυσα.

    λίσσομαι ἀλλὰ πόροις ἀμφότερ' εὐαγέως.

φθέγξομάι, ἄσσ' ἐπέοικεν· ἃ δ' οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ νοήσω.

    ῥεύσω μαργάρεον, βόρβορον ὡσάμενος·

11. δημιουργέ Va 12. ἐσομένων Vb 13. θέλοντος] μέλοντος
Va 14. ἀπλανέων Vb, ἀπλανέος L 17. φθινύθει] μηνύθει L
22. ἠγαθέες Va 24. ἐπ' οὐρανίης C 25 δέ post σόν L,Am; αὖ
edd] omit. Ma,Vb,D,N,C,Va, post. scr. supr. lin. Cg 27. βρο-
τόει] βροτόειδες Va, βροτέει ed. 1609-11 32. λίσσομ' L ;
ἀμφότρα Va 33. ἄσσ'] ἄσ' Vb, ὅσσ' L,N,Ma 34. βόρβορον]
βόρον C,Vb,D

35 χρυσὸν ἀπὸ ψαμάθοιο, ῥόδον κραναῆς ἀπ' ἀκάνθης,

λέξομ' ἀπ' ἀσταχύων σῖτον ἀφεὶς καλάμην.

ταῦτά σοι ἡμετέροιο θαλύσια, Χριστέ, πόνοιο

γλῶσσ' ἀπερευγομένη πρῶτον ἀνῆψεν ἔπος.

σήμερον ἐκ νεκύων Χριστὸς μέγας, οἷσιν ἐμίχθη,

40   ἔγρετο καὶ θανάτου κέντρον ἀπεσκέδασε

καὶ ζοφεροὺς πυλεῶνας ἀμειδήτου ἀΐδαο

ῥήξατο καὶ ψυχαῖς δῶκεν ἐλευθερίην.

σήμερον ἐκ τύμβοιο θορὼν μερόπεσσι φαάνθη,

οἷς γένεθ', οἷσι θάνεν, οἷς ἔγρετ' ἐκ νεκύων,

45 ὥς κε παλιγγενέες τε καὶ ἐκ θανάτοιο φυγόντες

σοὶ συναειρώμεσθ' ἔνθεν ἀνερχομένῳ.

σήμερον αἰγλήεις σε μέγας χορὸς ἀμφιγέγηθεν

ἀγγελικὸς μέλπων ὕμνον ἐπιστέφιον.

σήμερον ἦχον ἔπνευσα μεμυκότα χείλεα σιγῇ

50   λύσας· ἀλλά μ' ἔχοις ὑμνοπόλον κιθάρην.

Νῷ νόον ἔνδον ἔρεξα, Λόγῳ λόγον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

ῥέξω καὶ Μεγάλῳ Πνεύματι, ἢν ἐθέλῃ.

35. ψαμμάθοιο D,N, ψάθοιο Vb 40. ἀπεσκέδασεν L,Am,Vb,C,
Va 43. μερόπεσι Vb; θθρῶν N 44. οἷσι] οἷς Vb; ἔγρε-
το Vb 45. παλινγενέες Ma; ὥς κε] ὥστε L 47. ἀμφιγέγη-
θε C,Am,Ma 49. ἦχον ἔπνευσα] ὕμνον ἔμελψα Va, εἶχον ἔπνευ-
σα Am; σιγᾷ Va 50. ἔχεις Cg et edd 52. ἐθέλει C

Carm. 1.1.31

1 Δόξα θεῷ τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ παμβασιλῆι.

δόξα πανευφήμῳ Πνεύματι παναγίῳ.

Codd : W,Bg (as for 1.1.33), Np (readings not available)
tit. : ἐξομολόγησις καὶ δοξολογία δι' ἡρωϊκῆς καὶ ἐλεγείων W,
omit. Bg 1. πανβασιλῆι Bg

ἡ Τριὰς εἷς θεός ἐστιν, ὃς ἔκτισε πλῆσέ τε πάντα,

    οὐρανὸν οὐρανίων, γαῖαν ἐπιχθονίων·

5 πόντον καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ πηγὰς πλῆσεν ἐνύδρων

    πάντα ζωογονῶν πνεύματος ἐξ ἰδίου,

    ὄφρα σοφὸν κτίστην πᾶσα κτίσις ὑμνήσειε

    τοῦ ζῆν τοῦ τε μένειν αἴτιον ὄντα μόνον,

    ἡ λογικὴ δὲ μάλιστα φύσις διὰ παντὸς ἀείσῃ

10 ὡς βασιλῆα μέγαν, ὡς ἀγαθὸν πατέρα.

    πνεύματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ γλώττῃ καὶ διανοίᾳ

    δὸς καὶ ἐμοὶ καθαρῶς δοξολογεῖν σε, Πάτερ.

3. ἐστι W; πλῆσέ τε] πλησεται Bg 8. ζεῖν Bg 10. βα-
σιλεῖα W

Carm. 1.1.30

1   Σὲ τὸν ἄφθιτον μονάρχην

    δὸς ἀνυμνεῖν, δὸς ἀείδειν

    τὸν ἄνακτα, τὸν δεσπότην,

    δι' ὃν ὕμνος, δι' ὃν αἶνος,

5   δι' ὃν ἀγγέλων χορεία,

    δι' ὃν αἰῶνες ἄπαυστοι,

    δι' ὃν ἥλιος προλάμπει,

    δι' ὃν ὁ δρόμος σελήνης,

    δι' ὃν ἄστρων μέγα κάλλος·

Codd : C (consulted in the original), Mo,Mr,Bg (readings avail-
able on photostats or photographs), G,D,W,Pj,P (readings sent
from Munster)
tit. : ὕμνος διὰ λυρικοῦ C,D,P,G,W, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕμνος διὰ λυρι-
κοῦ μέτρ. Mo, ὕμνος διὰ λυρικοῦ μέτρου Pj, omit. Bg,Mr
2. omit. Mr; ἀείδην ut vid. Pj 3. ἄνακτον W 4. omit.
Mr 5. χορεῖαι P,Mr,Bg, et ed. 1568 9. κάλλος] κλέος P,Mr

10　δι' ὃν ἄνθρωπος ὁ σεμνὸς

　　ἔλαχεν νοεῖν τὸ θεῖον

　　λογικὸν ζῶον ὑπάρχων.

　　σὺ γὰρ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα

　　παρέχων τάξιν ἑκάστῳ

15　συνέχων τε τῇ προνοίᾳ·

　　λόγον εἶπας, πέλεν ἔργον.

　　ὁ Λόγος σου θεὸς Υἱός·

　　ὁμοούσιος γάρ ἐστιν,

　　ὁμότιμος τῷ τεκόντι,

20　ὃς ἐφήρμοσεν τὰ πάντα,

　　ἵνα πάντων βασιλεύσῃ.

　　περιλαμβάνον δὲ πάντα

　　Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον

　　προνοούμενον φυλάσσει.

25　Τριάδα ζῶσαν ἐρῶ· σε

　　ἕνα καὶ μόνον μονάρχην,

　　φύσιν ἄτρεπτον, ἄναρχον,

　　φύσιν οὐσίας ἀφράστου,

　　σοφίας νοῦν ἀνέφικτον,

30　κράτος οὐρανῶν ἄπαυστον,

　　ἄτερ ἀρχῆς, ἀπέραντον·

　　ἀκατασκόπητον αὐγὴν

　　ἐφορῶσαν δὲ τὰ πάντα,

11. ἔλαχεν C et ed. 1568] ἔλαχεᵛ Mo, ἔλαχε cett. codd et ed.
1609–11　20. ἐφήρμοσεν ed. 1568] ἐφήρμοσε Mo,Pj,C;D;P,Bg,
ἀφήρμωσε G,W et ed. 1609–11　22. περιλαμβάνον Mr,Bg et ed.
1568] περιλαμβάνων Mo,G,W,Pj,C, et ed. 1609–11, περιλαμβάνῶ̃ν
D, περιλάμβανον P et ed. 1840; πάντα] πάντων G,W　22 post
23 ponit Mr　24. φυλάσσει C,Bg] φυλάσσεῖ D, φυλάσσῃ cett codd
25. τριάδαν G,W　26 post 27 sed corr. Mr; ἕνα] ἵνα W　30
κράτῦν Bg; ἄπαυστον codd] ἄπταιστον ed. 1609–11　30. ἀκατα-
σκοπητήν· Mr

βάθος οὐδὲν ἀγνοοῦσαν

35   ἀπὸ γῆς μέχρις ἀβύσσου.

Πάτερ, ἵλεως γενοῦ μοι·

διὰ παντὸς θεραπεύειν

τὸ σέβασμα τοῦτο δός μοι·

τὰ δ' ἁμαρτήματα ῥῖψον

40   τὸ συνειδὸς ἐκκαθαίρων

ἀπὸ πάσης κακονοίας,

ἵνα δοξάσω τὸ θεῖον

ὁσίας χεῖρας ἐπαίρων,

ἵνα Χριστὸν εὐλογήσω·

45   γόνυ κάμπτων ἱκετεύσω

τότε προσλαβεῖν με δοῦλον,

ὅτ' ἂν ἔλθῃ βασιλεύσων.

Πάτερ, ἵλεως γενοῦ μοι,

ἔλεον καὶ χάριν εὕρω·

50   ὅτι δόξα καὶ χάρις σοι

ἄχρις αἰῶνος ἀμέτρου.

39. ῥῖψον] λῦσον Pj   42. δοξάζω P,Mr   45. κάμπτον Mo,Pj, κάμπτῶν D; ἱκετεύσῃς Mr 46. τότε ed. 1568] ὅτε codd 47. ὅταν Bg, Mr, et ed. 1568; ἔλθῃ βασιλεύσων ed. 1568] ἔλθῃς βασιλεύων codd , ἔλθῃ βασιλεύων ed. 1609–11 51. αἰῶνας ἀμέτρους G,W

Carm.1.1.32

Codd poet.: C (consulted in the original), Bg,W$^{I}_{II}$Mr,L,Vi (read-dings available on photostats or photographs), W^{II},K,G,Mo,D,P,a, v,V (readings sent from Munster), Pj,M (readings not available). Codd in pros. : /Vu/, /Va/,/Vb/ (readings available on photostats), /Co/,/Bs/ (= Hanssen A,B),/P/,/V/,/L/ (=La.b), /M/ (= Ma.b.c), /A/,(= Aa.b.c.d.e), /B/ (= Meyer P,V,L,M,A,B), /T/,/Af/,/Pa/ (readings sent from Munster).
tit. : omit. C,Mr,/T/,/Af/, Aa.c.d.e , /Vu/,/Vb/, ὕμνος ἑσπερι-νός (L,Bg,/P/,/M/,/L/) ἤτοι (εὕτοι K) πρὸς τῷ τέλει εἰρημένος (K) ὅμοιος τῷ περὶ παρθενίας (πρὸς παρθένους P,a,v,V,Vi) D,

1   Σὲ καὶ νῦν εὐλογοῦμεν,

Χριστέ μου, Λόγε θεοῦ,

φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς ἀνάρχου

καὶ Πνεύματος ταμία

5   τριττοῦ φωτὸς εἰς μίαν

δόξαν ἀθροιζομένου·

ὃς ἔλυσας τὸ σκότος,

ὃς ὑπέστησας τὸ φῶς,

ἵν' ἐν φωτὶ κτίσῃς τὰ πάντα

10   καὶ τὴν ἄστατον ὕλην

στήσῃς μορφῶν εἰς κόσμον

καὶ τὴν νῦν εὐκοσμίαν·

ὃς νοῦν ἐφώτισας ἀνθρώπου

λόγῳ τε καὶ σοφίᾳ

15   λαμπρότητος τῆς ἄνω

καὶ κάτω θεὶς εἰκόνα,

ἵνα φωτὶ βλέπῃ τὸ φῶς

καὶ γένηται φῶς ὅλον.

ὕμνος ἑσπερινὸς ὅτι πρὸς τὸ τέλος εἰρημένος. οὗτος ὅμοιος τῷ
περὶ παρθένου W^{II}, οὗτος ὅμοιος τῷ περὶ παρθενίας C, τοῦ
αὐτοῦ ὕμνος ἑσπερινὸς ἰμιαμβ. Mo, εὐχὴ νυκτερινή /Ab/, δοξο-
λογία /Pa/,/B/,/Bs/, ἡ δοξολογία /Va/, τοῦ αὐτοῦ δοξολογία
/Co/, δοξολογία ἐπὶ κοίτης et in fine δοξολογία /V/.
vv sing. disting. C,L,D,G,W^{I},W^{II},Mr,/Pa/, bini vv coniu. Mo,
K,a,v,V,Vi,Bg,/B/,/D/, ut prosa scr. P,/V/,/M/,/L/,/A/,/Vu/,
/Va/,/Vb/,/Co/,/Bs/,/P/ (sed versus punctis notati sunt).
1. καί omit. W^{II} 2. θεοῦ] θεέ μου /Co/,/Vu/,/Pa/, θεοῦ
μου /V/,/Bs/ 4. Πνεύματος ταμίας Mo, et codd in pros.] πνεύ-
ματος ταμεῖα K, /Bs/, πνεύματος ἀνάρχου C,D,G,W^{II},P,Mr, πνεῦ-
μα ἐξ ἀνάρχου Bg, et ed. 1568, πατρὸς ἀνάρχου a,v,V,Vi 5.
τρισσοῦ K, τρίτου ed. 1568; εἰς μίαν] ἀνάρχου D,G,W^{II},P,a,v,
V,Vi,Mr 9. ἵνα Mr; τῷ ante φωτί /Vu/,/V/,/B/,/Co/,/Bg/ ;
κτίσῃς τὰ πάντα] πάντα κτίσῃ G,W^{II}, κτιστὰ πάντα K 11.
μορφῶν] μόρφωσιν a,v,V,Vi 13. ὅς] εἰς /T/,/Aa^{1}/,/Ac.e/,
/P/,/Ma.b/ ; ἀνθρώπων K 15. τηῦ /Va/, τήν /T/,/Aa^{1}/,
/Ac.e/,/P/,/Ma/ 16. θεύς] θής K, τιθεύς /Va/ 17. βλέπῃ
το] βλέπει τό Mo,K, βλέπηται /Vu/,/V/,/Co/, βλέψητε /Bs/
18. γένητε /Bs/; ὅλον] ὅλος /Ab/, ὅλους /Vu/

σὺ φωστῆρσιν οὐρανὸν

20   κατηύγασας ποικίλοις.

σὺ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν

ἀλλήλαις εἴκειν ἠπίως

ἔταξας νόμον τιμῶν

ἀδελφότητος καὶ φιλίας.

25   καὶ τῇ μὲν ἔπαυσας κόπους

τῆς πολυμόχθου σαρκός·

τῇ δ' ἤγειρας εἰς ἔργον

καὶ πράξεις τάς σοι φίλας,

ἵνα τὸ σκότος φυγόντες

30   φθάσωμεν εἰς ἡμέραν,

ἡμέραν τὴν μὴ νυκτὶ

τῇ στυγνῇ λυομένην.

σὺ μὲν βάλλοις ἐλαφρὸν

ὕπνον ἐμοῖς βλεφάροις,

35   ὡς μὴ γλῶσσαν ὑμνῳδὸν

ἐπὶ πολὺ νεκροῦσθαι,

μήτ' ἀντίφωνον ἀγγέλων

πλάσμα σὸν ἡσυχάζοι.

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20. ποικίλλοις /Vu/ 21. σὺ omit. /T/,/Af/,/Aa.c.d.e/,/P/,/M/,
/L/,/Vb/ ; ἡμέρας P,a,v,V 22. ἀλλήλοις K,/Vu/, ἀλλήλ' P,a,
v,V,Vi,Mr; ἤκειν L,C,Mo,K, εἴκην /P/ 24. ἀδελφότητι G,W^{II}
25. τῇ] τό W^{II}, τήν /Bs/; ἔπαυσαν a,V 26. πολυμόχθου]
πολυμόρφου G,W^{II}, πολυμόχθους Bg, πολυμόρφου C 27. τῇ]
τό G,W^{II}; δ'] δέ /Va/,/Vb/,/P/,/M/,/B/,/A/,/Pa/,/T/,/Af/ ;
ἔργα P,a,v,V,Vi,Mr,/Vu/,/Ab/, ἔργος ed. 1568 29. φυγόντες]
ἀφέντες /Pa/ 30. φθάσομεν K,G,W^{II},Mr 31. ἡμέραν omit.
/Bs/,/Lb/; τήν] τῇ V ; μή omit. /Bs/ 32. τῇ στυγνῇ
omit. /Va/ sed add. in marg., στυγνί L 33. βάλοις D,W^I,
/Vu/,/Ab/,/Aa.c/, ed. Meyer, βαλεῖς /Va/, βαλεῖς /Vb/,/P/,
/Ma.b/,/L/,/T/,/Af/,/Ad.e/ 35. μή] μοι Bg; ὑμνῳδόν /T/,
/Aa^1/,/Ae/,/P^2/,/Lá/ 37. μήτ' codd poet.,/Mc/,/Ab/,/B/]
μήδ' /Va/,/Vu/,/V/,/Co/, μήτε cett codd in pros. 38. ἡσυ-
χάζειν G,W^{II},/Ab/,/Vu/, ἡσυχάζει V, ἡσυχάσοι Mr

σὺν σοὶ δὲ κοίτη εὐσεβεῖς

40   ἐννοίας ἐταζέτω,

μηδέ τι τῶν ῥυπαρῶν

ἡμέρας νὺξ ἐλέγξῃ,

μηδὲ παίγνια νυκτὸς

ἐνύπνια θροείτω.

45   νοῦς δὲ καὶ σώματος δίχα

σοῦ, θεέ, προσλαλείτω,

τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ

καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι,

ᾧ τιμή, δόξα, κράτος

50   εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

39. κοίτην a,v,V ;   εὐσεβεῖς ex corr. D, εὐσεβείας /Va/,
/Vb/,/Vu/,/Pa/,/T/,/Aa.c.e/,/P/,/V/,/M/,/L/,/Co/   40. ἐννοίας]
εὐνοίας /Pa/ ;   ἐταζέτω] ἐξεταζέτω K,W^I,Bg, ἐξητάζητω /Va/
41. μηδέ τι] μὴ δέ τι C,K,D,W^I,P,Mr,/Va/,/Vb/, μηδ' ἔτι L,
V,G,W^II,/P/, ed. Meyer   42. ἐλέγχῃ D, ἐλέγξει V, ἐνένξη

Bg, ἐξελέγξη a, ἐλέγξοι /B/ ; ἡμέραν Mr, μέρας L   43.
μὴ δέ C,W^I,Mr,/Vu/,/Va/,/Vb/ ;   μέ post μηδέ /Vu/,/Pa/ ;
44. θορείτω L   45. δέ omit. /Va/,/Vb/,/T/,/Af/,/Aa^1/,/Ac.
d.e/,/P/,/M/,/L/   46. θεῷ /Va/,/Vb/,/P/,/M/,/L/,/B/,/T/,
/Ac.e/,   τῷ θεῷ /Af/,/Aa^2/,/Ad/ ;   προσλαλείτω] προσλαλήτω
Mo, προσομιλείτω /Vu/,/Pa/   48. τῷ omit. /Vb/,/T/,
/Af/,/Aa.c.d.e/,/P/,/M/,/L/,/B/   49. vers. omit. /Va/,/Vb/,
/Pa/,/T/,/Af/,/Aa.c.d.e/,/P/,/M/,/L/,/B/,/Co/ ; δόξα omit.
a,v,V   50. τὸν αἰῶνα Mr, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν /Vu/,/Ab/ , εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων /V/,
/Co/,/Pa/

Carm. 1.1.29

1 ῏Ω πάντων ἐπέκεινα· τί γὰρ θέμις ἄλλο σε μέλπειν;

πῶς λόγος ὑμνήσει σε; σὺ γὰρ λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ῥητός.

πῶς νόος ἀθρήσει σε; σὺ γὰρ νόῳ οὐδενὶ ληπτός.

μοῦνος ἐὼν ἄφραστος· ἐπεὶ τέκες ὅσσα λαλεῖται.

5 μοῦνος ἐὼν ἄγνωστος· ἐπεὶ τέκες ὅσσα νοεῖται.

πάντα σε καὶ λαλέοντα καὶ οὐ λαλέοντα λιγαίνει.

πάντα σε καὶ νοέοντα καὶ οὐ νοέοντα γεραίρει.

ξυνοὶ γάρ τε πόθοι, ξυναὶ δ' ὠδῖνες ἀπάντων

ἀμφὶ σέ· σοὶ δὲ τὰ πάντα προσεύχεται· εἰς σὲ δὲ πάντα

10 σύνθεμα σὸν νοέοντα λαλεῖ σιγώμενον ὕμνον.

σοὶ ἔνι πάντα μένει· σοὶ δ' ἀθρόα πάντα θοάζει.

καὶ πάντων τέλος ἐσσὶ καὶ εἷς καὶ πάντα καὶ οὐδέν,

οὐχ ἓν ἐών, οὐ πάντα· πανώνυμε, πῶς σε καλέσσω

τὸν μόνον ἀκλήϊστον; ὑπερνεφέας δὲ καλύπτρας

15 τίς νόος οὐρανίδης εἰσδύσεται; ἵλαος εἴης,

ὦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα· τί γὰρ θέμις ἄλλο σε μέλπειν;

Codd : α : Vh,P,R,Vi,Vj,Mr, β : Vk,Lr,Ms,Pl (all the readings
are available on photostats apart from P,Lr which are sent
from Munster).
tit. : ὕμνος εἰς θεόν Vh,P,Vi,Vj, omit. Mr,R, εἰς τὸ περὶ
θείων ὀνομάτων Vk, στίχοι εἰς τὸ περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων Lr,
ὕμνος ἡρωϊκός Ms, τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου ὕμνος θεῖος διὰ στίχων
ἡρωϊκῶν Pl
2. ὑμνήσει P 3. νόος] λόγος Lr ; ἀθρήσει P ; νόῳ] νά-
ω Lr vers. 3 post v. 4 pon. β 6. vers. 6 post v. 7 pos.,
sed in marg. litteris ordin. rest. Vk 7. καί prius] omit.
Lr 8-10 omit. α 8. ὠδῖναις Pl 9. δέ prius] omit.
Pl 11. ἔνι Vh,Mr, ἐνί P,Lr ; σού secund. R,P supr. lin.]
σευ α, Vk,Ms,Lr, in marg. R, σεῦ θ' Pl 12. τέλος] σέλας
Vh ; καὶ οὐδέν α]ὑπάρχεις β 13. πανώνυμε α] πολύλλογε β,
πολύλογε sup. lin. P, in marg. R ; καλέσω P,Vi,Mr, in marg.
γρ. καὶ καλούην Vh² 14. ὑπερνεφέας] ὑπερφανέας β, R sed in
marg. ὑπερνεφέας 15. εἰσδύσσεται Vk,Pl, εἰσδύσσηται Lr

III. Commentary

I have chosen the form of a commentary as the best way to analyse these hymns and show their place in the literary genre to which they belong.

My particular aims in each commentary are:

1) To give a number of parallels from other authentic Gregorian works in order to support the disputed authenticity of some of the hymns under discussion,

2) To underline any common or rare features and topoi of the Greek pagan and early Christian hymns which are used in our hymns,

3) To clarify when possible any difficulties in understanding the the text with regard to its content and structure,

4) To find the obvious or possible sources of the various ideas and expressions used in them, and

5) To note the allusions to, or similarities in terms of parallel ideas and expressions with earlier Greek pagan and Christian writers.

Since my approach to these hymns is purely literary, in my commentary I have not placed great emphasis on theological aspects arising from the religious content of these texts.

In each commentary I begin by stating the particular problems arising in each hymn. I then give a detailed analysis of its content accompanied by a brief survey of the type of hymn it represents together with any other informative material if available. At the end of the actual commentary I draw some conclusions with regard to the form and structure of the hymn .

Before proceeding to give the commentary on each hymn, I think it is necessary to explain the order in which they have been arranged in this research. In deciding this I took into account their metrical construction and MS tradition. Therefore, I first give the

hexameter poems (1.1.33-1.1.36), then the elegiac (2.1.38, 1.1.31) and then those written in short verse: anacreontic and non-quantitative (1.1.30, 1.1.32) leaving the disputed hymn to God (1.1.29) last.

The two short poems: 1.1.37 and 1.1.38 (one in hexameters and the other in elegiacs) are appended to 1.1.36 since they have a similar subject matter to 1.1.36 . With the exception of the position of 1.1.31, the above order corresponds also to that followed in my exposition of their MS tradition according to which these poems are divided into four groups : A) 1.1.31, 1.1.33-35, B) 1.1.36, 2.1.38, C) 1.1.30, 1.1.32, and D) 1.1.29 (see above p.64).

III.1. Carmina 1.1.33 - 1.1.35

We begin our investigation with the first three hymns, namely 1.1.33 - 1.1.35,which have survived only in two MSS(Codd Bg and W) and have thus been described by Werhahn as dubious . As has been shown in the exposition of their MS tradition (see above pp.64ff.) the extant external evidence is not sufficient to determine their authorship which seems to depend, at least until further such evidence comes to light, entirely on internal evidence. Consequently, in the commentary on these poems (as well as that on 1.1.31 and 1.1.29) a great emphasis has been placed on parallel passages from authentic Gregorian works in order to support the poems' authenticity.

Carm. 1.1.33

To pass on now to 1.1.33: this is a short hexameter hymn in
'du-Stil' and may be divided into: I. Introduction (1), II. Praise
(2-4: of the Godhead and 6-11: of the Son of God), and III. Prayer
(5a: to the Trinity and 5b: to the Son of God). As we see, Praise
is interwoven with Prayer so that the poem does not follow the
straightforward division of the majority of the Greek pagan hexameter
hymns (see above p. 21).

Lines 1-4 are addressed to the Godhead (or, more precisely to
God the Father), but the poet does not actually use the usual words
θεός or Πατήρ . On the contrary, he addresses God by the general
appellations (πάντων) βασιλεύς and (πάντων) ποιητής. The first
hemistich of line 5 is addressed to the Trinity and from line 5b
onwards the address is made to the Son of God.

The theme of the Godhead's praise (2-4) is the creation and
preservation of the world (accomplished by all the three persons of
the Trinity); while the Son of God is praised (in lines 6-11) by
reference to the mystery of redemption: incarnation, crucifixion,
victory over death and restoration of the divine nature of mankind.
Both of them are traditional Biblical themes : the former occurs in
OT (primarily in the Psalms and other prayers) and the latter in NT
(mainly in the so-called Christological hymns). However, Greek
gods – above all Zeus – were also praised for being the creators/
begetters and lords of all (see Keyssner pp.20ff., 48f., 53f. and
above p.29).

The theme of both requests in line 5 is that of 'mercy' which
is commonly found in the Greek pagan and Christian hymns and prayers
alike.

Finally this poem (as well as 1.1.34) falls in the category of
thanksgiving hymns (see below the discussion on σοι χάρις: 1).

I. Introduction (1)

1. Σοὶ χάρις :   In the Migne edition this poem (as well as 1.1.34) is entitled Εὐχαριστήριον (A thanksgiving) although, as it seems without any MS support. This title is justifiable as the hymn begins by addressing the expression χάρις (sc. εἶναι) to the Godhead. The usage of this expression in a thanksgiving context has its origins in St Paul as one may discern from: 1Cor.15.57, 2Cor.2. 14, 8.16, 9.15, Rom.7.25 and 6.17 where phrases similar to τῷ δὲ θε- ῷ χάρις are used.   Such usage may be also attested from Origen. orat. 15.2 (GCS 2 p.334.17f.): εὐχαριστοῦντες οὖν οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν ταῖς προσευ- χαῖς ἑαυτῶν τῷ θεῷ διὰ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ χάριτας ὁμολογοῦσιν αὐτῷ.   See Deichgräber p.43f.

The more common verb εὐχαριστεῖν was here avoided since in liturgical language it is primarily used in a eucharistic context (see Lampe s.v.); while ἐξομολογεῖσθαι is mainly restricted in LXX Psalms.

Generally speaking the thanksgiving was not considered by the various hymn-classifiers as a particular type of hymn (see above p. 14ff.), although, undoubtedly hymns should have been composed and performed in order to thank gods for delivering men from this or that bad situation, or for bestowing on them various benefits. See e.g. Aesch. Agam.821f., Eur. Heraclid.870, Maiistas Praescr. lines 20f. (Coll.Alex. p.69), and LSJ s.v. εὐχαριστήρια and Cairns p.75f.

Unlike what happens in the majority of Greek pagan hymns, the name of the recipient of the present hymn is replaced by σοί (while in 1.1.30.1 by σέ), partly because the poet may want to underline his close connection to a 'personal' god, and partly because the Christian Godhead has no proper name, but is always addressed by one or more of His characteristics or appellations. According to Gre- gory such appellations may refer to God's nature (οὐσίας ὀνόματα)

in or.30.18 (Gallay p.262; M.36.125C), or to His power and divine

'economy' (προσηγορίαι ἐξουσίας καὶ οἰκονομίας: or.30.19(p.264;128B)).

Apart from this introductory second person pronoun, in the hymn

there are five more such pronouns which determine the style of the

hymn. This feature of extensive usage of such pronouns appears in

most of the hymns under discussion, so that they appear to comply

with the characteristics of Greek pagan hymns from the later period

(see Haldane p.108) . An instance from the Psalms where such a

pronoun is used to introduce a Psalm is LXX Ps.64.1: σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος

ὁ θεός (cf. 73. 13-17 where σή or σύ is used eight times).

1. ὦ πάντων βασιλεῦ : The use of the interjection ὦ (found

also in 1.1.34.1,12 and 1.1.29.1,16) complies with the practice of

Greek tragedians (see above p. 43f.). For this appellation cf.

carm.1.2.1.409 (553): πάντων βασιλῆος (sc. God) and 2.1.1.599f.

(1014):/ σοί ..., βασιλεύτατε/ ὅς πάντων κρατέεις καὶ μοι σθένος ἐσ-

σοὶ μέγιστον (sc. Christ). The title βασιλεύς is common of any

god: pagan or Christian (see above p. 25f.) . However, there are

very few examples of the combination πάντων βασιλεύς as it appears

here. These are: Pind. fr.169.1 (ed. Snell-Maehler, 1975): Νόμος

ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς/ θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων and Pap.Mag.Gr.xii.264:

ὁ πάντων μόναρχος βασιλεύς. From the Christian texts see Serap.

Euch.5.11: σὺ γὰρ εἶ ... ὁ πάντων κύριος καὶ βασιλεύς and 19.1:

βασιλεῦ καὶ κύριε τῶν ἁπάντων.

The origin of this phrase should be sought in a philosophical

context as for instance in Demodritus fr.30 (H. Diels, Vorsokr. ii

p.151): βασιλεὺς οὗτος (sc. Zeus) τῶν πάντων and Plat. Crat.396a

where Zeus is called by Socrates βασιλεὺς τῶν πάντων . See also

Idem Epist.ii.312e 1-2, Orph. fr.21a.7 (Kern) and ib.168.5.

Different expressions of the same idea, namely that Zeus governs

everything, may be found in the following poetic texts: Pind. Isth.

5.53 (ed. Snell-Maehler 1971): Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων κύριος, Soph. OT 903f.: ὦ κρατύνων ... Ζεῦ, πάντ' ἀνάσσων and above all the philosophical hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes: Ζεῦ, φύσεως ἀρχηγέ, νόμου μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν (2). (φf. also lines 14 and 35). Further examples on these and other expressions may be found in Keyssner pp.30ff. and 83.

Finally, the kingship of God was a theme particularly celebrated in the Psalms : e.g. LXX Ps.46.8.

In this hymn there are six expressions with πᾶς. Such expressions are common in all the hymns of the present research: in 1.1.34 (nine times), 1.1.35 (once), 1.1.36 (three times), 1.1.37 (three times), 1.1.30 (four times), 1.1.32 (once) and 1.1.29 (eleven times). The particular emphasis the poet places on these expressions may be explained by the fact that they are used directly or indirectly to praise God by underlining the universality of His power or dominion. (see above p. 26). The use of such expressions is a common feature of both Greek pagan and Christian hymns, examples of which may be found in Keyssner p.30ff. and Deichgräber p.102 n.3 respectively.

1. πάντων δὲ ποιητά : Cf. Const.Apost.8.48.3: θεός ... τῶν ὅλων διὰ Χριστοῦ ποιητής, 37.2 and Serap. Euch.21: σοὶ (sc. God) τῷ τῶν πάντων ποιητῇ. The common epithet ποιητής stands here instead of the Biblical κτίστης (used in 1.1.31.7), or γενέτωρ and γενετήρ (both used of the Greek pagan gods: see Keyssner pp.20-22 for such examples).

The transition to the Praise is made asyndetically as happens also in 1.1.31.3 and 2.1.38.5 (see above p. 27f.).

II. Praise A (2-4): Creation and preservation of the world

2f. οὐρανός ... σοφίης : 'the heavens were filled with your glory and the earth with your wisdom'. With these two images the poet seems to show in a way reminiscent of Biblical images how God's glory and wisdom is revealed in Creation. The first image may therefore be compared to LXX Ps.18.1: οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται δόξαν θεοῦ

and 112.4 : ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ, whereas for the second

image the closest Biblical passages I could find are: LXX Pr.3.19: ὁ

θεὸς τῇ σοφίᾳ ἐθεμελίωσεν τὴν γῆν and Ps.103.24: πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποί-

ησας. However, a better parallel (which combines both images) seems

to be a passage from Abacuc's prayer in LXX Abac.3.3: ἐκάλυψεν οὐ-

ρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ πλήρης ἡ γῆ, although σοφία

(as a specific characteristic of God) is replaced with the more

general ἀρετή, and δόξα with its equivalent αἴνεσις , both used in a

reversed order (i.e. ἀρετή with heavens and αἴνεσις with earth). To

this one may add a variation of the hymn of the Seraphim in LXX Is.

6.3 : ... πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου as this appears in

e.g. Liturg.Jac.(Brightman p.51.1).

The restriction of the poet in mentioning only heavens and earth

when analysing the content of πάντων (1), seems to follow that in

Ep.Col.1.16: ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς

γῆς.

The enjambement in line 2 and the strong caesura after the

second princeps/longum of line 3 are common features of the present

hymns (see above p.45).

Lines 3b-4 : These lines were possibly added in order to show

the function and participation of all the three persons of the Tri-

nity in the creation and preservation of the world. The importance

of this subject for the Fathers in general (see e.g. Irenaeus haer.

4.38.3 in M.7.1108B), and for Gregory in particular may be attested

from a number of Gregorian passages. Apart from 1.1.30. 13-16,20-

24, 1.1.31. 3-6, 1.1.32. 7-12 and 2.1.38. 11-14 (which are discussed

below ad loc.), one may refer to or.34.15 (M.36.256A), or.39.12

(348A): Ἡμῖν δὲ εἷς θεὸς ὁ Πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ εἷς Κύριος Ἰ-

ησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα

(cf. Ep.1Cor.8.6 and Rom.11.36), or.45.7 (M.36.632A) = or.38.11(321C)

where/the Logos is called δημιουργός, <u>or</u>.32.10(185A): Λόγου ... τοῦ
πάντα δημιουργήσαντος , <u>ib</u>.7(181B): ὁ διακοσμήσας Λόγος and <u>or</u>.41.14
(448A) where the Holy Spirit co-creates with the Son : Τοῦτο τὸ Πνεῦ-
μα συνδημιουργεῖ μὲν Υἱῷ καὶ τὴν κτίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

On Gregory's cosmology to which anthropology and angelology are
included see Ruether pp.130-36, J.F. Callahan, 'Greek Philosophy and
the Cappadocian Cosmology', <u>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</u>, 12(1958), 29-57
and B. Otis, ' Cappadocian Thought as a coherent System', <u>Ibid</u>.,95-
124.

3. θεὸς Υἱὸς ὁ σὸς Λόγος : One may discern a didactic tone
behind the phrase. The same tone is found also in 1.1.34.3 where the
poet supports the view of the creation <u>ex</u> <u>nihilo</u> (see below the note
<u>ad</u> <u>loc</u>.), 1.1.35. 3-5 and 1.1.31.3a. In most cases the didacticism
in Christian hymns in general refers to various dogmatic beliefs
which form the content of confessions so that Kroll seems to be right
to suggest that ' a confession-like formula can easily find its place
in a hymn which can then receive an expressly doctrinal character'
(see Kroll, p.16 n.2). This dogmatic character of early Christian
hymns later becomes a primary feature of Byzantine hymnography (see e.g.
P.N.Trempelas,'Ἐκλογὴ Ἑλληνικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ὑμνογραφίας(Athens,1978),p.18.

3. Λόγος ἔκτισε πάντα : Cf. <u>carm</u>.1.1.10.14 (466):/ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ
Λόγος τε καὶ κτίστης ὅλων. In the fourth theological oration Gregory
attempts to explain Christ's by-name Λόγος as : Λόγος δέ (sc. ἐστὶν ὁ
Χριστός), ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ὡς πρὸς νοῦν λόγος· .... Τά-
χα δ' ἄν εἴποι τις, ὅτι καὶ ὡς ὅρος πρὸς τὸ ὁριζόμενον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ
τοῦτο λέγεται λόγος : <u>or</u>.30.20 (Gallay p.266f.; M.36.129A); cf. also
Mason's note <u>ad</u> <u>loc</u>., <u>or</u>.23.11 (Mossay p.302; M.35.1161C), <u>or</u>.45.30
(M.36.664A), <u>carm</u>.1.1.3.64 (413) and the discussion on this by-name
in Moreschini p.1382f.

However, the choice of this particular by-name in a passage

dealing with the subject of creation has not been made without strong reasons. To prove this we may refer e.g. to or.41.14 (M.36.448A) where Gregory appears to support the participation of the Son of God in the creation by reference to LXX Ps.32.6 which he cites as: τῷ Λόγῳ Κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν. The implication is obvious: the Psalmic λόγος is interpreted as the Logos (i.e. the Son of God). The same interpretation may be found also in 1.1.30.16f. with the close position of λόγος (referring to the Biblical exposition of the act of creation) and Λόγος (the second person of the Trinity).

Line 4 : Cf. carm.1.1.31.6 (and the note ad loc.). In the various Creeds the Holy Spirit is called ζωοποιόν (see A. Hahn, Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche, third edit. by L. Hahn (Breslau: E.Morgenstern, 1897), pp.130,135,146,164). The same appellation is used by Gregory in or.33.17(M.36.237A); while in carm.1.1.3.6 (408) the Spirit is called: οὐρανίων χθονίων τε φερέσβιον (cf. 2.1.38.11 and the note ad loc.). The Spirit is called ζωοποιόν in the triadological doxology whereby a number of liturgical prayers end . Cf. Liturg.Jac. (Brightman p.31.13, 32.13,22, 36.12 etc.) and Liturg.Marc. (Idem p.122.6, 123.30 etc.). The above passages show that the idea that God is a life-giver became a characteristic restricted to the third person of the Trinity, although at first this was used of God in general : see e.g. in the prayer of Anne (LXX 1Reg.2.6): Κύριος θανατοῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ, in St Paul's speech on Areopagus (Act.17.25): αὐτὸς διδοὺς πᾶσι ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα (cf. Ep.1Tim.6.13), Serap. Euch.30.1 and Const.Apost.8.12.22: σύ ... εἶ ... τῆς ζωῆς χορηγός.

The same idea, namely that gods are life-givers, occurs in the Greek pagan hymns as well and is expressed particularly with the epithets βιοδώτωρ: Orph. hymn.73.2, and βιοδῶτις: Orph. hymn.29.3, 55.12 (see further examples in Keyssner p.125).

The usage in lines 1-4 of second person pronouns (five times) produces a similar stylistic effect as that in Aristotle's hymn to Arete (PLG ii p.360f. Bergk), or in the hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes.

III. Prayer (5)

The request for mercy (which appears also in 1.1.34.19, 1.1.29. 15 and 1.1.30.36,48) is found very often both in pagan and Christian hymns and prayers. Various propitiatory expressions to pagan gods are collected in Keyssner pp.91-93 (see also above p.31).

5. ἱλήκοις : Cf. Synes. hymn.4.24.

5. ἵλαθι : Cf. Gregory's carm.2.1.1.403 (1000), ib.632 (1017) and 2.1.22.22 (1282); also Hom.hymn.20.8, Callim. hymn.Cer.138, Mag. hymn.Helius 24 (Abel), Procl. hymn.7.40 and Synes. hymn.1.113,114.

5. θεία Τριάς : The poet departs from using ἁγία (the more common attribute of Trinity) and chooses θεία instead (which corresponds in sense to δῖος , an epithet of general application to Greek pagan gods and men alike: see above p. 26).

In 1.1.30.25 the Trinity is characterized as ζῶσα and in 2.1.38.24 as ἐπουρανίη (see the notes ad loc.); while in 1.1.31.3 it is not accompanied by any epithet.

IV. Praise B (6-11): Mystery of redemption

Line 6 : It is a brief declaration of the Christological dogma of incarnation. The same subject appears also in 1.1.35. 6-8, 1.1. 36.14 and 2.1.38.27f, and is discussed very often by Gregory , particularly in his orations, the two epistles To Cledonius: ep.101,102 (Gallay p.36-94 ; M.36.176A-201C), the second Arcana poem On the Son: carm.1.1.2 (401-08), 1.1.9. 31-84 (459-63) and the two dogmatic poems On Christ's incarnation: 1.1.10, 1.1.11 (464-71). From these texts I choose two passages where there are verbal similarities with our hymn. These are: or.38.2 (M.36.313Bf.): ὁ (sc. Christ) ἄσαρκος σαρκοῦται ... ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γίνεται (cf. or.39.

13,(348D) and or.40.45 (424B)), and or.45.9 (633D) = or.38.13

(325Bf.): (ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος) ... ἓν ἐκ δύο τῶν ἐναντίων (sc. γίνεται),

σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐθέωσε, τὸ δὲ ἐθεώθη.

On Gregory's Christology one may consult, among others, A.J.

Mason, pp.xviff., J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, fifth re-

vised edition (London, 1977), p.297f., A. Grillmeier, Christ in

Christian Tradition, vol.1, trans. by J. Bowden, second revised edit.

(Lon.-Oxf., 1975), pp.368ff., R.V. Sellers, Two ancient Christolo-

gies (London, 1940), pp.65-79 and H.A. Wolfson, The Philosophy of the

Church Fathers, vol.1, second revised edition (Cambr. Mass.,1964),

pp.370f.,396f., 421f., 424.

The expressions Υἱὲ θεοῦ and (sc. Υἱὲ) ἀνθρώπου are Biblical:

see e.g. Ev.Mt.16.16, 20.18.

Finally, note the contrast : Υἱὲ θεοῦ - (Υἱὲ) ἀνθρώπου and κα-

τὰ πνεῦμα - κατὰ σάρκα and the word-arrangement: a-b-a-b. Such a

style is typical of Gregory (see above p.46).

Lines 7-11: The result of Christ's incarnation

This section may be compared with Gregory's or.44.4 (M.36.612B):

Ἐντεῦθεν (sc. from Christ's incarnation) θάνατος καὶ ταφὴ καὶ ἀνά-

στασις. Ἐντεῦθεν ἡ καινὴ κτίσις (cf. ib.2 (608C-609A) and or.45.1

(624B)), and or.45.9 (636A) = or.38.13 (325C): μεταλαμβάνει τῆς ἐμῆς

σαρκός, ἵνα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα σώσῃ καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἀθανατίσῃ. Both these

passages help us in understanding φύσιν (10) in the present context

as man's 'new nature in Christ' .   To these passages one may add

carm.1.1.10.5f. (465): ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐγίγνετ' ἄνθρωπος θεός/ θεὸς τε-

λεῖτ' ἄνθρωπος, 1.2.14. 90-92 (762) and 1.1.11.9f.(471).

7. μόρον ... ἐπισπεῖν : This may be compared to the regular

Homeric formula πότμον ἐπισπεῖν which is used e.g. in Od.24.31, 4.

562 and Il.6.412 (in the same sedes).

8. οἷα βροτός : This expression is contrasted with οἷα θεός

and both occupy the first <u>sedes</u> in two successive lines. The anaphora produced and the strong caesura after both expressions mark emphatically Christ's dual nature. The same contrast between the human and divine nature of Christ may be seen in Gregory's <u>carm</u>.1.1. 10.23f. (467): Ὅλος θεός τε καὶ βροτὸς σῴζων μ' ὅλον/ υἱὸς νοούμενός τε καὶ ὁρώμενος./, <u>ib</u>.27 :(sc. Λόγον)/ αὐτὸν θεόν τε καὶ βροτὸν σωτήριον and <u>carm</u>.2.1.19.88 (1278): θεὸς βροτός (sc. Christ).

Anaphora at the beginning of lines is found also in 1.1.34.1,2, 1.1.36.31,32, 2.1.38.15,17,19 (σοί),23,25 (σόν),29,31, (σοί),39,43,47, 49 (σήμερον), 1.1.31.1,2, 1.1.30. 4-10 (δι' ὅν), 27,28 (φύσιν), 1.1. 32.7,8,13 (ὅς) and 1.1.29.2,3 (πῶς),4,5 (μοῦνος),6,7 (πάντα). This feature as a common Hellenistic device may be seen e.g. in Callim. <u>hymn.Jov</u>.6,7 (see also McLennan <u>ad loc</u>. where reference is made to Homeric instances exemplifying the same feature). An elaborate example of it from the later period of Greek literature is Procl.<u>hymn</u>. 6. 1-3, 13-15 (χαῖρε).

8. πύλας ... ἀϊδονῆος : Cf. 2.1.38.41: πυλεῶνας ἀΐδαο, the Homeric phrase πύλαι 'Αΐδαο in e.g. <u>Il</u>.5.646, 9.312 and <u>Od</u>.14.156 (cf. Aesch. <u>Agam</u>.1291), and the Biblical πύλαι ᾅδου in <u>Ev.Mt</u>.16.18.

9. οἷα θεός : The phrase appears in the same <u>sedes</u> in <u>carm</u>.2. 1.1.14, 379 (971,998). Cf. also 2.2.5.254 (1540).

9. θανάτου ... ἀναστάς : Cf. 2.1.38.40 : θανάτου κέντρον ἀπεσκέδασε and the note <u>ad loc</u>. The present passage may be compared also with two liturgical passages in <u>Const.Apost</u>.8.12.33: (ἵνα) ... θανάτου ἐξέληται (sc. Christ) τούτους (sc. the dead), ... καὶ ῥήξῃ τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ διαβόλου and <u>Liturg.Bas</u>. (Brightman p.404.18) : ἔλυσε (sc. Christ) τὰς ὀδύνας τοῦ θανάτου . Both passages are in the Anaphora:the first of the so-called Clementine Liturgy and the second from that of St Basil.

10. βροτέῃ γενεῇ : The expression is used in the same <u>sedes</u> in

Nonn. Dion.3.253. Cf. also Clem.Alex. hymn.Christ.17 ap. Paed.
(ed. Heitsch p.158), AP 1.22.2 and Orph. hymn.18.5. The neuter
form βρότειον γένος may be found in e.g. Eur. fr.898.13 (Nauck^2,
TGF, p.648) and Aristot. hymn.Arete 1 (PLG ii p.360 Bergk); while
βρότεον γένος in Orph. hymn.59.6.

10. φύσιν: 'man's divine nature'. On this interpretation
see above the note on lines 7-11.

10f. φύσιν ... ἤματα πάντα : In order to have the obvious
sense of this passage : 'you have granted the human race a nature
such that we may live in eternity' οἷα should have been οἵαν (see
Smyth 2497, 2003). This change may possibly be explained as an
attraction to the neuter form : ἤματα πάντα.

10. ἡμᾶς : This is a correction suggested by Tollius (see the
note on 1.1.33 in ed. 1696) in the place of the obviously corrupted
readings of both MSS.

11. ζώειν ἤματα πάντα : This expression is used twice in the
Homeric hymn to Aphrodite :221, 240.

ἤματα πάντα : Cf. 1.1.34.29,30. This is a regular Homeric
formula (cf. Il.8.539, 12.133) and seems to have been employed by the
poet instead of the Biblical αἰών-formula (see below the note on 1.1.
34.30). It is found quite often in the Homeric hymns : hymn.Apoll.
485, hymn.Cer.367, in Orac.Sibyl.11.265, Mag.hymn.Ven.10,13 (ed.
Heitsch p.199) and Apoll. Met.Ps.144.3,6, 90.32.

11. ἄμβροτον : Cf. 2.1.38.27, carm.1.1.18.37 (483) and 1.1.34.
15. This is a universal divine epithet used for instance of Dionysus
in Orph. hymn.30.7, of Apollo in AP 9.525.2 and of Athene in Soph. OT
159. See Bruchmann, Epitheta Deorum, for further examples and above
p. 26. The same epithet may be found in Orac.Sibyl.3.628, 693, 5.
66, 14.37, fr.1.11.

11. (σέ)... αἰὲν ἀείδειν : Cf. Hom.hymn.21.4 where the same

expression (found in the same sedes) is used of Apollo. The formula
αἰὲν ἀείδειν (whereby the poet expresses his wish to hymn God cease-
lessly) is a regular feature of Greek pagan hymns and prayers. See
e.g. Hesiod. Theog.34, Theogn.3f., Cleanth. hymn.6 (Zeus) and Mesom.
hymn.Helius 19 (ed. Heitsch p.25). On this formula see Keyssner p.
42f. The same notion may be expressed negatively as happens in Hom.
hymn.Apoll.177f.: οὐ λήξω ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα/ ὑμνέων which may in
turn find its Biblical parallel in the way Ezekiah's prayer ends in
LXX Is.38.20: οὐ παύσομαι εὐλογῶν σε ... πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς
μου. The present phrase may be compared also to διηνεκές (or διὰ
παντὸς) ἀείδειν in 1.1.34.10 and 1.1.31.9 respectively (see the notes
ad loc.).

The hymn I have discussed here resembles in various aspects with
the one which follows (1.1.34). The comparison between the two in the
form of a brief analysis of their content, structure and sources is
made at the end of 1.1.34. Therefore, as a conclusion to this poem I
am confined to make only the following remarks.

With regard to hymn-features 1.1.33 provides an example of the
αἰὲν ἀείδειν-formula, makes extensive use of expressions with πᾶς,
uses epithets with general application: βασιλεύς, ἄμβροτος, and the
common request for mercy (5). The divergencies of the hymn from the
Greek pagan ones lie, apart from the general Christian content of
Praise (creation and mystery of redemption) , primarily on the use of
the introductory phrase χάρις εἶναι, on the replacement of the proper
name or by-name of god with the personal pronoun σοί and on the dida-
ctic tone which marks the Praise in general and line 3 in particular.
All these are features found either in the early Christian hymnogra-
phy or in the Bible.[1]

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1. A Table of the main features appearing in the hymns under dis-
    cussion may be found below in Appendix IV.

Carm.1.1.34

The present hymn is very carefully constructed as the theme of
each part leads naturally to that of the following one. This may be
illustrated as follows: The Introduction (1-2a), which is the same as
that in 1.1.33 with the exception that σοὺ χάρις is repeated in line 2,
leads to the first theme of the Praise part (2b-13): the creation from
non-existent matter of the intelligible powers and of the visible world
(2b-3). The reference to angels leads consequently to the second theme
of the Praise part, namely the scene of the throne of God surrounded
by the choirs of hymn-singers: angels, the Church triumphant and stars
who all raise a pure and ceaseless hymn to God (4-13). The repetition
of the first line in line 12 shows that this verse itself may be the
actual hymn sung by the heavenly choir, whereas line 13 serves to
join the Praise part with the Prayer (14-29a) since it contains the
key-word of the Praise part which is the epithet ἀκήρατος used to
characterize both the heavenly hymn-singers and their hymn (4,11,13).

The idea of purity expressed in ἀκήρατος determines the content
of the Prayer. First it brings the poet, who, as a human being, is
liable to sin, into contrast with the sinlessness of the heavenly
choirs and makes him, therefore, approach God as a humble supliant
(14-18). On the other hand, most of the requests are connected with
the idea of purity: for mercy (19f.), rescue from eternal death (20f.),
purity of thoughts (21b), or for pure life and death (26). The final
section (29b-30) brings back the subject of the Introduction with the
repetition of σοὺ χάρις which serves, not only as an additional praise
to God, but also as a sort of promise to Him for a ceaseless hymn by
the poet which thus corresponds to that of the heavenly choirs. In
other words, the introductory address (1) is the core of the hymn
since it serves, not only as a means, or idea, whereon the whole hymn
is composed, but also as the actual heavenly hymn (12). This may be

further attested by the fact that the poet returns to the intro-
ductory address at the end of the hymn (although he repeats only
σοὶ χάρις - possibly for reasons of variation) and, by doing so,
he somehow encircles within it both Praise and Prayer, and thus he
makes their content subordinate to that of the introductory address.
In this way a sort of ring composition is produced. Further
evidence for this ring composition is the introductory appellation
of God (πάντων) βασιλεύς which is repeated towards the end of the
hymn : (ἀγαθὸς) βασιλεύς (29).

Another point worth mentioning is the particular appellations
whereby God is addressed. In the introductory invocation and Praise
God is called King and Maker of all. Both appellations present an
objective picture of God i.e. that which is exemplified in the Psalms
and other OT prayers. On the other hand, in the Prayer He is in-
voked as Father, a title which marks the poet's personal relation-
ship with Him and is completely a NT feature (cf. e.g. The Lord's
prayer in Ev.Mt.6. 9-13). Therefore, we may say that the two major
sections of the hymn :1-13 and 14-30 present two ways of celebrating
God : the impersonal (of OT) and the personal (of NT).

I. Introduction (1-2a)

Line 1 is the same as 1.1.33.1 (see the note ad loc.) and is re-peated in line 12. The composition of two poems beginning with the same line, or the repetition of the whole or part of a line within the same poem are some of the techniques in verse-composition used in Gregory's undisputed poems (see below Appendix III).

2. σοὶ χάρις(sc. εἶναι): The repetition of an introductory phrase at the beginning of the following line is another common feature in Gregory's authentic poems. See e.g. carm.2.1.54.1,2(1397f.). This feature appears also in 1.1.31.1,2 where the repeated word is the introductory verbal phrase of the hymn as happens in the present case. On the feature of anaphora in the hymns covered by the present research see the note on 1.1.33.8.

With the strong caesura after σοὶ χάρις a ring-form is produced which shows that particular emphasis is placed on the phrase. Repetitions of the introductory verb or verbal phrase occur also in Greek pagan hymns: see e.g. Procl.hymn.1.1,2 and 6.1-3,13-15; and they must be due to the solemn style of hymns and prayers as is the case with the feature of anadiplosis, usually of the god's name: e.g. Ἔρως, Ἔρως in Eur. Hippol. 525. On this feature see also Norden, p.169 n.1.

II. Praise (2b-13)

The transition to the Praise part is made with the relative pronoun ὅς as happens also in 1.1.36.1 and its variation 1.1.37.2, and in 1.1.32. 7 (see above p.27f.). Relative clauses in the Praise part are used in 1.1.35.4,6, 2.1.38.13, 1.1.31.3, 1.1.30.4-10,20, 1.1.32.8,13, and 1.1.36. 3 (two). The repeated use of them in the present hymns, particularly in 1.1.36, 1.1.30, and 1.1.32, shows that our hymns comply with the characteristics of Greek pagan hymns from the later period of Greek literature (see Haldane p.108 and above p. 24f.).

The Praise part contains two subjects: the creation (2b-3) which shows God's power and is expressed in two relative clauses: ὅς... τέ...; and the scene of the throne (4-13) which may be further divided into two sections: the description of it (4-9) and the hymn of the heavenly choirs (10-13). The description is enclosed within the phrase σὸν θρόνον ἀμφιέπουσιν (4, -ποντες: 9), so that the ring form thus produced corresponds wonderfully to the circular arrangement of the choruses around the throne of God implied from ἀμφιέπειν (4,9). This may be seen also in another ring form produced by ἔνθεν... ἔνθεν in line 5. The second section (10-13) describes the opposite feelings of joy and fear with which the heavenly choir raises the ceaseless hymn to God, the actual content of which seems to be line 12. Both the choir and its hymn are characterized as pure : ἀκήρατος (4,11,13).

2b-3: Creation from non-existent matter

It is worth noticing that while the equivalent passage in the previous hymn (1.1.33.2f.) is based on the first antithetical pair: ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς of Ep. Col.1.16, the present passage is based·on the second antithetical pair: τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα of the same passage. From what follows in the Pauline passage, τὰ ἀόρατα in it refers to the angels and this is very likely to be also the sense of τὰ νοητά in the present hymn. Such interpretation is supported by a passage from Gregory's or.38.9(M.36.320C)= or.45.5(629A): πρῶτον μὲν ἐννοεῖ (sc. God) τὰς ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ οὐρανίους· and ib.10 (321Af.)= ib.6(629C): Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ νοητὸς αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὑπέστη κόσμος.... δεύτερον ἐννοεῖ κόσμον ὑλικὸν καὶ ὁρώμενον:καὶ οὗτός ἐστι τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ σύστημά τε καὶ σύγκριμα. Here, ὁ νοητὸς κόσμος is also the angels. Elsewhere Gregory uses the Pauline pair ὁρατός-ἀόρατος to refer to κόσμος. See e.g. or.40.45(M.36.424A) : Πίστευε τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, ὅσος τε ὁρατὸς καὶ ὅσος ἀόρατος, ἐξ οὐκ

ὄντων παρὰ θεοῦ γενόμενον (cf. also or.44.3, 609Bf.). The latter passage
may be used as a parallel to line 3 since in both cases the patristic
view of the creation from non-existent matter is stated (see below). To
return to the meaning of τὰ νοητά: both the Pauline passage and the
parallel ones from Gregory show that by τὰ νοητά the poet implies the
angels. Furthermore, the preference for τὰ νοητά in the present hymn and
for ὁ νοητὸς κόσμος in the Gregorian passage, instead of the Pauline
term τὰ ἀόρατα, must owe something, at least in wording, to the common
Platonic idea of the two worlds expressed as τὰ νοούμενα and τὰ φαινό-
μενα, or as αἰσθητός, ὁρατός (sc.κόσμος) and νοητός (cf. e.g. Rep.509d).
The distinction between the two worlds is used by Gregory in or.18.3
(M.35.988C): τῶν δύο κόσμων, τοῦ τε παρόντος καὶ οὐχ ἐστῶτος, καὶ τοῦ
νοουμένου καὶ μένοντος when he contrasts man's present life with the
life to come. See also or.2.74(Bernardi, p.186; M.35. 481B) and or.7.19
(780B), and Gottwald,p.16 and Moreschini, pp.1356-57.

3. στῆσας: The form is not cited in Veitch s.v.ἵστημι and it thus
seems to have been composed by analogy to other existing forms. Con-
struction of such forms was a particular Gregorian habit (see above
p.39). On the other hand, the choice of στῆναι in the sense 'to
create' may be owed e.g. to LXX Ps.148.6: ἔστησεν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, or
Is.40.22. The same unaugmented form of aorist is used also in 1.1.36.7.

3. οὐ πρὶν ἐόντα καὶ ἐξ ἀφανοῦς κατέδειξας: In carm.1.1.4(415-23),
the fourth Arcana poem which is a didactic treatise on Christian
Cosmology, the first section (1-23) discusses the Christian view of
creation ex nihilo (implied also in the present hymn) as opposed to the
Greek philosophical idea of creation from pre-existent matter (see
Sykes, 'Arcana',pp.257-73, A.H.Armstrong, 'The Theory of the non-existence
of matter in Plotinus and the Cappadocians', Studia Patristica, V(= TU
80, Berlin,1962),427-29 and G.V.Florovsky, 'The Idea of Creation in

Christian Philosophy', East.Church Quart.,suppl.,8(1949-50),53-57).Cf.

also Const.Apost.8.12.7:ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρα-

γαγὼν διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ.

The careful structure of this section, which is in accordance with

Gregorian practice (see above page 46 on the rhetorical figures), may

be seen, not only in the antithetical pair: τὰ νοητά and τὰ ὁρατά and

the parallel one: λόγῳ - κελεύσει, which seems to derive from LXX Ps.

148.5: εἶπεν - ἐνετείλατο, but also in the chiasmus: στῆσας(a) - οὐ

πρὶν ἐόντα (b) - ἐξ ἀφανοῦς (b) - κατέδειξας (a) which is at the same

time a form of pleonasm.

4-13: Scene of the throne

The picturesque description of the throne of God in heaven

surrounded by angels, the Church triumphant and stars, who all raise a

ceaseless hymn to God, is based on a combination of Biblical passages:

Apoc.5.11f.[1], Ep.Heb.12.22f., Isaiah's famous vision of inauguration

(LXX Is.6.1-3) and various Psalmic and other passages of secondary

importance e.g. LXX Ps.148.3 and Dan.3.62f. The same Biblical passages

influenced a similar scene at the end of the anaphora of the Clementine

Liturgy (cf. Const.Apost.8.12.27) and of that in the Liturgy of St

James (ed. Brightman, p.50), so that both texts may be considered as

indirect sources of the present hymn. Besides, similar elements appear

also in the section Ἀρχὴ τῆς Προσκομιδῆς of the Liturgy of Gregory

Nazianzen (M.36.708B-D), which is a variant of the Coptic rite (see

the note in M.36.699-700). Cf. also Ser.Euch.13.9-11.

4. σὸν θρόνον ἀμφιέπουσιν: The phrase is repeated in line 9b (but

ending in -έποντες) so that the section 4-9 appears to have a ring form

which in turn seems to have been used in order to depict the circular

arrangement of the hymn-singers expressed also in ἀμφι-έπειν, a verb

used with angels also in carm.2.1.99.2(1452) in the same sedes as it

appears in line 9. The present passage may be compared also with carm.

1. For Gregory's attitude to Apocalypse as uncanonical see carm.1.1.12 (472-74).

1.1.7.13f.(439):οἵ (sc. angels) ῥα θόωκον/ ἀμφὶ μέγαν βεβαῶτες and

carm.2.1.45.287f.(1373): θεοῖο/ λάτριες (sc. angels) ὑψιθρόνου πλησίον

ἑσταῶτες.Worth noticing here is also a passage in Orph.fr.248.9f.(Kern)

= fr. 238.9f.(Abel):σῷ δὲ θρόνῳ πυρόεντι (cf. πυρόεις in line 6) παρε-

στᾶσιν πολύμοχθοι/ ἄγγελοι which, not surprisingly, is cited in Clem.

Alex. Strom.v.14,125.3 (GCS 2. p.411.7).

4. ἀκήρατοι ὑμνητῆρες: The epithet ἀκήρατος is repeated twice in

lines 11 and 13 describing in both cases the hymn of the heavenly choirs.

The idea of purity which lies behind it seems to have particular im-

portance as it determines the content of prayer and, therefore, ἀκήρα-

τος must be seen as a key-word in the hymn. Cf. Synes.hymn.8.26.

ὑμνητήρ referring to human beings is used in carm.1.1.8.69(452),

1.2.1.255(541), 2.2.(epit.)78.3(M.38.51), AP7.19.1(Leonid.) and Oppian.

Hal.3.7.

Line 5: Its structure with the ring form ἔνθεν ... ἔνθεν may be

symbolical of the circular arrangement of hymn-singers around the throne

of God.

5. μυριάδες καὶ χιλιάδες: It is a variant of Apoc.5.11 which is a

common Hebraism (see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, 164.1).

6. ἀγγελικῆς στρατιῆς: The phrase is found in the same sedes in AP

1.9.3. Cf. also Apoll.Met.Ps.103.9. In carm.2.2(epit.).119.9(M.38.72)=

AP 8.3.3 angels are called after Ev.Lc.2.13 οὐρανίη στρατιή. Cf. besides

Synes.hymn.5.45 and Nonn.par.Jo.1:52(M.43.706B). Furthermore, ἀγγελικὸς

χορός is often used by Gregory e.g.in 2.1.38.47f., carm.2.1.1.280(991),

2.1.42.29(1346),2.1.45.21(1355) and 1.2.14.117(764).

6. πυρόεις: The epithet is used of various Greek deities: Dionysus,

Hephaestus, Zeus etc. ; or of celestial bodies: stars and the sun

(examples may be found in Bruchmann's Epitheta Deorum). However, here

it applies to angels after LXX Ps.103.4 :ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ

πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον . Besides, in Gregory's

works angels are often called πῦρ as in carm.1.1.7.15(440), 1.2.3.10 (633), or.45.5(M.36.629A)= or.38.9(320C); or δεύτερα φῶτα as in carm. 1.2.1.18f.(523)= carm.1.1.7.11f.(439), or.44.3(M.36.609B) and or.40.5 (364B); or λαμπρότητες δεύτεραι in or.45.5(M.36.629A)= or.38.9(320C).

6. ἄφθιτοι ἀρχαί: The reading ἀρχαί of Cod. Bg was preferred instead of ἀρχήν of Cod. W as referring to one class of angels according to Ep.Col.1.16 (the same source for lines 2b-3). See also Ep. Rom.8.38 and Eph.3.10. In Orac.Sibyl.2.214 angels are called: ἀθανάτου θεοῦ ἄφθιτοι ἀγγελτῆρες. Cf. also Synes.hymn.5.40. The epithet ἄφθιτος, used here of angels, is very commonly used of many Greek gods as early as the Homeric hymns and Hesiod (Theog.389,397). See e.g. Pind.Pyth.4. 291 (ed. Snell-Maehler, 1971). For further examples see Bruchmann's Epitheta. In line 14 of the present hymn the epithet is addressed to the Father, while in 1.1.30.1 and 1.1.35.8 to the Godhead and the Son respectively. One finds it also in e.g. carm.1.1.2.83(408),2.1.2.30 (1019), 2.1.21.1(1280), 1.1.8.97(454), applied in all cases to the Son. As a divine epithet it seems to have replaced the Biblical ἄφθαρτος (see Ep.1Tim.1.17 ,Rom.1.23 and Deichgräber p.101), and is used in Synes.hymn.6.10f.: ὑμνήσομεν ἄφθιτον/ θεόν ,7.20 and quite often in Orac.Sibyl.e.g.5.298,358,12.132, and Apoll.Met.Ps.19.2.

7.: λαοὶ πρωτοτόκων: Source for this phrase seems to be Ep.Heb. 12.23: ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπογεγραμμένων, a passage interpreted by a number of patristic writers who all take it to refer to the faithful and not to angels. From these I cite Clem. Alex.Prot. 9.82.6f.(GCS 1,p.62.25ff.;M.8.193B): αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πρωτότοκος ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν συγκειμένη παιδίων·ταῦτ' ἔστι τὰ πρωτότοκα τὰ ἐναπο- γεγραμμένα ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων συμπανηγυρίζοντα· πρωτότοκοι δὲ παῖδες ἡμεῖς οἱ τρόφιμοι τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου γνή- σιοι φίλοι, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τὸν θεὸν νενοηκότες and Chrys. hom.32.1f. in Heb.12:18-24(M.63.220): Τίνας δὲ πρωτοτόκους καλεῖ λέγων,

καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων; Πάντας τοὺς χοροὺς τῶν πιστῶν. Τοὺς αὐτοὺς δὲ

καὶ πνεύματα δικαίων τετελειωμένων λέγει ...(221): καὶ πνεύμασι δικαίων

τετελειωμένων. Τὰς ψυχὰς λέγει τῶν εὐδοκίμων. See also Euseb.hist.eccles.

10.4.70(GCS 2, p.882; M.20.877Bf.). Accordingly, it is very likely that

λαοὶ πρωτοτόκων of our hymn refers to the faithful and, more precisely,

to the Church triumphant. Hence, πρωτότοκοι is used in the sense it has

in the Hebrews passage in order to describe the status of being a 'first-

born' and not the chronological order in which λαοί were created. On the

same passage (i.e. Ep.Heb.12.22f.) is based also a section from Gregory's

funeral oration to his sister Gorgonia: or.8.6(M.35.796B): Γοργονίᾳ

πατρὶς μὲν ἡ ἄνω 'Ιερουσαλήμ, ἡ μὴ βλεπομένη νοουμένη δὲ πόλις, ἐν ᾗ

πολιτευόμεθα καὶ πρὸς ἣν ἐπειγόμεθα· ἧς πολίτης Χριστὸς καὶ συμπολῖται

πανήγυρις καὶ ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ περὶ

τὸν μέγαν πολιστὴν ἑορταζόντων τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῆς δόξης καὶ χορευόντων χορεί-

αν τὴν ἀκατάλυτον. (The Neoplatonic overtones of the last sentence

have been already noticed by Gottwald who compared it with Plot.Enn.vi.

9.8.44f.) The latter passage may be used in support of my interpretation

of λαοὶ πρωτοτόκων as referring to the Church triumphant. If this is

the case, then Terzaghi is wrong when, commenting on Synes.hymn.5.45,

he cites lines 6-7 of the present hymn, implying thus that line 7 refers

also to angels, possibly by taking πρωτότοκοι as 'first-created'. In

the same hymn of Synesius (5.42) angels are called τὸ πρωτόσπορον εἶ-

δος, whereas in Clem.Alex.Strom.vi.16,143.1(GCS 2, p.504.19) the ἄρχο-

ντες ἀγγέλων are called πρωτόγονοι. In both cases the two epithets have

been obviously used to show that angels were created first, before the

creation of the material world and mankind. However, I have not come

across any passage where πρωτότοκος is used of angels in this sense;

neither have I found any passage with λαοί referring to angels. In

spite of these, there is a weak point in my interpretation: the

disturbed order of the heavenly choirs, which, taking λαοὶ πρωτοτόκων

to refer to the Church triumphant becomes: angels (5-6), the Church triumphant (7a), stars (7b) and again Church triumphant (8). But the order is restored if one takes stars (7b) in a metaphorical sense to refer also to the Church triumphant. This possibility, though slight, is discussed below ad loc.

7. καὶ λαμπομένων χορὸς ἄστρων: Cf. Orac.Sibyl.1.140: ἄστρων με (sc. God) χορὸς περιδέδρομε πάντη/ (cf. also 8.450) and Synes.hymn.8. 34f.:/ θάμβησε δ' ἀκηράτων/ χορὸς ἄμβροτος ἀστέρων /.

The inclusion of the chorus of stars among those of angels and the Church triumphant may be explained by a number of Biblical passages in which God appears to be praised by the various celestial bodies. See e.g. LXX Ps.148.3 (following the invitation made in verse 2 by the poet to the angels and powers of God to praise Him): αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη· αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, πάντα τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὸ φῶς and part of the hymn of the Three Holy Children in LXX Dan.3.62f. The same inclusion appears in the parallel scene from the anaphora of St James's Liturgy (Brightman p.50.16-19): ὃν ὑμνοῦσιν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν, ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἄστρων χορός, γῆ θάλασσα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. The passage is followed by a reference to the hymn of the Church triumphant and then to that of angels; and the order is the reverse of that used here.

It would seem justifiable to take χορὸς ἄστρων also in a metaphorical sense according to Ep.1Cor.15.41: ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων, ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ (cf. also Ep.Phil.2.15 and Ev.Mt.5.14). The interpretation of the passage from 1st Corinthians, whereby the difference in brightness of the various stars shows metaphorically that of men in heaven, is given e.g. in Chrys.hom.41.3 in 1Cor.15:35f. (M.61.358): Τί τοίνυν ἐντεῦθεν (sc. from 1Cor.15.41) καταμανθάνομεν; Ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐν βασιλείᾳ πάντες, οὐ πάντες τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολαύσονται. On these Biblical passages is based also Gregory's carm.1.2.1.213f.

(538):(χορὸς ἀμφὶ ῎Ανακτα φαεσφόρον ὕπτατ').../ λαμπτῆρες κόσμοιο, δι-
αυγέα φωτὸς ἔσοπτρα/ οἳ θεὸν εἰσορόωσι, καὶ ὧν θεός, οἵ τε θεοῖο/ which
refers to the status of men in heaven. See also or.7.17(M.35.776B)
where Gregory wishes that his brother Caesarius is among the angels
and the Church triumphant: καὶ ἀγγέλων ἐποπτεύοις (sc. Caesarius) χο-
ρείαν, καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν δόξας τε καὶ λαμπρότητας. Another reason in
favour of this interpretation is the balance produced in the section
where two lines are used for angels (5,6) and two for men (7,8).

Line 8: It seems to be based on Ep.Heb.12.23: καὶ πνεύμασι δικαί-
ων τετελειωμένων which is interpreted in Chrys.hom.32.1f. in Heb.12:
18-24(M.63.220f.) - the passage is cited above on line 7a. Cf. also
Apoc.6.9. Two close parallels are: a line from the hymn of the Three
Holy Children (LXX Dan.3.86):εὐλογεῖτε, πνεύματα καὶ ψυχαὶ δικαίων,
τὸν Κύριον and the Anaphora of Liturg.Jac. (Brightman p.50.21f.): πνεύ-
ματα δικαίων καὶ προφητῶν, ψυχαὶ μαρτύρων καὶ ἀποστόλων.

9. πάντες ὁμηγερέες: Cf. Il.7.415 and 2.789, both in the same
sedes.

. Line 10: Cf. carm.1.2.1.723(577): γηθόσυνοι μέλπωμεν ἑόρτιον ὕμνον
ἄνακτι (cf. Kaibel ep.1027.36),2.1.1.634(1017): γηθόσυνον ὕμνοις σε
διηνεκέεσσι γεραίρειν and Apoll.Met.Ps.144.4f.:γηθόσυνος μέλπω σε διη-
νεκές.../ οὔνομα δ' ὑμνήσαιμι τεὸν πυκινῇσιν·ἀοιδαῖς/.

10f. διηνεκὲς ἀείδουσι / ὕμνον... ἄπαυστον: Cf. carm.2.1.54.20
(1399) = 2.1.22.12(1281): διηνεκέεσσιν ἐν ὕμνοις/. The passage may be
compared to the αἰέν (or διὰ παντὸς) ἀείδειν expressions in 1.1.33.11
and 1.1.31.9. See the notes ad loc.

For the combination of fear and joy in the feelings of hymn-singers
the closest Biblical parallels I could find are: LXX Ps.2.11: δουλεύ-
σατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ, καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ, Ecclus.1.12: φό-
βος Κυρίου τέρψει καρδίαν, καὶ δώσει εὐφροσύνην καὶ χαράν and Ps.46.1f.

On the subject of Greek and Christian gods alike causing fear to

inferior beings see e.g. Synes.hymn.8.33 and the examples cited by

Terzaghi ad loc. On the other hand, the description of gladness or fear

of mankind and inanimate nature at the time of a god's birth or epiphany

was a common feature of Greek pagan hymns (see above p.28 n.4).

11. ὕμνον ἀνυμνεύοντες ἀκήρατον: Cf. Carmina popularia 8.4f.(PLG

iii, Bergk p.657): ἀκήρατον/ κατάρχομεν τὸν ὕμνον and Liturg.Jac.

(Brightman p.61.26f.): πρόσδεξαι (sc. Λόγε) τὸν ἀκήρατον ὕμνον.

11. ἢ καὶ ἄπαυστον: Cf. carm.1.2.3.95(640): σὺν ἀγγέλοις χορεύ-

σεις (sc. παρθένε) τὴν ἄπαυστον χορείαν.

Line 12 = Line 1. Repetition of the same verse within a hymn may

be seen also in Mesom.hymn.Nem.1=15 (ed. Heitsch p.26), although it is

very likely that lines 16-24 of it form a separate hymn. The present

verse seems to contain the actual hymn sung by the choirs of hymn-

singers. This possibility is supported by οὗτος in the following line.

The poet thus identifies the opening line of his hymn with the hymn sung

by the heavenly choirs which in turn substitutes the Tersanctus i.e.

the Seraphic hymn of the various liturgies (see Brightman p.589).

- 13. ἐπ᾽ οὐρανίοιο: The phrase may be taken also as one word: ἐ-

πουρανίοιο, an epithet used of the Trinity in 2.1.38.24.

13. οὐρανίοιο χοροῖο: In the same sedes we find οὐρανίοιο χορείης

in carm.1.2.1.188(537).

III. Prayer (14-29a)

The Prayer may be divided into two parts: the description of the

poet as a suppliant (14-18) and the actual prayer (19-29a) consisting

of various requests. The content of both parts (as has been said in

the introductory analysis of the poem) is in accordance with and

necessitated by the key-idea of the Praise, namely that of purity.

14-18: The poet as a suppliant

14. ναί: The transition to the Prayer is made by ναίwhich is found

very often in Christian hymns and prayers and rarely in Greek pagan

ones (see above p. 30 n.3). Some Christian examples are: Ev.Mt.11.25f.= Lc.10.21 (see also Apoc.16.7 and Norden p.50 n.4), Synes.hymn.1.529, Clem.Rom. 1Cor.60 (ed. Lightfoot p.177), Naassin.hymn. ap. Origen.Cels. vi.31 (GCS 2, p.100f.; M.11.1341ff.).

14. ναί, λίτομαι: The same expression is addressed by Nicobulus to his father in Gregory's carm.2.2.4.100,101(1513). This is found also in AP 5.165.2 (Meleag.), IG ii/iii.2, 13134 (ed. in W. Peek, Griech-ische Vers-Inschriften , vol.1:'Grab Epigramme' (Berlin,1955), No 1920.3), Procl.hymn.6.8,11, 7.45 and Nonn.Dion.12.26. Further examples of the common verb λίτομαι, or λίσσομαι - in line 17 and 2.1.38.32 - which are used to introduce the Prayer part of Greek pagan hymns, are given in Adami pp.234f. (see also above p.31 n.4).

14. Πάτερ ἄφθιτε: Cf. Πάτερ ἄμβροτε in line 15 and ἐλέους Πάτερ in line 19. On the other hand, Πάτερ alone is used in 1.1.31.12 and 1.1.30.36,48. The present expression is used of Apollo in Kaibel ep. 1025.4 and of Ocean in Orph.hymn.83.1 (in acc.). On the divine epithet ἄφθιτος see above the note on line 6; while for Πατήρ as a common appellation of many Greek pagan gods and in particular of Zeus see Keyssner p.23f., Ausfeld p.512f. and 522, and Beckmann p.34.

The renewal of the introductory invocation at the beginning of the Prayer, or inserted in it, is a common feature in Greek pagan and Christian hymns alike: see e.g. Cleanth.hymn.32 and Procl.hymn.1.33ff. for the first type of hymns and Synes.hymn.6.40 for the second (see also above p. 31   ). Apart from the cases with Πάτερ cited above, other invocations to God in the Prayer part of the present hymns are found in: 1.1.33.5 (θεία Τριάς),6 (Υἱὲ θεοῦ), 1.1.36.19 (μάκαρ),28 (βίου φάος),31 (ὦ ἄνα Χριστέ), 1.1.37.6("Αναξ), and 1.1.32.46 (θεέ).

In lines 14b-18 the poet gives a description of himself as a suppliant of God (ἱκέτης:17) which consists of four elements, the first two taken in a metaphorical and the rest in a literal sense.

These are :1) the kneeling of the heart (14f.), 2) the prostration of the mind (15f.), 3) the bending of the head to face earth (16) which is further emphasized as it is explained in a negative way (18), and 4) the shedding of tears (17). The Biblical overtones of the description will be discussed in detail below. Here, it would be interesting to show why the poet has chosen the way of supplication and not any other of the various manners of praying to Greek or Christian gods alike: e.g. by raising the head and stretching the hands out to heaven, partly described in 1.1.30.43 (see the note ad loc.). (On the various postures of the body during prayer see RAC s.v. 'Gebet I', cols 1216f. and 1228-34.) The explanation for this may be found e.g. in Origen. orat.31.3 (GCS 2, p.396.21ff.; M.11.552Af.) and Basil. Spir.27(M.32. 192C). In the former passage Origen sees kneeling as an act of repentance through which one wants to receive forgiveness of sins and healing from God: καὶ ἡ γονυκλισία δὲ ὅτι ἀναγκαία ἐστίν, ὅτε τις μέλλει τῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ θεοῦ ἁμαρτημάτων κατηγορεῖν, ἱκετεύων περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἰάσεως καὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως αὐτῶν. Basil on the other hand, sees kneeling as a confession of one's sins: καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ γονυκλισίαν καὶ διανάστασιν ἔργῳ δείκνυμεν, ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας εἰς γῆν κατερρύημεν καὶ διὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τοῦ κτίσαντος ἡμᾶς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνεκλήθημεν. The content of the actual prayer in the present hymn is primarily the requests for mercy (19f.), and purification and forgiveness of sins (20f., 26, 28f.), on which all the other secondary requests depend. Therefore, the addition of lines 14b-18 with their description of the poet's supplicatory posture is obviously made to pave the way to the content of the actual prayer (19-29a).

14f. γόνυ κάμπτω/ ἡμετέρης κραδίης: The metaphor appears in the Prayer of Manasses,11 (ed. Swete, The Old Testament in Greek, vol.3. p. 825 = Const.Apost.2.22.14): καὶ νῦν κλίνω γόνυ καρδίας (μου) and in Clem.Rom. 1Cor. 57(Lightfoot p.166): κάμψαντες τὰ γόνατα τῆς καρδίας

ὑμῶν, and has, according to Lightfoot (see the note on Clem.Rom. 1Cor. 57), a strong oriental character. The same metaphor is used also by Gregory in carm.2.1.50.58(1389): οὔ ποτέ σοι (sc. δαῖμον) κάμψω γούνατ᾽ ἐμῆς κραδίης, while a similar one appears in Const.Apost.8.37.6: τοὺς κάμψαντας αὐχένα καρδίας αὐτῶν and in Orac.Sibyl.3.3.: κέκμηκε γὰρ ἔνδοθεν ἦτορ (= 12.298). On the other hand, γόνυ κάμπτειν in its literal sense may be found in e.g. carm.2.1.45.126f.(1362), 2.1.1.577 (1013), Synes.hymn.2.234ff.: Γόνυ σοι κάμπτων,/ ἰδὲ τοῦτο, λάτρις / πίπτω κατὰ γᾶς,/ ἰκέτας ἀλαός and Orac.Sibyl.3.616f.

15. ἡμετέρης κραδίης: The phrase is used in the same sedes in Apoll. Met.Ps.48.6. The possessive pronoun ἡμετέρης is used instead of the more appropriate ἐμῆς metri gratia and according to the common Greek practice followed from Homer onwards. Cf. Od.10.334 and LSJ s.v.

15. Πάτερ ἄμβροτε: On the divine epithet ἄμβροτος see above the note on 1.1.33.11. However, I could not find any case where the invocation πάτερ ἄμβροτε is addressed to any Greek god.

15f. καὶ νόος ἔνδον/ πρηνὴς σοῦ προπάροιθε: The metaphor of the prostrating mind seems to have been built by the poet according to the Biblical one: πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον, καρδίαν συντετριμμένην καὶ τεταπεινωμένην in LXX Ps.50.19 (cf. also ib.12 and Is.58.10) and: ταπεινοὶ τῷ πνεύματι in Ps.33.19. Besides, the choice for νόος instead of the Biblical πνεῦμα may be owed also to the influence of Greek philosophy as is the case with τὰ νοητά in line 2 (see above the note ad loc.). Note the alliteration of π and ρ in the second half of the sentence.

16. κάρη δέ μοι ἐς χθόνα νεύει: The phrase ἐς χθόνα νεύει, though in the sense of dying, appears in the same sedes in carm.2.1.13.53(1231): καὶ γὰρ ἀγοῦ πίπτοντος ὅλος στρατὸς ἐς χθόνα νεύει, which, as Sajdak correctly observed, is the origin of the uncertain Orphic fr.288(Abel) (see J. Sajdak, 'Nazianzenica', part ii, EOS, 16(1910),91); while in 1.2.15.150(777) the body (δέμας) is said to νεύει πρὸς χθόνα τὴν ἰδίην,

as it is made of earth. The expression ἐς χθόνα may be found in the same sedes in e.g. 1.2.1.676(573) and 2.1.17.87(1268). See also Orph. hymn.38.18, Nonn. Dion.42.289 and van Liempt p.22.

17. λισσομένῳ: See the note on λίτομαι in line 14.

Line 17b may be compared to Synes. hymn.1.455ff.: πρηνὴς ἱκέτας/ δάπεδον βλεφάρων/ δεύων νοτίσι (cf. also 1.47,695f. and 2.241), to Clem.Rom. 1Cor.9(Lightfoot p.42): ἱκέται γενόμενοι τοῦ ἐλέους καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ προσπέσωμεν ... ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς αὐτοῦ, to Procl. hymn.1.36 and Orph. hymn.3.13 (cf. also 13.9, 34.27 and 9.12).

As has been shown above the supplication to God described in 14b-18 is oriental, or more precisely Biblical, and is used in Gregorian passages as well. However, when Gregory refers in his poems to supplications to men, he describes them in the Greek way, i.e. by holding the beard and knees of the person entreated (see e.g. Il.8.371, 10. 454f., Eur. Herc.Fur.1208f. and Bacch.1318). Such examples may be found e.g. in carm.2.2.3.340f.(1504) and 2.2.4.100(1513), where in both cases the appeal is made to Nicobulus's father, and 2.1.17.65f. (1266).

17. δάκρυα χεύω: Cf. carm.1.2.9.45(671): δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων and 2.2.3.110(1488).

Line 18 may be compared to a passage from the Prayer of Manasses 9(ed. Swete,OT,iii, p.825): καὶ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἀτενίσαι καὶ ἰδεῖν τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, or even to that from the Prayer of Hezekiah (LXX Is. 38.14), or Ev.Lc. 18.13. The latter passage is rendered by Gregory in carm.2.1.1.399-402(1000) as follows:

Αὐτὰρ ὁ δακρυχέων (sc.the publican) καὶ στήθεα χερσὶ πατάσσων,

οὐδ' ἄντην μεγάλοιο θεοῦ θρόνον οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν

εἰσορόων, λεύσσων δὲ κατ' οὔδεος ὄμμασι δούλοις,

τηλόθεν ἑστηκὼς δὲ λιτάζετο.

The posture of praying by facing the sky is very common nearly in

all religions, including the Greek pagan. See for instance Il.16.231f.:
/ εὔχετ' ... / οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδών which is said to describe Achilles's
prayer to Zeus (233-248), and 24.306f. On the various manners of pray-
ing appearing in the Homeric Epics see Beckmann pp.69-73.

19. ἀλλά : It is used to introduce the actual requests of the
Prayer (see above p.30) and appears also in 1.1.36.19,33, 1.1.37.4
and 2.1.38.32,50.

19. σύ μ' οἰκτείροις: Cf. Synes. hymn.3.31:/Τὰν σὰν οἴκτειρον
κούραν. The requests to Greek gods with οἰκτείρειν are very rare com-
pared with those for ἵλεος or ἔλεος. Actually, from the various
scholars who dealt with the content of Greek hymns and prayers, only
Ausfeld (p.540f.) appears to cite three examples of requests with οἰ-
κτείρειν : Aesch. Choe.130, 502 and Soph. OC 109. To these one may
add also Mesom. hymn.Phys.23 (Heitsch p.27), Isyllus paean 72 (Coll.Alex.134). In
LXX and other Christian texts God is often called οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεή-
μων (see e.g. LXX Ps.85.15, 102.8, 110.4, 144.8, and cf. Ep.Jac.5.11
and Clem.Rom. 1Cor.60 ed. Lightfoot p.176); or πατὴρ οἰκτιρμῶν (see
e.g. Ep.2Cor. 1.3, and cf. Serap. Euch.14.2, 15.1 and Deichgräber p.91f.
and 93).

19. ἐλέους Πάτερ: Although the request for mercy is very common
in Greek pagan and Christian hymns and prayers alike (see above the
note on 1.1.33.5), this particular expression seems to have been con-
structed according to the Biblical appellation κύριε τοῦ ἐλέους (LXX
Sap.9.1) which is used also in Const. Apost.8.37.5. Cf. Blass-Debrun-
ner-Funk, 165.

19. ἵλαος ἔσσο: Cf. Hom. hymn.29.10 and Allen's-Halliday's-Si-
kes's note ad loc., and Il.1.583. The same request is addressed to
Apollo-Helius in Pap.Mag.Gr.iii.213(Preis.) and Nonn. Dion.17.285. For
ἵλαος εἶναι requests in Gregory see e.g. carm.2.1.1.402f.(1000): ἵλαος
εἴης,/ ἵλαθι σῷ θεράποντι and those mentioned below on 1.1.29.15: ἵλα-

ος εἴης.

20. σῷ θεράποντι: The same expression is used in line 25 where it refers to the poet's father, and in 1.1.35.2 and 1.1.38.5 referring to the poet himself as happens in the present passage. See also 1.1.35.12. In these hexameter passages θεράπων is used in the sense of a henchman, worshipper or servant of God (cf. LSJ s.v.) and it thus corresponds to the Biblical expression δοῦλος τοῦ Κυρίου (or Χριστοῦ, or θεοῦ) - cf. e.g. Ep.Gal.1.10, 2Tim.2.24 and 1Petr.2.16 - on which δοῦλος in 1.1.30. 46 is based. Gregory calls himself θεράπων in a number of instances: e.g. carm.2.1.1.403(1000), in the same sedes and 2.1.96.2(1450).

20. κινυρῷ: The epithet is fairly common in Nonnus's Dionysiaca· e.g. 12.173 where it appears in the same sedes and refers to Bacchus.

20. σάου δέ με: Cf. Od.13.230: σάω δ' ἐμέ in the same sedes. The request for a rescue or deliverance of men from various unwanted situations was common in Greek pagan and Christian hymns and prayers. For the former see Aristoph. Ranae 386 (Demeter): καὶ σῷζε τὸν σαυτῆς χορόν, Aristonous paean Apoll.47 (Coll.Alex. p.164) and Eur. Iph.Taur. 1399 and for the latter Synes. hymn.7.6 : / σὺ δέ μου βιοτὰν σάου, 1. 545,548. On the other hand, σῴζειν ἐκ θανάτου may be found not only in Greek pagan texts, e.g.Od.4.753 and Il.22.175, but also in Ep.Heb.5.7. Such a request is used in Gregory's carm.2.1.1.386(999): / ἀλλά μ', "Αναξ, ἐλέαιρε καὶ ἐκ θανάτοιο σάωσον. Cf. also Apoll. Met.Ps.67.50. However, in the present hymn the poet uses the metaphor ἐξ ὀνύχων θανάτοιο for which I have not been able to trace any closer parallels, either in the Bible, or in Greek literature, than the Biblical κέντρον θανάτου (see below the note on 2.1.38.40) for the former and φόνου (or θανάτου) πτερόν in Paroemiographers (e.g. Apost. xvii.88, vol. ii, p.713 and Zenob. vi.31, vol.i, p.171) for the latter. Another Biblical metaphor, used in a similar context to that of the present one, is found in LXX Ps.88.49.

20. χεῖρα τανύσσας: Cf. carm.2.1.1.7,176(970,983), 2.1.55.23 (1401) and 2.2.3.338f.(1504): ῎Αναξ Πάτερ, Υἱὲ μέγιστε,/ δὸς χέρα; also Dioscorus Encom.6.28 (ed. Heitsch p.137): ἀρηγόνα χεῖρ' ἀτανύσ[σ]ης in the same sedes and 7.21,13.14(ed.H. p.138, 143). To these one may add Synes. hymn.5.75f.: ἐπ' ἐμοῖς ἵλαον οὖας/ τάνυσον (cf. also 2.296, 9. 123), Serap. Euch.12.3 and Procl. hymn.6.8,11. Finally, the present expression is equivalent to the Biblical χεῖρα ἐκτείνειν (cf. LXX Ex. 3.20, Ps.137.7 and Ev.Mt.14.31).

21. νοήματα πάντα καθήρας: Cf. carm.2.1.1.347(996): μολύσματα πάντα καθήρω in the same sedes, 1.2.1.170(535), 2.1.17.35f.(1264) and or.32.15(M.36.192A): νοῦς πλησιάσῃ τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ (sc. God) κεκαθαρμέ- νος. Requests to God for purification of the worshippers' mind and thoughts were not absent from liturgical prayers. See e.g. Liturg. Jac.(Brightman p.41.14f.): κάθαρον ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ἀπὸ μιαρῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. The purification of thoughts in the present passage is the presupposition for the avoidance of eternal death. Similarly, Socrates in Plat. Phaedo 67c faces his departure for the future life with good hope having purified his intellect. See also ib.108c.

22. μή μ' ἀπογυμνώσῃς σοῦ Πνεύματος: This is a completely Christian request which derives from LXX Ps.50.13: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιόν σου μὴ ἀντανέλῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

23. χεῦε μένος: Cf. Mesom. hymn.Phys.19(ed. Heitsch p.27): ὄλβον χεύων, Procl. hymn.7.34 and Synes. hymn.1.490. Greek gods were not only praised for their strength and power: μένος, σθένος, κράτος (see above p.29), but they were also asked to give such power to men (see Keys- sner p.67 for requests for δύναμις, σθένος, or κράτος). The phrase μέ- νος καὶ θάρσος is a Homeric formula (see e.g. Il.5.2 and Od.1.321), used purely for metrical purposes since it has no Christian parallels. Consequently, one may see how the form of the hymn influences its con- tent.

23. θάρσος ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν: It is found in the same <u>sedes</u> also in Hom. <u>hymn. Apoll</u>.462 (cf. <u>Od</u>.14.169). A request for θάρσος is expressed in Hom. <u>hymn. Mart</u>.15f.: ἀλλὰ σὺ θάρσος/ δὸς μάκαρ (sc. Ares). See Haldane p.143.

Line 24: A common feature in Greek pagan hymns is the petitioner's promise to praise god if the latter fulfils his requests (see above p.30). Such a promise, usually expressed in a purpose clause, is found in the present line, in 1.1.30.42,44 and 45, whereas in 1.1.33. 11 and 1.1.36.26f. it may be implied. See also <u>carm</u>.2.1.45.349(1378). Examples of such a promise in Greek pagan hymns may be found in Cleanth. <u>hymn</u>.36f.: (ῥύου ... σκέδασον ... δός) .../ ὄφρ' ἂν τιμηθέντες ἀμειβώμεσθά σε τιμῇ, / ὑμνοῦντες τὰ σὰ ἔργα διηνεκές and Eur. <u>Hel</u>.173ff. See also Synes. <u>hymn</u>.7.48-53 and a passage from the Prayer of Manasses 14f. (Swete,iii, p.826): ὅτι ἀνάξιον ὄντα σώσεις με .../ καὶ αἰνέσω σε διὰ παντός. On the other hand, the Homeric formula: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς, whereby most of the Homeric hymns end, may be considered as such a promise when a request precedes it (cf.<u>hymn. Cer</u>. 495, 6.21, 10.6, <u>hymn. Pan</u>.49 and 30.19).

24. καρδίῃ καὶ χείλεσι: Cf. 1.1.31.11: πνεύματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ γλώττῃ καὶ διανοίᾳ. The Biblical sources for the combination of a praise by heart and lips may be found in LXX <u>Is</u>.29.13 (cf. <u>Ev.Mt</u>.15.8) and <u>Ep.Col</u>.3.16 (cf. <u>Eph</u>.5.19).

24. καλὸν ἀείσω: Cf. <u>Od</u>.1.155, 8.266 and Hom. <u>hymn. Merc</u>.38.

Line 25: One way, employed by the petitioner in order to receive a favourable response to his requests, is the reference to past kindnesses rendered by the god to him or other mortals (see above p. 30). Examples of this feature in Greek pagan hymns are: Orph. <u>hymn</u>.2.14, Archiloch. 27.2(<u>PLG</u> ii p.390 Bergk) and Aristides <u>orat</u>.45.14. In the present hymn the poet reminds God of the help and protection He offered to his father. The past tense παρέστης may also imply that the poet's

father was no longer alive when the poem was composed. If this is the case and if the poem belongs to Gregory, the death of Gregory the elder in A.D. 374 (cf. Gallay, La Vie, p.125) is a terminus post quem for the composition of the present hymn.

26. δός: The imperatives of διδόναι, also used in 1.1.31.12 and 1.1.30.38, are commonly used in the Prayer part of Greek pagan and Christian hymns alike (see above p. 31).

26. καθαρὸν βίοτον: Cf. Gregory's or.16.2 (M.35.936B): σοφία πρώτη, βίος ... θεῷ κεκαθαρμένος, ἢ καθαιρόμενος τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ ... καὶ μόνην ἀπαιτοῦντι παρ' ἡμῶν θυσίαν τὴν κάθαρσιν, 1.1.36.27 and carm. 1.2.34.173(958) where purification (κάθαρσις) is defined by Gregory in its Christian sense as ἔκπλυσις μολυσμάτων while μολυσμός is τύπωσις τῶν κακῶν. See also 2.1.23.21f.(1284): ὡς αὐτὸς οἶδα, δεόμενος καθαρσίων, / δεινὸν καθαίρειν βορβόρου μολύσματα and or.32.12.(M.36.188C): Μέγα τὸ περὶ θεοῦ λαλεῖν; Ἀλλὰ μεῖζον τὸ ἑαυτὸν καθαίρειν θεῷ· ἐπειδὴ εἰς κακότεχνον ψυχὴν σοφία οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται (cf. LXX Sap.1.4). Besides, for Gregory purification is also the means for the knowledge, vision and contemplation of God since God Himself is pure: carm.2.1.34.104 (1314): (δείδια, μή τι πάθοιμι,) / μὴ καθαρῶς καθαρῆς ἁπτόμενος Τριάδος /, 2.1.45.196(1367), καὶ καθαροὶ καθαρῆς ἁπτόμενοι σοφίης, 2.1.55. 20f.(1400f.): Βόρβορε, μή με θόλου, / ὡς καθαρὸς καθαροῖσι συναντήσω φαέεσσιν / οὐρανίοις and or.20.12 (Mossay, p.80 ; M.35.1080B): Διὰ πολιτείας ἄνελθε· διὰ καθάρσεως κτῆσαι τὸ καθαρόν. To these one may add the passages cited by Gottwald which he compares with Plat. Phaedo 67b and Plot. Enn.vi.9.11 (see Gottwald p.41 and Moreschini p.1362); and those cited by Sykes('Arcana', on 1.1.1.8) and discussed in detail by Plagnieux (pp.81-113). Finally, the purification of the mind by its separation from the body is an idea discussed below on 1.1.32.45-46.

26. καθαράν τε τελευτήν: The epithet καθαρός is found in NT connected with καρδία or συνείδησις, but not with βίοτος or τελευτή

as in the present hymn. Besides, in LXX Sap.14.24 the meaning of κα-
θαρός seems to be restricted to bodily instincts. On the other hand,
requests for a happy or pleasant life and death were common in Greek
pagan hymns: Orph. hymn.19.21 (Zeus): ζωήν τ' ὀλβιόθυμον (sc. δίδου)
and 11.22 (Pan): ἀγαθὴν δ' ὅπασον βιότοιο τελευτήν. For further
examples see Keyssner p.136f; see also above p.31.

Line 27: Cf. 1.1.30.49 and 2.1.83.28 (1430). The requests for a
good hope (ἐλπωρὴ ἀγαθή), for mercy and grace (ἔλεος, χάρις) are in
the present context Christian and may be compared to Ep.2Thess.2.16,
Heb.4.16, 2Jo.3 and 2Tim.1.2. Requests for χάρις, yet in a different
context, appear also in Greek pagan hymns : Hom. hymn.24.5 (Hestia):
χάριν δ' ἅμ' ὅπασσον ἀοιδῇ and Anacreon 110 (PLG iii, p.284, Bergk).
See also Keyssner p.152f. Examples of a χάρις-request in a Christian
context are: AP 1.24.3 and 27.4.

Note the use in the same poem of τὸ ἔλεος - a word of koine - in
line 19 and its classical equivalent ὁ ἔλεος in line 27 (cf. Bauer s.v.).

28. πάντα δ' ἀμαλδύνῃς ὅσσ' ἤλιτον: ἀμαλδύνῃς ὅσσ' is a correction
first suggested by Tollius instead of ἀμαλδύνει ἄσα of Cod. W (or ὅσα of
ed. 1840) and ἀμαλδάνειας of Cod. Bg. The reading of W is unsuitable
not only for the double hiatus it produces, but also because the verb
is in the third person while one would expect a second person form
with which the poet would express his final request to God. On the
other hand, the reading of Bg seems to be a corrupted form of ἀμαλδύνειας
and as such is metrically also inappropriate.

28. ἤλιτον: The verb is used in carm.2.1.27.1 (1286), 1.1.2.59
(406), Orac.Sibyl.1.74,399, 2.304,341, Apoll. Met.Ps.50.7 and Procl.
hymn.7.39. A request for purification from sins is addressed to Helius
in Procl. hymn.1.35: καί με κάθηρον ἁμαρτάδος.

29. ὡς ἀγαθὸς βασιλεύς : On the title βασιλεύς see above the note
on 1.1.33.1. In the present hymns the same epithet appears also in

1.1.35.5 connected with ἀλεξίκακος and in 1.1.31.10 with μέγας (see

the notes ad loc.). The adjective ἀγαθός , used also in 1.1.31.10 with

πατήρ, is a common Biblical attribute of God (cf. e.g. LXX Ps.72.1,

117.1,29 and Ev.Lc.18.19).

IV. Final Praise (29b-30)

In Greek hymns praise reappears at the end, usually with a χαῖρε

formula addressed to god (see above p.'31   ) as happens very often

with the Homeric hymns: e.g. hymn.Apoll.545, hymn.Merc.579 and hymn.

Ven.292. An elaborate example of this formula from the later period

of Greek literature is Proclus's hymn 6 which, not only ends, but also

begins with a triple anaphora of χαῖρε. On the other hand, the intro-

duction of a final praise, usually of a doxological character, with

ὅτι is common in Christian hymns and prayers and it appears also in

1.1.30.50. Such examples are: The Prayer of Manasses 15 (Swete, iii,

p.826) - given below on 1.1.32.49f. - Ep.Rom.11.36, the closing of the

Eucharistic prayers in Didache 9.4 and 10.4 (ed. Funk, i, p.410 and

412), and Const.Apost.8.12.50 and 15.9.

Line 29b = 30a. The repetition of the whole hemistich in the

following line is made for emphasis and must be due also to the solemn

style of hymns (see above the note on 1.1.34.2: σοὶ χάρις). Such

repetitions comply also with the techniques used by Gregory in verse-

composition and may be seen e.g. in carm.2.1.95.2f.(1449). See below

Appendix III.

For σοὶ χάρις and ἤματα πάντα see the notes on 1.1.33.1 and 11

respectively.

30. καὶ εἰς αἰῶνας ἄπαντας: The closing with an αἰών-formula is

typical of Psalms and other Biblical prayers: LXX Pss.110, 113, 120,

130, 144, Prayer of Manasses (Swete, iii, p.826), Hymn of the Three

Holy Children (LXX Dan.3.88) and The Magnificat (Lc.1.55). The same

formula is used to end the doxological formulae in NT: Ep.Rom.11.36,

Eph.3.21, 1Tim.1.17, Apoc.5.13, and thereafter those in various prayers

and hymns: e.g. Const.Apost.7.33.7, 45.3, 8.7.8, The Evening Hymn (ap.

Const. Apost.7.48.3) and The Table Prayer (ap. ib.49.1). Such a doxo-

logical formula appears also in 1.1.30.50f. and 1.1.32.49f., and is used

quite often by Gregory to end most of his orations.

With regard to the hymn-features used in the present poem we may

now make some general remarks. The hymn is constructed throughout in

the 'du-Stil', while the relative-style appears only in line 2f. The

poet makes use of expressions with πᾶς (1, 12, 21, 28, 29, 30) and with

διηνεκὲς ἀείδειν (10).

In the Praise part he refers to the feelings of the hymn-singers

(10), and in the Prayer he employs two topoi : first he promises God

another praise (24) and second he reminds God of past help given to his

father (25). Some further elements in the same part are: the use of

λίτομαι (14, 17), the imperative form δός (26) and the conjunction ἀλλά

(19) which begins the actual list of requests; also the new invocations

to-God (14, 15, 19) and the employment of the universal epithets: ἄμ-

βροτος (15), ἄφθιτος (14) and βασιλεύς (29). From the requests, parti-

cularly Greek pagan is that for μένος καὶ θάρσος (23), while those for

mercy (19f.), for rescue from death (20f.) and for grace (27) - although

exemplified in Greek pagan hymns also - have a Christian content.

Finally, the hymn ends with a closing praise.

Divergencies from the form and content of Greek pagan hymns, apart

from the use of σοὶ χάρις , already mentioned in 1.1.33 are: 1) the

transition to the Prayer by ναί (14),   2) the

beginning of the final praise by ὅτι (29) and   3) the use

of an αἰών-formula (30). All these features are Biblical. Such are

also the themes of the Praise: creation and scene of the throne. On

the other hand, most of the requests have a Christian content, parti-

cularly those in lines 22 and 28f.

As a conclusion to both hymns (1.1.33 and 34) it would seem interesting to make a brief comparison between them in terms of their content and sources and thus see the techniques employed by the poet for the composition of these poems.

Both hymns begin with the same line. However, while the introductory line in 1.1.33 is self-contained, in 1.1.34 it continues in the following line with the repetition of σοὶ χάρις. After the common introductory line in both hymns, 1.1.34 follows a different development from that of 1.1.33. Therefore, although in both hymns line 1 leads to the theme of creation which is based on Ep.Col.1.16, 1.1.33 develops the first part of the Pauline passage and 1.1.34 the second. Furthermore, while in the former poem the reference to the participation of Logos in the creation (3) leads naturally to the praise of Christ (6-11), after the request to Him for mercy, in the latter poem the reference to τὰ νοητά and τὰ ἀρατά (spiritual and material world) reminds the poet of the ceaseless hymn of the heavenly choruses around the throne of God, which forms the second theme of Praise (4-13). In other words, the Praise in 1.1.33 concentrates on the creation of this world and the mystery of redemption; while that in 1.1.34 on the creation of the spiritual and material world and, above all, on heaven and its population.

The content of the Prayer in 1.1.34 is determined by the epithet ἀκήρατος (4,11,13), and the fulfilment of the various requests is the presupposition for the final praise (29b-30) which in turn corresponds to 1.1.33.10f., not only in the expressions used, but also in their theme: the ceaseless hymn.

From this comparison it appears that the techniques used for their composition do not differ from those employed by Gregory and

discussed in Appendix III. Therefore, the poems must, not only belong to Gregory, but also merit the recognition of being somewhat artistic compositions.

Carm.1.1.35

The next poem to be discussed is 1.1.35. It begins by calling the attention of God the Father to the poet's prayer which consists of only one request: to grant that he may compose divine poetry (1-3a). Then, as an indirect praise of God the poet makes a general statement that those who have come to know and believe in God (as the only self-generated among the living beings) and in Christ (as the king who for mortals drives away evil) lead a divine life (3b-5). The reference to Christ allows the poet to expand His praise by dwelling once more on the various aspects of the mystery of redemption (6-9) : Christ became god-man following willingly the suggestion of the Father because He felt pity for the suffering human race which He·ultimately set free from the bonds of Tartarus. It is not surprising that, as happens in 1.1.33, most of the Praise is devoted to Christ, although the present hymn is addressed to the Father and 1.1.33 to the Godhead. This section of the Praise part (6-9) is expressed in the narrative style and begins with ὅς ποτ' (see below).

The last four lines of the poem present a difficulty in interpretation , since it is not clear whom the poet is addressing when he uses δεῦρ' ἴθι, ἀτίταλλε and ἀθρήσειας; nor is it self-evident in what sense he uses the word βίβλος.

One possibility I can think of is that the poet is addressing himself and is calling on himself to nourish his soul with the god-inspired sayings of the Holy Bible; another is that he addresses

his fellow-Christians or audience (conceived as one person) and
calls them to nourish their souls with the god-inspired sayings of
the holy book (i.e. the Bible, or his book of poetry); and the
final one is that between lines 1-9 and 10-13 there is a lacuna:
either   a few lines containing the connecting part of the two
sections have been lost; or it could be that there is a lacuna of
more lines in which case the two sections may have belonged original-
ly to two different poems. Whichever the case may be, the presumed
missing lines must have been dropped at an early stage of the trans-
mission   of the text, since none of the two surviving MSS supports
in any way such a lacuna. Thus, the possibility of a lacuna would
be confirmed only if and when further MS evidence comes to light.

There remain the first two possibilities . In Greek pagan
hymns and above all in the Psalms it was not uncommon for the poet
to refer to himself, or to the choir, or even comment on the scene
of worship (cf. Isyllus paean Apoll.-Asclep.37 (Coll.Alex. p.133)
and paean Erythr.1f. (Ibid. p.136)). In particular, the Psalmist
often addresses his soul (cf. LXX Ps.145.1); or exhorts and urges
his compatriots to do this or that, usually expressed in the LXX
by an imperative or exhortative subjunctive with δεῦτε (cf. LXX
Ps.33.12, 65.5,16).

Following the habit of Greek pagan hymnographers or that of
the Psalmist, the poet of this hymn might have been addressing him-
self, or his fellow-Christians when using δεῦρ᾽ ἴθι ... ἀτίταλλε
(10f.). However, in either case there is a weak point: if we take
βίβλος to refer to the Bible (although as will be seen below ad loc.
the plural form βίβλοι and not the singular βίβλος is commonly used
in this sense) the content of lines 10-13 does not fit naturally
into the rest of the hymn (1-9), since there is no reference to the
Bible in any of the preceding lines.

Therefore, the only explanation remaining is that the poet

exhorts his fellow-Christians to nourish their souls with the god-

inspired words which appear in his book of poetry. I was inclined

to accept this interpretation after having read a suggestion made

by Tollius (see the annotation on 1.1.35 in ed.1696) that this

poem must be intended as a preface to Gregory's hexameter poetry.

If this suggestion is correct and if the present poem belongs to

Gregory, then the hymn becomes a sort of a hymnodic prooemium. As

such the poem may be compared to the Greek pagan hymnodic prooemia.

(see above p.23 n.2) and to the Homeric hymns, the majority of which

served as preludes to epic recitations (see above p.14).   In

this case, μολπήν ... θεσπεσίην (2f.) must refer to the entire

corpus of Gregory's hexameter poetry which should follow the hymn,

and the request to God to grant the poet divine   song   must cor-

respond to the request : δὸς δ' ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν in Hom.hymn.

10.5 (cf. also Hesiod. Theog.104), or other similar ones (cf. Hom.

hymn.25.6, Arat. Phaen.18).   In other words, when the poet begs

for a divine song what he should actually mean is that he needs

God's help in order to compose his poetry which he characterizes as

divine (θεσπεσίην: 3), since it refers directly or indirectly to

God.   That Gregory saw his poetry as such may be attested from carm.

2.1.34. 71-91 (1312f.).

The apostrophe of the poet to his audience can thus be easily

explained: at the end of his hymnodic prooemium (1-9) the poet calls

his fellow-Christians to use his book of poetry which follows in

order to nourish their souls with its god-inspired content.   When

Gregory describes his book of poetry as holy and pure this should be

interpreted in the same sense as μολπήν ... θεσπεσίην is inter-

preted above, and not as implying any arrogance.   Besides, when he

uses the phrase ' servants of the truth' (12) he should refer, I

think, to any human being he mentions in his poetry as a good
example of the Christian way of life (particularly to the prophets of
OT and the apostles and other saints), and not to himself as θεράπων
in line 2 does. In other words, lines 10-13 form the passage of
transition from the hymnodic prooemium (1-9) to the corpus of Grego-
ry's poetry as do lines 104-15 of Hesiod's Theogony (see M.L. West's
note on Theog. 104).

To conclude, lines 10-13 serve not only to join the hymnodic
prooemium with the corpus of Gregory's poetry, but also to show
Christians how to approach this poetry so that they may benefit
from it.

Following the above interpretation it appears obvious that the
title of the hymn in the Maurist edition : Ἐπίκλησις πρὸ τῆς τῶν
γραφῶν ἀναγνώσεως is without any merit. By adding it the Maurist
editors seem first to take βίβλου (10) as referring to the Bible
and second to see some connection in content between the present
hymn and the prayer Εὐχὴ πρὸ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου , said before the
gospel-reading during the lections which form part of the mass of
catechumens and are found both in the liturgy of St James and
that of St Chrysostom (see Brightman p.36. 15b-28b and p.371.24ff.
respectively). In this prayer God is asked to enlighten (ἐλλάμπειν)
the congregation's hearts and minds to understand the gospels and
conform their lives according to them. A similar prayer follows the
reading of gospel in the liturgy of St James (see Brightman p.38.
27b- p.39.6b), while a variation of the first may be seen in Liturg.
Gr. Naz. (M36.701Bf.). See also Serap. Euch.1.4.

I. Introduction (1-2a)

1. κλῦθι: The solemn imperative form κλῦθι, or its equivalent forms, first appears to introduce a number of epic prayers, collected and discussed in Beckmann, pp.25ff. Of these cases only Il.16.514, 23.770, Od.3.55, 5.445, 9.528 and Hom. Epigr.6.1 have κλῦθι only without being followed by μευ/μοι. The same form is sparingly used in lyric poetry and finally, makes its way into the late hexameter hymns: Orphic and Proclean, where it is used extensively (see above p.25, n.2).

1f. κλῦθι ... τῶνδε λιτάων/ ἡμετέρων: The present phrase may be compared to κλῦθί (or κλῦτέ) μοι (or μευ, μου) εὐχομένῳ (or -νου) used in Hom. Epigr.12.1, Theogn. 13 (addressed to Artemis), Solon fr.13 (West) (addressed to Muses) and six times in the Orphic Hymns (see e.g. 28.11, 34.10 and 59.2). On the other hand, the close position of κλῦθι and a particular request may be seen in Theognis 4 (Apollo).

In Biblical prayers, above all Psalms, ἐνωτίζεσθαι, εἰσακούειν or ἐπακούειν are used instead (see e.e. LXX Ps.142.1).

1. Πάτερ Χριστοῦ: Cf. Orph. hymn.8.13: χρόνου πάτερ (sc. Sun), 10.18, 12.3, 13.1. The present phrase seems to have been based on Ep. 2Cor.1.3: ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, a variation of which has then been used as a stereotyped expression at the beginning of various liturgical prayers: e.g. Liturg.Jac.(Brightman, p.58. 19) and Liturg.Marc. (B. p.113.14, 114.23f., 115.6f.). See also Const. Apost.7.35.10: ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ and 6.10.1, 11.1, both cited below on 1.1.35.4: αὐτογένεθλον.

1. πανεπίσκοπε: The epithet is used of Chronus in AP 7.245.1 (Gaetulicus) = Kaibel ep.27 and appears twice in the same sedes in Orac. Sibyl.2.177 and 1.152. In MAMA 1.171 (i.e. Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, vol.1, p.91) it is used as a title of an offical and in LXX Sap.7.23 of the spirit of Sophia. In Clem. Alex. Strom.vii.3. 15,3 (GCS 3, p.11.27f.) it refers to God, while in Idem Paed. 3.12,101,3

(GCS 1, p.291.14) it desribes λόγος. The equivalent παντεπίσκοπος is used by Gregory in or.31.29 (Gallay p.336; M.36.168A) for the Holy Spirit, while in Act. Phil.132 (LB 2.2 p.63.17) it seems to be used of the Father. However, in Christian literature more commonly used is παντεπόπτης , first appearing in Clem. Rom. 1Cor.55, 64 (Lightfoot p.162), and used of the Father in Liturg. Gr. Naz. (M.36.701C). Further examples of it are cited in Deichgräber p.101 and Lightfoot's note on Clem.Rom. 1Cor.55. The similar πανεπόπτης may be found in Orac. Sibyl. fr.1.4; while in Greek pagan literature πανόπτης (or παντόπτης) is used of Zeus and Helius (see Bruchmann, Epitheta, p.137 and 147 respectively) and πανδερκής of various deities in the Orphic Hymns (see e.g. 4.8). The idea that God sees everything appears in 1.1.30.33 (see below the note ad loc.). On the other hand, the similar idea that God surveys and observes everything, expressed in πανεπίσκοπος, is common for Greek gods also (see Ziegler pp.67-74 and Keyssner pp.99-101).

Apart from πανεπίσκοπος, in the present hymns there are some more epithets in παν- such as πανσθενής (2.1.38.10), παμβασιλεύς, πανεύφημος, πανάγιος (1.1.31.1,2) and πανώνυμος (1.1.29.13) which are used to show that God possesses the various qualities they describe in superlative degree (see above p.26).

1f. (κλῦθι) ... λιτάων/ ἡμετέρων: Cf. κλύοντες θεοί ... λιτὰς/ ἡμετέρας τελεῖθ' in Aesch. Sept.626f,(θεοί) .../ κλύετε παρθένων κλύετε. ../... λιτάς./ in ib.171f. and / λιτᾶν δ' ἀκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν,/ in Agam. 396.

2. ἡμετέρων: See the notes on 1.1.34.15: ἡμετέρης and on 1.1.33. 3 on caesura after the second longum.

II. Prayer (2b-3a)

2. μολπὴν δὲ χαρίζεο: Cf. δῶρα χαρίζῃ in Orph. hymn.27.10 (Mother of gods). Other requests with χαρίζεσθαι are found in Julian. orat.5.180A (hymn to the Mother of gods) and Archiloch. 75.2 (PLG ii

p.404 Bergk). See also Keyssner p.153. The phrase may be compared to 1.1.30.2 (see the note ad loc.). Besides, the structure whereby κλῦθι is followed by a request introduced with δέ is very common in the Orphic Hymns: e.g. 2.13, 8.20, 29.17, 39.9 and 30.8. Such structure may be seen also in the Homeric prayers in Il.5.115ff., 10.278ff., and Hom. Epigr.6.1ff. and 12.1(κλῦθι ... δός δέ).

2. σῷ θεράποντι: See the note on 1.1.34.20.

2f. μολπήν .../ θεσπεσίην: The poet seems to follow the Homeric pattern in Od.9.210f. where the noun (ὀδμή) begins the sentence and its qualifying adjective (θεσπεσίη) ends it, having been placed at the beginning of the following line. The same pattern is found in Od. 24.48f.: βοή .../ θεσπεσίη˙ . A strong caesura after θεσπεσίην, found in the same sedes, is used also in Il.20.342 (cf. 15.669).

III. Praise (3b-9)

The transition to this part of the hymn is made with γάρ as happens also in 1.1.29.1 and 1.1.30.13 (see above p. 27).

Lines 3b-5: A common feature in Greek pagan hymns was the praise of a deity by reference to the happiness and welfare of those who were benefited, or those whom the deity was said to honour (τιμᾶν), or love (φιλεῖν) : e.g. Hom. hymn.30.7f.; or even those who have watched the mysteries of gods : e.g. Hom. hymn.Cer.480. On these see Keyssner p.139, 67ff. and 141ff. A similar feature may be said to appear in the present hymn when he, who has come to know and believe in God and Christ is said to lead a divine life. On the didactic tone discerned behind the present passage see above the note on 1.1.33.3b.

3. ἐλαύνει: The reading ἐλαύνων of both Codd must be a corrupted form of ἐλαύνει which is necessary, since there is no main verb in the passage 3b-5. Tollius has suggested ἐλαύνοι but I do not see any place here for a wishing or imperative optative without ἄν in an independent sentence (cf. Smyth, 1814-20). ἐλαύνων in the same sedes is used in

Orph. hymn.8.7 and 19.1 (see van Liempt p.18).

3. ζαθέην ἐς ἀτραπόν: The present metaphor of man following a

divine path of life reminds us of the Biblical metaphor of the two

paths of life in Ev.Mt.7.13ff., a theme taken up by Gregory in e.g.

carm.1.2.1.466-68(557), 2.2.5.123ff.,128ff.(1530) and 2.1.45.81f.

(1359); or even that of the two ways of Heracles which is related by

Prodicus in Xenophon Memorabilia ii.1.21-34 and is used by Gregory

himself in carm.2.1.45.229-63(1369-72). On this metaphor see also

B. Lorenz, 'Das Bild der zwei Wege', Liter.-wissensch.Jahrb.,N.F.20

(1979), 277-85. On the other hand, the common metaphor of the various

paths of life was a beloved subject to Gregory, since it inspired two

of his moral poems: carm.1.2.16(778-81): Περὶ τῶν τοῦ βίου ὁδῶν and carm.

1.2.17 (781-86): Διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοί. See also 2.2.5.116-64

(1530-33).

The epithets ζαθέην, used by Gregory for his father in carm.2.1.

95.1 (1449), and θεσπεσίην as stock traditional vocabulary are found

in the Homeric Hymns. Examples for the latter epithet are: hymn.Merc.

422 and hymn.Apoll.360 and for the former hymn.Ven.258 and hymn.Apoll.

223,523. See also Isyllus paéan Apoll.-Asclep.38 (Coll.Alex. p.133).

4. οὗτος: The pronoun is placed in an emphatic position.

4. αὐτογένεθλον: In carm.1.2.2.528 (620) the epithet is used of

the bird Phoenix: γόνον αὐτογένεθλον. The same phrase, but referring

to Christ, may be found in Apoll. Met.Ps.Proth.84. The epithet is

fairly late and is found in Nonn. Dion.41.52 (Physis), four times in

Pap.Mag.Gr.i.342, iv.1989 (Preis.) = Mag.hymn.Helius 4.24(ed. Abel),

iv.943 = Mag.hymn.Helius 3.5 (ed. Preis.,iii,p.25) and Mag.hymn.Apoll.

1.27 (ed. Abel); also in Orac.Chald.fr.39.1 (ed. des Places, SC, p.77):

πατρικὸς νόος αὐτογένεθλος. On the other hand, the same epithet is

used in Euseb. prep.evang.9.10.4 (M.21.697B) = Idem dem.evang.3.3 (GCS

6 p.110.9; M.22.189B) in a passage taken from an oracle to Apollo. See

also I. Bekker, <u>Anecdota Graeca</u>, vol.1 (Berlin, 1814), p.465.30.

Besides, in <u>Const.Apost</u>.6.10.1, 11.1 gnostics are accused of call-
ing God by this epithet among other appellations. The passages, which
may be also characterized as a protest against the usage of philoso-
phical terminology, run:

Τούτοις δὲ πᾶσιν (sc. heretics) ... σκοπὸς ἦν ... τὸν μὲν

... θεὸν βλασφημεῖν, ἄγνωστον δοξάζειν καὶ μὴ εἶναι πατέρα

τοῦ Χριστοῦ ... ἀλλ' ἄλεκτον, ἄρρητον, ἀκατονόμαστον, αὐτο-

γένεθλον·

and: Ἡμεῖς δέ ... ἕνα μόνον θεὸν καταγγέλλομεν, ... τοῦ Χριστοῦ

πατέρα, οὐκ αὐταίτιον καὶ αὐτογένεθλον, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι οἴονται,

... οὐκ ἄγνωστον ἢ ἄλεκτον...

respectively. See also Jungck's comment on <u>De Vita Sua</u> 1169f.

In Christian literature, the epithet is used in Didymus <u>De Trini-
tate</u> iii.2.1 (M.39.788A): (God) αὐτογένεθλος/ τίκτων αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν -
taken from an unknown hexameter poem (see the note in Migne <u>ad loc</u>.);
and in Nonn. <u>par.Jo</u>.1:18, 5:18 and 13:20 (M.43.752C, 788B, 864B) all
in the same <u>sedes</u>.

The equivalent αὐτογέννητος is found e.g. in <u>Orac.Sibyl</u>.8.429
and <u>Pap.Mag.Leid</u>. W ii.18,xiii.25 (ed. Dieterich, <u>Abraxas</u>, p.176.3);
while αὐτογενής in e.g. <u>Orac.Sibyl.fr</u>.1.17 and Orph.<u>fr</u>.245.8(Kern),
and αὐτόσπορος (of Αἰών) in Nonn. <u>Dion</u>.7.73.

The epithet in the present passage describes the Godhead (θεόν:4)
and is used in order to underline that God is the only self-subsistent
or self-existent Being among the living (ἐνὶ ζωοῖς:4) who are all
created by God and depend on Him. Therefore, αὐτογένεθλος is used to
contrast God with the living and created world and not as a term to
describe the relationship between the three persons of the Trinity, or
the nature and qualities of the Father with regard to those of the
other two persons. To describe such qualities Gregory uses for the

Father the terms ἄναρχος and ἀγέννητος, for the Son ἀρχή and γεννητός

and for the Spirit ἐκπορεύσιμον. See e.g. carm.1.2.10.988ff.(751f.):

De Virtute, or.32.5 (M.36.180B), or.33.17 (236B), or.39.12 (348Bf.),

or.20.7 (Mossay p.72.19f.;M.35.1073B) and ib.10(p.78; 1077A).

4. θεὸν ἔγνω: Cf. γιγνώσκειν τὸν θεόν e.g. in Ep.Rom.1.21 and

1Cor.1.21.

5. ἀλεξίκακον βασιλῆα: On the common divine epithet βασιλεύς see

the notes above on 1.1.33.1 and below on 1.1.31.10. On the other hand,

ἀλεξίκακος is used of various Greek deities: of Dionysus in Nonn. Dion.

7.176, 29.90, 32.198, 45.52, of Asclepius in Orph.hymn.67.5(in Abel's

edition, while Quandt's edition has ἀπαλεξίκακος), of Nemesis in Nonn.

Dion.48.414, of Hermes in Aristoph. Pax 422 and of Zeus in Orph. Lith.

1 (ed. Abel), Nonn. Dion.13.280 and 44.86. As a by-name of Athene it

is found in Aristides orat.37.26, while, according to Aristophanes's

ancient sholiast ad pac.422 (ed. Rutherford,ii,p.77), Ἀλεξίκακος was

a by-name of Apollo and Heracles (cf. also schol. ad Ran.501 (ed. Fr.

Dübner, p.290.26)). As a title of the latter it is used in Hellanicus

fr.109 (ed. Jacoby, FGH,i,p.134) and Aristides orat.40.15. See also

RE, s.v. ' Alexikakos' (Wentzel).

The same epithet could be used in hymns with various nouns

associated with the celebrated deity. See e.g. Procl. hymn.5.2, 1.21,

39, 2.7 and Apoll. Met.Ps.17.109, 118.326.

Being a compound with ἀλεξι- the present epithet belongs to a

group of such epithets which are mainly used of the gods of healing

(Apollo-Asclepius). From these particularly Asclepius, as Keyssner

observes (p.109f.), appears to carry features similar to those of

Christ and ,therefore, the use in the present hymn of this epithet for

Christ is made not without good reason.

Gregory uses the same epithet in carm.1.1.9.91 (464):/ σφρηγὶς

ἀλεξικάκοιο θεοῦ where it appears to refer also to Christ. Finally,

the combination ἀλεξίκακος βασιλεύς is used also of Christ in the same
sedes in Nonn. par.Jo.11:3 (M.43.840A). See besides ib.3:2 (765B) and
Apoll. Met.Ps.19.4.

6-9: Mystery of redemption

The same subject is used for the praise of Christ in 1.1.33.6-11.
See the notes ad loc.

Lines 6-7 underline that Christ became a god-man following willing-
ly (ἑκών:7) the suggestion of the Father because He felt pity (ἐποι-
κτείρας:6) for the human race which had been suffering. The same
reason for Christ's incarnation may be attested also in Gregory's carm.
1.1.2.57-59 (406):'Εἰ δ' ὅτι σῶμ' ὑπέδεκτο (sc. Christ) τεοῖς παθέεσ-
σιν ἀρήγων, / τοὔνεκα καὶ θεότητι μεγακλέϊ μέτρ' ἐπιθήσεις· / ἤλιτεν
ὅς σ' ἐλέηρεν;', and or.29.19 (Gallay p.216; M.36.100A): Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν
ἀναιτίως· τίς γὰρ αἰτία θεοῦ; Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον γέγονε (sc. became
god-man) δι' αἰτίαν· ἡ δὲ ἦν τὸ σὲ σωθῆναι τὸν ὑβριστήν. See also
carm.2.1.86.5f.(1433).

6. ὅς ποτ' : The phrase is appropriate to the narrative style of
the section 6-9 and it has been used in Greek pagan hymns to open the
narrative. See e.g. Eur. Iph.Taur.1235, Macedonius paean Apoll.8 (Coll.
Alex. p.138) and Philodamus paean Dionys.6 (Coll.Alex. p.166). Cf. also
Call. hymn.Del.308, Aristoph. Aves 1731 and Eur. Hel.1301. It is
followed by Gregory in carm.2.1.1.1,10 (969, 970) which is cited below
p. 179.

6. ἐποικτείρας: Cf. 1.1.34.19: οἰκτείροις and the note ad loc.

6. μερόπων γένος: Cf. Hom. hymn.Cer.310, 31.18. On μέροπες used
as a substantive see the note on 1.1.36.12.

6. αἰνὰ παθόντων: It is found in the same sedes in Il.22.431.
See also Synes. hymn.1.504.

7. Πατρὸς ὑπ' ἐννεσίῃσιν: Cf. (ἀνέρος) ... ὑπ' ἐννεσίῃσιν in
Apoll. Rhod. 1.7. The present phrase may be compared to Liturg. ap.

<u>Const.Apost</u>.8.12.30 (Brightman p.19.15f.): εὐδόκησεν αὐτὸς (sc. Christ) γνώμῃ σῇ ... ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι.

8. γείνετο: The correction was suggested by Tollius to replace the corrupted reading γείτονα of Cod. W. Caillau used γίγνετο, while the reading of Cod. Bg is unfortunately illegible.

The contrast in the juxtaposition of the words θνητός and θεός, made to underline the double nature of the incarnate Christ, may be seen also in 1.1.36.14 and <u>carm</u>.1.1.9.48 (460).

8. ἄφθιτος: See the note on 1.1.34.6.

8b-9: The ultimate purpose of Christ's incarnation was to set free all those suffering from the bonds of Tartarus with His sacrifice on the cross. The same theme appears in 2.1.38.42 (see the note <u>ad loc</u>.) and <u>carm</u>.1.1.2.79 (407). The only difference in the present passage is the addition of πάντας (8) which implies that all who accepted Christ were released according to <u>Ep.1Tim</u>.2.4: ὃς πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι. On the development of this idea in patristic literature see Kelly, <u>Creeds</u>, pp.378ff. See also <u>AP</u> 1.56.

8f. εἰς ὃ κε ... λύσατο: The poet appears to have mixed the syntax of εἰς ὃ (until) with indicative and εἰς ὃ κεν (or ἄν) with subjunctive (see Kühner-Blass-Gerth 567.1,2, Smyth 2383 and Cunliffe s.v. ὅς ii.9.(α).

9. ταρταρέων ... λύσατο δεσμῶν : Cf. 1.1.33.9 : θανάτου ... ἔλυσας δεσμόν and the note <u>ad loc</u>. In <u>carm</u>.1.1.7.79 (444): / ταρτάρεοι seems to refer to daemons, whereas in 2.2(epit.).40.5 (M.38.31) = <u>AP</u> 8.104: / ταρτάρεοί τε μυχοί is used of Hades. Note that the adjective ταρταρέων and the noun it describes (δεσμῶν) stand at the beginning and end of the line, following a common stylistic device in epic poetry from Homer onwards (see McLennan's note on Callim. <u>hymn. Jov</u>. 60) and at the same time expressing figuratively the idea of bonds by enclosing μογέοντας. The same device may be found in 2.1.38.20.

Furthermore, the juxtaposition of the two words (antithetical in sense)
: λύσατο - δεσμῶν (which are used in the same <u>sedes</u> in <u>carm</u>.1.1.20.13
(489)) is also emphatic.

On the prominent place which Christ's <u>descensus ad inferos</u> occupied
in the belief of the early Church see e.g. Ignatius Antioch. <u>Magn</u>. 9
(Lightfoot, ii.1, p.131): παρὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτούς (sc. τοὺς προφήτας) ἐκ
νεκρῶν and Lightfoot's note <u>ad loc</u>. Christ's descent into Hades
attested in <u>Ep.1Petr</u>.3.19, 4.6 and possibly in <u>Eph</u>.4.9 is the theme of
<u>Synes</u>. <u>hymn</u>. 8.16-27.

9. ὑφ' αἵματι: The phrase seems to have been chosen not merely
to refer to Christ's death, but, above all, to underline the common
Biblical notion expressed e.g. in <u>Apoc</u>.1.5: λύσαντι (sc. Christ) ἡ-
μᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν [ἡμῶν] ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ. See also <u>Ep.Rom</u>.3.25,
5.9, <u>Eph</u>.1.7, <u>Heb</u>.9.14, <u>1Jo</u>.1.7 and <u>Apoc</u>.5.9. The idea appears in
Gregory's <u>or</u>.29.20 (Gallay p.220; M.36.101A): ἐξαγοράζει (sc. Christ)
κόσμον, καὶ μεγάλης τιμῆς, τοῦ ἰδίου γὰρ αἵματος.

IV. Poet's exhortation to his fellow-Christians (10-13)

As has been said in the introductory analysis of the present
hymn, in Greek pagan hymns and Psalms apostrophes to the audience
were not an uncommon feature. The present apostrophe serves most
probably to lead over to Gregory's poetic corpus by giving instruct-
ions to Christians how to use his poetry in order to nourish their
souls.

10. δεῦρ' ἴθι νῦν : The exhortative adverbs δεῦρο or δεῦτε,
connected or not with cletic verbs, are commonly used in Greek pagan
hymns, either at the beginning of the hymns (see above p. 25), or
to introduce various requests in the Prayer. Cf. e.g. Orph.<u>hymn</u>.54.
7 and <u>Mag.hymn.Hecat</u>. 1,10,27 (Abel). However, in the present hymn
δεῦρ' is used, following the custom of Psalmographers, as a means of
addressing the poet's fellow-Christians (cf. Hesiod. <u>Oper</u>.2 where

the adverb is addressed to the Muses). In Psalms δεῦτε is used nine

times: e.g. LXX Ps.45.9. The whole phrase δεῦρ' ἴθι νῦν is used in

the present hymn, not only to mark emphatically the change of

addressee, but also to show that the poet passes onto a different

subject.

Gregory uses δεῦρ' ἴθι in carm.1.2.1.352 (548) to address the

personification of Virginity and δεῦρ' ἴτε in the same sedes in

2.1.13.75, 89,90 (1233,1234) to refer to his fellow bishops. See

also 2.2.7.235, 238 (1569), and for δεῦρ' ἄγε 1.1.11.15 (471), 1.2.1.

215 (538), and 2.1.32.51 (1304).

10. ἱερῆς: The form (not cited in LSJ or Bauer s.v.) is a

regular epic form (see Cunliffe s.v.).

10. ἱερῆς ... βίβλου : Although βίβλος is described as ἱερή

and one would have thought that it refers to the Scriptures, the

fact that it is in singular makes this interpretation improbable,

since the Scriptures are usually expressed by the plural βίβλοι

(the singular form found in LXX 2Macc.8.23 refers very likely to one

book of OT). Such instances from Gregory may be seen in or.32.32

(M.36.209c) and epist.11.4 (Gallay,i, p.17; M37.41B) where the

Scriptures are caled ἱεραὶ βίβλοι,and carm.2.1.1.438 (1002) and

De Vita Sua: 2.1.11.296, 790 (Jungck p.68, 92; M37.1050, 1083) where

they are called θεῖαι βίβλοι. See also Clem.Rom. 1Cor.43 (Lightfoot

p.130) and Lightfoot's note on 1Cor.53

According to the interpretation of the hymn followed in the

introductory analysis of it, βίβλος in the present passage should

refer to the poet's book of poetry which is described with the epi-

thets ἱερή and ἀκηρασίη as holy and pure, since its contents

directly or indirectly refer to God. Note that this phrase recalls

μολπήν ... θεσπεσίην of line 2f.

10. ἀκηρασίης ἀπὸ βίβλου : The feminine form ἀκηρασίη, if not

a corruption, seems to be the poet's own creation, instead of the

epic ἡ ἀκηράσιος (which is metrically also suitable) in order to have

the same ending as the preceding epithet.   Cf. AP 8.1.4: (φωτός) ...

ἀκηρασίου/, Hom.hymn.Merc.72 and Synes. hymn.1.676f.   The equivalent

ἀκήρατος is used in 1.1.34.4, 11, 13 (see the notes on 1.1.34.4,11).

Our phrase may be compared also with Procl. hymn.4.5, Nonn. par.Jo.

1:23 (M.43.753B) and Procl. hymn.3.4.

11. ἀτίταλλε: The verb is found in the same sedes in Hom. hymn.

Ven.115.

11. θεοπνεύστοις ἐνὶ μύθοις: The poet uses θεόπνευστος (an

epithet found once in the Bible in Ep.2Tim.3.16) in order to

characterize the content of his poetry as 'god-inspired words'.

Such a characterization would not, I think, be extremely inappropriate

for Gregory's religious poetry which is mainly based on the Bible.

Besides, since in line 2f. the poet begged God for divine inspiration

to compose his poetry, it is quite legitimate to go on and describe

this poetry as 'god-inspired' by using θεόπνευστος not in its

restricted Christian application (see Lampe s.v. A) but in its

general (see LSJ s.v., and Bauer s.v. in which are cited all the six

instances with the word among which Ps.-Phocylidea 129 (PLG ii p.99

Bergk) and Orac. Sibyl.5.308, 406).   The epithet is used of the

Scriptures in Gregory's carm.1.2.1.331 (547).

Lines 12-13:   In the poet's book of poetry his fellow-Christians

may see the servants of truth showing the way to eternal life.

12. ἀθρήσειας :   This should be a potential optative without ἄν

contigent found in independent clauses as happens in Homer (see

Smyth 1821 and above p. 42f.).

12. ἀληθείης θεράποντας :   The phrase can either have a general

application referring to all those who serve the truth in one way or

another, or be restricted to the servants of God (i.e. the prophets

or apostles). The word θεράπων seems to have been chosen deliberate-
ly to be contrasted with the same word used in line 2 where it refers
to the poet himself.

   13.ζωήν : In this context the word means, I think, 'eternal
life' or 'life leading to heaven' and as such it recalls ζαθέην ...
ἐς ἀτραπόν ('the divine path of life') in line 3.

   13. ὑπ' οὐρανομήκεϊ φωνῇ : 'with a voice that reaches heaven'.
Cf. Aristoph. Nub.357 :/ οὐρανομήκη ῥήξατε κἀμοὶ φωνήν . Οὐρανομήκης
connected with other nouns is used also in Od.5.239, Aesch. Agam.92
and Aristoph. Nub.460. On the poetic instrumental dative with ὑπό
see Smyth 1511.

   Before we proceed to summarize the various hymn-features of
1.1.35 it seems necessary to add a final word about the problem of
unity and the general structure of the hymn.

   As we have seen from the commentary on the hymn, its similari-
ties in various aspects with the Greek pagan hymnodic prooemia and
the Psalms present, I think, sufficient evidence to explain the
apparent abrupt change of addressee from line 10 onwards, and the
reason which led the poet to act in this way. Further support
for the unity of the poem is supplied by the cross-references
between the two sections (1-9 and 10-13).

   We now turn to summarize the particular features used in this
hymn. The poem begins with a κλῦθι verb and is written partly in
'du-Stil' (1-3a) and partly in 'er-Stil' (3b-9). The transition to
the Prayer is made by δέ (which is commonly used in κλῦθι-hymns and
prayers) while the transition to the Praise by γάρ.

   The addressee of the hymn is God the Father, although the Praise
refers mostly to Christ. Praise is expressed not only by the three
compound epithets: πανεπίσκοπος, αὐτογένεθλος, ἀλεξίκακος, but, and

above all, by the theme of Christ as the redeemer of mankind which is given in a narrative style. An indirect praise of God and Christ is the reference to the welfare of the faithful (3b-5). The theme of the Prayer is the request for successful religious poetry.

Apart from the three compound divine epithets mentioned above, there are two further of a universal application: βασιλεύς (5), ἄφθιτος (8). The ornamentation of the hymn is enriched by some more epithets and other stock traditional vocabulary commonly associated with Greek gods and thus found in pagan hymns : μολπήν, θεσπεσίην, ζαθέην, ἱερῆς, ἀκηρασίης, θεράποντας; and also by the two metaphors in lines 3 and 9. With all these elements the hymn appears to have an elaborate style.

A final feature in our hymn is the apostrophe to the poet's audience in the last four lines.

Counterparts of all the above features are found to a greater or lesser degree in Greek pagan hymns. The only completely non-pagan element in 1.1.35 is the theme of Christ's praise in lines 6-9.

A general conclusion for 1.1.33-35 with regard to their authenticity may be drawn here. The passages from Gregory's works with parallel expressions and similar ideas (cited in the commentaries on these poems) are, I think, sufficient to show their Gregorian authorship. To these one may add further evidence derived from the structure and style of these hymns: 1) The techniques used for the composition of these poems are similar to those employed by Gregory (see Appendix III). Some of these are : repetitions of whole or parts of lines (e.g. 1.1.33.1 = 1.1.34.1,12 and 1.1.34.29b =ib.30a), use of anaphora (e.g. 1.1.33.8,9) and employment of the art of variation in the composition of two different poems based on a common introductory line (see also below p. 188ff.).

2) The hexameter is usually not self-contained, since the sentence is extended over the following line by the regular practice of enjambement. A particular type of this is that where the sentence continues only into the first foot or second princeps of the next line with a break or pause after it. See e.g. 1.1.35.1f. and 2f.. Such enjambement is a common feature of Gregory's hexameters also (see above p.45).

3) Another characteristic of the hymns under discussion, which complies with a common Gregorian practice (see above p. 46) , is the use of rhetorical figures: antithesis (e.g. between the two hemistichs of 1.1.33.6), ring-form (1.1.34.1f.) and chiasmus (1.1.34.5).

4) The poet agrees with Gregory also in making cross-references within the same poem, or using key-words: e.g. in 1.1.34.30 the phrase εἰς αἰῶνας ἅπαντας is a cross-reference to διηνεκές (10) and ἄπαυστον (11); while in the same poem ἀκήρατος is a key-word. This tendency appears also in the authentic hymns: 1.1.36 and 2.1.38 (see the introductory analysis on them).
5) In these hymns one finds also new forms constructed by analogy with existing ones :e.g. ἀκηρασίη in 1.1.35.10.   This is a common habit of Gregory's according to Cummings's investigations on De Vita Sua (see above p.39, n.2).

6) A final point which shows also Gregorian tendency is the preference for philosophical terms which replace the Biblical ones : e.g. τὰ νοητά in 1.1.34.2 and νόος in ib.15 which are used instead of τὰ ἀόρατα and πνεῦμα respectively.(see below the note on 2.1.38.23: νόες οὐρανίωνες).

All the above similarities of hymns 1.1.33-35 with the authentic poems of Gregory, together with the external evidence, strongly support the Gregorian authorship of the hymns.

III.2. Carmina 1.1.36-38 (and 2.1.22. 1-12, 2.1.3)

The next poem to be discussed is 1.1.36. To this a commentary on 1.1.37 and 1.1.38, and a brief analysis of the content of 2.1.22. 1-12 (1281) and 2.1.3 (1020f.) is appended, since the above poems have various features in ·common. It is therefore fitting to consider them as a group. Their similarities lie: 1) in the common subject-matter: a departing hymn or prayer addressed to Christ before an actual journey, or the journey of life, and 2) in the use in all the poems, apart from 1.1.37, of the Exodus theme to praise Christ, or to be used for other purposes.

Of these poems the first two, namely 1.1.37 and 1.1.38, have whole or parts of lines in common with 1.1.36. Their analysis was considered necessary in order to illustrate further the various techniques employed by Gregory in verse-composition (discussed in Appendix III).

The analysis of the last two poems (2.1.22. 1-12 and 2.1.3), not only will explain why they have been excluded from the scope of the present research, but above all will enable us to identify the sort of journey 1.1.36 refers to and consequently to assess the date of the composition of the hymn.

Greeks and Romans alike were accustomed to make departing prayers before a journey. Examples of such prayers in Greek pagan literature may be found for instance in Od.6.324-27 (to Athene), Eur. Hec.534-41 (to Achiles), Idem Iph.Aul.1570-76 (to Artemis), Apoll.Rhod. Arg.1. 411-24 (to Apollo), 4.1597-1600 (to a sea-daemon) and Mesom. hymn. Adrias (ed. Heitsch p.28) where the poet praises the Adriatic sea in order to beg for a safe journey home (see also Ausfeld p.539f. and Appel p.61). Besides, Εὐνόδιος was a cult-title of Hermes (cf. Theocr.

Idyl.25.4, AP 10.12.8 and 6.299.1), while its feminine form is used as a by-name of Hecate as well as of Persephone, Artemis and Selene (cf. AP 6.199). Finally, Greek and Latin literature alike offer a number of poetic compositions which have as their content: a) the farewell of a departing traveller, usually addressed to his fellow-men, b) the speach on his arrival; or c) the response to (a), and d) the welcoming address. Poems belonging to the first category often include a fare-well to various divinities, or express the wish that gods may give the traveller a safe journey. See e.g. Solon fr.19 (West) and Soph. Philoct. 1452-71. For further examples on the above four types of poems see Cairns p.38f.,283ff. and 18ff., and Russel-Wilson, Menander Rhetor, p.343 and 304.

Prayers for safe journeys and other relevant requests are not absent from the Christian liturgy and other private Euchologia. Such are for instance the Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μέλλοντος πλέειν in J. Goar's, Eucho-logion sive Rituale Graecorum, reprint of the 1730 Venice edition (Graz, 1960), p.684, and the request for a guardian angel which may be found in Liturg.Jac. and Liturg.Chrys. (Brightman p.39.21f. and p. 381.17ff. respectively), and in Serap. Euch.5.8. A similar request appears also in the Office of Vespers and that of Lauds (see Const. Apost.8.36.3 and 38.2 respectively); while requests on behalf of πλέοντας and ὁδοιποροῦντας may be found in Const.Apost.8.10.5, 12. 45, Liturg.Jac. and Liturg.Chrys. (Brightman p.46.15a and p.363.15f. respectively).

Carm.1.1.36

To turn to the analysis of 1.1.36: the hymn is addressed to Christ who is first praised as being all good things to men and the straight way for all (1-2). The second major section of His praise

is devoted first to His works and help offered to the Israelites in their Exodus (3-11) and second to events from His life on earth as a god-man (12-18).

The particular themes of the Praise part are based on the concept of way or journey taken in a metaphorical or literal sense and expressed with ὁδός or other similar words. So, Christ is the way (2), while lines 3-11, not only themselves refer to the homeward journey of the Israelites, but also in them ὁδός is used twice to indicate the passage through the divided Red Sea (3) and the river Jordan (10) respectively. Finally, in lines 12-18 the poet refers first to Christ's incarnation, ascension and second coming, all of which may be interpreted as a sort of journey (14-16); second to His walk on the sea (17-18); and third to the pathway to heaven (οὐρα-νίην οἶμον: 12) and the imposition of the new path (of life) on the old (12-13). As is suggested below in the commentary, this pathway to heaven (which seems to refer to the way of life leading to heaven) arises from the combination of the new path of life (indicated in NT) with the old (exemplified in OT).

From what has been said above the Praise (1b-18) appears to have been carefully constructed, since it begins with a metaphorical sense of the concept of way (2), progresses to a literal in lines 3-11 and ends in lines 12-18 with both a metaphorical (12-13) and a literal (14-18). The reason why the poet based the Praise on the concept of way or journey is obvious: by doing so, he anticipates the content of the Prayer and thus follows the feature of Greek pagan hymns whereby the content of Praise is carefully chosen in order to secure the fulfilment of the requests (see above p.30).

The Prayer includes a request to Christ to be the poet's companion and grant him an auspicious journey and an angel as his escort, protector and helper. Three further reasons why the poet wants the

angel are expressed in the long final clause ὄφρα ... ἀμφιέπουσιν
(21-25): the first two with the two participial phrases (πάντων ...
ἐέργων and τέλος ... χαριζόμενος) and the third with ἀγινέειν which
here is accompanied, not only by an acc. and a dat. (which denotes
direction: see below ad loc.), but also with the two opposite adverbs
οἴκοθεν and οἴκαδε. The three reasons are then: a) to keep the
petitioner away from diurnal and nocturnal dangers, b) to grant him
a happy end to his journey and c) to lead him safely from home and
back to it and to his relatives and friends.

The first two reasons do not help us in identifying the sort of
journey the poet was about to undertake. From the third reason,
however, it appears that the poet does not refer only to his depart-
ing, or outgoing journey (implied from οἴκοθεν), but also to his
return (implied from οἴκαδε). If we now take οἴκος not in its re-
stricted sense of 'home', but in its more general of 'homeland' -
better here 'hometown' - (see LSJ s.v. οἴκαδε) , then one can, I
think, easily explain why, with regard to his homeward journey, the
poet mentions also his friends and relatives.

From the above we may, therefore, infer that the present hymn
could have been composed before the poet's departing journey for
another town, but his requests refer also to his homeward journey.
In this case τέλος ἐσθλόν (23) is more likely to refer to the
completion of both journeys than to one of them only.

To come to the analysis of the rest of the hymn: in lines 26-30
the poet imagines himself already back home (ἔνθα: 26) after the end
of his journey and shows his everlasting devotion to Christ express-
ed in his wish/decision: a) to pray to Him day and night, b) to lead
a sinless life and c) to raise his winged thoughts to Him, until he
passes the final way , common to everybody, and comes to the heaven-
ly abode. This section serves as an indirect praise to Christ as

does also the invocation which follows (31-32); and to some extent is used to secure the fulfilment of the requests (see above p.30).

Finally, after the culmination of the poet's devotion to Christ which is expressed in the 'du-Stil' in lines 31-32, the poet closes his hymn by repeating his request for a prosperous and happy end to his journey.

Of the hymns which form the subject of the present research this hymn, together with 2.1.38, is the only poem included in the Editio Princeps of the Gregorian poetic corpus, namely the Aldine edition of 1504 (see above p. 84).

In the majority of the MSS (and Edd) the poem is justifiably entitled Ἐνόδια since both Praise and Prayer deal with the concept of journey.

The first part of the hymn (1-18) has been paraphrased by Cosmas of Jerusalem in his Λόγος ΜΖ´ : Ἐνόδια (see M.38.452f.); while an anonymous paraphrase of it appears also in some MSS: e.g. Parisinus Coislianus gr. 56 and Vaticanus gr. 497. I have at my disposal on photostats the paraphrase of the latter MS and I refer to it a few times in the commentary.

Finally, the problem of the date of composition of 1.1.36 is discussed at the end of section III.2.

I. Introduction (1a)

    1. Χριστὲ ἄναξ: On the avoidance of the interjection ὦ in the present line see above p. 43f . Gregory uses this phrase many times to introduce his prayers to Christ. See e.g. 2.1.38.1, carm.2.1.92.1 (1447), 2.1.19.9 (1271) and 1.2.15.109 (774). On other occasions he addresses Christ simply by the title Ἄναξ which stands for the common Biblical appellation Κύριος first applied to the Godhead and later to Christ (see Deichgräber p.96f. and 179). Some of these cases are : carm.2.1.49.7 (1385), 2.1.62.1,2 (1405): Ἄναξ, / Ἄναξ in anadiplosis and 1.1.37.6. ἄναξ is a universal epithet commonly used of many Greek deities (see above p. 25) , although primarily and more widely it applied to Apollo and Zeus. However, the occurrence of a title of a god, or his proper name, followed by ἄναξ , both in vocative and at the beginning of a hymn or a prayer - or at least of a line - as happens in the present hymn, is not very common. I could find only Theogn.5, 773, Hom. hymn.Apoll.257, Eur. Cycl.599, Orph. hymn.34.8, 65.3, Nonn. Dion.21.11, and a number of prayers beginning with Ζεῦ ἄνα e.g. Il.3.351, Od.17.354, Apoll.Rhod. Arg.1.242 and Nonn. Dion.2.209.

    II. Praise (1b-18)

On the transition to the Praise with ὅς see above the note on 1.1.34.2. The pronoun is repeated twice in line 3 according to the relative style of predications commonly found in hymns from the later period. See above p. 24.

The Praise may be divided into two parts: the first (1-2) whereby Christ is praised as being the good and the way, and the second (3-18) which may be further subdivided into two sections. In the first (3-11) Christ's power is revealed in the help He offered to Israelites during their homeward journey, and in the second (12-18) the particular themes of Christ's praise are all taken from His life on earth. All these are Biblical themes commonly used in Christian hymns and prayers (see

e.g. below the note on ὁδὸς ἰθεῖα (2).

    1b-2: Christ is the good and the way

    1f. πάντα πέλεις ... ἐσθλά: On expressions with πᾶς , commonly used in the present hymns, see the note on 1.1.33.1. Greek gods were occasionally called ἐσθλοί (cf. Hesiod. Theog.435, 439, 444: Hecate), or were asked to give men ἐσθλά (cf. Theogn.4). See also Keyssner p.158f. Accordingly, in the present hymn Christ is said to be all good things to men. ἐσθλός is used in carm.1.1.3.42 (411) to describe the nature of the Godhead.

    2. ὁδὸς ἰθεῖα: The phrase seems to be a combination of the well-known passage in Ev.Jo.14.6, where Christ calls Himself the way, with a number of other Biblical passages from Old and New Testaments where the ways of God are characterized as εὐθεῖαι (see e.g. Ev.Mt.3.3, Act. 13.10, LXX 1Reg.12.23 and Ps.26.11). In Clem. Alex. hymn.Christ.34 ap. Paed. (ed. Heitsch p.158) Christ is called ὁδὸς οὐρανία (cf. line 12 of the present hymn).

    2. τέτυξαι: This verb, as well as τελέθειν and ἔφυ, are used for the praise of a Greek deity (see Keyssner p.119f.). Two such examples may be Hom. hymn.32.13 and hymn. Ven. 32

    3-11: Christ's deeds in Jewish history

    In Greek pagan hymns gods were occasionally praised for the part they played in historical battles: cf. Isyllus paean Apoll.-Asclep.62-82 (Coll.Alex. p.134f.) and Limenius paean Apoll.32f. (ib. p.150), apart from the more common way of praise by reference to their personal mythological deeds in a narrative style (see above p.28). On the other hand, the manifestation of the power and other qualities of God by reference to various events from the Jewish history was a common theme in Old Testament Psalms and prayers: cf. LXX Ps.104, 77, 134.8-12 and 135.10-24, and the Prayer of Moses in LXX Ex.15.1-19. Such a custom was followed by the early Christian Church as may be seen from

the prayers in Const.Apost. e.g. 7.33.4-7, 36.3-4 and 37.2-4,and from

the anaphora of Liturg. ap. Const.Apost.8.12.6-27 (Brightman pp.14-18).

The innovation of our poet lies in the fact that he uses the

reference to Jewish history for the praise of Christ and not of God as a

Jew would normally expect. He does the same also in De Vita Sua :

carm.2.1.11.186-92 (Jungck p.62; M.37.1042f.) and 1.1.38.1-4 (see

below); while in carm.1.1.9, Wyss, Lines 27-33, he presents Christ as

the Divine Lawgiver (see B. Wyss, 'Zu Gregor von Nazianz', in Phyllo-

bolia für Peter von der Mühll (Basel, 1946), p.162). The Exodus

journey is made with the help of Christ also in Melito of Sardis, Ho-

milia in passione Christi 83-85 (ed. S.G. Hall, p.46).

The same journey is recalled, among other passages, in carm.1.2.

2.164-71 (591f.) and or.32.16 (M.36.192C), to which one may add those

mentioned in Jungck on De Vita Sua, 188-91. In or.45.21 (M.36.652C),

a homily on Easter, it is used metaphorically to show that God's help

will be given to Christians as it was given to the Jews. See also ep.

120 (Gallay, ii, p.12; M.37.216A) where the event is recalled in order

to show Gregory's desire to depart for the next life. However, while

in the present hymn the various events which took place during this

journey are all given in a chronological order, apart from the last

event (i.e. the crossing of the river Jordan:9b-11) which chronological-

ly precedes the previous one (i.e. the battle of Israelites with the

five Amorite kings:9a), such an order does not always exist in the

above passages, namely in 1.2.2.164-71 (591f.) and or.32.16 (M.36.192C).

This fact casts a doubt in Jungck's rearrangement of lines 187-91 of

the De Vita Sua for which there is no MS evidence (see Jungck ad loc.).

3. ὅς... ἤγαγες: The reference is to LXX Ex.13.21f. The event

is also recalled in LXX Ps.77.14, 104.39, Sap.18.3 and 2Esd.19.12.

The same event in carm.1.2.2.165f. (591) is expressed as follows: τοῦ

(sc. of Israel) πρόσθε πυρὸς στύλος ἡγεμόνευε / καὶ νεφέλης ἕλκοντος

ἀσημάντου δι' ἐρήμης. See also or.32.16 (M.36.192C), or.38.2 (313A), or.45.21 (652C), and or.40.6 (365A), and Orac.Sibyl.3.250f.

3. στρατόν: The 'band' or 'body' of Israelites (cf. LSJ s.v.).

3f. ὅς θ' ὁδόν ... ἐκάλυψας: Cf. LXX Ex.14.15-31, Ps.135.13-15, and 77.13: διέρρηξε θάλασσαν καὶ διήγαγεν αὐτούς. The crossing of the Red Sea is rendered in De Vita Sua,188 (Jungck p.62; M.37.1042) as:/ πόντου ῥαγέντος Ἰσραὴλ ὡδευκότος, in carm.1.2.2.167 (591) as: / ᾧ (sc. for Israel) πόντος ὑπόειξε and in or.45.21 (M.36.652C) as: θάλασ-σά σοι (sc. Israelite) τμηθήσεται, Φαραὼ βαπτισθήσεται. See also or. 32.16 (M.36.192C), or.11.2 (M.35.833B), or.13.2 (853B) and or.24.13 (1184 C).

3. ὁδόν: The word, meaning 'passage', has been deliberately chosen to serve the general idea carried out by the whole of the hymn as has been stated in the introductory analysis on 1.1.36.

4. φίλους: Behind the word one immediately thinks of the NT passages in Ev.Jo.15.14,15 : ὑμεῖς φίλοι μού ἐστε and ὑμᾶς δὲ εἴρηκα φίλους. This is another innovation of the poet when he applies to OT events ideas and expressions appearing in NT.

5. ἄρτον ... ὤπασας: It follows chronologically the two previous ones and is related in LXX Ex.16.1-36 in order to be recalled later in LXX Ps.77.24 and 104.40 where the phrase ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ is used. See also Gregory's carm.1.2.2.167 (591): καὶ οὐρανὸς εἶδαρ ἔ-δωκε /, or.13.2 (M.35.853B): οὗτος (sc. God) ἔθρεψεν ἐν ἐρήμῳ λαὸν φυγάδα ξένον ὑετὸν χαρισάμενος, or.32.16 (M.36.192C), or.45.21 (652C), or.11.2 (M.35.833B).

5. ὤπασας: It is used in the same sedes in 1.1.33.10. The imperative form of the verb, or its equivalent ones, are commonly used in the Prayer part of Greek pagan hymns when gods are asked to give the petitioner various benefits. See e.g. Hom. hymn.Cer.494, Orph. hymn.67.8 and Procl. hymn.1.40, and Keyssner p.125.

5f. ἐκ δ' ἄρα ... ἐρήμῳ: Cf. LXX Ex.17.1-7, Dt.8.15, Is.48.21, Ps.104.41, 77.15f. and 113.8: / τοῦ στρέψαντος τὴν πέτραν εἰς λίμνας ὑδάτων καὶ τὴν ἀκρότομον εἰς πηγὰς ὑδάτων. The latter passage seems to have been Gregory's source for the choice of the epithet ἀκρότομος. A variation of our passage is used in 1.1.38.4 (see the note ad loc.); while carm.1.2.2.168 (591) runs: / καὶ πέτρη βλάστησεν ὕ-δωρ. Cf. also or.32.16 (M.36.192C) and or.45.21 (652C).

6. ἔβλυσας ... ῥόον: 'you made a stream flow'. The poet uses βλύζειν as a transitive verb (see LSJ s.v.). The present passage may be compared to Orph. Arg.599f. (ed. Abel): (γῆ) / βλύζουσ' ἀργυροειδὲς ὕδωρ πέτρης ἀπὸ λισσῆς / ἀέναον.

6. μέγα θαῦμ' : The phrase is used to express the poet's astonishment with the miracle. A similar parenthetic exclamatory phrase is used in carm.2.2.1.179 (1464) and 1.2.1.148 (533): ὦ θάμβος ἀφαυροτάτοισιν ἄπιστον /, when Gregory relates the mystery of Christ's incarnation. The origin of the phrase seems to be found in the long Homeric Hymns and particularly in hymn.Merc.219 (the same line is used four times in the Iliad and once in a slightly different form in Od. 19.36), 270, hymn.Apoll.156, 415 and hymn.Cer.403. See also Ps.-Mane-tho 1.32.

Greek gods also were praised for their miralces, or for being themselves a miracle (see Keyssner p.122).

The same astonishment for the greatness of the miracle is express-ed when the event is related in or.11.2 (M.35.833B): ὕδωρ ἄπιστον ἐν ἐρήμῳ. On the other hand, the juxtaposition of μέγα θαῦμ' (or ἄπιστον of the previous passage) and ἐν ἐρήμῳ has the effect of making the miracle even greater since it took place in the desert. ἐν ἐρήμῳ may have been taken from LXX Ps.77.15.

7-8: Defeat of Amalek by the sign of the cross formed with the raised hands of Moses.

The event is related in LXX Ex.17.8-16. The theme is used by
Gregory quite often. See e.g. carm.1.2.2.170-71 (592): / καὶ παλάμη-
σι τρόπαιον ἀνὴρ ἔστησε ταθείσαις / σταυρὸν ὑποσκιάων, πίστις δ' ἐπέ-
δησεν ἀκωκάς, De Vita Sua 189 (Jungck p.62; M.37.1042), or.45.21
(M.36.652C): Ἀμαλὴκ καταπολεμηθήσεται· οὐχ ὅπλοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πολεμίαις χερσὶ δικαίων εὐχὴν ὁμοῦ τυποῦσαις καὶ σταυροῦ τρόπαιον τὸ
ἀήττητον, or.32.16 (192C): κατεπολέμησας Ἀμαλὴκ εὐχῇ καὶ χειρῶν ἐκτά-
σει καὶ τῷ σταυρῷ προτυπουμένῳ and finally carm.2.1.1.1-3 (969) which
is cited and discussed below p.179. Cf. besides or.11.2 (M.35.833B),
or.13.2 (853B), Cosmas's of Jerusalem paraphrasis of the present
passage (M.38.452): τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἔτρεψε χερσὶν σταυροτύποις
Μωϋσέως, his own schol. on 2.1.1.1ff. (347f.) and the rendering in the
anonymous paraphrase in Cod. Vb : 'ὑποτυπῶν τὸν σταυρὸν ὁ Μωϋσῆς'.

The same event is the subject of a Christian epigram, consisting
of one elegiac couplet and found in AP 1.60, in which the phrase :/
Σταυροφανῶς τανύεις παλάμας is used. See also Orac.Sibyl.8.251f.:/ ὃν
(sc. Σωτῆρα) Μωσῆς ἐτύπωσε προτείνας ὠλένας ἁγνάς/ νικῶν τὸν Ἀμαλὴκ
πίστει and Geffcken's comment ad loc.

7. δυσμενέων δ' ἀνδρῶν: From the above passages it becomes clear
that by this phrase the poet refers to the Amalekites.

7. στήσας: See the note on 1.1.34.3.

7f. διέσχε/ ... χέρας: The phrase is used in its literal sense
in Plutarch. Anton.20, while in Idem Cim.19.3 and Polybius 4.52.1 it
has a metaphorical meaning.

8.σταυρὸν ὑποσκιάων Μωσῆς: The verb ὑποσκιάειν, which in LSJ
appears only with its literal meaning of 'overshadowing', is used
by Gregory, apart from the passages cited above, also in carm.2.1.45.
178 (1366): γράμματι ἀτρεκίην Χριστὸς ὑποσκιάων (sc.'outlining') and
1.2.1.191 (537): (ἀνὴρ εἴδωλα χαράσσων) .../ εἴδος ὑποσκιάει (sc.
'sketches') πειρώμενος, in two different metaphorical ways. From

the wording of the parallel passages cited above, i.e. σταυροτύπους, σταυροφανῶς, χερσί ... τυπούσαις σταυροῦ τρόπαιον and τῷ σταυρῷ προτυπουμένῳ, one has to understand the present passage as meaning that Moses stretched out his arms sideways forming with his body, or the shadow of his body, the shape of cross and foreshadowing thus Christ's cross. This description of Moses complies with the Biblical one (cf. ἐπῆρεν Μωυσῆς τὰς χεῖρας and Ἀαρὼν καὶ Ὢρ ἐστήριζον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, ἐντεῦθεν εἷς καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εἷς in Ex.17.11 and 12 respectively). Therefore, the poet appears to have chosen carefully διέχειν χέρας, instead of the very common Biblical expression ἐκτείνειν χεῖρας, as more accurate to express Moses's posture.

8. ἄλκαρ ἐμεῖο: The paraphrase in Cod. Vb takes the phrase in apposition to σταυρόν, but the similar passages cited below show that it is more likely to be addressed to Christ.

The phrase is found in the same sedes, but addressed to God, in carm.2.1.1.623 (1016). See also ib.422 (1001), 2.1.83.25 (1430) and Apoll. Met.Ps.26.1, 61.4 (both in acc.). Cf. Il.11.823: ἄλκαρ Ἀχαιῶν/ in the same sedes but different context. Gregory seems to be the first to use ἄλκαρ as a divine epithet, if Apoll. Met.Ps. depends on him (cf. Golega, Der Homerische Psalter, p.83). The epithet possibly stands for the common Biblical ones: ὑπερασπιστής, βοηθός, or σκεπαστής e.g. in LXX Ps.26.1, 32.20 and 70.6. On the other hand, on the proportion in the usage of ἐμεῖο or ἐμοῖο in Gregory's poetry see above p. 39.

9. μήνη ... σχέθον: Cf. LXX Jos.10.12-14. The event appears also in carm.1.2.1.317 (546): Μήνης δ' ἠελίου τε δρόμον σχέθεν ἦῦς Ἰησοῦς (sc. Joshua, the son of Nun), 1.2.2.169 (591): ἥλιος ἔσχεθε δίφρον and or.24.13 (M.35.1184C).

9ff.ὡς δὲ ῥέεθρον/ ... κατένευσας: The list of events from OT closes with the reference to the crossing of the river Jordan, which

chronologically precedes the previous event of the battle of Israelites with the five Amorite kings and is related in LXX <u>Jos</u>.3.13-16. The crossing of the river Jordan, together with that of the Red Sea is recalled in LXX <u>Ps</u>.113.3: / ἡ θάλασσα εἶδεν καὶ ἔφυγεν, ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω (see also <u>ib</u>.5). Gregory refers to it in <u>carm</u>. 1.2.2.168f. (591): ὁ δ' ἐχάσσατ' ὀπίσω/ εὐρὺ ῥέων ποταμός, 2.1.22.10f. (1281) and 2.1.3.8 (1020), both cited below p.196 and 198 respectively. See also <u>or</u>.45.21 (M.36.652C).

9f. ῥέεθρον/ εἶξεν: Cf. <u>carm</u>.1.2.2.167 (591):/ ᾧ (sc. Israel) πόντος ὑπόειξε, although the phrase refers to the crossing of the Red Sea.

10. ἐπειγομένοις: Cf. 1.1.38.2: ἐλαυνομένοις, although it again refers to the crossing of the Red Sea.

10f. ὁδός .../ ῥηιδίη: The phrase is used in Hesiod. <u>Oper</u>.292 where the epithet appears in the same <u>sedes</u>.

10. ἐτύχθη: In the same <u>sedes</u> the verb appears in <u>carm</u>.2.1.1.16. (971).

11. τὴν αὐτὸς ὑπέσχεο καὶ κατένευσας: The phrase explains γαῖαν, i.e. the promised land (cf. <u>Ep.Heb</u>.11.9). For the same expression see <u>carm</u>.2.2.1.17 (1453) and cf. 2.1.22.9(1281). The combination of the two verbs is a Homeric formula found e.g. in <u>Od</u>.13.133, 4.6, <u>Il</u>.15.374, 4.267 and 12.236. Cf. also Hom. <u>hymn.Merc</u>.521 and <u>Orac.Sibyl</u>.1.202.

The reversal in the order of the last two events seems to be caused by the importance of the crossing of the river Jordan: firstly because of its connection with the general idea of the hymn (cf. ὁδός in line 10); and secondly, in order to lead over to the following section of the poem (12-18), namely to Christ's deeds related in NT by the contrast: ὁδὸς δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν:10 - οὐρανίην οἶμον:12 (i.e. promised land - way to heavens); and by the repetition of αὐτός in lines 11 and 12.

12-18: Christ in New Testament

12-16: The way of life which leads to heaven. In this section the poet finds the opportunity first to refer once more to Christ's incarnation (14f.), as he does also in 1.1.33.6 and 1.1.35.7f., and then to pass on to His ascension (15) and second coming (16).

12. αὐτός: The pronoun, used also in lines 11 and 17, stands in emphatic position without being accompanied by a personal pronoun (see LSJ s.v. 10.b).

12. οὐρανίην οἷμον μερόπεσσιν ἔδειξας: Cf. carm.1.2.1.171 (535): / οἶμου δ' οὐρανίης θνητοῖς ἀγὸς ἔνθεν ἀερθείς (sc. Christ). The same metaphor is used in Orac.Sibyl.6.9f.:/ δείξει (sc. Christ) δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὁδούς, δείξει δὲ κελεύθους/ οὐρανίας. Cf. also Procl. hymn.4. 14: ἐπειγομένῳ δὲ πρὸς ὑψιφόρητον ἀταρπόν/.

12. οὐρανίην: The poet, writing in dactylic meters, naturally extends the Ionic (Homeric) ending -η (instead of the Attic -α) of feminine epithets and nouns to non-Homeric words, following the example of later epic writers, e.g. Nonnus. See, apart from οὐρανίην, also ἀρχαίη (13), πορείης (33), στρατιῆς (1.1.34.6), χορείης (2.1.38. 19) and ἐπουρανίης (2.1.38.24), all used by Nonnus, and εὐοδίην (1.1. 36.20) and ἀκηρασίης (1.1.35.10), which both seem to be the poet's own creations (see also above p.39).

12. μερόπεσσιν: The epic epithet, which is found in 1.1.35.6 (see the note ad loc.), and in the same sedes in 2.1.38.43, is used in all the cases as a substantive following the Greek practice from the tragedians onwards (see LSJ s.v.).

13. ὕστατον: Cf. carm.2.1.1.15 (971). The adverb in Homer is usually connected with πρῶτον or πύματον. See Il.22.203, Od.20.116 and Hom. hymn.21.4. After recalling a number of ways in literal or metaphorical sense : ὁδὸς ἰθεῖα (2), ὁδόν (3) and ὁδός ... ῥηϊδίη (10f.), the poet gives the final one : οὐρανίην οἷμον: 12, which

seems to be the combination of the two ways: ἀρχαίη and νέη ἀταρπός.

I take οὐρανίην οἶμον in a metaphorical sense to refer to the way of

life which leads to heaven. Such a life is based in actual fact on

Christ's teaching which, according to Christ's own words in Ev.Mt.5.

17, is a review of and supplement to the teaching of OT. Accordingly,

when the poet refers to the way of life which leads to heaven as a

mixture of the old way with the new, he seems, I think, to take ἀρχαίη

(sc. ἀταρπός) as the way of life indicated by the teaching of OT and

νέη ἀταρπός, the life which is based on the teaching of NT. Gregory

refers to the two Testaments as Παλαιά and Νέα in De Vita Sua 1169

(Jungck p.110; M.37.1109).

14. εὖτε θεὸς θνητός τε: Cf. carm.1.2.1.149 (533)= carm.1.1.9.

48 (460):/ ἦλθε θεὸς θνητός τε in the same sedes.

14. κραθείς: The verb is carefully chosen to describe the

nature of the incarnate Christ and may be contrasted to ἐπέμιξας:13(used

to show precisely the mixture of the old way of life with the new).

14. ἐπὶ γαῖαν ὅδευσας: ' you came on earth'. Cf. carm.2.1.45.

117 (1361): (sc. ψυχήν) ἐπὶ γαῖαν ὁδεύειν/, 2.1.1.10 (970), Orac.

Sibyl.3.367 = 5.466, Apoll. Met.Ps.66.8 and Nonn. par.Jo.7:3 (M.43.

805A). The present phrase may owe its construction to the Homeric

expression ἐπὶ νῆας ὁδεύειν in Il.11.569.

14. ὅδευσας: The participle ὁδεύσας of the majority of MSS is

syntactically inappropriate, since a main verb is needed in the

sentence. On the other hand, the reading ὤδευσας, an augmented form

of aorist, of MSS Vb and C is metrically also unsuitable. Therefore,

its correction into the unaugmented form ὅδευσας (cf. Smyth 438 and

Monro 69) is necessary, although such a form is not recorded by

Veitch s.v. ὁδεύειν. But as has been said above p.39 the construct-

ion of new forms by analogy to existing ones (cf. e.g. ὄρεξας in Il.

24.743 and Cunliffe, Lexicon, s.v. ὄλλυμι, ὄμνυμι, ὀνίνημι, ὀνειδίζω)

is a common habit of Gregory's.

15. ἡμετέρην: Cf. 1.1.35.2 and 1.1.34.15 and the note ad loc. On the enjambement in line 14 and the pause after the second longum see the note on 1.1.33.2f.

15. ἔνθεν ἀερθείς: The same phrase appears in carm.1.2.1.171 (535). Cf. also ib.180 (536), 1.2.9.83 (674), 2.2.1.75 (1457), 2.1. 45.55 (1357) and 1.1.7.56,67 (443, 444), and Od.8.375, 12.432.

16. ἵξεαι: The form is constructed according to the Homeric ending -σεαι (cf. Smyth, Greek Dialects 607.2(α)). See also carm. 1.2.14.32 (758): ὄψεαι and Od.12.39.

Christ's second coming is recalled, among other passages, in carm.2.2.3.9f. (1480): ᾧ (sc. man) θεὸς ἵξεται αὖτις,/ ἵξεται ὑστατίοισιν ἐν ἤμασι πάντας ἐλέγχων/ and or.38.16 (M.36.329C): καὶ ἥξοντα (sc. Χριστὸν) μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης.

16. ἐλδομένοισι: It reminds us of the credal phrase : προσδοκεῖν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν (see A. Hahn, Symbole, p.135 and 165).

16. φαάντερος: An epic comparative form, the superlative of which is found in the same sedes in carm.2.2(epit.).97.1 (M.38.59) = AP 8.54.1. Cf. also 2.1.34.145 (1317), 2.1.87.23 (1435), 1.2.2.687 (632) and AP 9.210.12. The epithet stands for the Biblical phrase μετὰ δόξης (Cf. Ev.Mt.24.30, Lc.21.27 and Mc.13.26).

16. ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν: It is used once in Od.1.322. In the present hymn the phrase refers to Christ's first coming on earth, namely to His birth.

17-18: Christ walks on the water and calms the seastorm

The event is related in Ev.Mt.14.22-33, Mc.6.45-51 and Jo.6.16-21. It may be found also in carm.2.1.1.10-13 (970f.) which is cited below p.179 , in Orac.Sibyl.8.273f.: / τοὺς ἀνέμους παύσειε λόγῳ, στορέσει δὲ θάλασσαν/ μαινομένην ποσὶν εἰρήνης πίστει τε πατήσας./ and 6.13.

17. ἐπεβήσαο: The form has been composed according to the Ionic (Homeric) ending -αο of the second person first aorist middle. Cf. Smyth, <u>Greek Dialects</u> 608.1.

18. οἶδμα πέσεν: ' the rough sea became calm'. The closest parallel passage I could find is Eur. <u>Iph.Taur.</u>1412: οἶδμα νήνεμον γενήσεται/. In <u>carm</u>.1.2.15.55 (770) = 2.1.1.21 (971) = 2.2.5.203 (1536) Gregory uses the phrase ἄγριον οἶδμα θαλάσσης/ which appears to be taken from Callim. <u>fr</u>.370 (Pfeif.). For references to βαθύρ-ροον οἶδμα θαλάσσης/ in Apoll. <u>Met.Ps.</u> e.g. 105.23 see Golega p.49.

18. (οἶδμα) ... βιαζόμενον ἀνέμοισιν: Cf. <u>Ev.Mt.</u>14.24: βιαζό-μενον (sc. ship) ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων, ἦν γὰρ ἐναντίος ὁ ἄνεμος and <u>Ev. Jo.</u> 6.18. Note that βιαζόμενον applies here to οἶδμα and not to πλοῖον of the Biblical passage.

Before passing on to examine the content of the Prayer it will be worthwhile to pause for a moment to compare the Praise part of the present hymn with <u>carm.</u> 2.1.1.1-16 (969-71): <u>De Rebus Suis</u>, in order to show some of Gregory's poetic techniques which are parallel to those discussed in Appendix III. The <u>De Rebus Suis</u> consists of 634 hexameters and belongs to Gregory's autobiographical poetry. In composing its prooemium, lines 1-36(969-72), as well as its epilogue, 623-34 (1016f.), in the form of a hymn, Gregory followed the example of Greek epic writers (see above p. 23).

The Praise of the hymnodic epilogue (623-31) consists of an accumulation of epithets and other appellations first to the Father, then to the Son and, finally, to the Spirit, all used to describe the nature, characteristics and relationship between the three persons. Therefore, it may be compared both in content and structure e.g. to 2.1.38. 5-12a (see below <u>ad loc.</u>).

On the other hand, the Praise of the hymnodic prooemium refers to Christ and may be compared, not only in structure, but also in

content with that of the present hymn. The citation of the text it-
self is inevitable in order to illustrate these similarities better.
This is given after the Migne edition:

> Χριστὲ ἄναξ, ὃς ἁγναῖς ποτ' ἀειρομέναις παλάμῃσι
> σταυροτύποις Μωσῆος ἐπ' οὔρεῖ σοῦ θεράποντος
> ἔκλινας 'Αμαλήκ, ὀλοὸν σθένος· ὅς τε ταθείσαις
> χείρεσιν ἐν βόθρῳ Δανιὴλ ὑπο δεινὰ λεόντων
> 5   χάσματα καὶ φρικτὰς ὀνύχων ἐπέδησας ἀκωκάς.
> ὃν διὰ καὶ μεγάλου ἀπὸ κήτεος ἔκθορ' 'Ιωνᾶς
> εὐξάμενος καὶ χεῖρας ἐνὶ σπλάγχνοισι τανύσσας·
> ἐν φλογὶ δ' 'Ασσυρίῃ δροσερὸν νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψε
> θαρσαλέους τρεῖς παῖδας, ἐπεὶ χέρας ἐξεπέτασσαν·
> 10   ὅς ποθ' ὅλην ζείουσαν ὑπεὶρ ἅλα πεζὸς ὀδεύσας
> κύματα καὶ ἀνέμων μένος ηὔνασας, ὥς κε μαθητὰς
> ἐκ πελάγους ἐρύσειας ὀρινομένους ὑπ' ἀήταις.
> πολλοῖς δ' αὖ ψυχάς τε καὶ ἄψεα λύσαο νούσων,
> οἷα θεὸς κρανθεὶς δὲ βροτὸς θνητοῖσιν ἐμίχθης·
> 15   ὧν τὸ μὲν ἦες ἄνωθε, τὸ δ' ὕστατον ἄμμι φαάνθης,
> ὥς με θεὸν τελέσειας, ἐπεὶ βροτὸς αὐτὸς ἐτύχθης.

With regard to structure, both hymns begin with the invocation
Χριστὲ ἄναξ which is followed by three relative clauses expressed in
1.1.36 by ὅς ..., ὅς ..., ὅς τε and in 2.1.1. by ὅς ..., ὅς τε... ὃν
διά. In content both hymns praise Christ with reference to various
Biblical events taken first from the OT and then from Christ's life on
earth. Some of these events are the same in both hymns, namely the
victory over king Amalek in 1.1.36. 7-8 and 2.1.1. 1-3, the cessation
of the seastorm in 1.1.36. 17-18 and 2.1.1. 10-12, and Christ's
incarnation in 1.1.36. 14f. and 2.1.1. 14-16. However, more important
from the viewpoint of poetic techniques seems to be the deliberate
choice of the particular OT events in both hymns. So, in 1.1.36. 3-11

these are all taken from the general theme of the Exodus journey in order to correspond to the main concept of the hymn: the idea of way or journey. On the other hand, in 2.1.1. 1-9 all the three events related : the salvation of Israelites from the threat of Amalek, the rescue of Daniel from the lions (cf. LXX Dan.6. 1-28) and of Jonah from the cetacean (cf. LXX Jon.2. 1-11) have also one thing in common: the salvation of those involved comes as a result of their prayer made with their hands extended. Furthermore, the events from Old and New Testament mentioned in the Praise part are all based on the concept of salvation, which is in harmony also with the main request :/ (ἐλθ') ... ὥς με σαώσῃς /, following in line 18 (971). Therefore, in both hymns the content of the Praise anticipates that of the Prayer. Hence, the poet appears to follow the common practice of Greek pagan hymnographers, whereby the content of Praise is carefully chosen in order to be appropriate to the fulfilment of the petitioner's requests (see above p. 30).

In conclusion, both the Praise of the hymnodic prooemium in 2.1. 1. 1-16 and that of the present hymn are built in the same way and their content, apart from being similar in various parts of it, is deliberately chosen to serve a particular purpose in each case.

III. Prayer (19-33)

All the requests of the Prayer are related to the main concept of the hymn : the idea of journey.

Line 19: A variation of this line may be found in the opening line of the Prayer in the hymnodic prooemium we have dealt with just above : 2.1.1.17 (971):/ ὧδε, μάκαρ, καὶ ἐμοὶ θεὸς ἵλαος ἐλθὲ καλεῦντι.

19f. ἀλλά ... σήμερον: A request to Christ to become the poet's fellow traveller

19. ἀλλά, μάκαρ: In the same sedes the phrase apppears in carm. 2.1.83.31 (1430) and quite often in the Orphic Hymns (e.g. 6.10, 11.

21, 19.18) where it begins the Prayer part (see also above p.30,n.3).
μάκαρ is a universal epithet applied to many Greek gods indifferently
(see above p. 26) and stands for the Biblical μακάριος (1Tim.1.11, 6.
15 and Deichgräber p.101). It is used by Gregory quite often: carm.
1.2.1.64, 175 (527, 536), 1.2.15.110 (774), 2.1.1.110 (978), 2.1.19.
32 (1273) and ib.103 (1279), where μακάρτατε is used instead. Among
other Christian hymnographers, the epithet is used by Synesius (e.g.
hymn.1.21), in hymn.Christ. ap. Pap.Berol. Mus. 8299 (ed. Heitsch
p.161) and in Method. Olymp. Parthen.285.13, 286.21, 288.56 etc. (ed.
Musurillo-Debidour, SC).

19. ἐλθέ: Imperative forms of cletic verbs, or its equivalent,
often introduce the Prayer part of Orphic Hymns: 48.5f.:/ ἀλλά, μά-
καρ, ... ἐπαρωγὸς ἐπέλθοις and 79.11: / ἀλλά, μάκαιρ' ἔλθοις κεχαρημέ-
νη (see above p. 31 and Keyssner pp.87-91).

19. καλεῦντι: The participle is found in the same sedes three
times in Homer (Od.10.229, 255 and 12.249).

19. συνέμπορος: Gregory's source for the word seems to be found
in Plat. Phaedo 108c where gods are called ξυνέμποροι and ἡγεμόνες of
the human soul. Cf. also Orac.Chald. fr.217.2 (ed. des Places, SC,
p.118). A closer parallel to the Platonic passage is carm.2.2.4. 81f.
(1511): συνέμπορον, ἡγεμονῆα,/ Χριστὸν ἔχων. See also 2.2.5.275 (1541)
where the epithet is in the same sedes and seems to refer also to
Christ; while in or.7.9 (M.35.765A) it refers to Gregory's brother
Caesarius. συνέμπορός τινι is employed by Apollinarius a number of
times in his Paraphrasis of the Psalter as the version of μετά τινος
used in the Septuagint text. See e.g. Met.Ps. 25.8 (συνέμπορον
ἐλθεῖν τινί) used also in Nonn. Dion.14.192. In both cases the
fellow travellers are both men as are also in Greek tragedy when
συνέμπορος is used. Cases where one partner is a god as happens in
the present hymn may be found in Nonn. Dion. 4.101:/ ἵξομαι 'Απόλ-

λωνι συνέμπορος, 1.368 and Aristoph. Ranae 396. In Christian

prayers συνοδοιπόρος is used instead: Liturg.Marc. (Brightman p.127.

14f.): σύμπλους καὶ συνοδοιπόρος αὐτῶν (sc. of travellers) γενέσθαι

καταξίωσον and Serap. Euch.5.8 where the guardian angel is called συν-

οδοιπόρος. Cf. also Act..Thom. 10.1 (LB 2.2, 1959, p.114.5f.).

20. σήμερον: It may imply that Gregory refers to a real journey.
The word is in emphatic position as in 2.1.38.39, 43, 47, 49 (see the
note on 2.1.38.39).

20. εὐοδίην δὲ πόροις : A request for an auspicious journey.
For εὐοδίην cf. carm.2.1.1.246 (988), 1.2.29.114 (Knecht p.24; M.37.
892) and Knecht's note ad loc., and 2.2.1.168 (1463). See also 2.1.
22.6 (1281): λείην δὲ πόροις ὁδόν and 1.2.9.101f. (675): / Χριστόν
.../ ὅς με ... εὐδρομέοντα τίθησι/.

The verb πορεῖν is occasionally used in Greek pagan hymns and

prayers when various benefits are sought from the gods: Anacreon 112.1

(PLG iii p.285 Bergk), Pap.Oxyrh. 1015,16 and Soph. OC 1086 (see also

Keyssner p.126).

20. καὶ ἄγγελον ἐσθλόν (sc. πόροις): The poet begs also for a

good angel. On ἐσθλός see below the note on line 23. The phrase

appears in the same sedes in carm.1.1.8.62 (451); while a similar

request in 2.1.3.5f. (1020) is cited below p. 198. On requests for a

guardian angel in liturgical or private prayers see the introductory

note (above p.163); cf. also Synes. hymn. 2.264ff.

21. πομπόν: The poet applies to the angel an epithet of Hermes

as the latter was the escort of the souls of the dead to the nether

world. See e.g. Aesch. Pers.626, Soph. OC 1548, Il.24.153, 182, 461,

437 and Orph. hymn.57.6.

21. ἀλεξητῆρα: 'protector'. The epithet is used of Heracles in

Kaibel ep.831.13 (= IG 14.1003) and of Dionysus in Nonn. Dion.33.232

(gen. same sedes) and 7.96. The equivalent ἀλεξήτωρ and ἀλεξητήριος

are both used of Zeus in Soph. OC 143 and Aesch. Sept. 8 respectively.

21. βοηθόον: Greek gods were often called to come as helpers to men: e.g. Artemis at child-births in Callim. hymn.Dian. 21f. See also Nonn. Dion. 33.345 (Sea), 30.73 (Hephaestus), 27.292 (Athene) and Bacchyl. fr. 49 (Jebb) (Zephyrus). Apart from βοηθός gods were called also (ἐπ-)ἀρωγός, ἐπίκουρος and ἐπιτάρροθος. See above p.27.

In Psalms God is often called βοηθός : LXX Ps. 113.19, 117.7, 18.15 etc.

22. ἠματίων νυχίων τε κακῶν: The phrase seems to have been based on LXX Ps.90. 5-6: οὐ φοβηθήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτερινοῦ, ἀπὸ βέλους πετομένου ἡμέρας,/ ἀπὸ πράγματος διαπορευομένου ἐν σκότει, ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ. See also Orph. hymn. 3.14: φόβους δ' ἀπόπεμπε νυχαυγεῖς.

22. κακῶν ἄπο τηλόθ' ἐέργων: Cf. the variation κακῶν (sc. men) ἄπο τηλόθι μίμνων/ in carm.2.1.13.207 (1243). The syntax of ἐέργειν with acc. and τηλόθι ἀπό with gen. seems to be based on ἐέργειν + acc. + τῆλε in Il. 23.72 in which τῆλε is replaced in the present phrase by τηλόθι with gen., while ἀπό is an emphatic pleonasm.

23. καὶ τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὁδοῖο χαριζόμενος: Cf. carm.2.1.19.77 (1277): ἐμοὶ τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζων/(sc. God). Requests for a happy end of life may be found in Orph. hymn.28.11: βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζων and 73.9. In general, ἐσθλός, together with ἀγαθός, is widely used in hymns to describe the various benefits or requests the petitioner asks from gods: Theocr. Idyl. 22.214f. (Dioscuroi): ἡμετέροις κλέος ὕμνοις/ ἐσθλὸν ἀεὶ πέμποιτε and Orph. hymn.57.12, 33.9. See also Keyssner p.158ff.

On χαρίζεσθαι see the note on 1.1.35.2.

23. μογέοντι: Cf. 1.1.35.9, line 30 of the present hymn, carm. 1.2.14.110 (764) and 1.2.16.22 (780).

24. οἴκοθεν ... καὶ οἴκαδε: The closeposition of the two

opposite adverbs corresponds to the liturgical phrase: τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους (sc. φρούρησον) used in the dismissal prayer in <u>Liturg</u>. ap. <u>Const.Apost</u>. 8.15.8 (Brightman p.27.8f.) and based on LXX <u>Ps</u>. 120.8.

24. (ὄφρα) ἀγινοῖ: The optative in the final clause is owed to an assimilation to the optative of wish in the principal clause (πόρους: 20). See Smyth 2186.c. and above p.42f.

The syntax of ἀγινέειν with acc. and dat. seems to follow that of ἄγειν (cf. <u>Od</u>.14.386). See Monro 145.6.

25. πηοῖσίν τε φίλοις τε : Cf. <u>Il</u>.3.163: πηούς τε φίλους τε/ and <u>carm</u>. 2.1.3.20 (1021), cited below p.199.

25. ὁμὸν βίον ἀμφιέπουσιν : (to the relatives and friends) 'who pursue the same life'. Cf. Pind. <u>Isth</u>.4.58f.(ed. Snell-Maehler, 1971).

26. ἔνθα : It refers very possibly to the poet's house as does also in 1.1.37.7 (see the note <u>ad loc</u>.).

26. νύκτα καὶ ἦμαρ : It is a Homeric formula (<u>Il</u>.5.490, <u>Od</u>.2.345), used also in <u>carm</u>.2.1.1.141 (980). The variation of it : νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα (<u>Il</u>.18.340, Hesiod. <u>Theog</u>. 724) is used e.g. in <u>carm</u>.2.2.1.63 (1456) and 2.1.1.312 (993). See also Apoll. <u>Met.Ps</u>.1.5. However, the expression ' day and night' is not absent from Psalms either: LXX <u>Ps</u>. 1.2, 31.4, 41.4 and 54.11.

26f. νύκτα καὶ ἦμαρ .../ λισσοίμην : Cf. <u>carm</u>.2.2.1.31 (1454): ὕμνοις παννυχίοισι καὶ ἡματίοισι "Ανακτα/ μέλποντες.

27. (ἔνθα) λισσοίμην : This seems to be a potential optative found in an independent clause without ἄν contingent (see Monro 299 (f) and above p.42f.) as happens in 1.1.35.12 and 1.1.37.7, although the latter is found in a relative clause.

On λίσσεσθαι see the note on 1.1.34.14.

27. κακότητος ἀμιγέα σοι βίον ἕλκων : 'leading for you a life unmixed with badness, i.e. a sinless life'. See 1.1.34.26: καθαρὸν βίοτον and the note <u>ad loc</u>. For βίον ἕλκειν cf. <u>carm</u>.2.2.4.4 (1506),

2.1.32.4 (1301) and or.43.80 (M.36.604A); also AP 7.736.1 (Leonid.),

11.62.5 (Pallad.), both in the same sedes, 1.93.3, Nonn. Dion.35.76

and Apoll. Met.Ps.30.22, 20.8, 101.22,(all in the same sedes). Finally,

in Eur. Orest. 207 and Phoen. 1535 βίοτος and ζοά are used instead.

28. νόον πτερόεντα : The metaphor may owe its source to the

epic formula ἔπεα πτερόεντα (Od.1.122, Il.13.750), or even to Plat.

Phaedr. 246e : τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς πτέρωμα . Cf. also Synes. hymn.5.87 :τὸ

νοῦ πτέρωμα/. Gregory uses the same metaphor also in carm.1.2.16.31f.

(780): πάντα νόου πτερύγεσσιν ἐπέδραμον, ὅσσα παλαιά,/ ὅσσα νέα and

2.1.45.119 (1362):/ πνεύματι (sc. of man) δὲ πτερόεντι ; while in

2.2.1.300 (1473) he refers to πτερόεντα βίον.

28. βίου φάος : The phrase must be parenthetic and addressed to

Christ, the light of the poet's life as happens also in carm.2.2.5.3

(1521): Χριστὸς ἄναξ ..., βίου φάος, (nom.), in 2.2.7.300 (1574):

Χριστός, ἐμὸν φάος, (same sedes) and 2.1.25.7 (1285). See Ev.Jo.8.12.

However, in 2.1.13.5 (1228) the same phrase is addressed to the bishops,

possibly after Ev.Mt.5.14. Cf. besides Orph. hymn.8.18 (Helius): ζωῆς

φῶς (same sedes).

28. νόον ... αἰὲν ἀείρων : Cf. carm.2.1.1.76 (975): Χριστὸς ἐ-

μὸν νόον αἰὲν ἀείρων/ and ib. 265 (990): θεῷ νόον ἁγνὸν ἀείρων/ (sc.

Ι the poet), and 1.1.1.22 (400).

The present passage reminds us of liturgical ones when, before

the prayer of the anaphora, the priest urges the congregation to uplift

its mind or heart: see Liturg. ap. Const.Apost.(Brightman p.14.17):

ἄνω τὸν νοῦν, Liturg.Jac. (B. p.50.4): ἄνω σχῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς

καρδίας and Liturg.Marc. (p.125.11).

On expressions with αἰέν used in Greek pagan hymns see the note

on 1.1.33.11.

29. μέσφ' ὅτε ... ἐξανύσαιμι : Here the optative, as well as that

in the following line, is used in an indefinite temporal clause

(see Kühner-Blass-Gerth 567,7, Smyth 2404 and above p. 42f.).

Furthermore, Sophocles's Thesaurus and LSJ s.v. μέσφα cite only three cases of μέσφ' ὅτε, all taken from Callimachus (hymn.Dian.195, hymn.Cer.111 and Hec. fr. 260.4 (Pfeif.)), but followed by aor. indic. or imper. and not by opt. (which is used to refer to an uncertain time in the future) as happens in the present case. Cf. also Hesychius and Suda s.v. μέσφ' ὅτε.

29. πυμάτην ξυνὴν ὁδόν : The last common journey for everybody is death. See carm.2.1.3.23 (1021), cited below p. 199.

30. μονήν : The word alludes to Ev.Jo. 14.2: ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ πατρός μου μοναὶ πολλαί εἰσιν which is mentioned by Gregory in carm. 1.2.17.24 (783): / πολλαὶ γὰρ πολλῶν εἰσι μοναὶ βιότων. On the other hand, the Biblical concept of μονή as the abode of the faithful may be contrasted to Procl. hymn.6.12:/ ὅρμον ἐς εὐσεβίης με πελάσσατε κεκμη-ῶτα.

Lines 31-33: This is a new invocation to Christ in 'du-Stil' (see above p. 31), used to underline the close relationship between Christ and the poet; and a final request for a successful end to the poet's journey.

31. σοὶ ζῶ, σοὶ λαλέω, σοὶ δ' : The phrase is used in the same sedes in 2.1.38.29. The personal relationship between Christ and the poet is marked throughout the Prayer part with the use of fourteen personal pronouns and calminates in the last three lines with the anaphora of σοί in 31f.: σοί ..., σοί ..., σοί .../ σοί .... See above the note on anaphora on 1.1.33.8.

31. ὦ ἄνα Χριστέ : A renewed invocation (see the note on 1.1.34. 14) which is used in the same sedes in carm.2.1.1.106 (978). The use of the interjection in ὦ ἄνα goes back to the Homeric hymn to Apollo where it can be explained by the religious epicletic nature of the formula (see above p. 44).

32. αἴρω ποδὸς ἴχνος : Cf. carm.2.1.1.122 (979): πρὸς αἰθέρα
ταρσὸν ἀεῖραι (sc. Nonna), 2.1.42.8 (1344): ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἴχνος ἐρεῖσαι/
(cf. Nonn. Dion.18.15) and Synes. hymn.5.89: ταρσὸν αἴρων/. Although
ποδὸς ἴχνος is commonly used in Euripides (Herc.Fur.125, Phoen.104f.)
it does not seem to have been used with αἴρειν.

32. χειρὶ καλύπτεις : The metaphor reminds us of similar Biblical
ones: ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ (LXX Is.49.2, 51.16), ἐν σκέπῃ
τῶν πτερύγων σου σκεπάσεις με (LXX Ps.16.8; cf. also 35.8, 60.5) and
ἐξεπέτασα (sc. God) τὰς χεῖράς μου (NT Ep.Rom.10.21 = LXX Is.65.2).

Line 33: After the long series of secondary clauses (21-30),
serving to explain why the poet begged for an angel (21-25) and to show
the poet's great devotion to Christ (26-30), and the new invocation
(31-32), the poet closes the hymn by adding his final request for a
successful end to his journey.

33. ἀλλά : It is used to introduce the last request after the
long break of eleven lines from the previous request in line 21.

33. καὶ νῦν : While ἀλλά (33) corresponds to ἀλλά in 19, καὶ νῦν
refers us back to σήμερον in 20 and is used, together with ἀλλά, to
introduce the final request (see also above p. 30).

33. ἐσθλὸν ἐπὶ τέρμα πορείης : The phrase is a variation of τέ-
λος ἐσθλὸν ὁδοῖο in line 23 and may be compared to carm.1.2.9.112
(676): τέρμα πορείης/ ; while 2.1.1.489 (1006): βίου δ' ἐπὶ τέρμαθ'
ἱκάνω/ refers to the end of the poet's life as does the request in
Procl. hymn.6.4: / τεύχετε δ' αἰγλήεσσαν ἐμοῦ βιότοιο πορείην/.

We now pass on to draw our conclusions on the main features used
in 1.1.36. The hymn is addressed throughout to Christ and begins with
the invocation Χριστὲ ἄναξ which is further developed in the 'Relativstil':
ὅς ... ὅς ... ὅς τε ... (1-4). The poet eulogizes Christ by reference
to His deeds both in Old and New Testament , following thus a common

practice in Greek pagan hymns and Biblical Psalms and prayers. The divine epithets used throughout the hymn are either universal : ἄναξ (1,31), μάκαρ (19), or of a particular application : συνέμπορος (19), βίου φάος (28) and ἄλκαρ (8). The by-name Χριστός is used, not only to introduce the hymn by replacing the proper name of the addressee, but also as a renewed invocation in line 31. The hymn is enriched with some further divine epithets of restricted application : πομπός ἀλεξητήρ and βοηθός (21) which, however, refer to the guardian angel.

In the hymn the poet makes use of expressions with πᾶς (1,2), τέτυξαι (2) and αἰέν (28) , and employs a cletic verb (ἐλθέ: 19) with ἀλλά, μάκαρ to introduce the Prayer. Besides, to seek various benefits from Christ he utilizes πόρους (20). Finally, before closing the hymn with his last request the poet adds another invocation to Christ (31f.) in 'du-Stil' by using σοί in anaphora:/ σοί ..., σοί ..., σοί .../ σοί ... σύ and the vocative ὦ ἄνα Χριστέ .

The ornamentation of the hymn is rich. Apart from the epithets mentioned above there are about fifteen more, some of which are expressed in pairs containing opposite words : ἡματίων νυχίων (22), ἀρχαίη - νέην (13). To these one may add the exclamatory phrase μέγα θαῦμ' (6), the comparison φαάντερος ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν (16), various metaphors (28,32,29) and rhetorical figures: oxymoron (θεός θνητός: 14), antithesis (οἴκοθεν ... οἴκαδε :24), anaphora of σοί (31f.); and finally, some vivid images, above all that of the Exodus (3-11) and of the cessation of the seastorm (17-18).

All these features, together with the careful structure of the hymn , provide enough elements which make the hymn an elaborate one.

We now come to discuss poems 1.1.37 and 1.1.38. The former is written in hexameters and the latter in elegiacs. In their majority they are similar to other Gregorian verses, mainly found in 1.1.36,

as has already been observed by Caillau (see the note on 1.1.37 in M.37.520 and J. Sajdak, 'Nazianzenica', EOS, 16(1910), p.90). These similarities and the fact that the two poems have a different MS tradition led Lefherz to include them among the disputed works of Gregory's (see Lefherz p.70). On the contrary, I think that such similarities prove the two poems to have been written by Gregory since, as will be seen, they are in accordance with Gregory's techniques in verse-composition.

Carm. 1.1.37

I. Praise (1-4a)

Line 1: It may be compared with 1.1.36.32a (see the note ad loc.). The variation lies in the fact that the affirmative sentence in 1.1.36 is replaced here by a negative one whereby the poet wants to underline that without Christ's help one cannot make even a single step. Hence, the negative sentence serves to praise Christ in a 'hyberbolic' style as does also the use of expressions with πᾶς (2,3). (The term 'hyberbolic' style is taken from Keyssner; see Keyssner p.28ff. 'Der hyberbolische Stil'.) Such negative sentences were not uncommon in Greek pagan hymns, particularly those in 'du-Stil': Ariphron 9 (PLG iii p.597 Bergk): (sc. Ὑγίεια)/ σέθεν δὲ χωρὶς οὔτις εὐδαίμων (ἔφυ) and Orph.hymn.16.5. See also Keyssner p.29. Similar to this feature is the rhetorical question used in 1.1.29.1 (see below the note ad loc.). However, a closer parallel tb the present passage may be found in carm.1.2.9.107 (676):/ ὥς (sc. therefore) οὐδὲ Χριστοῖο δίχα βροτὸς ἴχνος ἀείρει.

The reversal χωρὶς σέο of the Edd, instead of σέο χωρὶς of the MSS, was necessary for metrical reasons since χωρίς has the 'ι' short (see Il.7.470 and Od. 9.221).

Lines 2 and 3 are exactly the same as 1 and 2 in 1.1.36 (see

the notes <u>ad loc</u>.). However, it is worth noticing that in this hymn

the introductory invocation Χριστὲ ἄναξ of 1.1.36.1 comes only at

the beginning of the second line.

4. σοὶ πίσυνος : Cf. πίσυνος Διί in Il.9.238 and θεῷ (or θεοῖς)

πίσυνος in Pind. <u>Pyth</u>.4.232 (ed. Snell-Maehler 1971) and Aesch. <u>Sept</u>.

212 respectively. In <u>Il</u>.24.295, 313 πίσυνος (although referring to

the bird of omen) is in the same <u>sedes</u>.

4. καὶ τήνδε τέμνω τρίβον : Cf. <u>carm</u>.1.2.17.33 (784): τάμνε

τρίβον (sc. the path of life) which may be compared to τέμνειν τρί-

βον βιότοιο in <u>AP</u> 9.359 (Posidipp.) - repeated in <u>Schol</u>. on Eur.

<u>Hec</u>.213 (ed. Dindorf) - and <u>ib</u>. 360 (Metrod.); cf. also <u>De Vita Sua</u>

102 (Jungck p.58; M.37.1036): ὁποίαν τοῦ λόγου τέμω τρίβον and

Jungck's note <u>ad loc</u>.

Another variation in this hymn with regard to the way the poet

follows in praising Christ in lines 1-4a is the following: in lines

1 and 4a he praises Christ indirectly by referring to what one or

the poet does with the help of His, and only in lines 2 and 3 Christ

is praised directly with an exposition of His characteristics as

happens in 1.1.36.

II. Prayer (4b-7)

The Prayer contains three requests to Christ: first to send the

poet off unhurt, second to grant him everything he hopes for and

finally to lead him again back home.

Another feature of 1.1.37 worth mentioning is the fact that the

Prayer begins towards the end of the line and not at the beginning of

it as happens in 1.1.36 and the majority of Greek pagan hexameter

hymns. This may be possibly owed to the brevity of the poem. The

same feature appears also in 2.1.3.5 (see below p.198).

4. ἀλλά με: Cf. 1.1.36.33 and the note on 1.1.34.19.

4f. μὲ πέμποις/ ἀσκηθῆ: 'may you send me off unhurt'. Cf.

Solon <u>fr</u>. 19.3f. (West):/ αὐτὰρ ἐμέ ... / ἀσκηθῆ πέμποι Κύπρις,

Apoll.Rhod. <u>Arg</u>.2.690 (Apollo): ἀσκηθέα νόστον ὀπάσσῃ,/ and Mesom.

<u>hymn.Phys</u>.12f. (Heitsch p.27).

πέμπειν and its compounds are among the verbs used in the

Prayer part of Greek pagan hymns when the petitioner begs gods to

send or give him various benefits, or even to avert any missfortunes.

See Keyssner p.125f. for the former case and p.115 for the latter.

5. καὶ πάντα πόρους: The phrase seems to summarize the requests

in 1.1.36.20f. On πόρους see the note on 1.1.36.20.

5. ὅσ' ἐέλδεται ἦτορ: Cf. <u>carm</u>.2.1.3.18f. (cited below on p.

199). ἦτορ is commonly used at the end of the hexameter in Homer.

6. Ἄναξ: See the note on 1.1.36.1. The new invocation varies

from the introductory one, or from its equivalent in 1.1.36.31, in

that it includes only Ἄναξ, without the addition of Χριστέ: in 1.1.

36 we have Χριστὲ ἄναξ (1) - ὦ ἄνα Χριστέ (31) while in 1.1.37 Χρι-

στὲ ἄναξ (2) - Ἄναξ (6).

6. καί με ... παλίνορσον ἄγοις ἐπὶ δῶμα πενιχρόν: 'and may you

lead me back to my poor house'. Cf. 1.1.36.33 and the note <u>ad</u> <u>loc</u>.

This request obviously refers to the poet's homeward journey.

παλίνορσον: It is used in the same <u>sedes</u> in <u>carm</u>.1.2.2.397

(609), 1.2.1.166 (535), 1.2.9.58 (672), 2.1.1.298 (992) and 2.1.45.

321 (1376). I think that this word is added in order to different-

iate the request in line 6 from that in 4f. Therefore, since the

former request refers to the poet's homeward journey, the latter

possibly refers to his outward journey. In this case 1.1.37 appears

to have been composed before Gregory's departing journey, although it

includes requests concerning both his outward and return journeys.

Line 7: It is nearly the same as 1.1.36.26 (see the note <u>ad</u>

<u>loc</u>.).

ἔνθα: It refers to the poet's house : ἐπὶ δῶμα πενιχρόν (6).

ἐλεύθερος: If Gallay is right to suggest that both 2.1.3 and
1.1.36 were composed at the same time and for the same purpose
(before Gregory's departing journey for Constantinople at the begin-
ning of A.D. 379) ; and if, on grounds of the similarities between
1.1.37 and 1.1.36, 1.1.37 is to be considered as written before the
same journey, then ἐλεύθερος should mean 'free from the worries and
troubles Gregory had experienced in his effort to practice his epi-
scopal duties in Constantinople'.

ἱλασκοίμην: Referring to Greek gods the verb may be found in
e.g. Hom.hymn.Cer.274, 292 (Demeter), 368 (Persephone) and Arat.
Phaen. 14 (Zeus), in all cases in the same sedes. As a propitiatory
verb it is used in the prayer part of Greek pagan hymns (see above
p. 31).

From what has been said above it appears that 1.1.37 contains
the basic formal characteristics of hymns: 1) Invocation (2a), 2)
Praise (1-4a) and 3) Prayer (4b-7), although real distinction at
least between the first two parts does not exist. Therefore, although
it is short, 1.1.37 can, I think, easily be classed as a hymn; its
length is however equal to, or exceeds.that of one third of the Home-
ric and of some of the Orphic hymns.

The hymn arose directly out of the situation in which Gregory
found himself (i.e. his departure for Constantinople) and contains
material from 1.1.36. However, the degree of dependence of 1.1.37
on 1.1.36 is such that, I think, it may not prevent us from chara-
cterizing it a nicely constructed poem with its own identity.

Carm. 1.1.38

The poem (written in elegiac couplets) is addressed to Christ

as may be seen from the invocation Χριστέ appearing only in the last line . Praise (1-4) refers to some of the events from the Exodus theme, and is expressed with very little variation from the equivalent part of 1.1.36. The same may be said for the Prayer (5-6) where two requests are made to Christ: one to be the poet's companion (as in 1.1.36.19) and the other to grant him every good fortune. The conciseness of the poem results in telescoping together Invocation, Praise and Prayer. Therefore, when in the commentary I subdivide the poem into Praise (1-4) and Prayer (5-6), I use the two terms only as headings without implying any intrinsic distinction between the two parts.

The requests are so general that they do not let us assume anything about the time and purpose of the composition of this poem. Only as a variation of 1.1.36 it may have been written for the same reason and at the same time as 1.1.36.

I. Praise (1-4): Christ's power revealed in the Exodus

Kaibel cites six epigrams beginning with ὅς (as does this hymn): 376d, 1113, 656, 970, 761 and 517c. Of these only the last one - a tomb epigram of one couplet only - is expressed with a verb in the second person as happens in our poem:

ὃς τὸν ἐμὸν παρὰ τύμβον ἄγεις, Τίτον ἴσθι Φιλίππου

πατρὸς Ἐδεσσαῖον παῖδά με καὶ Μαρίας.

1f. ὅς ... πελάγει: It is the same as 1.1.36.3f. (see the note ad loc.).

2. πῆξας κύματ' ἐλαυνομένοις: It refers to the crossing of the Red Sea (cf. LXX Ex. 14. 15-31) as does also the rest of the relative clause . Although Gregory returns in his works to the same event again and again, I could find no parallel expressions for the present one , possibly because he always presents the event in a different way. See the instances mentioned above on 1.1.36.3f., and carm.2.1.

3.8 (1020) and 2.1.22.10 (1281), which are both cited below on p. 198 and 196 respectively (although both passages seem to refer to the crossing of river Jordan and not of Red Sea).

Line 3: This is a close variation of 1.1.36.5a (see the note ad loc.). It has ὕσας instead of ὤπασας and οὐ δοκέουσιν which is added, not only to fill the hexameter, but above all to mark the greatness of the miracle and underline the surprise by which the Israelites were taken having seen the event taking place. Hence, the negative participle serves the same purpose as μέγα θαῦμ' in 1.1.36.6 (although this expression is used for another miraculous event: see the note ad loc.).

3. ὕσας: The verb is used transitively as happens in the Biblical exposition of the event (cf. LXX Ex.16.4). In a passive form it is used in Gregory's or.24.13 (Mossay p.68; M.35.1184C); while in or.13.2 (M.35.853B) - cited on 1.1.36.5 - the noun ὑετός is used instead. See also or.45.21 (M.36.652C) where one finds the equivalent ὀμβρέειν.

Line 4: This is a variation of 1.1.36. 5b-6a (see the note ad loc.), but without ἄρα and with πηγήν (used also in LXX Ps.113.8) instead of ῥόον. See or.45.21 (M.36.652C): πέτρα πηγάσει and or. 13.2 (M.35.853B): οὗτος (sc. God) πέτραν ἐπήγασεν.

II. Prayer (5-6): Christ is called to become the poet's fellow-
traveller

5. καὶ νῦν: The phrase (commonly used to introduce the Prayer : see above p. 30) is here added emphatically to contrast the past time (when Christ helped the Israelites) with the present (when the poet himself is in need of Christ). See also 2.1.3.4 (1020).

5. σῷ θεράποντι: See the note on 1.1.34.20.

5. συνέμπορος ἐλθὲ καλεῦντι: The phrase appears in 1.1.36.19b (see the note ad loc.).

6. Χριστέ, φάος μερόπων: The same invocation is used to introduce carm.2.1.22.1 (1281) which is cited below on p.196 . Christ is called also βροτῶν φάος in carm.2.1.46.49 (1381); while in 1.1.36.28 He is invoked as βίου φάος (see the note ad loc.).

6. δεξιὰ πάντα φέρων: Cf. carm.2.1.3.6 (1020) where the poet begs the Logos of God to send him an angel as δεξιὸν παραστάτην and ib. 18-21 (1021).

6. φέρων: The verb is used above all in Orphic hymns when gods are asked to bring men various benefits. See e.g. Orph.hymn.35.7: τέλος ἡδὺ φέρουσα/ (sc. Λητώ) and Keyssner p.126.

With regard to the various features of 1.1.38 there is little to be said here.

For the content and purpose of Praise we refer the reader to what has already been said in the concluding remarks on 1.1.36. In the Prayer the only elements worth mentioning here are the invocation φάος μερόπων and the indirect request δεξιὰ πάντα φέρων which does not seem to have its equivalent in 1.1.36 or the Greek pagan hymns.

As a conclusion to both poems (1.1.37 and 1.1.38), apart from the remarks already made with regard to the degree of variation in each hymn separately, one may also observe that the request of 1.1. 38 is the first one in 1.1.36.19 and those of 1.1.37 correspond to the requests which folow in 1.1.36.20ff. However, a reversed order appears in the case of the content of Praise, since that of 1.1.37 is taken from the first section of the Praise in 1.1.36. 1-2; while that of 1.1.38 is taken from one part of the second section (i.e. 1.1.36. 3-6).

From all these observations it looks as if these poems were written before the poet composed 1.1.36 in which he incorporated the

content of both hymns and added more material to it.

Let us now analyse the final two poems of the group: carm.2.1.
3 (1020f.) which is entitled Ἐνόδια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως and carm.
2.1.22. 1-12 (1281) entitled Ἱκετήριον. (The possibility that the
latter poem is formed of two distinct poems is discussed above on
p.10 n.2). In order to illustrate the relationship of these poems
with 1.1.36, I think that it would be better first to cite their
text and then make our remarks on them.

Carm. 2.1.22 1-12 (1281)

The text is taken from the Migne edition and runs:

Χριστέ, φάος μερόπων, πυρόει στύλε Γρηγορίοιο

ψυχῇ πλαζομένῃ πικρῆς βιότου δι' ἐρήμης,

σχὲς Φαραὼ κακόμητιν, ἀναιδέας ἐργοδιώκτας,

καὶ πηλοῦ μ' ἀδέτοιο καὶ Αἰγύπτοιο βαρείης

5 ἐξερύσαις πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας

δυσμενέας. λείην δὲ πόροις ὁδόν. ἢν δὲ κίχῃσιν

ἐχθρὸς ἐπισπέρχων, σὺ δέ μοι καὶ πόντον ἐρυθρὸν

τμήξειας, στερεὴν δὲ διεκπεράοιμι θάλασσαν

σπεύδων ἐς χθόνα δῖαν, ἐμὸν λάχος, ὥσπερ ὑπέστης.

10 καὶ ποταμοὺς στήσειας ἀπείρονας, ἀλλοφύλων τε

κλίναις θούριον ἔγχος ἀγάστονον. εἰ δ' ἐπιβαίην

γῆς ἱερῆς, μέλψω σε διηνεκέεσσιν ἐν ὕμνοις.

A paraphrase of these lines by Cosmas of Jerusalem follows
that of 1.1.36. 1-18 (both being incorporated into one section: Λό-
γος ΜΖ΄ in M.38. 452f.), so that Lefherz did not realize it and
therefore he does not mention it in his index of Scholiasts (see
Lefherz p.295ff.).

The poem may be characterized as a prayer or petition to Christ. Written in hexameters, it begins with the invocation Χριστέ, φάος με-ρόπων which is used also in 1.1.38.6 (see the note ad loc.). Christ is metephorically called 'fiery column'(πυρόει στῦλε), obviously after LXX Ex.13.21 and Apoc.10.1. Note the use of the unusual form of vocative: πυρόει instead of πυρόεν (also seen in βροτόει in 2.1. 38.27: see the note ad loc.).

The whole poem is built with various Biblical events and images mainly taken from the Exodus theme, and used metaphorically in order to describe the journey of the poet's life, or more precisely the journey of his soul which appears in line 2 to wander in the solitu-de of life. In favour of a completely metaphorical approach to the poem is Cosmas's paraphrase, according to which Pharaoh (2) is com-pared to the devil, ἐργοδιῶκται to the daemons, πηλός to sin and δυσμενεῖς to Gregory's own enemies (although one could also take Pharaoh, ἐργοδιῶκται and δυσμενεῖς to refer to the same people). The poet begs Christ to protect and deliver him from all these dangers. He also begs for an 'easy way' (λείην ... ὁδόν:6), namely a smooth and trouble-free journey of life, until he reaches the divine and holy land (ἐς χθόνα δῖαν:9, γῆς ἱερῆς:12), namely the kingdom of heaven where he promises to offer a ceaseless hymn to Christ.

After the brief analysis of the content of the poem we may now compare it to 1.1.36 making the following remarks:

a) Both poems are written in hexameters and are addressed to Christ, 2.1.22 in the form of a petition and 1.1.36 of a hymn.

b) The concept of journey lies behind both poems, but, while in 2.1.22 it refers to the journey of the poet's life, in 1.1.36 this refers to a real journey.

c) The Exodus theme serves a completely different purpose in

each poem: while in 1.1.36 it is the means whereby Christ is praised; in 2.1.22 it forms the basis of the poem's imagery and is used in a completely metaphorical way. This shows how skilfully the poet could use the same material in order to produce two poems different in content and style.

From the above observations it becomes, I think, obvious why 2.1.22. 1-12 was excluded from the present research: not only the lack of any praise of Christ (apart from the introductory invocation), but also the metaphorical interpretation of its content dissociates it from the straightforward style of the group of hymns which form the subject of the present research.

<u>Carm</u>.2.1.3

We now turn to <u>carm</u>.2.1.3 (1020f.). The text runs as follows:

'Εν σοὶ μὲν ἠρεμοῦμεν, ὦ θεοῦ Λόγε,

μένοντες οἴκοι· σοὶ δ' ἀνάπτομεν σχολήν.

σὴ μὲν καθέδρα, σὴ δ' ἔγερσις καὶ στάσις,

σὴ δ' αὖ πορεία, σοῖς δὲ καὶ νῦν νεύμασιν

5 εὐθυποροῦμεν. ἀλλά μοί τιν' ἀγγέλων

πέμποις ὁδηγόν, δεξιὸν παραστάτην,

ὅς με στύλῳ πυρός τε καὶ νέφους ἄγοι,

τέμνοι δὲ πόντον, ῥεῖθρα δ' ἱστάῃ λόγῳ,

τρέφοι δ' ἄνωθεν καὶ κάτωθεν πλουσίως.

10 σταυρὸς δὲ χερσὶν ἐκτυπούμενος θράσος

ἐχθροῦ κατείργοι· μηδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μέσῃ

καύσων φλέγοι με, μηδὲ νὺξ φόβον φέροι.

τὴν δὲ τραχεῖαν καὶ προσάντη μοι τρίβον

λείαν τιθείης, εὔπορόν τε σῷ λάτρῃ,

15 ὡς πολλάκις με καὶ τὸ πρὶν χειρὶ σκέπων

γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐξέωσας κινδύνων,

νόσων τε δεινῶν, δυσμενῶν τε πραγμάτων·

ὡς δεξιῶς ἄπαντα καὶ κατ' ἐλπίδας

πράξαντες, αἴσιόν τε τῆς ὁδοῦ τέλος

20 εὑρόντες, αὖθις πρὸς φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς

παλινδρομῶμεν ἀσμένοισιν ἄσμενοι

φανέντες οἴκοι καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένοι.

σὲ προσκυνοῦμεν τῆς τελευταίας ὁδοῦ

χρῄζοντες εὐμενοῦς τε καὶ ῥᾴστης τυχεῖν.

The poem may be divided into three sections:

1) 1-5a: Invocation to the Logos of God whereby the poet expresses that his whole life and events during it are under Christ's supervision, or take place for the sake of His.

2) 5b-22: Prayer to Christ amounting to two main requests: one (5b-9) to send him an angel, and the other (13-14) to make his way easy. The first request may be compared with the third in 1.1. 36. 20b-25 and the second with 2.1.22. 6 and 1.1.36.20a. Between these two requests there are three minor ones (10-12), all used metaphorically and based on events from the Exodus .

As is common in Greek pagan hymns and prayers (see above p.30) the poet goes on to remind Christ of His help in the past and His protection offered many times (πολλάκις:15) in lines 15-17. In particular Christ saved the poet from dangers at sea and on earth, from serious illnesses and from various hardships. The whole section may allude to real events, since it is well known that: 1) in his trip to Athens Gregory nearly underwent a shipwreck, 2) he usually had poor health and 3) he suffered several hardships, for instance the seizure of the fortune of his brother Caesarius (see Gallay, La Vie, passim and De Vita Sua: carm.2.1.11. 368ff. (Jungck p.72; M.37. 1054f.)).

Lines 18-22 contain the reason for the poet's second major request (i.e. that in 13-14) and they may correspond to lines 7-9 which form the reason for the first request (i.e. that in 5b-6).

3) 23-24: In the final section, the content of which is Christ's veneration (σὲ προσκυνοῦμεν) , the poet returns to the invocatory style of section 1-5a by introducing it with σέ. The reason for this veneration is the poet's desire that his last journey (namely his death) be propitious and very easy (cf. 1.1.36. 29).

From the brief analysis of its content 2.1.3 may be described as a prayer, since it is mainly concerned with various requests (5b-22). However, in it one finds a few topoi and other hymn-features: a) anaphora of second person pronouns (1-4), b) the use of purpose clauses (18ff.), c) the feature whereby Logos is reminded of the help ·He offered to the poet and how He protected His petitioner (15ff.), and d) the topos whereby a hymn or prayer closes with a final praise (23f.).

Another reason for describing 2.1.3 as a prayer rather than as a hymn is its iambic metre which is closer to prose than any other type of metre and consequently more appropriate for prayers (which are to be recited) than for hymns (which are usually sung).

Furthermore, the poet, obeying the law of form, avoids in his iambic poem any epic forms and other stock traditional vocabulary: archaisms, compound epithets and rare expressions which all mark the solemnity of hymns (particularly those in hexameters and elegiacs). On the contrary, the use of common expressions (e.g. of λάτρης in line 14 instead of θεράπων which is used in 1.1.38.5 and 1.1.34.20) and language close to ordinary speech add to the simplicity of the style of the poem   also appropriate to that of   prayers.

For all these reasons the poem has been excluded from the scope

of the present research.

To come to the particular occasion which led to the composition of 2.1.3 : I take the phrase ὡς ... πράξαντες (18f.) to refer to what the poet is going to do at the place which he is about to visit and αὖθις (20) in the same sense as παλίμπορον in 1.1.37.6 (see the note ad loc.), namely to refer to the poet's return to his homeland after fulfilling the purpose of his outward journey.

If my interpretation is correct and if the title of 2.1.3 : Ἐνόδια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (given by the Maurist editors) has some justification, then it is probable that 2.1.3 was composed before Gregory's departure for Constantinople in A.D.379. The same date is provided by the Maurist editors (see the annotation in M.37.1019-20) and Gallay (La Vie, p.135f.), while Muratori prefers the date when Gregory left the capital to return home (see M.37.1019-20).

Both Gallay and Muratori saw a similarity between 2.1.3 and 1.1.36, which to some extent has been illustrated above in the analysis of 2.1.3. The connection between the two poems may be attested also from the fact that in Cod. Am 1.1.36 (but only lines 1-30) is followed immediately afterwards by 2.1.3 which is entitled ἄλλα (sc. ἐνόδια).

From what has been said above I believe with Gallay that both poems were written at the same time and for the same reason: before Gregory left home to become bishop of Constantinople (at the beginning of A.D.379).

To conclude: the comparison of 1.1.36 with all the poems associated with it reveals with what variety Gregory used the imagery of the Exodus theme in poems dealing with an actual journey or life's journey, so that in the end he managed to compose poems which seem to be the same, but are quite different from each other.

III.3. Carmina 2.1.38 and 1.1.31

As has been said above the two hymns (2.1.38 and 1.1.31) are examined together on grounds of their similarity in metre: both are written in elegiac couplets.

In the history of Greek hymnography elegiac hymns or hymnal prayers are not so very rare. Some of these are found in longer pieces of literature (see Meyer, pp.40-47: 'Gebetsformen in der elegischen Dichtung'), or in the form of votive epigrams. In the category of elegiac hymns and prayers fall: 1) The prooemium of the Theognidea (1-18) which includes two hymns to Apollo (1-4, 5-10), one to Artemis (11-14) and one to the Muses and Graces (15-18). The construction of this prooemium in a hymn-form follows the common tradition of epic prooemia e.g. of Hesiod. Theog. 1-115 or Arat. Phaen. 1-18 (see above p.23). 2) Theogn.341-50 and 373-80 (a prayer and a hymn to Zeus respectively), 757-68 (a prayer to Zeus and Apollo), 773-82 (a prayer to Apollo), 1087-90 (a prayer to Dioscuri) and 1386-89 (a short hymn to Aphrodite). 3) Solon fr. 13 (West) which begins with an invocation to the Muses followed by a request. The whole poem could be a sort of hymn with morality replacing narrative. 4) Ion fr. 1 (PLG ii p.251f. Bergk): an elegy which seems to celebrate Dionysus and ends with a farewell to the god followed by a request (13-16). Callinus's fr. 2 (PLG ii p.5 Bergk) is too short to be of any use for our purpose. 5) Callim. hymn.5 to The Baths of Pallas and epigr.33, 53. 6) Kaibel ep.797 (Apollo and Asclepius) 803 (Artemis), 812, 815, 974 (Hermes) and 831 (Heracles). 7) A hymn to Pan on IG 14.1014. 8) Anacreon 110, 112 (Apollo, Hermes: PLG iii p.284f. Bergk) and 9) Bacchyl. epigr. 1(= fr.33 ed. Jebb) to Nike.

Carm. 2.1.38

Before passing on to examine in detail the content of 2.1.38 it will be worthwhile to pause for a moment to consider whether the silence Gregory imposed on himself (see lines 1f. and 31) refers to a particular event of his life or not and, consequently, to determine the possible date of composition of this hymn.

In a number of Gregory's epistles (107-114 and 116-19) there are some passages where he refers to the vow of silence he took. In epist. 119 (Gallay ii p.11; M.37.213Bf.), which is addressed to Palladius, Gregory gives the precise period during which his vow lasted, namely the period of Lent. The actual text reads:

Χριστῷ συνενέκρωσα τὴν γλῶσσαν ἡνίκα ἐγήστευον καὶ ἀναστάντι συνήγειρα. Τοῦτό μοι τῆς σιωπῆς τὸ μυστή-ριον, ἵν' ὥσπερ ἔθυσα νοῦν ἀνεκλάλητον, οὕτω θύσω καὶ λόγον κεκαθαρμένον.

The date given to the above epistles by their editor, follow-ing H. Lietzmann (see H. Lietzmann, Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule, TU 1 (Tübingen, 1904), p.72f.), is A.D. 382 (see Gallay Lettres, vol.ii, p.5 n.1). However, Gallay in his earlier work on Gregory's life suggested a year between A.D. 384-90 (see Gallay, La Vie, p.233 n.2). The date provided by Lietzmann is accepted also by Marie Madeleine Hauser-Meury in her Prosopographie zu den Schri-ften Gregors von Nazianz, Theophaneia 13 (Bonn: P.Hanstein, 1960), e.g. p.52 n.71. Cf. Pellegrino p.28, Egan p.60 and Plagnieux p.329 n.184.

Gallay (in his La Vie, p.234 n.4) and the Maurist annotator (see the Argumentum on 2.1.34 in M.37.1307) have noted that the four poems which precede 2.1.38 in the Migne edition, namely 2.1.34-37 (1307-25), refer to the same vow of silence. See particularly 2.1. 34. 1-5, 11 (1307, 1308).

In both the epistles and poems (mentioned above) Gregory gives

· the two main reasons which led him to take his vow. The first

reason (to help himself talk sparingly by keeping complete silence)

may be seen in 2.1.34. 11f. (1308): τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ὥς κε μάθοιμι/

μύθων μέτρα φέρειν παντὸς ἐπικρατέων and epist. 107 (Gallay ii p.5;

M.37.208A); Ἐρωτᾷς τί βούλεται ἡμῖν ἡ σιγή; Βούλεται λόγου μέτρα

καὶ σιωπῆς. The second reason may be inferred from 2.1.34. 177f.

(1320):/ γλῶσσαν ἔχων ἀδάμαστον, εὔλαλον, ἥ με τόσοισι/ πήμασι τοῦ

φθονεροῦ δῶκεν ἀεὶ παλάμαις/ , 187-89 (1320): λόγος ... πᾶσί μ' ἔ-

θηκε φίλοισιν ἐπίφθονον and 201f. (1321): μύθῳ γὰρ ἐμῷ φθόνος ἄγρι-

ον ἀεὶ/ ὄμμα φέρει· σιγῆς βένθος ἐπεσπασάμην/: Gregory became the

target of envy on acount of his ἀδάμαστος and εὔλαλος γλῶσσα ('in-

flexible' and 'sweet-speaking tongue'); and, consequently, his decision

to keep silence may have been taken in order to avoid inflaming

the envy against himself. This may be attested also from epist. 110

(Gallay ii p.6; M.37.208B): ἐπειδὴ γὰρ λαλῶν οὐκ ἐπεῖχον τὰς γλώσσας

(i.e. of Gregory's fellow Christians), τῇ σιωπῇ τὸ σιγᾶν ἐδίδαξα,

τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐκπαιδεύων.

Besides, Gregory's silence was much criticized, as one may see

from epist.113 (Gallay ii p.7;M.37. 209B): Μὴ κρῖνέ με σιγῶντα and

114.1 (p.8;209B): Ἐπειδή μοι τὴν σιωπὴν ἐγκαλεῖς ... and ib.6 (p.9;

212B): παῦσαι καταφλυαρῶν ἡμῶν τῆς σιωπῆς. See also the Argumentum

on 2.1.34. in M.37.1307)

In conclusion, the evidence from both the epistles and poems

2.1.34-37 indicates as a probable time for the composition of 2.1.38

the Easter Day of A.D.382 (which the Maurist annotator dates on the

seventeenth of April: see M.37. 1307 and 207f.).

Turning now from the date of composition to the content and

structure of the hymn we are faced with the problem whether the hymn

in its present form consists of two distinct hymns (1-38 and 39-52);

or whether the second section itself forms a hymn within a hymn.

Of the oldest three MSS (Codd C, L, Am) Codd C and Am do not cite the two sections as different hymns, but Cod L seems to do (see the description of these MSS above p.69ff.). According to the Maurist annotator the two sections appear as separate poems also in a Cod. Coislin. (56 ?)(see M.37.1328). Finally, the copy of Cod. Paris. Coislin. 56, namely Paris. Suppl. gr. 1090, cites the two parts as distinct poems (see above p.72). However, on acount of there being no evidence available to us from the rest of the MSS, it seems at present impossible to draw any definite conclusion from the external evidence on this matter. I shall therefore rely only on the internal.

A brief analysis of the content of the hymn will help us to illustrate the possible relationship between the two sections.

In the introductory four lines the poet informs Christ of his decision to praise him after breaking his vow of silence. Expressions in this section carrying particular weight with regard to the unity of the hymn are: πρῶτον (1), φθέγξομ' (2), εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν (3) and τόνδε λόγον (4). As will be seen below, the poet appears later in the hymn to make cross-references to them.

The section which follows (5-12a) is formed of a stream of epithets and other appellations which are addressed to Christ and describe His nature and characteristics, mostly in relation to the other two persons of the Trinity. This part is very similar in structure to the Orphic hymns (see above p. 19) and those of Synesius.

The last appellation of Christ in the section, namely that He is the Creator of all that exists and that will come, leads over to the content of lines 12b-14: the creation (ἅπαντα:12) exists for Christ who, after laying the foundations of the world and creating

all that exists by His will, encompasses all with His unerring
commands. This section is introduced by γάρ to show the connection
with δημιοεργέ (11). Important from the stylistic and structural
point of view is the use of the second person pronoun which opens
the section and is repeated to introduce nearly every couplet of the
following section (15-25).

In the new section the poet presents the representative parts
of creation: sun, moon, fixed stars and planets, 'heavenly minds'
(νόες οὐρανίωνες) and man taking part in the praise of Christ.
Therefore, the main idea of section 12b-15, found in σοὶ ἄπαντα πέ-
λει, is illustrated by the following one (15-26). In praising
Christ by reference to the various parts of creation, Gregory
follows a practice common in Biblical Psalms and prayers.

The last to appear in the list of created beings and things is
man who reminds the poet of Christ's incarnation, since this took
place for the sake of mankind. Hence, in the following couplet
(27-28) the poet praises Christ with reference to His incarnation to
which he adds in the succeeding two couplets (29-32) his personal
devotion with expressions recalling 1.1.36.31. Both couplets too
are introduced with a second person pronoun and thus follow the
style of section 15-26. However, one may discern a slight differe-
nce in the use of such pronouns in sections 15-26 and 29-32. While
these pronouns simply emphasize the general invocatory style in the
former section, in the latter the confessional (or even devotional)
character of 'du-Stil' is obvious.

Line 31 refers to the poet's vow of silence and recalls line
1f.; and the request in the next line (32) to his desire to speak
or keep silence only when it is appropriate to do so. This request
in turn leads over to lines 33-36: the poet's determination to speak
only what is lawful. Thus, corresponding expressions are: εὐαγέως

(32) and ἄσσ' ἐπέοικεν, or even θέμις (sc. εἶναι) in 33. The
idea that the poet will speak only what is appropriate and permitted
is illustrated with four metaphors: of the pearl, gold, rose and
wheat. Besides, φθέγξομ' and θέμις (sc. εἶναι) recall similar ex-
pressions in lines 2 and 3.

The following couplet (37-38) appears to join the preceding
part of the hymn (1-36) with that which follows it (39-52) and,
together with lines 33-36, may form a new introduction which
corresponds in content to the first one (1-4). Apart from what
has been said above for line 33, θαλύσια and πρῶτον ἔπος in lines
37-38 recall also phrases from the introduction: ἁγνὸν θύος and
τόνδε λόγον respectively.

The Easter section (39-46) opens with σήμερον and is expressed
in a narrative style. In it the poet relates Christ's resurrection
and the events connected with it: the victory over death and the re-
leasing of the souls of the dead . All these themes are used for
Christ's praise also in 1.1.33. 8b-12 and 1.1.35.8f.

Lines 47-48 refer to the victorious angelic hymn, while 49-50
to the poet's present hymn, bringing back again the theme of his
vow of silence, and to his request to Christ to let him be His hymn-
singing lyre. It is worthy to note that σήμερον introduces
symmetrically on the one hand the two four-line parts of the Easter
narrative and on the other the two couplets: one with the angelic
and the other with the poet's hymn.

Finally, lines 51-52 serve to close the hymn bringing back the
first subject of Praise: the relationship of Mind and Logos (5), and
expressing the poet's wish to praise the Spirit in another hymn if
the latter so wishes.

From this analysis it appears clearly that every particular
section of the hymn follows logically and naturally the preceding

one so that the hymn cannot but form a unity which is further supported by the various cross-references within the poem.

The apparent lack of unity in the hymn is due, I think, to the fact that the hymn consists of two sets, each including a three-fold hymn-division, so that Introduction A (1-4), Praise A (5-31) and Prayer A(32) is followed by Introduction B (33-38) - which may be better called a 'link passage' - Praise B (39-50a) and Prayer B (50b). The hymn closes with a couplet (51-52) which somehow serves to join the two sets together. It appears therefore that Gregory's rhetorical training helps him to break schemata (i.e. the tradition-al three-fold division) and handle his hymns with freedom.

This poem may be characterized as a hymn of praise, since Prayer A and B are restricted only to one line,or less,each (32, 50b) and contain only one request each. These requests derive naturally from the content of Praise A and B respectively and are thus sub-ordinate to them. Besides, the closing lines (51-52) may be taken as an indirect promise of the poet to praise the Spirit in a future hymn. Having these two features, the poem resembles in structure the Homeric hymns which, after the usually extended Praise close with a farewell expression, a request and a promise for another hymn.

A paraphrase of this hymn appears in Codd Ma, D and Vb (see above p.72f.). Of these that of Cod Vb is available to us and has been used occasionally in the commentary to illustrate,or support, the interpretation of various difficult points. The paraphrase omits a number of lines (41-46), possibly because of the scribe's careless-ness, or because there was insufficient space left for this purpose in the MS; yet it treats the poem as a single unit.

I. Introduction A (1-4)

1. Χριστὲ ἄναξ : The same invocation introduces 1.1.36. See the note ad loc.

1. σὲ πρῶτον (φθέγξομ᾿) : πρῶτον may refer to Gregory's breaking of silence, or, in a way, correspond to αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα / (ῥέξω) in line 51f., although the latter expression may also refer to the previous ἔρεξα (51). In the latter case πρῶτον is used following the custom of Greek hymnographers usually to accompany the name of the addressee by ·a πρῶτος-expression when more than one deity is invoked : Hom. hymn. Apoll.158f.:/ αἵ τ᾿ ἐπεὶ ἂρ πρῶτον μὲν ᾿Απόλλων᾿ ὑμνήσωσιν,/ αὖτις δ᾿ αὖ Λητώ τε καὶ ῎Αρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν. Such, or a similar, expression is used also when the poet plans to proceed from the hymn of a particular deity to another one : Hom. hymn.9.8f. On these and other types of expressions with πρῶτος see Keyssner p.11f., 15, 17f. and 19.

1. λόγον ἠέρι δῶκα : Cf. carm.2.1.43.1 (1346):/ ποῦ δὲ λόγου πτερόεντες; ἐς ἠέρα, Eur. Suppl.1154f.: λόγων δὲ παρακέλευσμα σῶν/ ἀ-έρι φερόμενον οἴχεται and Procl. hymn.7.6:/ μηδ᾿ αὕτως ἀνέμοισιν ἐμόν ποτε μῦθον ἐάσῃς, which are, however, only pure verbal parallel expressions. The rendering of ἐπεὶ λόγον ἠέρι δῶκα/ δηναιὸν κατέχων in the paraphrase of Cod. Vb is: ἐπεὶ τὸν λόγον ἐς μακρὸν κατασχὼν ἔ-λυσα νῦν καὶ ἄνετον εἰς ἀέρα διαφῆκα φέρεσθαι.

2. (σέ) ... / φθέγξομ᾿ ἀπὸ στομάτων : Cf. (σέ) .../ μέλψομ᾿ ἀ-πὸ στομάτων in carm.2.1.34.208 (1322). The syntax of φθέγγεσθαι with an acc. of a person and ἀπό with gen. seems to combine those found in Pind. Olymp.1.36 (ed. Snell-Maehler, 1971): υἱὲ Ταντάλου, σέ ... φθέγ-ξομαι and 6.12ff. : αἶνος ... ὃν ἐνδίκας/ ἀπὸ γλώσσας ῎Αδραστος ... ἐς ᾿Αμφιάρηον/ φθέγξατ᾿. Both Pindaric passages and that of Gregory, mentioned above, show that the verb is used in the sense of 'celebrating'. The same verb is repeated in line 33 but in its more common sense:'to speak'.

3. ἀγνοτάτου ἱερῆος ἀγνὸν θύος : According to the rendering of the paraphrase in Cod. Vb, ἀγνοτάτου ἱερῆος refers to Gregory himself, while ἀγνὸν θύος (in apposition to τόνδε λόγον) refers to the present hymn. The actual text runs: σὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ στόματος φθέγξομαι καθαροῦ ἱερέος καθαρὰν θυσίαν εἰ θέμις τοῦτο εἰπεῖν τόνδε τὸν λόγον προβαλλό-μενος ὅν μοι νοῦς ἐγεννήσατο. This is also Pellegrino's view when he says (p.29f.): ' dove la sua poesia diviene veramente, com' egli vuole, " di santissimo sacerdote santo sacrifizio" (2.1.38. v.3)'. In this way ἀγνὸν θύος corresponds to θαλύσια (37). As Gregory's present hymn is ἀγνὸν θύος so are his νοήματα (i.e. 'thoughts') during the same, or another, vow of silence related in <u>carm</u>.2.1.83. 1-4(1428):

. . . γλῶσσαν ἔδησα λάλον καὶ χείλεα σιγῇ

τὸν νοῦν ἀθροίζων εἰς θεοῦ κοινωνίαν,

ὄφρα κεν ἀγνοτάτοισι νοήμασιν ἀγνὸν "Ανακτα

τίσω (καλὸν γὰρ τὸ φρενὸς μόνης θύος).

3. θέμις (sc. εἶναι): Cf. line 33. The phrase, very common in Greek literature (see LSJ s.v.), is used by Gregory, especially any time he discusses dogmatic subjects concerning God's nature and attributes. See for instance <u>carm</u>.1.1.2.13 (402), 2.2.7.51 (1555), 2.2.3.83 (1486),and 1.2.1.673 (573),1.2.2.449 (613), 2.2.1.355 (1476) where he uses the phrase οὐ θέμις, οὐδ' ἐπέοικεν (cf. line 33). To these one may add Synes. <u>hymn</u>.1.223,225: οὐ θέμις εἰπεῖν, (cf. Terzaghi's note <u>ad loc</u>.) and Clem. Alex. <u>Strom</u>.iii.2 10.1 (<u>GCS</u> 2 p.200.14).

3f. εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν,/ τόνδε λόγον : The same phrase, but form-ing a syntactical unity, is used parenthetically and in the same <u>sedes</u> in <u>carm</u>.1.2.1.674f. (573).

4. τόνδε λόγον προχέων: Cf. Bacchyl. 5.14ff.(Jebb): ἐθέλει (sc. ξένος which refers to Bacchylides himself) δὲ/ γᾶρυν ἐκ στηθέων χέων/ αἰνεῖν 'Ιέρωνα. See also Pind. <u>Pyth</u>.10.56 (ed. Snell-Maehler, 1971) for the similar metaphor : προχέειν ὄπα.

4. ἡμετέροιο νόου : The choice of νοῦς (referring to the human mind), together with that of the preceding λόγος, seems to have been deliberate in order to pave the way to the content of Praise and, above all, to be contrasted to μεγάλοιο Νόου Λόγε (5). On ἡμέτερος see above the note on 1.1.34.15.

II. Praise A (5-31)

a) Invocation I (5-12a): Christ's attributes and nature, mainly in relation to the other two persons of the Trinity

Lines 5-7: Christ's relation to the Father

5. πατροφαές : 'you derive your light from the Father'. The paraphrase in Cod. Vb has: ὦ ... πατρὸς ἐκλάμψας. The present hymn is the only citation of the epithet in Lexica. Gregory is fond of using epithets in -φαής : πλησιφαής in line 18 and carm.1.1.4.80 (422), παμφαής in 2.1.45.290 (1374), ἀρτιφαής in 1.1.5.61 (429), ἰσοφαής in 2.1.87.16 (1434), τρισσοφαής in 1.1.4.65 (421) and 2.1.99.2 (1452), ὀξυφαής in 1.2.9.50 (671) and συμφαής in line 8. See also Pellegrino p.87 on Gregory's coinages in -φαής and above p. 40f.

The idea of the epithet may lie also behind Clem. Alex. Strom.vii. 2. 5.6 (GCS 3 p.6.1f.): ὅλος (sc. Christ) νοῦς, ὅλος φῶς πατρῷον.

5. μεγάλοιο Νόου Λόγε: On the relationship between the Father and Son as Νοῦς and Λόγος respectively see above the note on 1.1.33.3.

The Godhead is called νοῦς μέγας (great intellect) in carm.1.1.5. 2 (424), whereas in 1.1.1.29 (400), De Virtute: 1.2.10.90 (687), 2.2.1. 68 (1456) God is simply called νοῦς. However, in the Arcana poems and in the same sedes as μεγάλοιο νόου one finds μεγάλοιο θεοῦ instead: 1.1.4.1 (415), 1.1.7.57 (443), 1.1.8.4,126 (447,456), 1.1.9.25 (458); while in 1.1.2.7 (400), 2.1.1.100 (977) and 2.2.7.47,75,303 (1554, 1556, 1574): μεγάλοιο θεοῦ Λόγος (or -ῳ). See also Orac.Sibyl. 1.53,324 and 8.284, and Synes. hymn. 1.177ff.

5. φέρτερε μύθου : Cf. carm.2.2.5.265f. (1540): / Χριστὸν ἔχοις

ἐπέων ἡγήτορα .../ ... ὃς μύθων προφερέστατός ἐστιν ἁπάντων/ and

2.1.1.100f. (977): μεγάλοιο θεοῦ λόγῳ, ὅς ῥα καλύπτει/ πάντα φρενὸς

βροτέης στρεπτὸν πολυειδέα μῦθον/. These two passages, also connected

with 1.1.29.2,4, help us to understand that by φέρτερε μύθου in the

present hymn the poet wants to show that Christ is beyond any ex-

pression made with human words. See also the metaphor in carm.2.2.7.

47-9 (1554) cited below p.222 and the rendering in the paraphrase of

Cod. Vb: λόγου παντὸς ὑπέρτερε . Behind the close position of λόγε

and μύθου one may discern a word play : Christ the Word cannot be ex-

pressed in human words.

    6. φωτός τ' ἀκροτάτου φῶς ἄκρον: God is called ἀκρότατον φῶς in

carm.1.1.7.6f.,50 (439,442), 1.1.4.25 (417), or.40.5 (M.36.364B) and

or.32.15 (189D); and πηγὴ ἀκροτάτη οὐρανίων φαέων in 2.2.1.186 (1465).

See also 1.1.32.3 and the note ad loc. The metaphor φῶς ἐκ φωτός, used

to describe the relationship between the Father and the Son, was

established in the theological terminology having been introduced in

the Creed (see Sympol.Nic. (325) p.44.13; M.20.1540B and A. Hahn, Sympo-

le, p.132, 135, 136, 138, 147 stc.), and has been widely used ever since

in the patristic literature (see Lampe s.v. and Theodorou p.261 n.201).

The relationship of all the three persons of the Trinity expressed in

terms of light is discussed in Gregory's or.31.3 (Gallay p.280; M.36.

136C): κηρύσσομεν, ἐκ φωτὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς φῶς καταλαμβάνοντες τὸν Υἱὸν ἐν

φωτὶ τῷ Πνεύματι, σύντομον καὶ ἀπέριττον τῆς Τριάδος θεολογίαν.

    When Gregory calls Christ ἄκρον φῶς and the Father ἀκρότατον φῶς

he does not suggest any qualitative or quantitative difference between

the two persons of the Trinity, because both expressions· are superlati-

ves in sense, if not grammatically. The choice of ἄκρος and ἀκρότατος

may have been made only for reasons of variation and metri gratia.

    On the light images used by Gregory to define the nature of God

and the relationship between the persons of the Trinity see above p.47.

6. οἰόγονε : 'only-begotten' . It is Gregory's own coinage invented possibly to replace the more common μονογενής which is used in carm.1.1.1.28 (400) after Ev.Jo.1.18, 3.16, 18 etc. In or.30.20 (Gallay p.266; M.36. 128D-129A) Gregory explains why Christ is called μονογενής as follows : "Μονογενὴς" δέ, οὐχ ὅτι μόνος ἐκ μόνου καὶ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μονοτρόπως, οὐχ ὡς τὰ σώματα. Besides, οἷος instead of μόνος is preferred for the construction also of οἰοχίτων in carm. 2.2.5.147 (1532) and οἰόβιος in 1.2.1.46 (525) and 1.2.5.11 (643).

7. εἰκὼν ἀθανάτοιο Πατρός : Christ is the image of the Father according to Ep.2Cor.4.4 and Col.1.15 (see Deichgräber p.182). The same idea may be found in 2.1.45.32 (1356), 1.1.2.8 (402) = 2.1.1.628 (1016) = 2.1.2.3 (1017) and 1.2.1.145f. (533).

ἀθάνατος is a universal epithet of Greek gods e.g. of Aphrodite in Sappho fr. 1.1 (Page, S&A) and may be found in carm.1.2.15.2 (766), 2.1.1.132 (980) and Synes. hymn.2.114 : / πατρὸς ἀθανάτου . See also above p. 26.

7. σφρηγὶς ἀνάρχου : Cf. carm.1.1.1.31 (400) : (Christ is)/ σφρηγὶς κιννυμένη πατρῷος and 2.1.14.41 (1248) :/ σφράγισμ' ἀνάρχου. Both ideas of line 7, namely that Christ is the image and seal of the Father appear together in or.29.17 (Gallay p.212; M.36.96C), where Ev.Jo.6.27 is quoted as warrant for the σφραγίς-appellation, in or.38. 13 (325B) = or.45.9 (633C) and or.30.20 (Gallay p.268; M.36.129B), where the appellation εἰκών is explained as follows: "Εἰκὼν" δέ, ὡς ὁμοούσιον, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκεῖθεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τούτου Πατήρ. Αὕτη γὰρ εἰκόνος φύσις, μίμημα εἶναι τοῦ ἀρχετύπου.... The same theme appears in the anaphora of Liturg.Bas. (Brightman p.322. 28-30): ὅς (sc. Christ) ἐστιν εἰκὼν τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος, σφραγὶς ἰσότυπος ἐν ἑαυτῷ δεικνὺς σὲ τὸν Πατέρα which seems to have been influenced by Athanasius hom.5 in Mt. 11:27 (M.25.217B). See also Synes. hymn.3.61: ὦ πατρὸς σφραγίς/.

ἄναρχος is found also in 1.1.30.27 and 1.1.32.3, and is commonly

used of God, especially in the <u>Arcana</u> poems: 1.1.1.25, 31 (400), 1.1.
2.19 (403), 1.1.3.76 (414), 1.1.4. 55 (420). See also 1.2.1.20 (523).
In the passages cited on 1.1.35.4: αὐτογένεθλον, the epithet is used of
the Father in the sense that He is not generated as is the Son who is
thus called ἀρχή. As a negative epithet ἄναρχος originated in Greek
Philosophy before it became a common characteristic of God. (See
Gottwald p.19, and above p. 48).

Line 8a: Christ's relation to the Holy Spirit

8. Πνεύματι τῷ Μεγάλῳ: Cf. <u>carm</u>.1.2.1.28 (524):/ Πνεύματι σὺν
μεγάλῳ (same <u>sedes</u>). μέγας is a universal divine epithet (see above
p. 26) used in the present hymns also in lines 5, 39, 52 of this hymn
and in 1.1.31.10.

8. συμφαές : This is the only citation of the epithet in <u>Lexica</u>
and is formed to show that Christ and the Holy Spirit have the same
light, or that Christ is συνεκλάμπων τῷ μεγάλῳ Πνεύματι according to
the paraphrase of Cod. Vb.

Epithets in συν- to refer to common characteristics, or activi-
ties of two deities were used occasionally in Greek pagan hymns :
see Orph. <u>hymn</u>.11.9 and Keyssner p.129f.

Lines 8b-12a : Christ's relation to the Creation

8. εὐρυμέδων : The epithet is used of Poseidon in Pind. <u>Olymp</u>.
8.31 (ed. Snell-Maehler, 1971), Oppian. <u>Hal</u>.1.74, 2.35 and Orph. <u>hymn</u>.
17 (2).6 (= Cod. Thryll. ed. Abel p.68); of Chiron in Pind. <u>Pyth</u>.3.4;
and of αἰθήρ in Empedocles 135.1 (ed. H. Diels, <u>PPF</u> p.161). Gregory
uses also the more common ὑψιμέδων e.g. in <u>carm</u>.1.2.1.6, 176, 367, 653
(522,536,550,572) and 2.1.34.77 (1313).

Divine epithets in -μέδων are used in Greek pagan hymns, mainly
to describe the region of power or action of various Greek gods (see
Keyssner p.76).

9. αἰῶνος πεύρημα : πεύρημα is a new coinage used instead of

the Attic πέρας or the epic πεῖραρ. I think that αἰών refers to the
world (cf. Ev.Jo.9.32 and Bauer s.v. 1a) as the Biblical : ὁ αἰὼν οὗ-
τος or ὁ νῦν αἰών refers to the present world or age (cf. Ep.1Cor.
2.6, 1Tim.6.17). If this is the case, then the present passage may
be compared with or.30.15 (Gallay p.258; M.36.124A) where Christ is
called : τὸ πέρας τῶν γενομένων; or even with the Biblical expression
συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος (e.g. Ev.Mt.24.3, 28.20) since Christ's second
coming will mark the end of the world.

Besides, in carm.2.1.45.31 (1355) Christ is αἰῶνος ὕπερθεν·,
while in 1.1.1.27 (400) the Father appears αἰῶν' ἀμφὶς ἔχων. A
possible Biblical source for the present idea, namely that Christ is
the end of the world, seems to be Apoc.21.6: ἐγὼ τὸ "Αλφα καὶ τὸ Ὦ,
ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος (cf. ib.22.13, 1.8). The paraphrase of Cod. Vb
runs: ὁ τὸν αἰῶνα περιέχων (cf. 1.1.30.22 and the note ad loc.).

9. μεγακλεές : This is another epithet used very frequently of
Christ : see carm.1.2.17.31 (784), 2.1.17.17 (1263) and 2.1.34.109
(1315), in the same sedes in all instances. In Greek literature the
epithet seems to have been used only in Oppian. Cyneg.2.4, but not
as a divine one. In his epitaphs Gregory uses the same epithet with
men : carm.2(epit.).2.85.1 (M.38.54) = AP 8.43.3 and 2(epit.).2.52.1
(36) = ib.116.1

9. ὀλβιόδωρε: Cf. carm.1.1.4.82 (422): φάος ὀλβιόδωρον/ which
refers to the Word of God and ib.83 : ὄλβον ὀπάζειν said also of
Logos. As Sykes informs us, the epithet is also the reading of Cod.
Vaticanus Graecus 482 instead of αἰολόδωρον of carm.1.1.3.5 (408) and
is found in L (Vari p.769) (see Sykes p.211). Finally, cf. AP 1.22.
3 : ὄπαζε (sc. Christ) ... ὀλβιόδωρον ἀρωγήν /. In Greek pagan hymns
and prayers one finds the similar divine epithets: ὀλβιοδώτης (ἡ -δῶ-
τις), ὀλβοδότης (ἡ -δότις) and the feminine ὀλβοδότειρα. See e.g. hymn.
Jov.6 ap. Pap.Chicag. (Coll. Alex. p.84), Carmina Popularia ap. Stob.

Ecl.Phys. i.2.31 (PLG iii p.681 Bergk) and the examples cited in

Keyssner p.125 and 141. See above p. 26.

   10. ὑψίθρον ' :   Cf. carm.2.1.1.200 (985): (Τριάδος) .../ ὑψι-

θρόνου and 2.1.45.288 (1373). However, in 1.2.2.452 (614), 2.1.68.59

(1413) and ep.154 (Gallay ii p.45; M.37.260C) the epithet applies to

human beings (see Gallay, Langue et Style, p.76), whereas in 2.1.32.

34 (1303) to δίκη.   See also Nonn. par.Jo.12:26 (M.43.853C) where it

is used of the Father. The same epithet is used of Κλωθώ in Pind.

Isth.6.16 (ed. Snell-Maehler, 1971) and of the Nereids in Idem Nem.

4.65.

   Gregory's coinage ὑψιθόωκος, in the same sense as the present

epithet, is used in 1.1.3.6 (408) of the Holy Spirit.

   10. οὐράνιε :   Cf. carm.2.1.1.129, 175 (979, 983) where the

epithet is used of God. The same epithet is addressed to Zeus e.g.

in Callim. hymn.Jov.55 (see McLennan's note ad loc.), Idem epigr.52.3

(= AP 12.230), AP1 293.3 and Nonn. Dion.24.279; while in Pap.Mag.Gr.

passim it describes δαίμων, βασιλεύς or θεός.

   10. πανσθενές : Cf. carm.1.1.3.5 (408) where it describes the

Holy Spirit and AP 1.101.4 and 27.1 where in both cases it is addressed

to Christ. On epithets in παν- or παντο- used to describe what Greek

gods possess or do in a great degree see above p. 26 . Such epithets

are commonly used to describe various characteristics of God also

(see the note on 1.1.35.1 : πανεπίσκοπε)·

   Greek gods are nowhere described with πανσθενής - an epithet of

the Christian era - but only with μεγα(λο)σθενής or πολυσθενής: Pind.

Olymp.1.25 (ed. Snell-Maehler, 1971) (Poseidon), Procl. hymn.6.2

(Hecate) and Aesch. Eum.61 (Apollo). See also Keyssner p.52f.

   10. ἄσθμα νόου : Although ἄσθμα is used a few times in Gregory's

poetry : carm.2.1.17. 62 (1266), 2.1.27.6 (1286), 2.2.6.27 (1544), it

never applies to Christ as does in the present hymn; and therefore,

the difficulty in understanding what Gregory means by calling Christ the ' breath of mind' remains. Neither does the paraphrase of Cod. Vb : πνεῦμα νοῦ help us at all in interpreting the passage. However, compared with <u>Act</u>.17.25 : αὐτὸς (sc. God) διδοὺς πᾶσι ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα and LXX <u>Gen</u>.2.7 : καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς the phrase may mean that Christ gives life to the human mind.

11. νωμητὰ κόσμοιο : νωμητής, as well as νωμεύς - used of Christ in <u>carm</u>.1.1.1.34 (401) and 2.2.3.4 (1480) - are both coinages of Gregory's. The classical νωμήτωρ is used twice in Nonn. <u>Dion</u>.12. 20 and 9.1 for Helius and Dionysus respectively. The same idea, namely that Christ directs or governs the world, may be found in <u>carm</u>.1.1.5.34ff. (426): Θεὸς τάδε πάντα κυβερνᾷ,/ νωμῶν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα Θεοῦ Λόγος ὅσσα θ' ὕπερθεν,/ ὅσσα τ' ἔνερθεν ἔθηκε νοήμασι, 1.2.25. 535f. (850) and 2.1.1.573 (1013). Cf. also trag. anon. <u>fr</u>.472 (<u>TGF</u>, Nauck[2]) and Cleanth. <u>hymn</u>.2,35.

11. φερέσβιε : · 'ζωοπάροχε' in the paraphrase of Cod. Vb. Cf. <u>carm</u>.2.1.93.7 (1448) and 1.1.3.6 (408) where the epithet is used of God and Holy Spirit respectively. It is found also in <u>or</u>.4.115 (Bernardi p.274f.; M.35.653B): 'Ορφεὺς παρίτω ... ἵν' ... δειχθῇ τὸ ζωογόνον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ φερέσβιον (cf. Orph. <u>fr</u>.289 ed. Abel). As a universal epithet it was used first for the life-giving powers of earth (cf. Hesiod. <u>Theog</u>.693, Hom. <u>hymn.Cer</u>.450, <u>hymn.Apoll</u>.341) and then applied to various deities : Παιάν in Kaibel <u>ep</u>.1026.1, Eros in Nonn. <u>Dion</u>.41.130, Helius in Orph. <u>hymn</u>.8.12 and Physis in <u>ib</u>.10.12. See also Keyssner p.136f.

The Christian equivalent seems to be ζωοποιός which is used twice in <u>Const.Apost</u>.7.34.8, 8.12.33 of God and Christ respectively and was established as an attribute of the Holy Spirit in the various Creeds (see the note on 1.1.33.4   above p.113).

11f. δημιοεργέ/ ὄντων, ἐσσομένων : Cf. AP 1.24 :/ Σύνθρονε
(sc. Christ) .../ οἰχομένων ὄντων τε καὶ ἐσσομένων βασιλεύων/. On the
enjambement at line 11 see above p. 45f.

δημιοεργέ is used of Logos in or.45.7 (M.36.632A) = or.38.11(321C)
and or.34.8 (249A). The Platonic δημιουργός (e.g. Tim.28a, 29a and
Rep.530a), which is used in the present passage instead of the common
Biblical κτίστης , is found once in NT (Ep.Heb.11.10) and once in LXX
(2Macc.4.1), but is not used of the Creator. It was applied to God
the Creator first in Clem.Rom. 1Cor.20.11 (Lightfoot p.74): ὁ μέγας δη-
μιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων (see Lightfoot's note ad loc.) and
then in various prayers in Const.Apost. 7.27.2, 8.21.3, in Serap. Euch.
1.1, 9.1 and Liturg.Jac. (Brightman p.32.16, 50.15). Apart from the
Platonic δημιουργός , the epithet applies to Physis in Kaibel ep.1002.
5 and is connected with Zeus in Orph.fr.121.122 and 130 ap. Procl. in.
Tim. ii.95E and 137B respectively (ed. Abel).

The section we have just discussed (5-12a) recalls, as has been
noted in the introductory analysis of the hymn (above p. 205), the
style of the majority of Orphic hymns. Such a style is exemplified
also in the hymns of Synesius and that of Clement of Alexandria (see
above p. 32f. and p. 32 respectively). Furthermore, it may be compared
both in content and style with the Praise part of the hymnodic epilogue
in carm.2.1.1.623-34 (1016f.). See also above the note on 1.1.36.19

b) Lines 12b-26: All the Creation taking part in the praise of

of Christ

12b-14: All exists for Christ

12. σοὶ γὰρ ἅπαντα πέλει : Cf. Pap.Mag.Gr.xii 250 (Preis.): σῇ
δυνάμει στοιχεῖα πέλει καὶ φύεται πάντα and Orph. hymn.37.6 (Titan):/
ἐξ ὑμέων γὰρ πᾶσα πέλει γενεὰ κατὰ κόσμον.

13f. ὃς κόσμοιο θέμεθλα .../ δησάμενος : Cf. or.45.30 (M.36.
664A) : (sc. Christ) ὃς πάντα φέρεις ἀναδησάμενος τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνά-

μεώς σου. The metaphor whereby Christ appears to have laid the foundations of the world reminds us of the Biblical one where God is said to θεμελιοῦν τὴν γῆν : LXX <u>Ps</u>.101.26 (cf. <u>Ep.Heb</u>.1.10), <u>Is</u>.51.13, 48.13, <u>Job</u> 38.4 etc. Gregory uses the middle form δησάμενος as happens in Homer (see Cunliffe s.v.), although he makes use of the active δέειν (or ἐνδέειν with tmēsis) in <u>carm</u>.1.2.1.73f. (527): ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν/ γαίης ἀγκαλίδεσσιν ἔδησας. Cf. also <u>carm</u>.1.2.34.2 (946). On the other hand, κόσμοιο θέμεθλα is used in the same <u>sedes</u> in 2.1.13.5 (1228), but refers to bishops.

13. ὀππόσα ἐστὶ θέλοντος : ' everything that exists (sc. in the world) by your will', or in the paraphrase of Cod. Vb: ὅσα ἐστὶ βουλόμενου σου . Behind θέλοντος one may discern the patristic teaching on creation as the result of God's free will (see Basil. <u>hex</u>.1.7 in Giet, <u>SC</u>, p.114f.; M.29.17C) in opposition to the Platonic view that Cosmos comes into existence through necessity in the will of god (see Plat. <u>Tim</u>. 47e-48a and Plot. <u>Enn</u>.iii 2.2. 34-36, and Theodorou p.250f.). This idea may be attested also in Gregory's <u>carm</u>.1.1.4. 77 (422): / ἤθελε (sc. God) μὲν νοερὰν στῆναι φύσιν and <u>or</u>.38.9 (M.36. 320C) = <u>or</u>.45.5 (629A), and seems to have been based on LXX <u>Ps</u>.134.6: / πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ (cf. also 113.11).

14. φορέεις νεύμασιν ἀπλανέως: The phrase is reminiscent of the Biblical metaphor whereby God appears to hold the world in His hand : LXX <u>Ps</u>.94.4 : ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. Gregory uses the frequentative φορέειν instead of φέρειν in order to underline the continuation of Christ's action.

14. νεύμασιν : Cf. 2.1.3.4f. cited above p.198 and 2.1.43.26 (1348).

14. ἀπλανέως : The adverb, in the place of its cognitive adjective (cf. Smyth 1097), is used to describe νεύμασιν. By it the poet

seems to emphasize the infallibility of Christ's commands.

Lines 15-26: The celestial bodies, 'heavenly minds' and man, following the purpose for which they were created, participate in Christ's praise

The praise of God by reference to various parts of creation, particularly to the celestial bodies, is a common feature of Biblical Psalms and prayers. See e.g. LXX <u>Ps</u>. 135. 5-9, 148. 2-4,7-12, the hymn of the Three Holy Children (LXX <u>Dan</u>.3. 52-88).
The feature appears also in 1.1.30. 5-12 (see below).

Lines 15-16: The sun surpasses the stars in brightness as Christ the minds

The paraphrase in Cod. Vb runs: διὰ σοῦ καὶ ἥλιος ἔμπυρος καὶ ὑψίδρομος ἀστέρας ἀποκρύπτει τοῦ κύκλου τῷ ὑπερλάμποντι ὃν τρόπον καὶ σὺ τοὺς νόας ὑπεραστράπτεις τῷ ἀπροσίτῳ τῆς θεότητος φωτί.

15. σοί : The pronoun is used in anaphora in lines 15, 17, 19, 23 and 25 as happens with σήμερον in 2.1.38.39,43,47,49. On the use of anaphora in the present hymns see the note on 1.1.33.8.

15. Ἄναξ: On this divine epithet see the note on 1.1.36.1.

15. Φαέθων ὑψίδρομος: The epithet ὑψίδρομος, also used in <u>carm</u>. 2.2.7.49 (1554), is absent from Lampe's <u>Lexicon</u> and is mentioned only in the Supplement to LSJ where it appears in Orph. <u>hymn</u>.19.1 and in three passages from Nonnus's <u>Dionysiaca</u>, although Peek, <u>Lexicon zu den</u> <u>Dionysiaka des Nonnos</u> s.v. cites four instances with this epithet. Of these cases only Nonn. <u>Dion</u>.38.310 has ὑψίδρομος referring to Phaetho as happens in the present hymn. On the other hand, Bruchmann in his <u>Epitheta Deorum</u>, cites only our passage under Helius's epithet ὑψίδρο-μος. The similar ὑψικέλευθος is addressed to Apollo-Helius in <u>Mag</u>. <u>hymn</u>.ii.2.14 (Abel). Other compound epithets in -δρομος in Gregory's poetry are: ἀείδρομος: 1.1.5.66 (429), ἀλίδρομος: 1.2.9.106 (676) and 1.2.12.11 (754), and περίδρομος: 1.1.5.69 (429). See also van Liempt

p.43f.

16. (Φαέθων) κύκλον ὑπερτέλλων ἔμπυρον : (Phaetho) 'causing the fervid disk to rise up'. Gregory appears to use ὑπερτέλλειν transitively and in the same syntactical way and meaning as ἀνατέλλειν is used, possibly influenced by Ev. Mt.5.45 : τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει (sc. God). See besides Hesychius s.v. ὑπερτέλλοντες and LSJ s.v. ὑπερτέλλειν. The verb, yet intransitively used, may be found in Gregory's ep.4.11 (Gallay i p.5; M.37.28A): τὸν κορυφῆς (sc. St. Basil's head) ὑπερτέλλοντα (see Gallay, Langue et Style, p.78f.); also in Eur. Phaetho 6 (= fr.777.1, TGF, Nauck²) and Herodotus 3.104. However, the choice of this verb instead of ἀνατέλλειν is made not only metri gratia, but , above all, in order to show the superiority of the sun over the stars given with ὑπερ- , as happens with ὑπερλάμπειν which is used for the same purpose in or.28.29 (Gallay p.166;M.36.68C) -cited in the following note - and is the rendering of our verb in the paraphrase of Cod. Vb . Worth noticing is finally the rendering of ὑπερτέλλων in Hesychius : ὑπερ(ανα)τέλλων; ὑπερφαινόμενος τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων.

16. νόας : A feature of the present hymn is the extensive use of terms originated in Greek Philosophy : apart from the relationship between the Father and Son expressed in the pair Νόος-Λόγος (5), and the use of δημιουργός (11) and epithets with a-privative (ἄναρχος, ἀθάνατος (7), ἄμβροτος and ὕψος ἄσαρκον (27)), in the present couplet Gregory compares Christ with νόες, which in line 23 are characterized as οὐρανίωνες. The particular meaning of νόες is discussed in detail on line 23. Finally, the comparison of the sun with god in 15f. is a common Platonic image : cf. Rep.508c which is quoted by Gregory in the passage from the second theological oration cited below.

Christ's superiority over νόες reminds me of His supremacy over angels stated in Ep.Heb.1. 4-14, particularly 4: τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα.

On the other hand, the same metaphor is used also when Christ, the Word, is compared with the false words of the human mind in carm. 2.2.7. 47-49 (1554): Λόγῳ, ὅς ῥα καλύπτει/ πάντα φρενὸς βροτέης τρεπτὸν πολυειδέα μῦθον,/ τόσσον, ὅσον Φαέθων ὑψίδρομος ἀστέρας ἄλλους./. These lines may also clarify the phrase φέρτερε μύθου in line 5.

A similar sun-metaphor is used by Gregory to show that the Godhead exceeds τὰ νοούμενα and may be found in his second theological oration : or.28.29f. (Gallay p.166f.; M.36. 68C-69A):

Πόθεν ἥλιος φρυκτωρεῖ πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ καὶ πάσαις ὄψεσιν ὥσπερ χοροῦ τινος κορυφαῖος, πλέον τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας ἀποκρύπτων φαιδρότητι ἤ τινες ἐκείνων ἑτέρους;

Ἀπόδειξις δέ, οἱ μὲν ἀντιλάμπουσιν, ὁ δὲ ὑπερλάμπει.

and further below :

Τοῦτο ἐν αἰσθητοῖς ἥλιος, ὅπερ ἐν νοητοῖς θεός, ἔφη τις τῶν ἀλλοτρίων (sc. Plat. Rep.508c). Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὄψιν φωτίζων, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος νοῦν· αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων ἐστὶ τὸ κάλλιστον , ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος τῶν νοουμένων.

See also or.40.5 (M.36.364B).

Gregory was fond of using sun-images in order to emphasize or express more vividly his argumentation. Another such instance may be found in or.45.2 (M.36.624Bf.) where the sun is compared to Easter and the stars to the other feasts in order to show the greater importance of the former feast.

In Greek poetry such a comparison of the sun with stars is used in Pind. Olymp.1. 7-12 (ed. Snell-Maehler, 1971) to show that the Olympian games are the best of all. Finally, in an epideictic epigram (AP 9.24) Leonidas uses the same metaphor to illustrate Homer's supremacy over the other poets :

Ἄστρα μὲν ἠμαύρωσε καὶ ἱερὰ κύκλα σελήνης

ἄξονα δινήσας ἔμπυρον ἠέλιος,

ὑμνοπόλους δ' ἀγεληδὸν ἀπημάλδυνεν Ὅμηρος

λαμπρότατον Μουσῶν φέγγος ἀνασχόμενος.

Lines 17-18: The moon changes its shape for Christ

17. φθινύθει : This epic verb, found in the same sedes e.g. in
Il.2.346, is nowhere in Homer used of the moon. However, see Ps-Mane-
tho 6.566 : μήνης δ' ἐν φθινύθοντι φάει.

17. ἀμοιβαδίς : It is used in the same sedes in carm.2.1.51.5
(1394), while in 1.2.15.125 (775) and in the same metrical position
ἀμοιβαδόν is used instead.

17. ὄμμα τὸ νυκτός : Cf. Alexis fr.89 (CAF, ii, p.325 Kock):
νυκτός τ' ὄμμα (also Aesch.Pers.428,Eur.Iph.Taur.110) , Aesch. Sept.
390 : νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός (sc. Moon) and Pind. Olymp.3.20 (ed. Snell-Maeh-
ler, 1971): ἑσπέρας ὀφθαλμόν (sc. Μήνην).   In carm.1.2.1.61 (526)
Gregory uses another metaphorical periphrasis for the Moon : νυκτὸς
ἄγαλμα which is used also in Orph. hymn.9.9 and Mag. hymn.5.3 (Abel).

18. πλησιφαής : Cf. carm.1.1.4.80 (422) where the epithet refers
to νοερὰν φύσιν (sc. angels). As a term to describe the full moon it
is commonly found in Philo Alex. e.g. iii, p.93.20f., iv, p.252.12 and
v, p.43.17,22 (ed. Cohn). See also Ps.-Manetho 1.208,245, 5.113,115,
Nonn. Dion.28.232, 41.258, 48.323 and carm. xlvi.13 (ed. Heitsch p.165).

Lines 19-20 : The ζωοφόρος κύκλος causes the change of seasons

The paraphrase of the couplet in Cod. Vb runs : σὺ καὶ τὸν ζωηφό-
ρον περιάγεις κύκλον μέτρα ταῖς ὥραις φέροντα κιρναμέναις ἠπίῳ κεράσμα-
τι.

Line 19 : A variation of it may be seen in carm.1.1.5.46 (427):
μοίρας ζωοφόρους τε κύκλους καὶ μέτρα πορείης
See Sykes's note ad loc.

The present couplet speaks about the changing of seasons caused
by the ζωοφόρος κύκλος and the μέτρα of its χορείη. The obvious
meaning of ζωοφόρος κύκλος is that of the zodiac.

A doctrine common to the philosophical schools but clearly stated by Aristotle was that by its annual movement in the ecliptic (or zodiac circle) the sun: 1) generates light and heat (see De Caelo ii 7 289a 31ff. and Meteorol. i 3 341a 19ff.), 2) is the cause of generation (γένεσις) and destruction (φθορά) (see De Generat. et Corr. ii 10, particularly 336a 31ff., Joachim's notes ad loc. (p.253ff.) and Meteorol.ii 2 354b 28ff.), and 3) causes evaporation in summer and rainfall in winter (see Meteorol.i 9 346b 35- 347a 8). In other words the sun causes the annual cycle of seasons. This doctrine is clearly stated in De Mundo 6 399a : πορεύεται δὲ διττὰς πορείας ὁ παμφαὴς ἥλιος, τῇ μὲν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα διορίζων ἀνατολῇ καὶ δύσει, τῇ δὲ τὰς τέσσαρας ὥρας ἄγων τοῦ ἔτους.

In two passages Gregory too appears to accept that the sun causes the change of seasons. One is found in the second theological oration, namely in or.28.30 (Gallay p.168f.; M.36.69B), and the other in carm.1.2.1. 69-71 (527). The former passage runs:

> Πῶς δὲ (sc. ἐστὶν ὁ ἥλιος) ὡρῶν ποιητής τε καὶ μεριστής,
> εὐτάκτως ἐπιγινομένων τε καὶ ἀπογινομένων, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν
> χορῷ συμπλεκομένων ἀλλήλαις καὶ διϊσταμένων, τὸ μὲν φι-
> λίας νόμῳ, τὸ δὲ εὐταξίας, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν καρναμένων (cf.
> ἤπια κιρναμέναις:20), καὶ ταῖς ἐγγύτησι κλεπτομένων ταὐ-
> τὸν ἡμέραις τε καὶ νυξίν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἀηθείᾳ λυπήσωσιν;
> Ἀλλ' ἴτω μὲν ἡμῖν ἥλιος·

See also Mason's notes ad loc. The other text is: τοῖσιν (sc. ἡελί- ῳ μήνῃ τε) ἔειπας,/ τῷ μὲν ἄρ' ἠριγένειαν ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι φαείνειν/ φωτὸς ἀπειρεσίοιο ῥοαῖς, καὶ ὥρας ἑλίσσειν·/. See also or.20.11 (Mossay p.80; M.35.1077C) and or.33.9 (M.36.225B) where Gregory speaks of ὡρῶν περιτροπαί and ὡρῶν ἀλλαγαί respectively.

Furthermore the paraphrast in Cod Vb renders ζωοφόρος (sc. κύκλος) as ζωηφόρος: ζωή + φέρω (sc. κύκλος).

From the above I tend to believe that Gregory chose ζωοφόρος κύκλος to mean the sun (i.e. the life-bearing disk) and at the same time the zodiac (i.e. the animal-bearing circle). That the sun is a life-bringing disk may be seen for instance in Gregory's second theological oration in a passage (which is found only a few lines before that already mentioned above) where he characterizes the sun by the epithets φερέσβιος and φυσίζωος (i.e. in Mason's own rendering 'bringing the means of life' and 'life-begetting' respectively : see his note ad loc.). This interpretation in also in accordance with Aristot. De Generat. et Corr. ii 10 336a 18 where the sun (as the efficient cause of generation and destruction) is called τὸ γεννητικόν ('the generator'; see Joachim's note ad loc.).

Let us now come to the meaning of μέτρα χορείης (sc. of ζωοφόρος κύκλος). According for instance to Philo Alex. i.23.16f. (ed. Cohn): πλανήτων τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν χορείαις ('the orbits/circling motions of planets and fixed stars') and AP 7.334.2: ἐτέων μέτρα or ib.9. 481.4: ὡράων μέτρον ('the measure/duration of years or seasons' respectively) the present phrase seems to mean the measure/duration of the orbit/circling motion shared by the sun and the zodiac together. The same interpretation is followed in a scholion mentioned in M.37. 1327: μέτρα κινήσεως. Gregory's expression seems to have been chosen to reflect μέτρα in line 20.

Finally, with a poem like this (where the poet's primary purpose is to praise Christ and not write an astronomical treatise) one need not be surprised if the poet handles astronomical terms with some flexibility. Besides, such handling is in accordance with Gregory's general habit of deliberately using accepted technical terms in a different sense whenever by the resulting ambiguity he wants to place particular emphasis on the subject he raises. An

example of this, taken also from the world of astronomy, may be
found in <u>carm</u>.1.1.5.44 (427) where Gregory uses ἀνάστερος (techni-
cally meaning 'starless' or 'carrying no planet' ; see LSJ s.v.) to
characterize his λόγος ('teaching') as 'free from any astrological
views' (see the note in Sykes <u>ad loc</u>.), since further below he goes
on to refute such views. Gregory's habit of changing the meaning of
words has already been seen in 1.1.36.8 : ὑποσκιάειν and 2.1.38.16:
ὑπερτέλλειν (see the notes <u>ad loc</u>. and cf. also 1.1.29.10: σύνθεμα
and <u>ib</u>. 14: ἀκλήϊστος).

Lines 21-22: Fixed stars and planets reveal the wisdom of Christ

21f. ἀπλανέες .../ ἀστέρες: This is another stylistic device
whereby the adjective and the noun it describes occupy each the first
<u>sedes</u> of the two lines in an elegiac couplet. See also above the
note on 1.1.35.9.

Line 21: A variation of it appears in <u>carm</u>.1.1.5.67 (429):

ἀπλανέες τε πλάνοι τε παλίμποροι, ὡς ἐνέπουσιν

which refers also to the planets and fixed stars.

21. τέ ... τέ.: On this correspGonsion (used mainly in poetry)
see Smyth 2973 and above p. 42.

21. ἀπλανέες τε πλάνοι τε: The same phrase is found in Ps.-
Manetho 1.4.

21. πλάνοι (sc. ἀστέρες): 'the planets'. The epithet in this
sense is used instead of the more common πλανῆται or πλάνητες (sc.
ἀστέρες), both of which are used from Aristotle onwards (see LSJ s.
v. πλάνος).

21. παλίμπορον ἀΐσσοντες: Sykes on 1.1.5.67 (429)- cited
above - interprets παλίμποροι as ' a technical term in astronomy to
describe the actual or apparent motion of heavenly bodies "backward"
in the zodiac, i.e. from east to west ' without providing any evi-
dence for this and by possibly regarding παλίμποροι to refer only

to planets.   However, the word is more likely to have been used by Gregory to refer to both fixed stars and planets in the sense that the former move from east to west and the latter from west to east (see e.g. B.F.C. Costelloe-J.H. Muirhead, Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics, A translation from Zeller's Philosophy of the Greeks, vol.1 (London: Longmans, 1897), pp.490ff.).

This late adverbial epithet is used by Gregory also in carm. 2.1.19. 61 (1276) but in a different context.   In the same metrical position it appears in Oppian. Hal.4.529 and Nonn. Dion.2.247, 692, 5.487.

21. ἀΐσσοντες: The 'α' is long as happens in Homer: Od.10.99, 495 (both in the same sedes).

Line 21 is a spondiazon hexamerer, namely it has a spondee at the fifth foot.   In the present hymns there are four further such instances (see below Appendix I, Table 3).

22.   ἠγαθέης εἰσὶ λόγος σοφίης: With this phrase the poet should mean that by their movements the stars reveal the wisdom of Christ.   He appears therefore to use the periphrasis εἰσὶ λόγος instead of λέγουσι, possibly used in the same sense as διηγεῖσθαι in the Biblical passage : / Οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται δόξαν θεοῦ ('the heaven with its stars relates the glory of God') in LXX Ps.18.2 (see also the note on 1.1.33.2f.).

Lines 23-24: All the 'heavenly minds' who praise the glory of
the Trinity are Christ's own light

23. νόες οὐρανίωνες: 'νόες οὐράνιοι' is the paraphrase of it in Cod Vb. See also the schol. on line 16: οὐρανίας δυνάμεις (M.37. 1326).   For οὐρανίων Lampe s.v. cites only Orac.Sibyl.5.76 and Gregory's carm.1.2.2.680(631),where it refers to God, and renders it as 'heavenly being'. See also 1.2.17.66 (786) where it is opposed to θνητός. Therefore, οὐρανίων as well as οὐρανίδης in 1.1.29.15

are alternative forms of οὐράνιος (used in line 10 for Christ: see
the note ad loc.)and in 1.1.31.4 to denote anything pertaining to
the sky) and have the same meaning. On the interchangeability be-
tween οὐράνιος, οὐρανίων and οὐρανίδης see also above p. 41.

As has been already observed (see above the note on 1.1.36.19:
νόον πτερόεντα and 2.1.38.16) the present hymns show the poet's
preference for philosophical terms instead of the more accepted
Christian or Biblical ones. Consequently, I think that νόες οὐρα-
νίωνες in this hymn refer to the angels as τὰ νοητά in 1.1.34.2 do
(see the note ad loc.). Νοῦς is used of the angelic intelligences
in a number of passages from Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite: cf. for
instance those cited in Lampe s.v. νοῦς I.E., and Max. Conf. schol.
ad Cel.Hier. 1.2 (M.4.32Af.): νόας καλοῦσι καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι φι-
λόσοφοι τὰς νοεράς, ἤτοι ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις .... Besides, angels
had been already identified by Philo Alexandrinus and St Gregory of
Nyssa with the intelligible world (see I.P.Sheldon-Williams, 'He-
nads and Angels: Proclus and the ps.-Dionysius', Studia Patristica
xi (= TU 108, Berlin, 1972), p.71 and Gottwald p.29). There are a
number of passages in Gregory's own works where angels are called
νόες: carm.1.1.4.94 (423), 1.1.7.14 (439)= 1.2.1.32 (524), 1.1.8.62f.
(451) = 1.2.1.84f. (528): / οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν, ἁγνοὶ νόες, ἄγγε-
λοι ἐσθλοί,/ ὑμνοπόλοι μέλποντες ἐμὸν (sc. of God) κλέος οὔποτε
λῆγον, ib. 695 (575) and or.28.31 (Gallay p.172; M.36.72B): εἰδέναι
ἀγγέλους ... νοερὰς δυνάμεις ἢ νόας. Cf. also carm.1.2.3.5 (633)
and De Virtute: 1.2.10. 100 (687). In or.45.2 (M.36.625A) and ib.
5 (629A) = or.38.9 (320C) angels are called νοεροί and νοερὰ πνεύμα-
τα respectively. See finally Synes. hymn.1.270-74 and Terzaghi's
note ad loc.

23.σὸν φάος εἰσὶν ἅπαντες (sc. νόες οὐρανίωνες): The 'heavenly
minds' are Christ's light. Angels are called φάη ἀείζωα in carm.

2.1.34.207 (1322), or even δεύτερα φῶτα (see the passages quoted on 1.1.34.6: πυρόεις), carm.1.2.1.45f. (525): ἠδὲ φαεινῆς/ ἕλκειν (sc. τοὺς ἀγγέλους) ἐκ Τριάδος σέλας ἄπλετον, 1.2.3.9f. (633):/ οἱ πρῶτοι (sc. angels) φέρουσ᾽ ἀκτῖνα τῆς καθαρᾶς Τριάδος,/ πνεύματα καὶ πῦρ, λειτουργοὶ τῶν θεοῦ προσταγμάτων/, or.41.11 (M.36.444A): Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθεν αὐταῖς (sc. ἀγγελικαῖς δυνάμεσι) ἡ τελείωσις καὶ ἡ ἔλλαμψις ... ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος and or. 6.12 (M.35.737B): (sc. αἱ ἀγγελικαὶ δυνάμεις καὶ οὐράνιοι) φῶς εἰσι καὶ αὐταὶ τελείου φωτὸς ἀπαυγάσματα.

24. μέλπουσι Τριάδος δόξαν: Cf. lines 47f., carm.1.1.8.63 (451) = 1.2.1. 85 (528), and or.45.2 (M.36.625A) where the angels are called τῆς ἄνω δόξης (sc. of God) ἐπόπται καὶ μάρτυρες. On μέλπειν see below the note on 1.1.29.1.

24. ἐπουρανίης: It is used also of the Trinity and in the same sedes in carm.2.1.87.16 (1434); while in 2.1.17.36 (1264) and at the same metrical position οὐρανίη is used instead. This shows that the preposition ἐπί does not add any particular significance to the sense of this epithet (see also above the note on νόες οὐρανίωνες:23). The epic form οὐρανί-η is not used in Homer but appears in Nonnus's Dionysiaca (see also above the notes on 1.1.34.3: στῆσας and 1.1.35.10: ἱερῆς and ἀκηρασίης ἀπὸ βίβλου. The epithet is used once in NT of πατήρ (Ev.Mt.18.35: a varia lectio); while ἐπουράνιος θεός appears in Od.17.484 and in the plural three times in the Iliad (see Bauer s.v.). The same epithet may be also the reading of 1.1.34.13 instead of ἐπ᾽ οὐρανίοιο (which both MSS preserve: see the note ad loc.).

Lines 25-26: Man is Christ's glory

25. σὸν βροτός ... κλέος: Cf. carm.2.1.19.47 (1275) where σὸν κλέος refers to Gregory himself.

25. ὃν ἄγγελον ἐνθάδ᾽ ἔθηκας: Man is called an angel on earth

in carm.1.1.8.68f. (452) = 1.2.1.90f. (529): ἄγγελον ἄλλον/ ἐκ χθο-
νὸς ὑμνητῆρα τ' ἐμῶν (sc. of God) μενέων τε νόου τε./ and or.38.11
(M.36.321C-324A) ≐ or.45.7 (632A): (sc. Logos) ... δημιουργεῖ τὸν
ἄνθρωπον ... ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἵστησιν ἄγγελον ἄλλον.

26. ὑμνοπόλον: In line 50 and carm.2.1.21.10 (1280) the epi-
thet refers to Gregory himself and in 2.1.16.83 (1260) to other
people; while in 1.2.1.85 (528) = 1.1.8.63 (451) and 1.2.1.351 (548)
it refers to angels. See also Synes. hymn.4.25, Simonides fr.184.2
(PLG iii p.512 Bergk) and AP 4.1.13 (Meleag.) 7.18.6, 9.24.3 (Leon.).

The idea that man is placed on earth in order to praise God may
be seen also in Cleanth. hymn.37-39:/ ὑμνοῦντες τὰ σὰ ἔργα διηνεκές,
ὡς ἐπέοικε/ θνητὸν ἐόντ'· ἐπεὶ οὔτε βροτοῖς γέρας ἄλλο τι μεῖζον/
οὔτε θεοῖς ἢ κοινὸν ἀεὶ νόμον ἐν δίκῃ ὑμνεῖν. (cf. ib.6) and Epi-
ctetus 1.16 (Schenkl p.55. 27-56. 4): τί γὰρ ἄλλο δύναμαι γέρων χω-
λὸς εἰ μὴ ὑμνεῖν τὸν θεόν; εἰ γοῦν ἀηδὼν ἤμην, ἐποίουν τὰ τῆς ἀη-
δόνος, εἰ κύκνος, τὰ τοῦ κύκνου. νῦν δὲ λογικός εἰμι· ὑμνεῖν με δεῖ
τὸν θεόν. See J. Adam, The Vitality of Platonism and other Essays,
edited by A.M. Adam (Cambr.: Univ. Press, 1911), p.176 and below the
note on 1.1.31.9.

26. ὦ φάος: The phrase is addressed to Christ after Ev.Jo.8.
12. Christ is invoked as βίου φάος and φάος μερόπων in 1.1.36.28
and 1.1.38.6 respectively (see the notes ad loc.). Note that this
invocation is enclosed within the phrase σῆς ... ἀγλαΐης which refers
also to Christ and is deliberately chosen to correspond in sense to
this invocation.

The use of the interjection ὦ in this invocation complies with
the practice followed by the Greek tragedians (see above p.43f.).

c) Lines 27-28: Incarnation

On Christ's incarnation as a subject of the Praise in 1.1.33.6
and 1.1.35. 6-8 see above the notes ad loc.

The nature of the incarnate Christ is expressed in terms of a paradox since He is at the same time ἄμβροτος and βροτόεις (immortal and mortal), ἄσαρκος and σαρκοφόρος (with and without flesh).

27. ἄμβροτό μοι βροτόει τε :   The strong antithesis created by the juxtaposition of the two contrary words is used to denote and emphasize the dual nature of Christ as a god-man. The same effect is produced in carm.1.1.9.42 (460): ἄμβροτος ἦλθε βροτωθείς and 1.1.18. 37 (483):/ μητέρος ἐκ βροτέης θεὸς ἄμβροτος. See also Synes. hymn. 8.15: [βρότειον φέρων δέμας] (sc. Christ).

On the universal divine epithet ἄμβροτος see the note on 1.1. 33:11:   Besides, βροτόει is a rare form of vocative instead of βροτόεν (see Kühner-Blass-Gerth 118,5b and above p. 39 and 197). However, the meaning of βροτόεις should be the same as that of βρό- τειος or βρότεος following Gregory's general attitude of using words with different meaning (see above p. 40) .   The same word appears to be also the reading of Cod L in Nonn. Dion.47.431 (ed. Keydell): see LSJ s.v.   The word βρότεος (used of Christ) is found in carm.1.1.20.2 (488) and 1.2.14.92 (762).

27. παλιγγενές: The epithet is used in line 45 where it refers to man's rebirth in Christ as it derives from παλιγγενεσία which is commonly used in this technical sense (see Lampe s.v.).   However, in the present passage the epithet is addressed to Christ and is found in a context where the poet speaks of Christ's incarnation. Therefore, it is very likely that by calling Christ παλιγγενές (with a second birth) the poet refers to Christ's generation as a god-man which took place in time (cf. ὑστάτιον: 28) and followed His generation as Son of God before the beginning of time (see also above the note on 1.1.35.4: αὐτογένεθλος). Cod Vb gives the paraphrase παλίνζωε , while the schol. in M.37.1328 has δι' ἐμὲ δεύτερον γεννηθείς.

In Greek literature παλιγγενής is used once in Nonn. Dion.2.650
and in Pap.Mag.Gr. vii.510 (Preis.).

27. ὕψος ἄσαρκον: The phrase is deliberately formed to be con-
trasted to σαρκοφόρε (both found at the end of two successive lines),
and is used to the same effect as the antithesis in line 27a.
Besides, it may be compared with carm.1.1.2.62f. (406):/ ἦν (sc.
Christ) βροτός, ἀλλὰ θεός. Δαβὶδ γένος, ἀλλ' 'Αδάμοιο/ πλάστης. σαρ-
κοφόρος μέν, ἀτὰρ καὶ σώματος ἐκτός./ and with or.38.2 (M.36.313B):
ὁ ἄσαρκος σαρκοῦται. See also or.28.9 (Gallay p.116; M.36.36C)
where God is called ἀσώματος, and Const.Apost.8.12.31: καὶ ἐσαρκώ-
θη ὁ ἄσαρκος. On σαρκοφόρος see Orac.Sibyl.1.325 and Nonn. par.Jo.
1:15 (M.43.752B).

28. ὑστάτιον: It is used in the same sedes e.g. in carm.1.2.1.
137 (533) and Callim. hymn.Apoll.79 (see William's note ad loc.).

28. θνητῶν πήμασι: It gives the reason which led to Christ's
incarnation: to release mortals from their sins. See also 1.1.35.6,
the note ad loc. and Synes. hymn.8.24.

d) Lines 29-31: The poet's personal devotion to Christ

29. σοὶ ζῶ, σοὶ λαλέω: The phrase appears in 1.1.36.31 while
in carm.2.1.12.804 (1225) we have : / ᾧ (sc. for God) ζῶ, πνέω τε
καὶ πρὸς ὃν βλέπω μόνον.

29. σοὶ δ' ἔμπνοός εἰμι θυηλή: Gregory is in the paraphrase
of Cod Vb a 'living sacrifice' (θυσία ζῶσα) offered to Christ after
Ep.Rom. 12.1 (cf. LXX Ps.50.19). The same idea is expressed in
carm.2 (epit.).2.119.44 (M.38.74): ἔμπνοον ἱρὸν ἔης./ (said of Basil),
or.16.2 (M.35. 936B): Σοφία πρώτη, βίος ἐπαινετὸς καὶ θεῷ κεκαθαρμέ-
νος, ἢ καθαιρόμενος, τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ μόνην ἀπαιτοῦ-
ντι παρ' ἡμῶν θυσίαν, τὴν κάθαρσιν, ἣν δὲ καρδίαν συντετριμμένην
(LXX Ps. 50.19) καὶ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως (Ps.49.23), καὶ καινὴν ἐν Χριστῷ
κτίσιν (Ep.2Cor.5.17), καὶ νέον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῇ Γραφῇ κα-

λεῖν φίλον and 2.2.1.23 (1453). On ἔμπνοος see or.43.5 (M.36.500C) and Hürth p.92; while for θυηλή see carm.2.1.1.333 (995), 2.1.13. 197 (1242) and Procl. hymn.5.12f. Besides, note that θυηλή refers back to θύος (3). Gregory and his poetry are both a sacrifice offered to Christ. As has been shown in the introductory analysis the structure of this hymn is complex and with various cross-references.

Line 30: In his poems Gregory appears an enthusiastic advocate of the ideal of poverty: see carm.1.2.17.5f. (782) and 2.2. 1.32 (1454), which he himself seems to have followed : carm.1.2.15. 113f. (774) and 2.1.1. 65-76 (975).

Line 31: It refers to the poet's vow of silence and it thus brings back the main subject of Invocation A.

31. γλῶσσαν ἔδησα: It is used in carm.2.1.83.1 (1428), 2.2.1. 67 (1456) and 2.1.37.5 (1324). In 2.1.36.5 (1323) δῆσαι λόγον is used instead, while in or.2.71 (Bernardi p.184; M.35.480B) the poet prefers the expression τῇ γλώσσῃ δεσμὸν ἐπιτιθέναι and in or.12.1 (M.35.844B) τιθέναι φυλακὴν τοῖς χείλεσιν (cf. LXX Ps.140.3). Besides, in or.6.7 (M.35.729B) he uses the opposite expressions γλῶσσαν δῆσαι and γλῶσσαν λύειν (i.e. 'to keep silence' and 'to speak' respectively). The latter passage helps us to understand μῦθον λύειν of our hymn in the same sense as γλῶσσαν λύειν (i.e. 'to speak'). That γλῶσσαν ἔδησα and μῦθον ἔλυσα should express opposite meanings may be further attested from ἀμφότερα in the following line.

Since γλῶσσα and μῦθος are obviously associated with Gregory one would expect οὔασι (as another part of the body) to be his too. Consequently, the second hemistich would mean: 'I released speech for my own ears'. However, such meaning has, I think, no sense. Therefore, οὔασι should refer to others (possibly Gregory's fellow

Christians), however harsh this may sound to us. The metrical re-
strictions may be one reason why the thought was forced in such a
way into the structure, although the obscurity of the whole phrase
may equally well have been deliberate. The meaning then becomes:
'I released speech for the others to hear'. Such interpretation
may be supported also by the fact that , since (as has been already
mentioned in the introduction to this hymn) Gregory's silence was
met with much criticism by his fellow men, one would expect him,
after breaking his vow, to answer their accusations. An intention
to do so is pronounced by him in one of the epistles he wrote
during his silence, namely epist.118.2 (Gallay ii p.11; M.37.213B):
Ἐσιώπησα μὲν ἐμαυτῷ· λαλήσω δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις (cf. epist.108 (p.5;208A)
ep. 113 (p.7;209B) and ep.116.1 (p.10;213A)). Following this inter-
pretation the past form ἔλυσα **in the hymn should** have been used
instead of the future λύσω to express an action which the poet was
fairly certain he would do and therefore regarded as already done
(see Smyth 1934 and Kühner-Blass-Gerth 386.11).

However, there is a slight possibility that the whole phrase
is an early corruption (which took place in a non-surviving MS)
instead of οὔατα μύθῳ ἔλυσα (i.e. during my silence 'I released my
ears to the speech' sc.of others). In support of this inter-
pretation is one of the epistles (believed to have been written
during the period of Gregory's silence) ,namely epist.109 (Gallay
ii p.5; M.37.208B). The epistle is addressed to Cledonius and it
reads: Οὐ κωλύω τὴν συντυχίαν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα σιγᾷ, τά γε ὦτα
τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις ἡδέως παρέξομεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ λαλεῖν ἃ χρή τὸ ἀ-
κούειν οὐκ ἀτιμότερον.

III. Prayer A (32)

32. λίσσομαι: See the note on 1.1.34.14: λίτομαι.

32. ἀλλά: This conjunction is commonly used to introduce the

Prayer (see above p. 30).   The postposition of it is a rare phenomenon and seems to have been done <u>metri gratia</u>. For postponed ἀλλά in Callim. <u>hymn.Jov.</u> see McLennan's note on 1.18.

32. πόροις: See the note on 1.1.36.20.

IV. Introduction B (33-38)

Lines 33-36: The poet's resolve to speak only what is lawful

33. φθέγξομαι, ἄσσ' ἐπέοικεν: The phrase appears in the same <u>sedes</u> in <u>carm</u>.2.2.7.21 (1552). For ἐπέοικεν see Cleanth. <u>hymn</u>.37.

In line 33 the two hemistichs express the same idea in a positive and negative way respectively.   The clarification of this idea, namely that the poet will speak only what is permitted to him, is given with the four metaphors: of the pearl, gold, rose and wheat which follow in lines 34-36. The first and fourth metaphors occupy each a pentameter and the second and third share the two hemistichs of the hexameter, giving thus to the section (34-36) a polarized form.

Line 34: The two <u>hemiepe</u> are opposite in sense while the four words they consist of form a syntactical chiasmus: a-b-b-a.

34. ῥεύσω: The verb is accurately chosen to refer metaphorically to the poet's flow of words which are compared to a pearl.   In doing so the poet follows the usage of ῥέειν with the only difference that he uses it transitively (see LSJ s.v. I.2). However, the paraphrase of this verb in Cod Vb is ἐκλέξομαι.

34. μαργάρεον: This is the only citation in <u>Lexica</u> and is used instead of μαργαρίτης.

34. βόρβορον: Cf. <u>carm</u>. 2.1.61.6 (1405):εἰ δ' οὖν σὺ γλῶσσα, μὴ δέχου βόρβορον.

The metaphor in line 34 whereby the poet decides to let flow a 'pearl' (i.e. precious or useful words) and leave aside 'mud' (i.e. useless or even bad words) in a way reminds us of the Biblical ones: a) in <u>Ev.Mt</u>. 7.6 and b) in <u>Ep.Eph</u>.4.29.   Pearl-metaphors,

although used in a different context, may be found in <u>AP</u> 8.21.1f.
= <u>carm</u>.2(epit.).2.63.1f. (M.38.42), <u>or</u>.33.1 (M.36.216A), <u>or</u>.37.18
(M.36.304A) and <u>epist</u>.12.2 (Gallay i p.19; M.37.44C).

Líne 35a: The gold-metaphor together with the wheat-metaphor
in line 36 may be compared with <u>carm</u>.1.2.1.696f.(575):/ καὶ στάχυς
ἐξ ὀλίγου μέν, ἀτὰρ στάχυς ἐβλάστησε/ σπέρματος, ἐκ ψαμάθου δὲ μέγ'
ἔξοχος ἔπλετο χρυσός./.

Line 35b: The rose-metaphor is very beloved to Gregory, since
it appears a number of times in his works :<u>carm</u>.1.2.3.71 (638):/ ὡς
ῥόδον ἐν ἀκάνθαις, οὕτως ἐν πολλοῖς στρέφῃ (sc. you the virgin), <u>De</u>
<u>Vita Sua</u>:2.1.11. 472 (Jungck p.76; M.37.1062): τρυγῶν ἀκάνθας, οὐκ
ἀπανθίζων ῥόδα, <u>De Virtute</u>:1.2.10. 214-17 (695f.):

> μεμνήσομαι δὲ δείγματος χάριν τινῶν,
>
> ὡς ἂν μάθῃς κἀνθένδε τὴν ἀρετήν, ὅσα
>
> ῥόδ' ἐξ ἀκανθῶν, ὡς λέγουσι, συλλέγων,
>
> ἐκ τῶν ἀπίστων μανθάνων τὰ κρείσσονα.

also 1.2.2.208f.(594), <u>AP</u> 8.98.6 = <u>carm</u>.2(epit.).2.19.6 (M.38.20)
and <u>epist</u>.183.2 (Gallay ii p.72;M.37.297B): ῥόδα ἐξ ἀκανθῶν, ὡς ἡ
παροιμία, συλλέγομεν.

The phrases ὡς λέγουσι and ὡς ἡ παροιμία (used in the above
passages) are suggestive of the proverbial origin of the rose-
metaphor.   However, I have not been able to trace in the Paroemio-
graphers such or a similar idea.   The metaphor may have been taken
from stock material used in the rhetorical schools as it is used
also in Nicephorus <u>Progymnasmata</u> ap. <u>Rhet.Graec</u>. i.511.24f. (ed.
Walz): ῥόδα μέλλων τρυγᾶν ἐξ ἀκανθῶν οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον. Cf. Stephanus,
<u>Thesaurus</u> s.v. ῥόδον.   The same metaphor appears in other Christian
writers as well: Basil. <u>leg. lib. gent</u>. 3(M.31.569Cf.) (see Ruether
p.165 n.2), Clem. Alex. <u>Strom</u>.ii.1. 3,3 (<u>GCS</u> 2 p.114.14f.) and
Amphilochius <u>Seleuc</u>. 61 (Oberg p.30 ; or ap. Gr.Naz. <u>carm</u>.2.2.8.61

in M.37.1581).

35. κραναῆς: The epithet is used by Gregory also in carm.
2.1.1.354 (996) to describe Babylon. Cf. Synes. hymn.1.16.

36. λέξομ': The verb is used in the sense 'to pick for one-
self' as happens in e.g. Il.24.793 and Apoll. Rhod. Arg.3.807, and
is rendered in the paraphrase of Cod Vb as λήψομαι. Wheat-meta-
phors were a beloved theme in Greek pagan literature and a number of
proverbs resulted from this as one may see in LSJ s.v. καλάμη. See
also AP 4.1.34 (Meleag.)

Lines 37-38: This hymn is the poet's first-offering to Christ
after he completed his vow of silence

The same subject appears in one of the epistles which make
reference to the poet's vow of silence : epist.117 (Gallay ii p.10f.;
M.37.213A): Καλὸν γὰρ ὥσπερ ἄλλου παντός, οὕτω δὴ καὶ λόγων ἀπαρχὰς
ἀνατιθέναι τῷ Λόγῳ πρῶτον, εἴτα τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν Κύριον. It is
therefore very likely that the present hymn is the poet's actual
first words offered to Christ after his silence.

38. ἀπερευγομένη: The verb (not cited in Lampe) has the non-
classical meaning 'to utter' following that of the Biblical (ἐξ-)ἐ-
ρεύγεσθαι which is used in a similar context e.g. in LXX Ps.44.2
and 118.171 (see Bauer s.v. ἐρεύγεσθαι). The verb in this sense is
presumably a Hebraism as one may see from Ev.Mt.13.35 which is a
version of Ps.77(78).2 and uses ἐρεύγεσθαι, while the Septuagint
(LXX Ps.77.2) has φθέγγεσθαι. Gregory uses in the same sense also
ἐξεμέειν in carm.2.1.34.50 (1311).

V. Praise B (39-50a)

a) Lines 39-46: Narrative on Christ's resurrection

The same subject is used for the praise of Christ in 1.1.33.8f.
(see the note ad loc.).

39. σήμερον: It is repeated for emphasis at the beginning of

lines 43, 47 and 49 to introduce, first the two sections of the

Easter narrative and then the angelic hymn and that of the poet.

The same word may show also the possible composition of the hymn

on Easter Day. See Gregory's oration On Easter: or.45.2 (M.36.

625A) where one reads : Σήμερον δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτὴν ἑορτάζομεν

οὐκ ἔτι ἐλπιζομένην, ἀλλ' ἤδη γεγενημένην. A triple repetition

of this word may be seen also in Callim. hymn.Lavacr.Pallad. 45

(twice),47.

Christ's resurrection is the theme of the homily mentioned

above in the prooemium of which one reads: Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν, συν-

εγείρεσθε· Χριστὸς εἰς ἑαυτόν, ἐπανέρχεσθε· Χριστὸς ἐκ τάφων, ἐ-

λευθερώθητε τῶν δεσμῶν τῆς ἁμαρτίας. Πύλαι ᾅδου ἀνοίγονται καὶ θά-

νατος καταλύεται (or.45.1 in M.36.624B). Synesius's eighth hymn

has a similar subject matter and the similarities with this section

will be shown below. On Christ's descent into Hades see the note

on 1.1.35.9, or.29.20 (Gallay p.222; M.36.101Bf.) and Orac.Sibyl.8.

310ff. and 1.377f.

39f. οἷσιν ἐμίχθη,/ ἔγρετο: Cf. carm.1.1.2.78f.(407): νεκύ-

εσσιν ἐμίχθη,/ ἔγρετο δ' ἐκ νεκύων and the note of Sykes ad loc.;

2.2.7.174 (1564): / καὶ θάνε, καὶ νεκύεσσι μίγη and Apollinarius

Protheoria 88 .

40. θανάτου κέντρον ἀπεσκέδασε : The metaphor is taken from

Ep.1Cor.15. 54-56 which in turn is influenced by LXX Os.13.14.

The phrase θανάτου κέντρον is used in carm.2.1.45.160 (1364) and

κέντρα μόροιο in 2.1.1.52 (974); while in or.45.22 (M.36.653C)

Gregory quotes part of the Pauline passage. On death images in

Gregory see J. Mossay, La Mort et l' Au-delà dans Saint Grégoire

de Nazianze, Un. de Louvain. Recueil de Travaux d' Hist. et de

Philol. 4, 34 (Louvain, 1966), pp.12-16.

41f. καί ... ῥήξατο: Cf. 1.1.33.8 and the note ad loc., Orph.

<u>Arg.</u> 967 (Abel):/ ῥήξασαι (sc. Τισιφόνη, Ἀληκτώ, Μέγαιρα) κενεῶ-
νας ἀμειδήτοιο βερέθρου/ and <u>AP</u> 1.119.24ff.

ἀμειδήτου ἀΐδαο: Cf. <u>AP</u> 7.439.4 (Theodorid.): ἀμειδήτῳ ...
Ἀΐδη , and for the same epithet <u>hymn.Asclep.</u> 8 (Heitsch p.171) and
Nonn. <u>Dion.</u>43.420.

42. ψυχαῖς δῶκεν ἐλευθερίην: Cf. <u>carm.</u>2.2.7. 196-98 (1566):
ὥς κεν ἀναστάς/ ἐκ νεκύων παλίνορσος ἀναστήσειε θανόντας,/ ἕλκων οἷα
μάγνησσα λίθος τονόεντα σίδηρον./, Synes. <u>hymn.</u>8.17f., 24f., and
<u>AP</u> 1.56.

Note the polysyndeton in lines 40-42.

Lines 43-44: Cf. <u>carm.</u> 1.1.20.37f. (491), 1.1.22.20 (494), 1.
1.23.10f. (494).

43. ἐκ τύμβοιο θορών: Cf. <u>carm.</u> 2.2.1.251 (1469), 2.1.45.185
(1366) and 1.2.15.133 (775).

43. μερόπεσσι φαάνθη: The phrase appears in the same <u>sedes</u> in
Apoll. <u>Met.Ps.</u>117.52. On μέροπες see above the note on 1.1.36.12

Line 44: The triple anaphora of οἷς underlines the reason for
Christ's incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection: the redemption
of mankind.

45. παλιγγενέες: As a technical term the epithet (or its
cognate noun) usually refers to the effect of baptism on men. In
this sense it is found in <u>carm.</u>2.(epit.)2.24.6 (M.38.22) = <u>AP</u> 8.103.
6 and Nonn. <u>par.Jo.</u>1:33, 3:6 (M.43.756B, 768A). See also above the
note in line 27.

However, compared to <u>or.</u>40.2 (M.36.360C): τρισσὴν γέννησιν ἡ-
μῖν οἶδεν ὁ Λόγος· τὴν ἐκ σωμάτων, τὴν ἐκ βαπτίσματος καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀ-
ναστάσεως (possibly of the dead), the epithet in this hymn seems
more likely to refer to the third type of birth 'than to the second.
On the use of παλιγγενεσία:1) of baptism as a restoration or rebirth,
2) of second penance as a restoration and 3) of eschatological

restoration see J. Ysebaert, Greek Baptismal Terminology, Graecitas Christianorum Primaeva, 1 (Nijmegen, 1962), pp.146-48.

45. ἐκ θανάτοιο φυγόντες: Cf. Il.20.350.

46. σοί : The addition of this pronoun (if it is not a corruption instead of a third person form) should have been made in order to prepare for the change of the narrative style into the second person style of the following section.

46. συναειρώμεσθ' : Cf. or.45.1 (M.36.624B) and ib.25 (657B). The use of compounds in συν- to describe what Christians do together with Christ is owed to St Paul : see Ep.2Tim.2.11, Eph.2.6. Such compound verbs may be found in Gregory's carm.1.2.2.566 (623), or. 40.45 (M.36.424Bf.) and or.1.4 (Bernardi p.76; M.35.397B). On the syntax of such compound verbs with dative (exemplified also in Gregory's epistles) see Gallay, Langue et Style, p.28.

46. ἔνθεν ἀνερχομένῳ : Gregory refers to Christ's ascention in carm.1.1.3.31 (410).

b) Lines 47-48: The hymn of angels

Gregory refers to the hymn of angels at the event of Christ's resurrection in or.45.1 (M.36.624B), where he tells us also that the content of this hymn was that of the Gloria (in Ev.Lc.2.14).

47. αἰγλήεις! The epithet is used to describe the angels in carm.2.1.45.21 (1355), 1.2.1.31 (524), 2.1.99.1 (1451) and AP 8.54. 1 = carm.2 (epit.).2.97.1 (M.38.59). See also Apoll. Met.Ps.102.38 and AP 1.94.3. In carm.1.1.3.28 (410), however, it describes the Spirit. As a stock epithet it was used in Greek pagan hymns: Hom. hymn.32.9 and Apoll.40.

47f. χορός .../ ἀγγελικός: Cf. 1.1.34.6 and the note ad loc., and Synes. hymn.4.18.

47. ἀμφιγέγηθεν: The verb appears in the same sedes in Hom. hymn.Apoll.273 and is used again by Gregory in carm.1.2.9.39 (670).

In the paraphrase of Cod Vb it is rendered as περιχαίρει. Angels appear to participate in the victorious hymn on the occasion of Christ's resurrection also in Synes. hymn.8.26f.

48. ὕμνον ἐπιστέφιον: 'a hymn of victory, or a victorious hymn', and according to the scholion in M.37.1329:'ὕμνον ἐπινίκιον'. The present passage is the only instance, according to Lampe s.v., of this epithet which seems to have been constructed by Gregory in the place of ἐπιστεφής following his habit of changing the declension of various words (see above p. 41). Cf. Synes. hymn.8.40:/ ἐπινίκιον ἐς μέλος which supports the interpretation of our passage and proves wrong the paraphrast in Cod Vb who renders ἐπιστέφιος as ἐπιτάφιος.

c) Lines 49-50a: The poet's hymn

49. ἦχον ἔπνευσα: This is rendered in the paraphrase of Cod Vb as λόγον ἀπήχησα and, together with χείλεα ... λύσας (which corresponds to μῦθον ἔλυσα:31), brings back once more the subject of Introduction A: the poet's vow of silence.

49. μεμυκότα χείλεα σιγῇ: It appears in the same sedes in AP 8.4.3 = carm.2.(epit.)2.119.15 (M.38.73) and AP 15.40.6 (an epitaph of the grammarian Cometas on the resurrection of Lazarus).

VI. Prayer B (50b)

50. ἀλλά: See the note on 1.1.34.19.

50. ὑμνοπόλον κιθάρην :   Gregory regards himself as a musical instrument destined to glorify God also in carm.2.1.34.69f. (1312): ὄργανόν εἰμι θεοῖο καὶ εὐκρέκτοις μελέεσιν/ ὕμνον ἄνακτι φέρω, ib. 91 (1313): τόσσων γλῶσσαν ἔχω κιθάρην and or.43.67 (M.36.585C): γίνομαι ... ὄργανον κρουόμενον πνεύματι καὶ θείας ὑμνῳδὸν δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως. Cf. also carm.2.1.45.156 (1364).   The present request may be compared to that in 1.1.31.12 (see the note ad loc.)

VII. Epilogue (51-52)

Line 51: The poet offered his mind to the Mind (sc. the Father) and his word to the Word (sc. Christ). The word-play in the two different meanings of νοῦς and λόγος is so obvious as not to need any further comment.

51. ἔρεξα: The poet avoided the doubling of 'ρ' metri gratia (see above p. 39). The choice of this verb which is rendered in the paraphrase of Cod Vb as ἔθυσα καὶ ἱεροῦργησα (cf. also the schol. in M.37.1329) seems to have been made deliberately in order to refer back to θυηλή (29); while line 51 refers to the first subject of Christ's praise (in line 5). See also epist.119 (cited above p.203).

Line 51f. : The poet expresses his determination to make an offering to the Holy Spirit as well by composing another hymn dedicated to Him.

51. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα: See above the note on πρῶτον in line 1.

52. ἢν ἐθέλῃ: The addition of this phrase may be contrasted to the practice of Greek pagan hymns when such or similar express- ions with θέλειν are used in order to express the free will of gods to act, or fulfil a request: Hom. hymn.Ven.38 (Aphrodite): εὖτε θέ- λοι and Procl. hymn.1.45f.: (Helius) /ὄλβον .../ εἴ κε θέλοις, δός, ἄναξ. See also Keyssner p.84 and θέλοντος in line 13.

Such feature appears also in Christian prayers: see e.g. Li- turg.Jac. (Brightman p. 57.25f.): ὅτε θέλεις καὶ ὡς θέλεις. Cf. LXX Ps. 50.18.

At the end of the commentary on 2.1.38 let us see some of the features and particular characteristics of this hymn , leaving aside those concerning its structure and the themes used in it, since we have dealt with them in the introductory analysis of the hymn.

Of particular importance in this hymn is the extensive use of

divine epithets: Some of these are the poet's own coinages,
particularly constructed to describe minutely and in an accurate and
concise way various doctrines concerning Christ's characteristics
(mainly in relation to the other two persons of the Trinity): πατρο-
φαές (5), οἰόγονε (6), συμφαές (8), αἰῶνος πείρημα (9). Some are
particularly Biblical, or exemplify in early patristic texts : εἰ-
κών (7), Λόγος (5), πανσθενής (10), φάος (26), ὕψος ἄσαρκον (27),
σαρκοφόρος (28), παλιγγενής (27). Other epithets are stock divine
epithets of the Greek pantheon and are either restricted to particular
gods (εὐρυμέδων (8) **used mainly of Poseidon** , ὑψίθρονος (10) of
Κλωθώ and Nereids, οὐράνιος (10) mainly of Zeus); or used universe
ally (μέγας:5, ἀθάνατος:7, φερέσβιος:11, Ἄναξ:15, ἄμβροτος:27).
Finally, there are epithets first originated in Greek philosophy,
particularly the negative ones as ἄναρχος (7), or even δημιουργός
(11). Other epithets and stock vocabulary used in Greek pagan
hymns, but describing other nouns are : ἁγνός (3), ἠγαθέης (22),
μέλπειν (24, 48), ὑμνοπόλον (26, 50), ἀγλαΐης (26), εὐαγέως (32),
αἰγλήεις (47), ὕμνον (48).

The ornamentation of the hymn is rich. Apart from the epithets
already mentioned there are a dozen more. Of considerable importance
with regard to ornamentation are the four metaphors in lines 34-36,
the simile in lines 15-16, the image of the harmonious movement of
the celestial spheres (17-21), the periphrasis ὄμμα τὸ νυκτός (17)
the personification of the sun: Phaetho (15) and the vivid description
of Christ's resurrection and the events related to it (39-46).

To the above one may add various stylistic remarks (referring
particularly to the usage of rhetorical figures), which have been
already made on individual lines.

All these features and characteristics, together with the
appearance in the hymn of new or rare forms, heavy compounds and

traditional vocabulary, give the hymn a solemn and elevated style.

A final word on the problem of the unity of the hymn: As we have seen both in the introductory analysis and the commentary on it, the poem is unified by the various themes and cross-references which appear in both sections: 1-38 and 39-52.   Therefore, the apparent lack of unity seems to be no longer valid.

Carm. 1.1.31

The next poem to be discussed is 1.1.31, a short hymn of only six elegiac couplets.

The MS tradition of the poem follows that of 1.1.33-35 with the exception that it is found also in Cod Np (see above p. 68f.). Hence, the authenticity of the present poem is also in doubt. However, the remarks already made for 1.1.33-35 to support their authenticity apply also to 1.1.31, and so it seems unnecessary to repeat them here.

The hymn begins with the Biblical expression δόξα (sc. εἶναι) which is repeated in line 2 for solemnity and stylistic purposes. This expression, together with the closing request for a pure doxology, determines the characterization of the hymn as a doxology.

In the introductory couplet the poet refers to all the three persons of the Trinity and, while the hexameter is shared between the Father and the Son (who is King of all), the pentameter is left to the Spirit who is described with the rare and late epithet πανεύφημος ('wholly blessed' in Lampe s.v.) and the liturgical one πανάγιος ('all-holy').

Praise (3-10) begins with a confession-like formula on the dogma

of the tri-une God.(3a).   The major part of Praise is spent on the theme of the creation and preservation of the world,(often celebrated in the Psalms), whereby God's power is manifested and extolled. Although such a theme appears in most of the hymns under discussion, this is the only poem where the creation is wrought by the Trinity (conceived as a unity) and not by the three persons, each taken separately (as in 1.1.30), or by one or more of them (as in 2.1.38 and 1.1.33), or even by the Godhead (as in 1.1.34). As will be seen in the commentary, the expressions used (at least for lines 3-5) echo passages in liturgical prayers. Furthermore, it seems worthwhile to notice that the first two couplets of Praise (3-6) refer to God's works of creation; while the last two (7-10) to the response of Creation to His works which is expressed in two hymns. In the first hymn all Creation (πᾶσα κτίσις:7) celebrates God as the only Cause of its coming into existence and of its preservation; and in the second the rational natures celebrate God as a great King and kind Father.

Compared to the fact that glorification of God is also the subject of both Introduction and Prayer, the theme of creation in the first part of Praise (3-6) becomes less important and is thus subordinate to the notion of glorifying God in lines 7-10.

The hymn of the rational natures makes the poet want to glorify God, since he himself is a rational being. His desire is implicit in the closing request to God the Father that he may glorify Him in purity.

With the return in the closing couplet to the theme of Introduction: the glorification of God, the hymn acquires a ring form seen also in hymns 1.1.34 and 1.1.29. Besides, the emphasis on the notion of praising God (seen in the use of such verbs as: δόξα (sc. εἶναι), δοξολογεῖν, ὑμνεῖν, ἀείδειν), leads us to characterize this poem, not so much as being itself a hymn glorifying God, but as a

hymn about the act of glorifying God.

This hymn may be compared in content with a short prayer entitled Εὐχὴ τῆς παραστάσεως and found in the Liturgy of St James (see Brightman p.31. 15-23). The various similarities can be illustrated only if we cite the text of this prayer which runs:

Δόξα τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, τῷ τριαδι-
κῷ καὶ ἐνιαίῳ φωτὶ τῆς θεότητος τῆς ἐν τριάδι μοναδικῶς
ὑπαρχούσης καὶ διαιρουμένης ἀδιαιρέτως· τριὰς γὰρ εἷς θεὸς
παντοκράτωρ οὗ τὴν δόξαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται, ἡ δὲ γῆ
τὴν αὐτοῦ δεσποτείαν καὶ ἡ θάλασσα τὸ αὐτοῦ κράτος καὶ πᾶ-
σα αἰσθητὴ καὶ νοητὴ κτίσις τὴν αὐτοῦ μεγαλειότητα κηρύτ-
τει πάντοτε· ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ κράτος μεγαλω-
σύνη τε καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

As we see both texts begin with the triadological doxology and after the confession to the tri-une God, they proceed to the praise of the Trinity by reference to the creation. But, while in 1.1.31 this consists of two parts: a) God creating the world and b) the world glorifying God, the liturgical prayer refers only to the second part, namely how the heavens, earth, sea and all the visible and intelligible creation always reveal God's glory, dominion, power and majesty. Finally, both texts close with another doxology.

Another point to make here is the fact that eleven out of twelve verses are paroxytone. This feature is common in the hymns under discussion and, not only shows that they belong to a late period of Greek literature, but also marks the gradual change from the heathen metres (which are based on the quantity of the syllables) to the rhythmic verse of Byzantine period (which is based on the position of the grammatical accents in the line). See also above p. 61f.

I. Introduction (1-2): Glory to the tri-une God

1. δόξα (sc. ἐστίι or ἔστω):   The phrase is repeated at the beginning of line 2 as happens with σοὶ χάρις (sc. εἶναι) in 1.1.34: see note ad loc.   The Biblical origin of the phrase may be attested, not only from its occurrence in the Gloria (ap. Ev.Lc. 2.14), but also from the phrases δοῦναι or ἐνεγκεῖν δόξαν which are used quite often in the Septuagint version of the Psalter: see Ps.65.2, 113.9 and 95.7, 8.   Other doxological verbs used by Gregory are: δοξάζειν in carm.1.2.3.1 (632), 1.1.30.42, and δοξολογεῖν in line 12 of this hymn.   The common doxological formula whereby most of the Christian prayers and homilies end is discussed below in the note on 1.1.32. 49f.   Finally, the use of both δόξα (sc. εἶναι) and δοξολογεῖν in the present hymn justify its characterization as a doxology or glorification as does also Cod. W (see the tit. in appar. critic.).

1. Πατρί : On this common title of God see the note on 1.1.34. 14 and 1.1.35.1.

1. παμβασιλῆι : The epithet (found once in LXX Ecclus.50.15) refers to Christ also in carm.1.2.1. 455, 708 (556, 576) and in Liturg.Marc. (Brightman p.132.15); while, as a theological term for both God and Christ, it has been widely used in patristic literature (see Lampe s.v.).

In pagan Greek hymns this epithet or the feminine παμβασίλεια is addressed as a divine epithet to various gods : Zeus in Orph. hymn. 73.3 and Alcaeus fr. 308 2(b) (ed. Lobel-Page, PLF), and Artemis in Orph. hymn.36.11 (see also Keyssner p.45f.).

In Christian poetry it is used (as Golega informs us: Golega p.63) about twenty five times in Apoll. Met.Ps. e.g.74.2, 112.6 (both in the same sedes); cf. also Nonn. par.Jo.1:23 (M.43.753B) and AP 1.97.3 (where, however, it seems to refer to the emperor Justinian).

On the epithets in παν- (which are used in the hymns under

discussion) see above the note on 1.1.35.1: πανεπίσκοπε.

The same idea, namely that Christ is the King of all may be seen also in 1.1.30.21; while the same is said of the Godhead in 1.1.33.1= 1.1.34.1 (see the note ad loc.).

2. πανευφήμῳ: This is a rare epithet and the various Lexica cite it in texts later than Gregory's age. See e.g. Ps.-Dionysius Areop. Coel.hier.7.4 (M.3.212C): πανεύφημον θεαρχίαν and paraphras. Pachymer. (236B).

2. παναγίῳ : As a term used of the Holy Spirit the epithet appears frequently in the formulaic triadological doxology whereby a number of prayers in the Liturgy of St James and that of St Mark end : Liturg.Jac. (Brightman p.31.13): τῷ παναγίῳ ἀγαθῷ ζωοποιῷ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ σου πνεύματι (cf. pp.32.13, 22, 41.21, 43.17 etc.) and Liturg.Marc. (Br. p.122.5, 123.30). However, the first instance in patristic writings of this epithet (yet referring to God) seems to be Clem. Rom. 1Cor.35 (Lightfoot p.108): see Lightfoot's note ad loc. and ib.58 (L. p.169). See also Const.Apost. 8.12.29 and Deichgrä-ber p.99.

II. Praise (3-10)

3. ἡ Τριὰς εἷς θεός ἐστιν : This phrase is a concise declara-tion of the triadological dogma and is expressed with some degree of didacticism, a characteristic of Byzantine hymnography (see above the note on 1.1.33.3b).

The subject of the tri-une God is largely discussed by Gregory, not only in his orations (above all the five theological treatises), but also in his poems (see Trisoglio, Forma Futuri, p.737 n.153). Some of these passages are cited below to show verbal similarities with our hymn. These are: De Virtute: carm.1.2.10.992 (752): / Εἷς ἐκ τριῶν θεός τε καὶ κοινὸν σέβας, 1.1.3.60 (413):/ ἐκ μονάδος Τριὰς ἐστι, καὶ ἐκ Τριάδος μονὰς αὖθις, or. 39.12 (M.36.348C): Εἷς οὖν θεὸς

ἐν τρισὶ καὶ τὰ τρία ἕν, ὥσπερ ἔφαμεν, ib.11 (345D): ῾Εν γὰρ ἐν τρι-
σὶν ἡ θεότης καὶ τὰ τρία ἕν, or.34.9 (249B): προσκυνῶμεν τὴν μίαν ἐν
τοῖς τρισὶ θεότητα, or.40.41 (417B), or.26.19 (Mossay p.270; M.35.
1252C) and or.29.2 (Gallay p.178f.; M.36.76Af.). On the trinitarian
dogma according to Gregory see Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, p.
264ff., G.L. Prestige, God in Patristic Thought (London, 1952), p.
260f. and Plagnieux p.246ff., 301f., 441ff.

The expression εἷς θεός (which is very common in Gregory's
Arcana poems :1.1.1.25 (400), 1.1.3.75, 76 (414), 1.1.4.3, 39 (416,
418)) may be traced on the one hand in Greek philosophy back to
Xenophanes fr. 23 (ed. H.Diels, PPF p.42), and on the other in the
Bible: Ep.Jac.2.19 (see Deichgräber p.115f.). See also Ps.-Phocy-
lidea 54 (PLG ii p.89 Bergk), and Orac.Sibyl.2.126, 3.11 and fr.1.7.
Furthermore, the same expression (followed by a relative clause
which refers to the creation as happens in our hymn) is used in
Soph. fr.1126 (Pearson): εἷς ἐστὶν θεός,/ ὃς οὐρανόν τ' ἔτευξε καὶ
γαῖαν μακρὰν/ πόντου τε χαροπὸν οἶδμα κἀνέμων βίας./ and[1] Orac.Sibyl.
fr. 3.3: / ἀλλὰ θεὸς μόνος εἷς πανυπέρτατος, ὃς πεποίηκεν/ οὐρανόν
(see also ib. 1.8, 3.35, 543, 786 and 8.375).

3b-6 : Creation and preservation of the world

On this subject see the notes on 1.1.33.3f., 1.1.34.2f. and 2.
1.38. 12b-14.

3. ὃς ἔκτισε ... πάντα : Cf. 1.1.33.3b, 1.1.30.13 and 1.1.32.
9. In line 7 God is called κτίστης as happens in Synes. hymn.3.16
(see Terzaghi's note ad loc. where references to other passages are
cited).

Lines 4-5 : Their content, standing in apposition to πλῆσέ τε

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1. A.C. Pearson, (The Fragments of Sophocles, vol.iii (Camb.,1917),
    p.174) seems to be right to cast doubts on the authenticity of
    this fragment by suggesting that it ' reads like a Hellenized
    paraphrase from a Hebrew prophet of the Old Testament'.

πάντα (3), reminds us of a passage in the anaphora of the Liturgy of St Mark (Brightman p.125.25ff.) : σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θαλάσσας πηγὰς ποταμοὺς λίμνας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, and a similar one in Epist.Diognet. 7.2 (Marrou, SC, p.68) : ᾧ (sc. Λόγῳ) πάντα διατέτακται καὶ διώρισται καὶ ὑποτέτακται, οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. The two passages seem to be based on LXX Ps. 145.6, 2Esd. 19.6 and Apoc.14.7. Finally, note the word-pattern in line 4 : a-b-a-b (where we have two pairs of words with parallel construction) and the polysyndeton in line 5.

5. πόντον καὶ ποταμούς : The phrase is in the same sedes in Ps.-Manetho 1.206.

6. πάντα ζωογονῶν : Cf. 1.1.33.4 and the note ad loc. Besides, ὁ ζωογονῶν (referring to God) may be found in Pap.Mag.Gr. iv.1162; in 1282 and vii.530 it is used of the sun. See also Orph. hymn.38.3, where Κουρῆτες are called ζωογόνοι πνοιαί, and van Liempt p.47.

Lines 7-10 : The Creation and particularly the rational natures praise God

A similar subject appears in Gregory's or.44.11 (M.36. 620B): Πάντα θεὸν ὑμνεῖ καὶ δοξάζει φωναῖς ἀλαλήτοις· ἐπὶ πᾶσι γὰρ εὐχαριστεῖται δι' ἐμοῦ θεός· καὶ οὕτως ὁ ἐκείνων ὕμνος ἡμέτερος γίνεται, παρ' ὧν ἐγὼ (sc. Gregory) τὸ ὑμνεῖν λαμβάνω. See also 2.1.38.23-26 and the notes ad loc.

Line 7 : The image of the Creation praising its Creator goes back to the Old Testament : LXX Tob.8.5 : εὐλογησάτωσάν σε (sc. God) ... πᾶσαι αἱ κτίσεις σου (cf. ib. 15) and Job 38.7 :/ ὅτε ἐγενήθησαν ἄστρα, ᾔνεσάν με (sc. God) φωνῇ μεγάλῃ πάντες ἄγγελοί μου./. An elaborate example of this image may be the whole of Psalm 148 where in line 5 we read : αἰνεσάτωσαν (sc. all the parts of Creation) τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου· ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε καὶ ἐγενήθησαν, αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ

ἐκτίσθησαν . However, this is not the only poem to follow the
Biblical practice, since this may be seen also in Synes. hymn.1.
343f. :/ Σοὶ πάντα φέρει/ αἶνον ἀγήρων·/ which is followed by an
enumeration in thirteen lines of the various elements of Creation,
all in apposition to πάντα.

7. σοφόν : The addition of this epithet, made to describe the
Creator, is in accordance with e.g. LXX Sap.9.2, or Ps.103.24 : πά-
ντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας (which is used in Liturg.Marc. (Brightman
p. 126.2)). Cf. 1.1.33.3 : σῆς σοφίης and the note ad loc.

7. κτίσις ὑμνήσειε ; Cf. 1.1.4.1 (415). On ὑμνεῖν as a
common verb for introducing Greek pagan hymns see above p.23.
The same verb is used in 1.1.29.2 and in other Christian hymns :Clem.
Alex. hymn.Christ. 8 ap. Paed. (Heitsch p.158), Synes. hymn.1.210f.,
2.80, 82, 87, 3.1, 8.3 etc.

Line 8 : All comes into existence and is preserved because of
God who is the first cause (ἡ πρώτη αἰτία), since He is also ἡ
πρώτη οὐσία or φύσις (cf. or.28.7 (Gallay p.114; M.36.33C) and ib.
31 (p.172;72A)). The present passage may be compared to De Virtu-
te : carm.1.2.10. 942-45 (748):

> Θεὸν τὸ μὴ σέβειν μέν ἐστ' ὀλοώτατον,
>
> μηδ' αἰτίαν τιν' εἰδέναι πρώτην ὅλων,
>
> ἐξ ἧς τὰ πάντα καὶ προῆλθε καὶ μένει
>
> τάξει τ' ἀφράστῳ καὶ λόγῳ τηρούμενα.

On the theme of God as the first cause see also or.28.13 (Gallay
p.128; M.36.44A), or.31.14 (Gallay p.302; M.36.149A), ib.30(p.336f.;
168C) and Moreschini p.1385)

8. μόνον : The addition of the word is made in order to em-
phasize God's power, and by doing so the poet follows a common
practice of Greek pagan hymns in which expressions with μόνος are
regularly used (see above p.29). Such expressions are found

also in NT and are used of God or Christ : Ep.1Tim.1.17, Judae 4.25

(see Deichgräber p.101). They are found in 1.1.30.26 and 1.1.29.4,

5 too.

9. λογική ... φύσις ... ἀείση : Cf. Const.Apost.7.35.10 : σοὶ

(sc. God)... ἡ ἐπάξιος προσκύνησις ὀφείλεται παρὰ πάσης λογικῆς καὶ

ἁγίας φύσεως, 8.37.6 and or.28.13 (Gallay p.128; M.36.44A): ἐφίε-

ται μὲν πᾶσα λογικὴ φύσις θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας. Besides, in

1.1.30.12 man is called λογικὸν ζῶον (see the note ad loc.). Here

λογικὴ φύσις may apply to mankind and angels alike.

It is worthwhile to mention that the poet chooses appropriately

the content of both hymns (one in lines 7-8 and the other in 9-10)

to match with the relatioship with God of those who offer them. Thus,

in the former hymn all creation (possibly the irrational) cannot but

unconsciously celebrate its Creator as the only Cause of its

existence and preservation. On the other hand, the content of the

latter hymn (i.e. that God is great King and kind Father) is in

accordance with the more personal relationship of rational beings

with God who is Himself rational and may consequently be known only

by them.

In distinguishing the two hymns in this way the poet appears to

follow similar ideas in Greek philosophy e.g. the Stoics (see below

the notes on 1.1.30. 10-12).

9. διὰ παντὸς ἀείση : The expression with διὰ παντός is

equivalent to those with ἀεί or διηνεκές which are found in 1.1.33.

11 and 1.1.34.10 respectively (see the notes ad loc.), and serves

the same purpose :it underlines the devotee's ceaseless hymn. Such

an expression appears in 1.1.30.37 too and is occasionally used in

Greek pagan hymns : Cleanth. hymn.14 and Soph. Aj.705 (see Keyssner

p.34). Examples of the same expression may be found in the Psalms

too : LXX Ps.33.2, 39.12, 17, 69.5, 70.6, 14, 71.15, and Orac.Sibyl.

fr.1.17 (see Smolak p.446 n.64).

On ἀείδειν (as a verb used to introduce hymns) see above p.23.

As in 2.1.38.25f. (see the note ad loc.) so here the only reason for man's existence is to praise God. This is also the primary duty of man according to Xenophanes fr.1.13f. (ed. H.Diels, PPF, p.35):/ χρὴ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑμνεῖν εὔφρονας ἄνδρας/ εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις·/.

10. βασιλῆα μέγα :   This is a LXX expression and is used primarily in the Psalms which celebrate the kingship of God :LXX Ps. 46.3, 47.3 and 94.3.   Cf. besides Orph. hymn.Prooem.37 (Asclepius), Pap.Mag.Gr.iv.243 and Orac.Sibyl.3.499,616.   The same phrase appears in Gregory's or.7.17 (M.35.776C); while βασιλεὺς τῶν ὅλων is used in or.2.61 (Bernardi p.172; M.35.472Af.), and the invocation πάντων βασιλεῦ in 1.1.33.1 (= 1.1.34.1): see the note ad loc. and Gottwald p.24.

10. ἀγαθὸν πατέρα: Cf. Clem.Rom. 1Cor.56 (Lightfoot p.165.19f.) and 1.1.34.29a.

Note the verbal and structural correspondence between the two couplets : 7-8 and 9-10.

III.   Prayer (11-12): A request to the Father to grant the poet

the ability to glorify Him appropriately

Line 11 :   With the polysyndeton in this line the poet wants to underline his wish to glorify God with the entire of himself, However, the four words used in the line were not chosen at random, since they may be grouped into two pairs: one with parallel ideas (πνεῦμα - ψυχή), and the other with opposite ones (γλῶττα - διάνοια). Cf. 1.1.34.24 : κραδίη καὶ χείλεσι and the note ad loc..

12. δός :   On requests with this verb see the note on 1.1.34. 26, and Smolak p.435 n.36.

12. καὶ ἐμοί :   The function of this phrase is the same as that of κἀγώ in 1.1.34.14 : as in the latter hymn the poet wants to join

with the heavenly choirs in their hymn to God, so in this hymn he, as a rational being, wants to imitate the example of the rational natures in glorifying God.

12. (δός) καθαρῶς δοξολογεῖν σε : Cf. carm.1.2.1.2 (521):/ ἐκ καθαρῆς κραδίης καθαροῖς μέλποντες (sc. παρθενίην) ἐν ὕμνοις/. A similar request closes the hymnodic epilogue in carm.2.1.1.634 (1017): (καί μοι ὄπασσον) ... ὕμνοις σε διηνεκέεσσι γεραίρειν/. See also Synes. hymn.1.60-71: ἵνα σοι ψυχὰ/ καθαρὰ παθέων,/ .../(68) καθαρᾷ γλώσσᾳ/ γνώμᾳ θ' ὁσίᾳ/ τὸν ὀφειλόμενον/ ὕμνον ἀποίσῃ./. An elaborate example which shows with the repetition of καθαρός (or --ρῶς) seven times the importance of purity (since it is the presupposition for praising God properly) is Serap. Euch.10. 1-2:

Κύριε ... θεὲ τῶν λογικῶν πνευμάτων, θεὲ ψυχῶν καθαρῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν ... καθαρῶς ἐπικαλουμένων, ὁ.... γινωσκόμενος τοῖς καθαροῖς πνεύμασιν, ...· δὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταύτην ... καθαρὰν ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι, ... ἵνα δυνηθῇ καθαρῶς ὑμνεῖν σε.

Cf. LXX Job 16.18 which is used in Liturg.Marc. (Brightman p.135.13). On the subject of purification see the notes on 1.1.34.21 and 26, and 1.1.32. 45-46.

The patristic verb δοξολογεῖν appears in Serap. Euch.13.1, Liturg.Jac. (Brightman p.50.13) and the Morning hymn ap. Const.Apost. 7.47.2.

12. Πάτερ : The invocation calls back to πατέρα (10) and Πατρί (1). See also above the note on this invocation in 1.1.34.14.

The short elegiac hymn we have just discussed is the only hymn from the present group which is not written entirely on the 'du-Stil', but on the contrary the Introduction and Praise are built on the 'er-Stil' and only the two-line Prayer is in 'du-Stil'. Thus, the

hymn appears to comply with the practice commonly followed in the Homeric hymns.

As has been said in the introductory analysis the hymn may be characterized as a doxology. Besides, the similarity in the subject of the first and last couplets gives the poem a ring form.

The addressee of the hymn in the Intoduction is all the three persons of the Trinity; while Praise is devoted to the Trinitarian God and the request is made to God the Father. The themes used in the Praise are both commonly found in Christian hymns and prayers, and are based mainly on the Bible.

The transition from Introduction to Praise and from there to Prayer is made asyndetically.

In 1.1.31 there are various features common in hymns as : anaphora (δόξα:1,2), expressions with πᾶς(3,6,7),μόνος(8), διὰ παντός (9), epithets in παν- (1,2), verbs of singing (7,9), an imperative of διδόναι (12) and the patristic verb δοξολογεῖν (12).

Finally, one may observe that the elegiac couplet with its symmetrical form, added to the balanced subject division of the hymn (Introduction: 1 couplet, Praise:2 x 2 and Prayer: 1), helps the poet to build a well-constructed hymn in which the rhetorical figures are plentiful: isocolon, homoioteleuton (4a, 4b), polysyndeton (5,11), anaphora (10a-10b), alliteration of 'π' (used six times in 5f.), chiasmus (10) and repetition within one line of words from the same root (7: κτίστην, κτίσις).

III.4. Carmina 1.1.30 and 1.1.32

The next poems to be discussed are 1.1.30 and 1.1.32. Both may
form a group, not only because, as we have seen above, they follow a
similar MS tradition, but also because they are written in short
verses : the former in anacreontic and ionic dimeters with two ex-
ceptions and the latter in a non-quantitative metre (see above p.55ff.).

Their metrical form appears to affect their style. While in the
hexameter and elegiac hymns (already discussed) the epic forms ,
archaisms, heavy compounds and rare words are abundant and determine
their solemn and elevated style, 1.1.30 and 1.1.32 do not contain
such forms, but rather expressions from koine and the imperial period.
Such expressions give them a style which is closer to the ordinary
speech and is thus similar to that of the various prose liturgical
hymns and prayers. Besides, as is discussed in the commentary on
these hymns, their similarity to other early Christian hymns and
prayers in terms of themes and expressions used in them is greater
than that of the hexameter and elegiac hymns. Therefore, Krumbacher's
observation about the dualism in style of Byzantine hymnography may
equally well apply to that of the two categories of hymns in the
present research : the solemnity and elevation of style in the
hexameter and elegiac hymns is replaced by simplicity and 'vulgarism'
in those written in short lines (see K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der
Byzantinische Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen
Reiches : Handbuch des kl. Altertums-Wissenschaft ix.1 (München,
1891), p.340).

Carm. 1.1.30

Let us now come to 1.1.30. This hymn is the only one of the
present group to have been analysed and commented (see K. Smolak,

'Interpretatorische Bemerkungen zum Hymnus Πρὸς θεόν des Gregor von Nazianz', in <u>Studi Classici in Onore di Quintino Cataudella</u>, edited by Univ. Catania, Fac. Lett. e Filosof., vol.2 (Catania: Edigraf, 1972), pp.425-48).

In my analysis of the content of 1.1.30 I follow Smolak in general lines without going into as much detail as he does since such a treatment of subdividing the major sections of 1.1.30 is , I think, mechanical and superflous, and involves the risk of over-schematization and at the same time of splitting into parts what is in actual fact a unity.

The poet begins the hymn with an address to the sole-ruler, king and lord in order to grant him the ability to praise Him properly (1-3). As Smolak observes (p.427f.), the structure of line 4 with δι' ὅν leads over to the following section (5-12), with which it forms a structural unity; while at the same time its content with ὕμνος and αἶνος connects it to the introductory section :cf. ἀνυμνεῖν, ἀείδειν (2).

In lines 5-12 δι' ὅν is used six times in anaphora, introducing each time a different object (animate or inanimate) in the chronolo-gical order of its creation : ἄγγελοι, αἰῶνες, ἥλιος, σελήνη, ἄστρα, ἄνθρωπος. Behind this arrangement Smolak (p.427) discerns the Neo-platonic order of : 1) κόσμος νοητός (5-6), 2) κόσμος αἰσθητός (7-9) and 3) man (10-12) by regarding αἰῶνες as hypostatized beings (p.438f.). The refutation of such an interpretation is made below in the note on αἰῶνες. The ultimate purpose of this section is to praise God by reference to the task each part of the created order is destined to fulfil. As has been said in the case of 2.1.38. 12b-26 (which is built on the same principles) the praise of God by reference to the various parts of Creation is particularly Biblical and is exemplified in the Psalms and other hymns and prayers of OT.

The following section (13-15) introduced by γάρ explains why the various parts of creation praise God : God created everything giving it order and preserving it with His providence.

Line 16, as Smolak also observes (428), serves the same double purpose as line 4 : a) it completes the act of creation according to the Biblical exposition of it by adding that it took place only by the word of God and b) it leads over to the content of the following subsection (17-21): the characteristics and participation of the second person of the Trinity (significantly here called Logos) in the creation of the world.

In lines 22-24 the poet refers to the work of the Holy Spirit (to protect and preserve everything). So, while the first major part of Praise (4-12) refers to the Godhead, the second (13-24) is shared among the three persons of the Trinity : a) the Father (13-16), b) the Son (17-21) and c) the Spirit (22-24). Extending his observations further Smolak (p.429) sees a thematical correspondence between : 1) lines 13-14 and 20, and 2) 15 and 22-24.

The reference separately to the three persons of the trinitarian God leads over to the third part of Praise (25-35) which is devoted to an exposition of the nature and characteristics of the Trinity expressed in a series of epithets and participial phrases in the mode of the Orphic hymns on the one hand and of the Synesian on the other.

The three-fold Praise is followed by the Prayer (36-49) which is addressed to the Father as does that in 1.1.34 and 1.1.31. It begins and ends with the common request for mercy, while the rest of the petitions (for forgiveness of sins and cleansing of the poet's conscience) are interrelated since they all aim at making the poet able to praise God and Christ properly.

Finally, the hymn ends with a formulaic doxology (50-51) which derives from its Biblical counterparts.

As has been seen from the analysis of the hymn there is fluent
transition from one section to another without sometimes clear demarc-
ations (cf. lines 4 and 16). Nevertheless, subdivisions are made
below in the commentary but are intended only to facilitate the ex-
position of the material.

It has been noticed by Wilamowitz (Sitz. Berl. Akad.,i (1907), p.
279) that the structure of this hymn with the anaphora of δι' ὅν
(seven times) and the parallel cola (κόμματα) is similar to that of
Synesius's hymns. These similarities explain why this hymn (together
with 1.1.32) has been appended to various early editions of Synesi-
us's hymns (see above p.86f.). Besides, a number of expressions
used in the present hymn may be found in Biblical prayers, for in-
stance that of Simon the high priest in LXX 3Macc. 2.2ff. Intro-
duced by phrases like : κάμψας τὰ γόνατα (1), and τὰς χεῖρας προτείνας
εὐτάκτως (1)[1], Simon's prayer includes expressions such as: βασιλεῦ
τῶν οὐρανῶν (2), δέσποτα πάσης τῆς κτίσεως (2), μόναρχε (2), σὺ γὰρ
ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα (3), ἀπάλειψον τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶνν(19),and ἐπίφανον
τὸ ἔλεός σου (19). All these expressions, as well as the anaphora
of σύ in 3-9, find their parallels in the present hymn. However,
in general the two texts differ, not only because 1.1.30 refers most-
ly to the Trinitarian God , while the Biblical prayer to the Godhead,
but also because Simon the archpriest prays on behalf of a community
and therefore his petitions are expressed in the plural, while 1.1.30
is a private hymn addressed to God by an indivitual about his own
particular needs.

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1.   The text of line 1 is not found in Swete's edition of LXX,
       but in that of A. Rahlfs.

I. Introduction (1-3): The Sole-ruler is implored to grant the poet the ability to praise Him

1. σέ : The emphatic position of the second person pronoun (here referring to the Godhead) at the beginning of hymns, or a section of them, may be seen in 1.1.32.1,19,21,33,39 (but σὺν σοί) and 46, Mag.hymn.Typhon (ed. Heitsch p.185f.) = Pap.Mag.Gr.iv. 261-73, in which σέ is in anaphora in the first ten lines, and Synes. hymn.e.g. 1. 12-14,23,25-27,191-96 and 2. 1-4 (see above the note on 1.1.33.1).

1. ἄφθιτον : On this universal divine epithet see the note on 1.1.34.6 and the examples cited in Smolak p.435 n.39.

1. μονάρχην : In line 26 this title refers to the Trinity. In Greek pagan literature it mainly refers to men (cf. Solon fr.9.3 (West) and Theogn. 52). As a divine epithet μονάρχης seems to have replaced μόναρχος which is used in Aesch. Prom.324 of Zeus and Pap.Mag.Gr.xii. 264 of god (cf. also Smolak p.435 n.37). The latter epithet (i.e. μόναρχος) is found once in LXX 3Macc.2.2 (in the prayer to God by Simon mentioned above in the introductory analysis of 1.1.30); and thereafter in a prayer from the Clementine Liturgy in Const.Apost.8. 11.2 (Brightman p.12.11), and in Orac.Sibyl.3.11,704.

Line 2 : At the beginning of his hymn the poet asks God to grant that he may praise Him. Similar requests may be found in 1.1. 35.2 (see the note ad loc.), Hom. hymn.10.5 : δὸς δ' ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοι-δήν (cf. Hesiod. Theog.104) and Synes. hymn.7.47 : ὕμνους ἀνάγειν δί-δου, although in the last two passages the requests appear towards the end of each hymn. The present request paves the way to the Praise which follows and both of them anticipate the Prayer.

On requests with δός see the note on 1.1.34.26.

The late Greek verb ἀνυμνεῖν which is used also in 1.1.34.11, Nonn. Dion.24.328, 31.66 and the Appendix to AP 6.261.18 (ed. Cougny, 1890 p.519) does not appear to have been used in order to begin any

Greek pagan or early Christian hymn as is the case with the common
verb ἀείδειν (see above p. 23). The latter verb is found in 1.1.
33.11, 1.1.34.10 and 1.1.31.9. The close position of verbs of sing-
ing may be seen also in 1.1.31.7,9 , Cleanth. hymn.6 and Clem. Alex.
hymn.Christ.7f. ap. Paed. (ed. Heitsch p.158).

3. ἄνακτα :   On this universal divine epithet see the note on
1.1.36.1.

3. δεσπότην :   This is another universal divine epithet, used
of many Greek gods (see above p. 25 and Eur. Hippol.88), and often
found in the Magic papyri (see T. Schermann, 'Griechische Zauberpapy-
ri und das Gemeinde- und Dankgebet im I. Klemensbriefe', TU 34. 2b
(Leipzig, 1909), p.22f.).   As a Biblical epithet (see e.g. LXX 1Esd.
4.60, Ecclus.23.1, the Nunc dimittis in Ev.Lc.2.29 and Act.4.24) it
has been widely used in Christian literature : Clem.Rom. 1Cor.7 (see
Lightfoot's note ad loc.), and in the liturgical prayers and those
found in the Apostolic Constitutions and Serapion's Euchologion.

In these three introductory lines the poet praises God by re-
ference to His kingship and lordship seen in the three epithets he
uses. These themes are commonly found both in Greek pagan hymns and
the Biblical Psalms and prayers.

II. Praise (4-35)

As is noted in the introductory analysis this may be divided
into three sections: a) 4-12, b) 13-24, and c) 25-35.

a) 4-12 : The Godhead is praised by reference to the work each
part of creation is destined to fulfil.

Line 4 : Cf. LXX 3Macc.7.16 : ἐν αἴνοις καὶ πανμελέσιν ὕμνοις
εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ, Clem.Alex. hymn.Christ.54f. ap. Paed. (ed.
Heitsch p.159): αἴνους ἀφελεῖς,/ ὕμνους ἀτρεκεῖς/ and ib.7f.

The juxtaposition of ὕμνος and αἴνος may be found also in the
Evening hymn ap. Const.Apost.7.48.3, and in Serap. Euch.13.1. Both

words are defined in Gregory's carm.1.2.34.143f. (955f.) which Smolak

mistakenly regards as inauthentic (p.437), possibly having confused

this poem with carm.1.2.32(916-27): Γνωμικὰ δίστιχα - first disputed

by Davids (see Davids pp.51-55 and Lefherz p.71f.). The two defini-

tions run :/ Αἶνος δ' ἔπαινος εἰς θεὸν σεβάσμιος./ ὁ δ' ὕμνος αἶνος

ἐμμελής.

As has been maintained the repetition of various predications

(here δι' ὄν is repeated seven times) is a characteristic of Hellenic

and oriental texts alike (see Norden p.168ff., particularly p.175

where reference is made to our hymn). Besides, on the feature of

anaphora in the hymns under discussion see above the note on 1.1.33.8.

δι' ὄν : Cf. Hesiod. Oper.3: / ὄν τε διά which is used in

anastrophe and refers to Zeus (see West's note ad loc., and Norden

p.259 n.1). A quadruple anaphora of this expression is found in

Anacreontea 36. 7-10 (PLG iii p.319 Bergk): (ἀναμέλψομεν δὲ Βάκχον)

... δι' ὄν ἡ μέθυ λοχεύθη,/ δι' ὄν ἡ χάρις ἐτέχθη,/ δι' ὄν ἀμπαύεται

λύπα,/ δι' ὄν εὐνάζετ' ἀνία./ and a triple in a passage from a tomb

inscription mentioned in Philostratus Vita Apollonii 4.13 and referred

to by Norden p.50 n.4: ναὶ Παλάμηδες, δι' ὄν λόγοι, δι' ὄν Μοῦσαι, δι'

ὄν ἐγώ. An elaborate example from Patristic literature (though of

a slightly later period than Gregory's) is a prose hymn to the

Virgin Mary by Cyril of Alexandria which is found in his homiliae di-

versae 4 (M.77.992Bf.) and is formed mostly of eighteen cola, each

beginning with δι' ἧς or δι' ἥν. Cf. finally, Ep.Heb. 2.10.

Line 5 : Cf. or.7.17 (M.35.776B): ἀγγέλων ... χορείαν and

Gottwald p.47f. for other references to χορεία from Gregory's orati-

ons; also Synes. hymn.9.92, 4.18f., 2.1.38.47f. and the note on 1.1.

34.6: ἀγγελικῆς στρατιῆς.

Line 6 : Cf. Aesch. Suppl.574ff.:/ ⟨δι'⟩ αἰῶνος κρέων ἀπαύστου/

Ζεύς ⟨ ⟩ / ... σθένει/, carm. 1.2.14.40 (758):/ αἰὼν οὐ φθινύθων which

refers to the eternity of the next life and 1.1.4.63 (420):/ αἰῶσιν κενεοῖσιν ὑπέρτατος ἐμβασιλεύων,/ (sc. God) where αἰῶνες κενεοί is interpreted by Sykes (see his note ad loc.) as 'ages devoid of temporal events' and is considered as equivalent to the singular αἰών, 'eternity'. Gregory defines eternity in carm.1.2.34.14 (946) as : / αἰών, διάστημ' ἀχρόνως ἀεὶ ῥέον,/ and describes it in more detail in or.38.8 (M.36.320Af.) = or.45.4 (628C): Αἰὼν γὰρ οὔτε χρόνος, οὔτε χρόνου τι μέρος· οὐδὲ γὰρ μετρητόν· ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἡμῖν ὁ χρόνος ἡλίου φορᾷ μετρούμενος (cf. Ps.-Plat. definit.411b). τοῦτο τοῖς ἀϊδίοις αἰὼν τὸ συμπαρεκτεινόμενον τοῖς οὖσιν, οἷόν τι χρονικὸν κίνημα καὶ διάστημα; see also or.29.3 (Gallay p.182; M.36.77A) and Gallay's note ad loc.

As is mentioned in the introductory analysis, Smolak considers the plural αἰῶνες as hypostatized beings and suggests that Gregory must have been influenced by Greek magic papyri to include them in an otherwise orthodox poem. In these papyri God is said to reign over αἰῶνες and the Demiurge is called Αἰὼν αἰῶνος. However, he admits that perhaps Gregory might have found in the Biblical expression βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων (Ep.1Tim.1.17), which is a doxological predication of God, justification for using the plural αἰῶνες in this hymn. The same scholar then goes on to cite two passages from St Ignatius of Antioch where αἰῶνες appear in his view to have an astral character (p.438f.).

It is true that the plural αἰῶνες ('aeons') as hypostatized beings/powers had considerable importance in: a) Neoplatonism (see e.g. Procl. Inst.Theol. 53 ed. Dodds and his note ad loc.), b) Hermetic literature and Magic papyri (see Le R.P. Festugière, La Révélation d' Hermès Trismégiste, vol.iv (Paris,1954), chapter viii:' Aiôn dans les textes Hermétiques', ch. ix:' Aiôn en dehors de l' Hermétisme', pp.152-99), and c) Gnosticism (see Hippol. haer.vi.29.3ff.(GCS 3 p.

155f.) and RAC s.v. Aion I p.200ff.).

It is also well-known that on a number of occasions in his works Gregory made serious attacks on Gnosticism. See for instance or.41.2 (M.36.429C): καὶ τὴν ὀγδοάδα καὶ τριακάδα (sc. τιμῶσιν) οἱ ἀπὸ Σίμωνος καὶ Μαρκίωνος, οἷς δὴ καὶ ἰσαρίθμους τινὰς Αἰῶνας ἐπονομάζουσι καὶ τιμῶσιν, or.36.16(233C): Φεύξονται (sc. the flock of Christ) Οὐαλεντίνου τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς εἰς δύο κατατομήν, οὐκ ἄλλον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸν Δημιουργὸν πιστεύοντες καὶ τὸν Βυθὸν καὶ τὴν Σιγὴν καὶ τοὺς μυθικοὺς Αἰῶνας, τὰ βυθοῦ καὶ σιγῆς ὄντος ἄξια and De Vita Sua: carm.2.1.11.1165ff. (Jungck p.110; M.37.1109):/ οἱ τὸν Βυθὸν Σιγήν τε προχρόνους φύσεις/ τιμῶντες αἰῶνάς τε τοὺς θηλάρσενας,/ Σίμωνος ἰὸς τοῦ Μάγου. For further instances and a discussion on Gnosticism see Jungck's note ad loc.

In view of the above criticism by Gregory I cannot accept that the plural αἰῶνες here are meant by Gregory to be considered as hypostatized beings; nor that they found their way into the hymn because of the influence either of any of the above texts, or particularly of the magic papyri (as Smolak claims). The reason why I reject this view is because references to αἰῶνες are found outside the areas covered by these texts: in the Bible there are such references which not only were accepted by the early Church, but were even introduced in liturgical prayers and various confessions. I am referring particularly to two passages from the epistle to the Hebrews : one in 1.2: δι' οὗ (sc. of the Son) καὶ ἐποίησεν (sc. God) τοὺς αἰῶνας ; and the other in 11.8: Πίστει νοοῦμεν κατηρτίσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας ῥήματι θεοῦ. The former was introduced for instance in the Anaphora of Liturg.Bas. (Brightman p.325.22f.) and the latter was incorporated in various Creeds (cf. Hahn p.143 and 145).

Despite the ambiguous meaning of αἰῶνες in the two Biblical passages (Bauer s.v. αἰών 3.interprets αἰῶνες as 'the world' as a

spatial concept and Westcott on Heb.1.2 simply 'the world'(see his note).
these two passages could have led Gregory directly or indirectly
through the intermediary of liturgical prayers and confessions -
which should have been familiar to him - to include αἰῶνες in his
poem.

Therefore, both Ep.1Tim.1.17 (mentioned already by Smolak) and
the two passages from the epistle to the Hebrews provide not a
possible (as Smolak wants to believe) but a certain justification for
Gregory's use of the plural αἰῶνες here. Besides, Ep.Heb.1.2 seems
to be also the source for Gregory's or.39.12 (M.36.348B) where the Son
is called ποιητὴς χρόνων (here χρόνοι must have been used instead of
αἰῶνες of the Biblical passage).

To come now to the meaning of αἰῶνες in our passage: the word
in the plural may mean generally either 'the world' as a spatial con-
ception (as the two passages to the Hebrews mean according to Bauer
s.v. αἰών 3.); or 'ages'/'generations' as segments of time (see Bauer
s.v. αἰών 2.). Here αἰῶνες are described as ἄπαυστοι, an epithet
which, according to the above two interpretations , seems to me to
mean 'keep going' (but not necessarily 'never ending').

If now, as Sykes suggested (in his note on 1.1.4.63(420) which is
cited above), the plural αἰῶνες in our hymn stands for the singular
αἰών ('eternity': see Bauer s.v. αἰών 1.), then ἄπαυστοι should mean
'going on for evermore'.

The position of αἰῶνες second in the list : after angels (who
are created, according to Gregory's or.38.9f.(M.36.320C-321A) = or.
45.5f. (629A-C) before the material world; see also Lampe s.v. ἄγγε-
λος II.B.3 and Trempelas, Δογματική, vol.i, p.412f.) and before the
celestial bodies and man is appropriate to their sense in the above
three interpretations.

In whichever way we interpret αἰῶνες one thing remains clear:

the passage (5-9) (where most of the verbs are omitted and the action in each sentence is implied by the   adjectives used in it) is not didactic, but is intended simply to praise God. Therefore, it seems to me fairly certain that even Gregory himself did not have a specific meaning for αἰῶνες in his mind when he composed this hymn.

Line 7 : Cf. Synes. hymn.5.2 : πάλιν ἀμέρα προλάμπει (also ib.37).

Line 8 : Cf. 1.1.36.9a and the note ad loc., or.28.30 (Gallay p.170; M.36.69Bf.): σὺ δὲ ἔγνως σελήνης φύσιν, καὶ πάθη, καὶ μέτρα φωτός, καὶ δρόμους. The phrase δρόμος σελήνης may be found in Ps.-Plat. Axioch.370b, while in Mag.hymn.Pantocrator. 13(ed. Heitsch p. 180) = Pap.Mag.Gr. xii.251 we find :μήνης τε δρόμος. Cf. Pap.Mag.Gr. xiii.575.   In Christian texts the phrase may be seen in Epist.Diogn. 7.2 (Marrou, SC, p.68) and Synes. hymn.1.31. Cf. also Orac.Sibyl. 3.221.

Lines 10-12 : The list of the various parts of Creation, given in a chronological order, ends with a reference to man, who, as the king of earthly creation, had to be left last.   Such an idea is expressed in Gregory's or.44.4 (M.36.612A): ῎Εδει γὰρ ὥσπερ βασιλεῖ προϋποστῆναι τὰ βασίλεια καὶ οὕτως εἰσαχθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα (sc. man) πᾶσιν ἤδη δορυφορούμενον and Const.Apost. 7.34.6. Man comes last also in the equivalent section in 2.1.38.15-26. But, while there man's task is to sing the glory of Christ (see the note ad loc.), here man's work (which is an ability bestowed on him: ἔλαχεν) is to think of /contemplate (νοεῖν) God, since he is a rational being.

10. σεμνός :   Smolak compares in p.440 n.52 this epithet with Const.Apost.3.7.6, Serap. Euch.1.3 and Orph. hymn.55.28.

Line 11 : Smolak (p.440) quite unjustifiably sees a parallel to this line in Cleanth. hymn.4f.: θεοῦ (corr. Pearson) μίμημα λαχόντες/ μοῦνοι and Gregory's carm.1.1.8.91 (453): ἡγεσίην νοερὴν λάχεν (sc. the soul), by suggesting hazardously that in line 11 νοεῖν replaces

ὑμνεῖν. I think that if the poet's intention in lines 10-12 had
been to underline man's primary duty to offer hymns to God (as he
does in 2.1.38.25f. and 1.1.31.9f.), he could have stated it more
clearly.

Line 12 : The explanation why man can 'think of /contemplate'
God is found in his rationality. The Aristotelian definition that
man is a 'rational animal' (λογικὸν ζῶον) :see fr.192.(Rose,1886)
may be found also in the Stoics : e.g. Chrysip. fr.390 (Arnim SVF
iii p.95.10) and Philo Alex. ii 182.18 (Cohn-Wendland). Later
it became a common topos in Patristic literature (see Lampe s.v.
λογικός A. and Smolak p.441 n.53). This expression is used quite
often in the prayers of Const.Apost. e.g. 7.34.6, 38.5, 8.37.5 and
41.4.

b) 13-24 : Participation of the three persons of the Trinity in
the creation and preservation of the world

The same subject appears in 1.1.33. 1-4 and 1.1.31. 3-6 (see the
notes ad loc.).

Lines 13-16 : Creation, order and providence over the world

13. γάρ : Section 13-24 is the ground for the previous section
(4-12) : all the parts of creation praise God because He is their
Creator. On the introduction of Praise by γάρ see the note on 1.1.
35.3 and the examples cited by Smolak p.441 n.54.

13.(σὺ γὰρ) ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα: Cf.Apoc.4.11, 1.1.33.3 and 1.1.
31.3 (and the notes ad loc.).

14f. παρέχων ... συνέχων: This is an example of the use of
participial predications for the praise of gods (see Norden p.166ff.,
201ff. and above p. 25). However, such predications are rarely
used in our hymns : see two further examples in the same hymn in
lines 33f.

Line 14 : The order in the creation is underlined in De Virtute:

<u>carm</u>.1.2.10.944f. (748): τὰ πάντα καὶ προῆλθε καὶ μένει/ τάξει τ' ἀ-

φράστῳ καὶ λόγῳ τηρούμενα, <u>ib</u>.186 (694) and in more detail in <u>or</u>.32.

7f. (M.36.181B-D) - a homily on <u>Moderation in Disputes</u>:

> τάξει τὰ πάντα διεκοσμήθη καὶ ὁ διακοσμήσας Λόγος· (...)
>
> ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο πρῶτόν τι καὶ δεύτερον ἀριθμεῖται καὶ τρί-
>
> τον καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς ἵνα τάξις εὐθὺς συνεισέλθῃ τοῖς κτίσμασι.
>
> Τάξις οὖν τὸ πᾶν συνεστήσατο. Τάξις συνέχει καὶ τὰ ἐ-
>
> πουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια· τάξις ἐν νοητοῖς· τάξις ἐν αἰσθη-
>
> τοῖς· τάξις ἐν ἀγγέλοις· τάξις ἐν ἄστροις, (...)· τάξις ἐν
>
> ὥραις ...· τάξις ἐν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς μέτροις ...· τάξις
>
> ἐν στοιχείοις ...· τάξις περιήγαγεν οὐρανόν .

Finally, the order in the creation which is governed by providence

(cf. line 15) is the subject of <u>or</u>.16.5 (M.35.940B):

> πότερον κίνησίς τις τοῦ παντὸς ἄτακτος καὶ ἀνώμαλος καὶ ἀ-
>
> κυβέρνητος φορά τε καὶ ἀλογία, ὡς οὐδενὸς τοῖς οὖσιν ἐπι-
>
> στατοῦντος, καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον ταῦτα φέρει, ὡς δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀ-
>
> σόφως σοφοῖς[1]... ἢ λόγῳ τινὶ καὶ τάξει ὥσπερ ὑπέστη τὸ
>
> πᾶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκράθη καὶ συνεδέθη καὶ ἐκινήθη κοσμίως,
>
> ὡς μόνῳ τῷ κινήσαντι γνώριμον, οὕτω καὶ μετακινεῖται καὶ με-
>
> τατίθεται προνοίας χαλινοῖς ὁδηγούμενον;

All these passages show to some extent a dependence on the Platonic

notion of τάξις in the Cosmos : see e.g. <u>Tim</u>.30a ,52e, <u>Leges</u> 898a-b

and cf. <u>Gorgias</u> 504a-d and <u>Epinom</u>.982a 7.

Smolak (p.441) notes that τάξις (as well as πρόνοια: 15) is a

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1. Gottwald (p.27) thinks that ἀσόφως σοφοῖς refers to Aristotle,
   who, according to Epiphanius <u>Haer</u>.iii.2.9.31 in <u>Doxograph</u>. p.
   592, appears to have said: φορᾷ τινὶ ἀλόγῳ φέρεσθαι ὡς ἔτυχεν
   (sc. τὰ κάτωθεν τῆς σελήνης). However, I could not trace such
   a passage in Aristotle's works. Yet, I think that only 'τὸ αὐ-
   τόματον ταῦτα φέρει' (which is separated from the rest of the
   passage by Gregory's view in ὡς ... ἐπιστατοῦντος) is what Gre-
   gory assigns to the 'un-wise wise one', possibly the Greek physi-
   cal philosophers (notably the atomists) as Aristotle seems to
   suggest in <u>De Phys</u>.195b 31-198a 13 on spontaneity (τὸ αὐτόματον).

philosophical term, without however giving any evidence for this.

He cites only Athenagoras Legat.10 (Goodspeed, Die Ältesten Apologeten,
p.325; M.6.909B): ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς κόσμου θεὸς διὰ τοῦ παρ'
αὐτοῦ λόγου διένειμε καὶ διέταξεν ... καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ
καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐταξίαν, in order to show that the order in the
world was the work of Logos, the second person of the Trinity. Such
a view is expressed also by Gregory in or.32.7 (M.36.181B) which is
cited above in the same note. The idea of τάξις is recalled by that in 20.

Line 15: Gregory calls God in or.28.6 (Gallay p.110; M.36.32C)
πάντων ποιητικήν τε καὶ συνεκτικὴν αἰτίαν and in carm.1.1.6.3f. (430)
αἰτίαν/ ποιητικήν τε καὶ συνεκτικὴν ὅλων (a passage alluding to Ari-
stot. De Mundo 6.397b). See also or.31.29 (Gallay p.334; M.36.165C)
where the Holy Spirit is said to συνέχειν πάντα (the actual text is
cited below in the note on line 22). Mason, commenting on the first
passage, provides for comparison Ep.Col.1.17: τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ (sc.the Son
of God) συνέστηκεν (but the verb here is συνιστάναι and not συνέ-
χειν). A more appropriate Biblical passage is LXX Sap.1.7 (which
both Gallay and Mason mention when commenting on the third Gregorian
passage above).

A similar idea may be found in Xenophon Cyrop.8.7.22: (sc. οἱ
θεοὶ) τήνδε τὴν τῶν ὅλων τάξιν συνέχουσιν ἀτριβῆ and Memorab. 4.3.13:
ὁ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον συντάττων τε καὶ συνέχων.

On συνέχειν Smolak (p.442) cites Pap.Mag.Gr.xiii.844 and vii.530:
the invocation to the sun: ὁ τὰ ὅλα συνέχων καὶ ζῳογονῶν.

15. τῇ προνοίᾳ : Gregory wrote two poems On Providence : carm.
1.1.5 and 1.1.6 (424-38). It is surprising, however, that the word
πρόνοια is used in them only once in 1.1.6.7 (430). The definition
of πρόνοια according to Gregory appears in carm.1.2.34.265 (964): ἡ
δ' (sc. ἐστὶν) οἰακισμὸς (a hapax meaning according to Lampe s.v.
'guidance'), ᾧ φέρει τὸ πᾶν θεός. On the subject of Providence see

or.40.45 (M.36.424A): Πίστευε τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ... προνοίᾳ τοῦ

ποιήσαντος διοικούμενον, or.2.35 (Bernardi p.134; M.35.444A): τῆς

τὰ πάντα συνδεούσης τε καὶ διεξαγούσης προνοίας, or.16.5 (M.35.

940B) which is cited in the note on line 14, or.32.27 (M.36.205Bf.)

and De Virtute: carm.1.2.10.188 (694).

The subject of providence in Greek philosophy (e.g. Plotinus and

the Stoic Epictetus) is discussed by Sykes on carm.1.1.5. See also

Gottwald p.27f. for various references to Stoic philosophers.

Line 16: Cf. the Biblical expression καὶ εἶπεν (sc. ὁ θεός)-

καὶ ἐγένετο in e.g. LXX Gen.1.3 and Ps.32.9: αὐτὸς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγενή-

θησαν, αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν (= Ps.148.5). The same Psalmic

passage is used by Gregory to support his view in or.20.9 (Mossay p.

74; M.35.1076B): λόγῳ, φησί, τὸ πᾶν ὑπέστησε (sc. God) καὶ βουλήμα-

τι. The close position of λόγον (16) and Λόγος (17) may be explain-

ed in terms similar to those for the choice of the by-name Λόγος in

1.1.33.3 (see the note ad loc.). Thus, it is not a mere word-play,

but, on the contrary, it has been cleverly used by Gregory to make

a theological point.

As has been said in the introductory analysis to the hymn, line

16 serves the double purpose of: a) expanding the subject of creation

in lines 13-15 by adding how it took place and b) leading over to

the content of the following subsection (17-21). Thus, it links these

two parts. Its importance in the structure of the hymn is obvious

and totally disproves both Scheidweiler's and Musurillo's suggestions.

The former claims that line 16 must be omitted because it repeats

what has been said in line 13; while the latter thinks that a line

(which should refer to the union of the Father and the Son in the

creation of the world) has been lost immediately after line 16 (see

above p. 57).

Lines 17-21: Son's nature in relation to the Father and His

participation in the creation of the world

Line 17: Cf. 1.1.33.3: θεὸς Υἱὸς ὁ σὸς Λόγος and the note ad
loc.

18. ὁμοούσιος: In or.31.7 (Gallay p.288; M.36.140D) and or.30.
20 (G. p.268;129B) Gregory states the consubstantiability (τὸ ὁμοού-
σιον) of the Son with the Father. The cognate noun ὁμοουσιότης
appears in or.40.41 (M.36.417B) : θεὸν τὰ τρία (sc. πρόσωπα) σὺν ἀλ-
λήλοις νοούμενα, ἐκεῖνο διὰ τὴν ὁμοουσιότητα, τοῦτο διὰ τὴν μοναρχί-
αν.

The epithet was first used in Greek philosophy : e.g. Plot. Enn.
iv.4.28.55, 7.10.19, Porphyrius De Abstinentia 1.19.1 and Syrianus in
Metaph. (= Comm. in Aristot. Graec., vi.1, p.129.3); in Hermetic
literature : Corp.Herm.i.10 (ed. Nock-Festugière p.10); and in Gno-
sticism : see Lampe s.v. II.A. Later it was brought into prominence
in the patristic literature by the disputes with which the Council of
Nicaea was concerned (see Lampe s.v. II.B.). Its introduction into
the Creed may be seen in Symbol.Nic.(325) (Opitz, Athanasiuswerke
iii p.44.14; M.20.1540B). See also Hahn p.135, 138, 141, 143 etc.

19. ὁμότιμος τῷ τεκόντι : The Son is ὁμότιμος ('equal in
honour') to the Father. The subject of the ὁμοτιμία or τὸ ὁμότιμον
of God, and particularly of the Spirit, is often discussed by Gregory:
or.29.2 (Gallay p.178; M.36.76B), or.31.12 (G. p.298;145D), or.32.5
(M.36.180A), or.34.11 (252B) and or.31.12 (Gallay p.300;M.36.148A).

The epithet is used in Il.15.186 where Poseidon claims to be ὁ-
μότιμος with Zeus; in Nonn. Dion.7.103 to show the relationship of
Dionysus to the other gods and in Theocr. Idyl.17.16 where Ptolemy
Philadelphus is compared to the gods. Other epithets in ὁμο- or συν-
are occasionally used in Greek pagan hymns to describe the relation
between two gods, or between a god and his followers (see Keyssner
p.129f.).

Line 20 :   The poet uses the Biblical κτίζειν (13) for the
Father, ἐφαρμόζειν (20) for the Son and περιλαμβάνειν (22) for the
Spirit (in all cases the verbs are connected with πάντα) , not mere-
ly for reasons of variation, but above all to show the different
function of each person (see above the note on 1.1.33. 3b-4).

Smolak (p.441) compares this line with Cleanth. hymn.20 : εἰς
ἓν πάντα συνήρμοκας.   Finally, the addition by the editio princeps
(ed. 1568) of 'ν' ἐφελκυστικόν was necessary to restore the metre.

Line 21 :   Cf. 1.1.33.1 = 1.1.34.1 : πάντων βασιλεῦ, 1.1.31.1:
παμβασιλῆι (said of the Son) and the notes ad loc.

Note the syntactical chiasmus in lines 20-21.

Lines 22-24: Nature and function of the Holy Spirit

22f. περιλαμβάνον δὲ πάντα/ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα :   Behind this passage
one may discern a reference to the notion of the presence of God and
particularly of the Holy Spirit in the universe.   This notion is
based on certain Biblical passages : e.g. LXX Jer.23.24 and Sap.1.7.
See Moreschini p.1385f. where this idea is traced in Gregory and
other preceding Fathers.   The sense of our passage may be illustrated
with or.28.8(Gallay p.114; M.36.33D) :

> Πῶς δὲ καὶ σωθήσεται τὸ διὰ πάντων διήκειν καὶ πληροῦν τὰ
> πάντα θεόν, καὶ τὸ Οὐχὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐγὼ πλη-
> ρῶ; λέγει Κύριος (cf. LXX Jer.23.24)· καὶ· Πνεῦμα Κυρίου πε-
> πλήρωκε τὴν οἰκουμένην (Sap.1.7), εἰ τὸ μὲν περιγράφοι, τὸ
> δὲ περιγράφοιτο;

and or.31.29 (Gallay p.334; M.36.165C): (sc. the Holy Spirit) πάντα
τῇ οὐσίᾳ πληροῦν, πάντα συνέχον· πληρωτικὸν κόσμου κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν
ἀχώρητον κόσμῳ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν· ... πληροῦν, οὐ πληρούμενον, συνέ-
χον, οὐ συνεχόμενον.

The latter passage justifies Smolak's observation (p.429) that
there is a thematic correspondence between lines 15 and 23-25.

Besides, the Spirit is called ὁ πληρῶν τὰ πάντα in a prayer address-
ed to Him at the beginnig of the Third Hour (see <u>Horologion</u> <u>ad loc</u>.).

Finally, passages from Greek and Latin writers alike, in whitch
the similar Stoic idea, namely that god imbues and fills everything,
is discussed, are cited in Gottwald p.23 to show the Stoic origin of
the Gregorian passages mentioned above. However, such a view is
challenged by Moreschini (p.1386).

23. τὸ θεῖον : It is added possibly to support the divine
nature of the Holy Spirit which was a controversial matter in Grego-
ry's times. See for instance Gregory's <u>or</u>.39.12 (M.36.348C): (τὸ
Πνεῦμα) ... ὅτι (sc. because He is) θεός, κἂν μὴ δοκῇ τοῖς ἀθέοις
and the entire of his fifth theological oration on the Holy Spirit.

Line 24 : On providence see above the note on line 15.

c) 25-35 : The nature and functions of the Trinity

25. Τριάδα ζῶσαν : The phrase stands for the equivalent
common Biblical expression θεὸς ζῶν (e.g. in <u>Ev.Mt</u>.16.16, <u>Act</u>.14.
15), which is used also in Nonn. <u>par.Jo</u>.1:50 (M.43.760A).

Line 26 : It is an emphatic pleonasm. The whole verse is
contrasted to Τριάδα of the previous line. On the subject of the
tri-une God see above the note on 1.1.31.3a. Further relevant
passages to this subject are: <u>De Vita Sua</u>: <u>carm</u>.2.1.11.658f.
(Jungck p.86; M.37.1074):/ πῶς ἡ μονὰς τριάζεθ᾽, ἡ τριὰς πάλιν/ ἑ-
νίζετ᾽, 2.1.12.310ff. (1188): τίς ἡ Τριάς μοι, πῶς ἑνίζεται θεὸς/
καὶ τέμνετ᾽ αὖθις, ἓν σέβας, φύσις μία,/ μονάς, Τριάς τε, <u>or</u>.25.17
(Mossay p.198; M.35.1221C): Νῦν δὲ δίδασκε τοσοῦτον εἰδέναι μόνον,
μονάδα ἐν Τριάδι καὶ Τριάδα ἐν μονάδι προσκυνουμένην.

In the above passages Gregory tries to explain the tri-une God
in terms of a paradox which in the Synesian hymns degenerates into
mere word-play. See for instance his <u>hymn</u>.1.210ff.: Ὑμνῶ σε, μονάς·/
ὑμνῶ σε, τριάς·/ μονὰς εἶ τριὰς ὤν,/ τριὰς εἶ μονὰς ὤν,/. The same

subject appears also in Ps.-Dionys. Areop. div.nom. 13.3 (M.3.980D-981A) and 1.4 (589D-592A).

26. μόνον : On the use of expressions with μόνος to praise gods see above the note on 1.1.31.8.

26. μονάρχην : Cf. line 1 and the note ad loc.

27. φύσιν ἄτρεπτον : Cf. Philo Alex. i.174.16: τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἄτρεπτον and iii.294.7: (ἐγώ sc. ὁ θεός) ἄτρεπτος ὤν. The unchangeableness of the nature of God is expressed in Basil. Eunom.2.23 (Sesboüé, SC, p.92; M.29.621C): τὴν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον οὐσίαν and other passages cited in Lampe s.v. ἄτρεπτος. Smolak p.443 n.58 quotes a passage parallel to the present one from Chrysostom. hom.3.4 in Rom. (M.60.415): ὁ θεός, ἡ ... ἄτρεπτος φύσις. Besides, the Son is not τρεπτός according to Symbol.Nic.(325): see Hahn p.161 and Opitz, Athanasiuswerke iii p.45.3.

In Greek pagan literature ἄτρεπτος is used of Μοῖρα in Nonn. Dion.12.144, 25.365 and Kaibel ep.507.2, though in a different sense.

φύσις is repeated in anaphora in the following line. On the divice of anaphora in the hymns under discussion see the note on 1.1.33.8 : οἷα.

27. ἄναρχον : Cf. 2.1.38.7 and the note ad loc. The epithet in the sense of 'without beginning' may be seen e.g. in Const.Apost.8. 37.2 : ὁ ἄναρχος θεὸς καὶ ἀτελεύτητος and in a confession cited in Hahn p.178.

Line 28 : Cf. or.31.8 (Gallay p.290; M.36.141C): (οἱ μηδέ ... δυνάμενοι) ... λόγον ὑπέχειν τῆς οὕτως ἀρρήτου καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον φύσεως, and below the extended note on God's ineffability in 1.1.29.2,4. This line may be compared also with Synes. hymn.1.221:/ φύσις ἄφθεγ-κτος/, ib.236f.:/ ἄφθεγκτε γόνε/ πατρὸς ἀφθέγκτου/, 2.91 and Orph. fr.132.2 (Kern) = fr.305.2 (Abel).

Line 29 : As it stands this line literally means (Trinity, I

shall call you) 'a mind full of wisdom and beyond man's reach'.

However, if ἀνέφικτον stands here instead of ἀνεφίκτου according to

the figure of hypallage (see Smyth 3027) the meaning becomes: 'a

mind of unattainable wisdom' . The former interpretation makes the

line similar to line 30, whereas the latter with line 28.

In either case it is clear that the point made in this line is that

God (as Mind) is beyond man's reach.   This idea is expressed in similar

terms in a confession cited in Hahn p.178 : (sc. God) οὗ ... τὸ μέ-

γεθος νοῆσαι ἢ ἐξηγήσασθαι ... ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει ἀνέφικτον.

In favour of the second interpretation (i.e. that with hypalla-

ge) is carm.2.1.45.192 (1367): κρυπτὸν ἑῆς βένθος ἔχει (sc. God) σο-

φίης   which seems to allude to Ep.Rom.11.33f.

God (here the Trinity) is called Mind - after the common philo-

sophical idea - also in or.28.13 (Gallay p.126; M.36.41C). See on

this the note on 2.1.38.5.

ἀνέφικτος is a fairly rare epithet used in Julian. orat.3.26

(82d): ed. Bidez, BL, p.157 to describe the φύσις of deities.

Line 30 : 'a ceaseless power over the heavens'. Greek gods

were occasionally called κράτος: Aesch. Sept.127: (Athene) ὦ Διογε-

νὲς φιλόμαχον κράτος/, Suppl.525f.: (Zeus) τελέων/ τελειότατον κρά-

τος and Orph. hymn.12.5 (Heracles).   More often they were praised

for their κράτος or κάρτος : Archiloch. 88.1f. (PLG ii p.408 Bergk):

/ ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, / σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώ-

πων ὁρᾷς/ (see also above p.29).

Examples of this idea in early Christian hymns are: Synes. hymn.

3.62:/ χαίροις, ὦ παιδὸς (sc. Son of God) κάρτος/ and 7.49f.: (ἐπί)

... κάρτεϊ σῷ (sc. Christ) ... ὑμνοπολεύσω. Besides, κράτος appears

in the formulaic Biblical doxology with which 1.1.32 ends (see below

the note on 1.1.32. 49-50).

31. ἄτερ ἀρχῆς : Cf. ἄναρχον in line 27.

31. ἀπέραντον : As Smolak notes (p.443 n.58) the epithet is used in Homiliae Clementinae 16.17 and 17.9,10 (M.2.380A,392C,393B) of God or His οὐσία. See Lightfoot's note on Clem.Rom. 1Cor.20.8 (p.72). Here the epithet (probably in a temporal sense) describes κράτος.

The Trinity is an 'infinite power', a notion which seems to recall LXX Ps.144.3: καὶ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ (sc. God) οὐκ ἔστιν πέρας.

32. ἀκατασκόπητον αὐγήν : This passage is the only citation in Lexica of ἀκατασκόπητος which Lampe s.v. renders as 'not to be gazed on'. The Trinity thus is called αὐγή (an alternative for the Biblical φῶς in Ev.Jo.8.12 though it is used of Christ) on which one cannot gaze. Such a notion may be compared to Ep.1Tim.6.15: (God) ὁ ... φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον ὃν οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν δύναται (cf. Ev.Jo.1.18 and Ep.1Jo.4.12) on which Synes. hymn.1.197f.: (σὺ sc. God) φῶς κρυπτόμενον/ ἰδίαις αὐγαῖς seems to be based (cf. Idem 1. 118-25 and 158f.).

The same notion may be seen in Orph.fr.65 (Kern) and Pap.Mag.Gr. xii.230.

Line 33 : Cf. carm.1.2.1. 176f. (536): (sc. Christ) πάντ' ἐφο-ρᾷς καὶ πάντα κυβερνᾷς/ αἰὼν ὅσσα κέκευθεν ἀπεύριτος, and 1.1.35.1: παν-επίσκοπε and the note ad loc.

The idea that God sees everything appears both in the Bible: LXX 3Macc.2.21 : ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης θεός and Esth.5.1 (= D.2); and in Greek pagan literature: Soph. Elect.175: / Ζεύς, ὃς ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ κρατύ-νει· /, Archiloch. 88.1f. (cited above in the note on line 30) and Xenophon Cyrop.8.7.22. See also Orac.Sibyl.fr.3.42 and from early Christian literature: Clem. Alex. Strom.vii.2. 5,6 (GCS 3 p.6.2) - the passage alludes to Xenophanes fr.24 (Diels, Vorsokr. i p.135) - Clem. Rom. 1Cor.59 (Lightfoot p.174) and AP 1.117.2 where Christ is called ἡ πανόμματος χάρις.

The ideas expressed in lines 32 and 33 are polar in sense to each other and the juxtaposition of them may be seen in a number of passages : 1) Eur. fr.1129 (TGF, Nauck²p.713) ap. Clem.Alex. Protr. vi.68.3 (GCS 1 p.52.8f.): θεὸν δὲ ποῖον, εἰπέ μοι, νοητέον;/ τὸν πάνθ᾽ ὁρῶντα καὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρώμενον, 2) Orph.fr.245.9f. (Kern) = Orph. fr.5.10f. (Abel): οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν (sc. θεὸν)/ εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται, Orph.fr.247.11f. (Kern), 3) Orac.Sibyl.3.12: (sc. God) ἀόρατος ὁρώμενος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα/, 4.12, fr.1.8, 4) Pap.Mag.Gr.xiii. 63f., 572f. and 5) Kerygma Petri ap. Clem.Alex. Strom.vi.5 39,3 (GCS 2 p.451.9).

Lines 34-35 : They expand the idea in line 33 and may be compared to Ep.Heb.4.13. See also Clem.Rom.1Cor.28.3 (Lightfoot p.92), which is a loose quotation from LXX Ps. 138. 7-10, and Pap.Mag.Gr.iv. 1120 : ἀπὸ γῆς ... ἄχρι τῶν περάτων τῆς ἀβύσσου (cf. ib.1210).

III. Prayer (36-49)

The transition to the prayer is made asyndetically (see above p.30). Line 36 = Line 48.

36. Πάτερ : See the note on 1.1.34.14.

36. ἵλεως γενοῦ μοι: On the common requests for mercy which are used in the hymns under discussion see above the note on 1.1.33.5. The expression ἵλεως γενέσθαι is used quite often in the Biblical prayers : LXX Dt. 21.8, 4Macc.6.28 and Num.14.19. It is also addressed to Hermes in Pap.Mag.Gr.v.420 .

Note that in 1.1.29.15 the epic and lyric form ἵλαος is used, while here the late Greek form ἵλεως was preferred instead. Thus, in both cases the poet appears to obey the laws of form and style.

37. διὰ παντός : Cf. 1.1.31.9 and the note ad loc.

37f. θεραπεύειν/ τὸ σέβασμα τοῦτο δός μοι : Smolak takes τὸ σέβασμα to mean 'worship' (see Lampe s.v.). However, since τοῦτο denotes something in hand, I think that τὸ σέβασμα τοῦτο refers more

possibly to Gregory's present hymn (which is written in honour of
God and may thus be described as a sort of worship/adoration of Him).
In this case line 37f. appears to repeat in other words the introdu-
ctory request in line 2, and thus it may be compared to the requests
in 1.1.35.2f. and 1.1.31.11f.   Such a correspondence between θερα-
πεύειν and ἀνυμνεῖν - ἀείδειν (2) was noticed also by Smolak (p.447).

Lines 39-41 : A request for forgiveness of sins and cleansing
of the poet's conscience

Line 39 : Cf. Procl. hymn.1.35 : καί με κάθηρον ἁμαρτάδος
although it is used in a different sense.

Line 40f. :   Cf. Ep.Heb.9.14 : καθαριεῖ (sc. τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ)
τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων εἰς τὸ λατρεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι, 1Cor.
5.7 (for the use of ἐκκαθαίρειν), and 1Tim.3.9 and 2Tim.1.3 (which
both refer to καθαρὰ συνείδησις). The last two Biblical passages are
used in Serap. Euch.27.2 and 11.3.

Note the preference for τὸ συνειδός ('conscience', used only in
writers of late antiquity: see LSJ and Bauer s.v.) instead of
ἡ συνείδησις of the above Biblical passages.

Lines 42-47 : The poet expresses in three purpose clauses the
reasons why he made his previous requests : in order to glorify God,
praise Christ and beg Him to receive him as a servant in His kingdom.
That forgiveness of sins and a clean conscience are prerequisites for
glorifying God properly has already been seen in 1.1.31.11f. (see the
note ad loc.). However, these purpose clauses may serve also the
same purpose as the one in 1.1.34.24, namely be a sort of promise
which the poet will fulfil if his previous requests receive a
favourable answer from God the Father (see above the note on 1.1.34.
24).

42. δοξάσω : On this verb see above the note on δόξα (sc. εἶναι)
in 1.1.31.1.

42. τὸ θεῖον : Note the use of this common philosophical term (instead of the more general τὸν θεόν).

Line 43 : The allusion to Ep.1Tim.2.8 : Βούλομαι οὖν προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ... ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας is obvious, although the poet departs from his model when he chooses the more common femine form ἡ ὁσία instead of ἡ ὅσιος of the Pauline passage (cf. Bauer s. v. and Blass-Debrunner-Funk 59.2). See also Athenagoras Legat.13 (Goodspeed, Die Ältesten Apologeten p.328; M.6.916Bf.).

Our line may be compared to or.33.3 (M.36.217A):'Τίνας εὐχομένους ἐπολιόρκησα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν αἴροντας;' and Serap. Euch.1.1 : καθαρὰς ἐκτείνομεν τὰς χεῖρας.

This way of praying by raising the hands to heavens is both pagan and Christian (see above the note on 1.1.34.14 and Origen. orat.31.2 (GCS 2 p.396. 2-6), Clem.Alex. Strom.vii.7 40,1 (GCS 3 p.30. 19-25) and Lightfoot's note on Clem.Rom. 1Cor.29.1 in p.93). Examples of it appear in Isyllus paean Apoll.-Asclep.13 (Coll.Alex. p.133):/ χεῖρας ἀνασχόντες μακάρεσσιν ἐς οὐρανὸν εὐρύ[ν]'/, Il.18.75 (for other examples from the Homeric epics see Beckmann p.70 n.3) and Orac.Sibyl.3.559, 591, 4.166.

44. εὐλογήσω : Cf. 1.1.32.1 and the note ad loc. Note the variety of terms especially chosen to describe the various ways of man's communication with God : εὐλογεῖν (for a hymn of praise), δοξάζειν in 42 (for a doxology) and ἱκετεύειν in 45 (for a petition). See also above p. 31 . To these one may add ἀνυμνεῖν, ἀείδειν (2), ὕμνος, αἶνος (4) and δόξα, χάρις (a thanksgiving) in 50.

45. γόνυ κάμπτων ἱκετεύσω : This should be another purpose clause with ἵνα omitted, possibly metri gratia. On the Biblical posture of supplication by kneeling down (LXX 1Par. 29.20, Ep.Rom.11. 4, Ep.Eph.3.14) see above the note on 1.1.34.14f.: γόνυ κάμπτω / ἡμετέρης κραδίης.

ἱκετεύσω : This verb of praying may be found in both Greek
pagan and Biblical/ Christian prayers : Pind. paean 9.8 = fr.52K
(ed. Snell-Maehler, 1975 p.46), Eur. Hec.97, Ion 454 for the former
category of prayers and LXX 3Macc.6.14 (cf.Ps.36.7, 2Macc.11.6) ,
Const.Apost.8.6.7 and Liturg.Jac. (Brightman p.53.15), for the
latter.

46. τότε : This is a correction of the editio princeps of the
poem (ed. 1568) instead of the reading ὅτε of all Codd . The error
is a dittography of ὅτε in the following line.

46. δοῦλον : The usage of the word in the sense of god-
fearing people as servants of God is particularly Biblical ! Ep.1Petr.
2.16, Act.4.29, LXX Ps.26.9 (see Bauer s.v. 4.).

In this sense it has replaced θεράπων already seen in the hexa-
meter hymns : 1.1.34.20 (see the note ad loc.).

47. ἔλθῃ βασιλεύσων : This is a correction of the editio
princeps (ed. 1568) needed, not only for syntactical reasons (since
purpose is usually denoted with future participles: see Smyth 2065),
but also to restore the sense (since the second coming is usually
associated with Christ : see above the note on 1.1.36.16).

Line 48 = Line 36.

Line 49 : Cf. carm.1.1.34.27b (and the note ad loc.), LXX Sap.
3.9 : ὅτι χάρις καὶ ἔλεος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ (sc. of God), 4.15.
Besides, on the Biblical phrase χάριν εὑρεῖν see for instance LXX Gen.
6.8, 18.3 and Ecclus.3.18, and from NT Ev.Lc.1.30 and Act.7.46

IV. Final doxology (50-51)

The same feature of a final praise appears in 1.1.34.29f. and
1.1.32.49f. (see the notes ad loc.).

50. ὅτι : See the note (on this) above on 1.1.34.29.

50. χάρις σοι : Cf. 1.1.34.1,2,12,29,30 and 1.1.33.1 where the
phrase σοὶ χάρις is used instead (see the note on 1.1.33.1).

Line 51 : A variant of the αἰών-formula may be seen in 1.1.32. 50 and 1.1.34.30 (see the note ad loc.).

As a conclusion instead of summing up the various fearures of the poem (as I normally do for each hymn) I would like to make a comment on Smolak's conclusions about this hymn.

Firstly he detects that the hymn must have been influenced either directly or indirectly by the hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes.

Most of the similarities (Smolak mentions in his article) between the two texts are related to features of form and content which appear generally in any Greek pagan hymn and are not restricted particularly to the hymn of Cleanthes. See for instance his notes 36, 40 and p.436f. Therefore, when our poet makes use of them, he simply follows the custom of any Greek hymnographer and not that of Cleanthes specifically.

Besides, of the few cases left, (in which the two texts are compared in terms of similarities in philosophical ideas) some comparisons made by Smolak seem to be contrived : they show, I think, apparent (but not real) similarities between the two texts. See for instance above the notes on lines 10-13.

That the two texts inevitably in some (but very few) cases have such similarities is easily explicable : not only the philosophical hymns in general , but also the magic papyri, Orphic hymns and fragments, and Hermetic literature: a) occasionally touch ideas concerning the nature and characteristics of a monotheistic conception of god (see above p.18ff.) : and b) contain requests of a moral character (see above p. 31) . All these are features also of Biblical and other early Christian hymns and prayers and consequently of our hymn.

Smolak's second conclusion is that the magic papyri exercised an

influence upon the language and form of this hymn (more than they did upon the hymns of Synesius and Proclus).

Again, I would argue that Smolak was misled in reaching this conclusion for reasons that I state below.

As has been said in the introduction to 1.1.30 and 1.1.32, the metre of both hymns and the resulting simplicity of their style make them resemble in language and form the Biblical hymns and prayers. Such a view is, I think, sufficiently proved by the many Biblical expressions quoted in the commentary on these hymns.

It is also well-known that there are marked similarities between the language of the Bible and that of the non-literary papyri (including the magic ones). Not wanting to go into detail I refer the reader for instance to J.H. Moulton-G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated from the Papyri and other non-literary Sources, (London, 1930). Cf. also T. Schermann, 'Griechische Zauberpapyri und das Gemeinde- und Dankgebet im I. Klemensbriefe', TU 34. 2b, which reaches similar conclusions but from a different starting point.

Therefore, it becomes clear that the dependence in language and form of this hymn upon the magic papyri is, in my view, only apparent and results from the close connection of both texts with the Bible.

Smolak's argument that the magic papyri had an influence on this hymn greater than that on the Proclean and Synesian hymns is self-evident in the case of the Proclean hymns, which have a completely pagan content. However, the hymns of Synesius have more similarities with the magic papyri but, as in Gregory's case, they seem simply to reflect the same notions (see Terzaghi's commentary on Synes.hymn.passim).

To come now to his third and final conclusion with which I wholeheartedly agree: 'the hymns 1.1.31 and 1.1.34 from the point of view of interpretation have the right to be regarded as

genuine works of Gregory' (p.448).   Such a view needs no further

support here since it has been dealt with in the concluding remarks

on all the disputed hymns (i.e. 1.1.31, 1.1.33-35).

Carm.1.1.32

' This hymn, together with Exhortatio ad Virgines: carm.1.2.3.

(632-640), is the only poem of the Gregorian poetic corpus written in

non-quantitatbe metre which a number of scholars has tried to explain

and set under various rules without however finding any convincing

solution to the problem. This peculiar metrical structure of the poem

led some of them to cast doubts about its authenticity and date it

instead at a later period, although the external evidence leaves only

very little room for such disputes (see above pp.75ff.).   However,

the metrical structure of the hymn had one positive effect: it attract-

ed the interest of some scholars to produce a better critical edition

of it, than that in the Patrologia Graeca, based on a wider range of

MSS (see above p.86f.).

The hymn is addressed to Christ as are also 1.1.36, 1.1.37, 1.

1.38 and 2.1.38, although the last six lines refer to the tri-une

God. In the first six introductory lines Christ is praised with

reference to His characteristics in relation to the other two persons

of the Trinity: a) as Logos and Light of God the Father, and b) as

the Dispenser of the Spirit. The first two by-names are common and are

found elsewhere in the hymns under discussion, but the second appears

only in this hymn (see below the notes ad loc.). However, the pre-

dominant idea of this section (as for the rest of the hymn too) is

that of 'light' (3,5-6), which is here used metaphorically to show the

relationship between the three persons of the Trinity.

In Praise (7-32) the poet refers to the works of Christ in re-

lation to the world and man.   These are: a) The creation of cosmic light (7-12), b) the enlightenment of man's mind (13-18), c) the creation of celestial bodies and the administration of the harmonious succession of night and day (19-24), and d) the administration of man's works during night and day (25-32). As happens in the introductory invocation (1-6), in all these four subdivisions the idea of light (expressed in the word φῶς and   its cognitives and synonyms) is central and is used successively in a literal or metaphorical sense. More precisely, in   sections (a), (c) and the first four lines of (d) it is used in a literal sense, while in the rest in a metaphorical.

In the Prayer (33-48) firstly Christ is implored to grant the poet 'light' sleep so that he may offer Him his nocturnal hymns imitating the angels (33-38); secondly the poet wishes that his thoughts at bed may be pious and his dreams free from any sinful illusions (39-44); and thirdly he expresses his great desire that his mind (even without his body) may speak to the tri-une God (45-48). All these requests are commonly found in early Christian evening hymns and prayers (see below).

The hymn closes with a final doxology which is a form of the common clausula for the majority of Christian hymns and prayers (49-50).

As we see from the above, the hymn may be divided into eight sections each consisting of six lines except for the fifth which has eight lines. The clear demarcations between these sections (each of which refers to a different subject) may be seen also from the fact that the first, fourth, sixth and seventh sections begin with a second person personal pronoun, while sections two and three with the relative pronoun ὅς.

The hymn is carefully and symmetrically structured so that the

syntactical order in a section may correspond to that in the following one with the same or reversed ratio of lines. This may be seen in sections (2) and (3) which both consist of one or two relative clauses (ὅς) followed by two positive purpose clauses (ἵνα), but in a reversed ratio of lines: (2): 2 + 4, (3): 4 + 2 (see below the note on line 18). The same may be seen also in sections (6) and (7) - which correspond antithetically to each other : each begins with a main clause in two lines (introduced with σὺ μέν and σὺν σοί δέ respectively) and is followed by two negative clauses in two lines each (introduced with ὡς μή - μήτε) and μηδέ - μηδέ respectively).

Section (4) contains two parallel clauses in two and four lines respectively (both introduced with οὐ). Section (5) - the only eight-line unit - includes two antithetical main clauses in two lines each (τῇ μέν - τῇ δέ) followed by one four-line purpose clause. In the last section the four-line main clause (where σοί appears only at the beginning of the second line) is followed by a two-line relative clause.

In the MSS the hymn is entitled δοξολογία (ἐπὶ κοίτης), or ὕμνος ἑσπερινός, or even εὐχὴ ἑσπερινή. All these three titles are justifiable: the first because the hymn ends with a doxological formula and the other two because all the requests are appropriate only in evening prayers. But as the hymn begins with the verb εὐλογεῖν I would rather prefer to characterize it εὐλογία (i.e. a hymn of praise). (see below the note on line 1).

Another point to mention here is the fact that a version of a few lines from the Prayer (33-38, 41-42 and 45-46) is incorporated in a prose prayer under the title : Εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ᾿Ιησοῦν Χριστόν, ἱκετήριος καὶ κατανυκτική, which is found in a modern Prayer Book and is assigned by its editors to Gregory (see Προσεύχεσθε published by ᾿Σωτήρ᾿, fourth edition (Athens, 1974), pp.63ff.). Unfortunately,

and despite my efforts, I have not been able to investigate the origin
and authenticity of this prayer which, as far as I know, is not in-
cluded in the Migne edition of the Gregorian works.

This poem is not the only example of an evening hymn in which
one finds on the one hand light-images used for the praise of Christ
(or of God in general) and on the other requests appropriate to it,
since in the adoration of the early Church there were a number of
such evening hymns and prayers chanted or recited during evening
services, namely during the Office of Vigils or that of Τὸ Μικρόν or
Μεγάλον 'Απόδειπνον. From these we may refer for instance to the
seventh prayer in the Office of Vigils part of which runs as follows:

ὁ θεός ... φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον, ὁ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν ἐν σο-
φίᾳ δημιουργήσας· ὁ διαχωρίσας ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ
μέσον τοῦ σκότους, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον θέμενος εἰς ἐξουσίαν
τῆς ἡμέρας, σελήνην δὲ καὶ ἀστέρας εἰς ἐξουσίαν τῆς νυκτός·
ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς ... καὶ τὴν ἑσπερινήν σοι δοξολογίαν προσ-
αγαγεῖν. (...) καὶ δὸς τὸν ὕπνον, ὃν εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν τῇ ἀσθε-
νείᾳ ἡμῶν ἐδωρήσω, πάσης διαβολικῆς φαντασίας ἀπηλλαγμένον.
... ἵνα ἐπὶ ταῖς κοίταις ἡμῶν κατανυγόμενοι μνημονεύωμεν ἐν
νυκτὶ τοῦ ὀνόματός σου· καὶ τῇ μελέτῃ τῶν σῶν ἐντολῶν καταυ-
γαζόμενοι, ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει ψυχῆς διαναστῶμεν πρὸς δοξολογίαν
τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος, ...

(see Goar, Euchologion p.29f.); also to a prayer addressed to Christ
from Τὸ Μικρὸν 'Απόδειπνον (part of which is cited below in the note
on lines 41-44) and to the Candle light hymn ('Επιλύχνιος Εὐχαριστί-
α : see W. Christ - M. Paranikas, Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christi-
anorum (Lipsiae, 1871), p.40 and J.B. Pitra, Analecta Sacra, vol.1
(Paris, 1876), p.lxxiii).

I. Introduction (1-6): Invocation to Christ and praise of His nature and characteristics

1. σὲ καὶ νῦν εὐλογοῦμεν : On the use of σέ (or σοῦ) at the beginning of hymns see above the notes on 1.1.33.1 and 1.1.30.1; while for καὶ νῦν see 1.1.36.33 and 1.1.38.5.

The verb εὐλογεῖν is used in carm.1.1.30.44 and Orac.Sibyl.4.25, but not in Greek pagan hymns. It has a Biblical òrigin as it is commonly found in such hymns and prayers, especially at the beginning of Psalms : LXX Ps.33, 102, 103; and is then used in various early Christian hymns : The Morning Hymn ap. Const.Apost.7.47.2 and The Evening Hymn ap. ib.48.2 (Its appearance here determines the character of the present hymn which may thus be called εὐλογία. This type of hymn is equivalent to the pagan hymns of praise (see Haldane p.103).

2. Χριστέ μου : This title is used in 1.1.35.1, 1.1.36.1,31, 1.1.37.2, 1.1.38.6, 2.1.38.1,37,39 and 1.1.30.44; while the addition of the first person pronoun gives a personal character to the hymn and marks the poet's devotion to Christ.

2. Λόγε θεοῦ : On the by-name Λόγος see above the note on 1.1.33.3.

3. φῶς ἐκ φωτός : This credal formula is discussed above in the note on 2.1.38.6. A similar formula is used by Gregory in carm. 1.2.1. 20-24 (523f.) where the generation of the Son from the Father is described as : ἐκ μὲν ἀνάρχου/ Πατρὸς Υἱὸς ἄναξ, ... ὡς ἐκ σέλαος σέλας ἔρχεται, while in or.45.9 (M.36.633C) = or.38.13 (325B) Logos is called τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς φῶς. The same credal expression may be found in Nonn. par.Jo.1:1 (M.43.749A).

3. ἀνάρχου : On this epithet (here describing the Father) see the notes on 2.1.38.7 and 1.1.30.27.

4. καὶ Πνεύματος ταμία : 'and despenser of the Spirit' . Various pagan divinities were praised for being ταμίας : Dionysus in

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Soph. Ant.1154, Poseidon as ταμίας τριαίνης in Aristoph. Nubes 566, Zeus as τῶν μελλόντων/ ταμίας in Soph. fr.531 (Nauck[2] TGF p.259) and Helius as πυρὸς ταμίας in Nonn. Dion.12.36 and 23.240 (see also above p.29).

In carm.2.1.45.31 (1355) Christ is called ζωῆς ταμίης. See also or.40.29 (M.36.400C): αὐτὸς (sc. Christ) γὰρ καὶ τοῦ παθεῖν ἦν ἑαυτῷ ταμίας, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς γεννήσεως, or.5.1 (Bernardi p.294; M.35. 665A): ὅπως ἄν, ..., τῷ τεχνίτῃ Λόγῳ δοκῇ καὶ ταμίᾳ τῶν ἡμετέρων and Kertsch p.136 n.3. On the contrary, in carm.2.1.13.2 (1227) bishops are addressed as : ὦ ψυχῶν ταμίαι μεγακύδεες.

God is called ταμίας, among other appellations, in a prayer in Const.Apost.8.11.5 and a number of times in the hymns of Synesius: 2. 182 (cf. Terzaghi's note ad loc.), 1.35f. and 693f.

When Gregory calls Christ the dispenser of the Spirit he does not refer to the Eternal Procession of this Spirit , since this is caused only by the Father according to his or.20.11 (Mossay p.78; M.35.1077C): Πνεῦμα τὸ προϊὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, carm.2.1.1.630 (1017):/ Πνεῦμα θ' ὃ πατρόθεν εἶσι, or.31.8 (Gallay p.290; M.36.141B) and or.39.12 (M.36.348Bf.). On the contrary, I think that the present passage, compared to Ev.Jo.15.26: ὁ παράκλητος ὃν ἐγὼ (sc. Christ) πέμψω, refers to the mission of the Spirit in the world. On the progression of the Spirit see P.N. Trempelas, Δογματική, vol.1, second edition (Athens,1978), pp.278-98 and J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines , fifth revised edition (London,1977), pp.258-63.

Lines 5-6 : Gregory was fond of using light images to describe the relationship between the three persons of the Trinity. From the innumerable passages we cite only those which have verbal similarities to the present one. These are: carm.1.2.1.29 (524):/ εἶς θεὸς ἐν τρισσοῖσιν ἀνοιγόμενος φαέεσσι/, 1.1.4.65 (421) = 2.1.99.2 (1452): / τρισσοφαοῦς θεότητος ὁμὸν σέλας, 2.1.88.174 (1442): (θεοῦ)/ φάους

ἑνὸς τριλαμποῦς/, 2.1.87.16 (1434):/ ἰσοφαοῦς Τριάδος λάμψις, De Vita Sua: 2.1.11.1948 (Jungck p.148; M.37.1165):/ ἔνθα τριάς μου καὶ τὸ σύγκρατον σέλας, 2.1.16.29f. (1256): Τριάς ... ἡ μονόσεπτος (a hapax) / λαμπομένη τρισσοῖς κάλλεσιν, 2.1.17. 36-38 (1264): Τριάδος ἅπτεται .../ κῦδος ἒν ἐν τρισσοῖς κάλλεσι δερκόμενος, 2.2.4.88 (1512): (Τριάς) .../ Ἒν φάος ἐν τρισσοῖς ἀμαρύγμασιν ἰσοθέοισι./, 2.1.34.78f.(1313), 1.1.3.71 (413), 2.1.85.14 (1432), or.40.5, 41 (M.36.364B, 417C), or. 44.3 (609B), or.32.21 (197C) and or.14.4 (M.35.856B).

II. Praise (7-32): Works of Christ in relation to the world

a) 7-12 : Creation of the cosmic light

This subject is discussed in Kertsch pp.152-59.

Lines 7-8: This couplet seems to be based on Ep.2Cor.4.6: ὁ θε- ὸς ὁ εἰπών 'Εκ σκότους φῶς λάμψει, and may be compared with or.5.31 (Bernardi p.356: M.35.704B): Λόγῳ τὸ σκότος ἔλυσε, λόγῳ τὸ φῶς ὑπεστή- σατο and or.38.2 (M.36.313A): Πάλιν τὸ σκότος λύεται, πάλιν τὸ φῶς ὑφίσταται, although the latter passage is used in a metaphorical sense.

The two lines are parallel in structure : pronoun + verb + object, and polar in sense as happens also with 25f.-27f., 35f.-37f. and 41f.-43f. Such a rhetorical device - common in Greek prose - became relatively more important in later Greek literature and may be com- pared with the feature of parallelismus membrorum of Hebrew and oriental, or orientalized Greek texts as is for instance the Septua- gint . But, while the latter feature in the view of many scholars became a primary characteristic of Byzantine hymnography (see Mitsakis, passim) , for the case of Gregory I believe that the appearance of parallel or antithetical cola in his poetry is owed to his rhetorical training in Athens.(see above p. 46).

The same device appears very often in the hymns of Synesius: 1. 191-96, 25-27, 280-83, 555-59, 2. 1-4 and 3.24f. and that of Clement

of Alexandria.

The creation of the cosmic light is discussed in or.44.3f.
(M.36.609C-612A):

> ἔπρεπε τῷ μεγάλῳ φωτὶ τῆς δημιουργίας (sc. God) ἐκ φωτὸς
> ἄρξασθαι, ᾧ λύει τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ἐπέχουσαν τέως ἀκοσμίαν
> καὶ ἀταξίαν .... Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ὕλην προϋπο-
> στήσας εἰδοποίησεν ὕστερον, ἑκάστῳ τάξιν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ μέ-
> γεθος περιθείς, ἵνα θαυματουργήσῃ τι μεῖζον, ἐνταῦθα τὸ εἶ-
> δος τῆς ὕλης προϋπεστήσατο (εἶδος γὰρ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς)· μετὰ
> δὲ τοῦτο τὴν ὕλην ἐπάγει, τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς ἡμέρας δημιουρ-
> γήσας τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον.

In this passage where the Platonic terminology is obvious (see above
the note on 1.1.30.14) it is made clear that Gregory differentia-
tes the creation of cosmic light from that of the sun and by doing so
he follows the Biblical exposition of the creation as this is related
in Genesis. The same order appears in our hymn as well: first comes
the creation of cosmic light (7f.) and then that of the various
celestial bodies (φωστῆρσιν:19); also in or.40.5 (M.36.364C): Οἶδα
καὶ ἄλλο φῶς, ᾧ τὸ ἀρχέγονον ἠλάθη σκότος, ἢ διεκόπη πρῶτον ὑποστὰν
τῆς ὁρατῆς κτίσεως, τήν τε κυκλικὴν τῶν ἀστέρων περίοδον and carm.1.2.
1. 66-69 (527):

> ἤτοι μὲν πρώτιστα φάος γένεθ', ὥς κεν ἅπαντα
> ἔργα πέλοι χαρίεντα φάους πλέα. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
> οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα κυκλώσαο, θαῦμα μέγιστόν,
> ἠελίῳ μήνῃ τε διαυγέα.

(which alludes to Hesiod. Theog.116, 127). On the subject of
creation in general see above the notes on 1.1.33. 2-4 and 1.1.34.2-3.

The image of light succeeding darkness is used metaphorically in
or.45.15 (M.36.644A).

7. ὅς : On the relative style of predications see above the

note on 1.1.34.2; while on the feature of anaphora (here ὅς is

repeated at the beginning of lines 8,13) the note on 1.1.33.8: οἷα.

8. ὑπέστησας : Apart from the passages cited above, this verb

is used in the same context in or.45.6 (M.36.629C) = or.38.10 (321B),

or.20.9 (Mossay p.74; M.35.1076B) and or.16.5 (M.35.940B). See also

Kertsch p.157 n.4.

Line 9 : It gives the reason why cosmic light was created first.

This is illustrated further in carm.1.2.1.66f. (527) which is cited

in the note on lines 7-8.

On the use of expressions with πᾶς in the present hymns see

above the note on 1.1.33.1.

Lines 10-12 :   Cf. or.41.2 (M.36.429C): ὁ θεὸς τὴν ὕλην ὑπο-

στήσας τε καὶ μορφώσας καὶ διακοσμήσας παντοίοις εἴδεσι καὶ συγκρίμα-

σι καὶ τὸν νῦν ὁρώμενον τοῦτον κόσμον ποιήσας .... Cf. the note on 1.1.30.14.

The emphasis, placed on the antithetical pair: ἄστατον - στήσῃς

and the parallel one: κόσμον - εὐκοσμίαν, may be seen in other Grego-

rian passages similarly constructed : carm.2.1.46.14 (1379): ἄκοσμον

ὕλης κόσμον ἔθηκε (sc. Christ) λόγῳ . Cf. also 1.2.1.65 (527).

The same contrast may be seen in a non-quantitative hymn

attributed to Clement of Alexandria and edited by Stählin at the end

of the scholia on the Paedagogus (GCS 1 p.340.19f.):/ ὅλον τε κόσμον

ἐξ ἀκοσμίας κτίσας/ ὕλης ἀμόρφου, τόδε τὸ πᾶν κατήρτισας,/. Cf.

Apost.Const.7.34.1: ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ ... κοσμήσας τὰ ἀκατασκεύαστα.

11. στήσῃς : This verb is used with reference to creation also

in 1.1.34.3 (see the note ad loc.).

b) 13-18 : Enlightenment of man's mind with reason and wisdom

Line 13 : Cf. or.2.76 (Bernardi p.188; M.35.484B): (sc. God) ὅς

νοῦν φωτίζει, and De Virtute: carm.1.2.10.959 (749):/ ὅς νοῦν σοφίζει.

The closest Biblical parallel to the present passage seems to be

Ep.Eph.1.18 where God is implored to grant πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς

τῆς καρδίας (sc. of the Ephesians). Cf. also LXX 2Esdr.9.8 and Ev.Jo.

1.9. Again, in our passage the influence from Greek philosophy is

obvious in the poet's preference for νοῦς instead of ὀφθαλμός or

καρδία of the above Biblical texts. (On this see above the note on

2.1.38.23b). Cf. also Plat. Rep.508b-509a.

God appears to illuminate also the rational natures in Gregory's

or.40.5 (M.36.364B): θεὸς μέν ἐστι φῶς ... πάσης φωτιστικὸν λογικῆς

φύσεως. Interpreting Ev.Jo.8.12 Origen uses the same idea in his in

Jo.1.25 (GCS 4 p.31. 17-20; M.14.68C): ὁ δὲ σωτήρ, ... φωτίζει οὐ σώ-

ματα ἀλλὰ ἀσωμάτῳ δυνάμει τὸν ἀσώματον νοῦν, ἵνα ὡς ὑπὸ ἡλίου ἕκαστος

ἡμῶν φωτιζόμενος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δυνηθῇ βλέπειν νοητά. If Kertsch is

right in noticing that Gregory follows the example of Alexandrian

Fathers in his use of light images, then this passage from Origen

may have been Gregory's source here (see Kertsch p.157 and n.3).

Lines 15-16 : Theodorou interprets these lines by saying that

Christ makes man ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ καὶ σύνοψιν ἁπάσης δημιουργίας'. (see

Theodorou p.263). Hence, he seems firstly to take man and not νοῦν

ἀνθρώπου as the object of θεός (possibly according to the figure of

synecdoche); secondly to regard καὶ κάτω as referring also to λαμπρό-

τητος as τῆς ἄνω does (following thus the interpretation of the Bene-

dictine editors: see the note on line 16 in M.37.512); and thirdly

to interpret ἡ ἄνω λαμπρότης as 'God', (ἡ) κάτω (λαμπρότης) as the

'creation/world' and man as an image of both. On the other hand, the

Maurist annotator refuses to accept that κάτω refers to λαμπρότητος

because it is not accompanied by the article τῆς as ἄνω is (see the

note on line 16 in M.37.512). Since man is generally regarded only

as image of God and not of creation too, I would accept the view of

the Maurist annotator, namely that κάτω does not refer to λαμπρότητος,

and rather that καὶ is used with 'κάτω θεός' in the sense :'even/also

placing (sc. man) down' (on earth).

16. εἰκόνα : Man is an image of God: LXX <u>Ge</u>.1.26,27, <u>Ep.1Cor</u>.11.7 (cf. also <u>Ep.Col</u>.3.10) as is also Christ (see 2.1.38.7 and the note <u>ad loc</u>.). This idea is used a number of times in Gregory's poems: <u>carm</u>.1.1.8.74f. (452), 1.2.1.96f. (529), 2.1.45.8,9,67 (1354, 1358), and 2.2.6.89 (1549). However, the obvious preference for philosophical terminology in this hymn leads Gregory to present instead the mind of man as the image of the 'splendour above' (i.e. God). The idea that man is an image of god appears in pagan texts as well (see Bauer s.v. εἰκών).

Line 17 : It seems to be based (at least verbally) on LXX <u>Ps</u>. 35.10: ἐν τῷ φωτί σου (sc. God) ὀψόμεθα φῶς which is used also in <u>or</u>. 40.34 (M.36.408C). The same Psalmic passage has inspired the last prayer of the first Hour which is addressed to Christ as: φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν τὸ φωτίζον καὶ ἁγιάζον πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον and includes the request to Him : σημειωθήτω ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ ὀψώμεθα φῶς τὸ ἀπρόσιτον (see <u>Horologion ad loc</u>.). Cf. <u>carm</u>.2.1.45.38 (1356), <u>or</u>.20.1 (Mossay p.58; M.35.1065A): φωτὶ προσλαμβάνοντα φῶς, <u>or</u>.32.15(M.36.192A) and Moreschini pp.1358f.,1363ff.

This line is reminiscent of the common philosophical view that 'τὸ ὅμοιον φέρεται πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον' (see Theophrastus <u>De Sensu</u> 1.1f. (ed. E. Wimmer p.321) and Empedocles <u>fr</u>.90 (H. Diels, <u>PPF</u>, p.140))[1].

Lines 17-18 : They may be compared to <u>or</u>.39.2 (M.36.336C): ἵν' ἡμεῖς τὸ σκότος ἀποθέμενοι, τῷ φωτὶ πλησιάζωμεν, εἶτα καὶ φῶς γενώμεθα τέλειον, τελείου φωτὸς γεννήματα. To this we may add a passage from Symeon the New Theologian cited in Theodorou p.44 : Μετὰ τοῦ θείου τούτου φωτὸς ὁ νοῦς ὑπερφυῶς ἐνοῦται, φωτίζεται, καθίσταται ὅλος φῶς.

Line 18 : After calling God and angels the first and second light respectively, Gregory goes on to name man the third light in <u>or</u>.

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1. Or, more likely, the doctrine of cognition by assimmilation as in Aristotle's <u>De Anima</u>.

40.5 (M.36.364Bf.): Τρίτον φῶς ἄνθρωπος, ὃ καὶ τοῖς ἔξω δῆλόν ἐστιν.

Φῶς γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὀνομάζουσι διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν λόγου δύναμιν.

See also or.39.20 (360A). The idea that man is light is found not only in

the Bible (see e.g. Ev.Mt.5.14), but goes even back to Homer: see Od.

16.23 - though not carrying its philosophical sense - and Bauer s.v. φῶς.

While in the previous section (7-12) the relative clauses (7,8)

occupy two lines and the purpose ones four (9-12), in this section

(13-18) the ratio is reversed: one relative clause in four lines

(13-16) and one purpose clause in two (17-18).

c) 19-24 : Light produced by celestial bodies to distinguish

night from day

Lines 19-20 : 'you decorated the sky with various lights'. The

word φωστήρ is used in the Biblical exposition of creation in LXX Gen.

1.14,16 where it appears to be restricted only to the sun and the moon,

while in this passage it is more likely to include the stars too,

since it is characterized by ποικίλος, an epithet which implies a

variety of celestial bodies and not only two. The same word may be

found in Orac.Sibyl.8.341, 2.186,200, 3.88.

καταυγάζειν is a late Greek verb used in the Septuagint in Sap.

17.5 and 1Macc.6.39.

Line 21 : Cf. 1.1.36.26 : σὲ νύκτα καὶ ἦμαρ and the note ad loc.

Lines 21-23 : σύ ... ἔταξας: The succession of night and day may

be seen in Comparatio Vitarum: carm.1.2.8.178 (Werhahn p.27; M.37.661):

/ νὺξ ἡμέραν ἔπαυσε, νύκτα δ' ἡμέρα and or.32.22 (M.36.200C): κοινὴ

νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐναλλαγή. On the equal interchange of night and

day see Eur. Phoen.541ff.

On ἠπίως see above the note on 2.1.38. 19-20.

23f. νόμον ... φιλίας : The metaphor whereby the night and day

appear as personified beings to give way to one another obeying the

law of brotherly love and friendship may be compared to similar ones

found in Greek philosophy : e.g. Plat. <u>Gorgias</u> 507e-508a (which recalls the Φιλότης in Empedocles <u>fr</u>.17 (Diels,<u>PPF</u>, p.112)); cf. also Heraclitus <u>fr</u>. A 14.a (Diels, <u>Vorsokr</u>., i, p.147.17f.).

A similar metaphor is used by Gregory to show the relationship of the various virtues in <u>or</u>.45.13 (M.36.641A): τὸν τῶν ἀρετῶν κύκλον ἠπίως ἐπιμιγνυμένων καὶ κιρναμένων ἀλλήλαις νόμῳ φιλίας καὶ τάξεως.

d) 25-32 : Man's works during night and day

Lines 25-28 : This passage consists of two pairs of lines antithetical to one another: τῇ μέν - τῇ δέ, ἔπαυσας - ἤγειρας.

The Biblical overtones of this passage, as well as of lines 21-24, may be easily discerned if one takes into account another passage in Gregory's <u>or</u>.32.9 (M.36.184Bf.) which is obviously based on LXX <u>Ps</u>. 103 (known as the Prooemiac Psalm and read at the beginning of the Office of Vigils: see Goar, <u>Euchologion</u>, p.2 §20 and p.23 n.20). This passage runs as follows:

... ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἥλιον (sc. οἰδέν τις) ἐν νυκτὶ μειούμενον ἢ πληρούμενον, οὔτε σελήνην ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πυρσεύουσαν .... Ἐποίη-
σε σελήνην εἰς καιρούς· ὁ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ· νὺξ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὕπνῳ συστέλλεται καὶ τὰ θηρία παρρησιάζεται ...· ἡμέρα, ... καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐπείγεται καὶ ἀλλή-
λοις ὑποχωροῦμεν ἐν τάξει, νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ φύσεως.

The above text alludes to LXX <u>Ps</u>.103.19 and 23 (which is rendered by Apollinarius in <u>Met.Ps</u>.103.50 as : (sc. ἀνήρ) / ἑσπερίην καμάτοιο τέ-
λος ποτιδέγμενος ὥρην. See also the passage from an evening prayer in <u>Const.Apost</u>. 8.37.2: (sc. ὁ θεός) ... ὁ ποιήσας ἡμέραν πρὸς ἔργα φωτὸς καὶ νύκτα εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν, and 34.6.

The idea that night is the time for man to have a rest from daily work is common in Greek literature too. See e.g. Quintus Smyrnaeus 7. 672:/ νύξ, ἥ τ' ἀνθρώποισι λύσιν καμάτοιο φέρουσα/, 10.437, and cf. Alexis <u>fr</u>.240.9 (<u>CAF</u>, ii, p.385 Kock) where Ὕπνος is called βροτείων

πόνων παυστήρ and Orph. hymn.85.5.

26. πολυμόχθου : It is used again in carm.1.2.1.725 (577) and
1.2.13.7 (755) connected with γαῖα and ζωή (i.e. the poet's life) re-
spectively. See also Procl. hymn.2.19.

Lines 29-30 : Gregory may have used σκότος here in the sense of
ἁμαρτία as he does in or.30.20 (Gallay p.268f.; M.36.129Bf.) where
explaining Christ's appellation as φῶς he identifies σκότος with ἄγνοια
and ἁμαρτία, and φῶς with γνῶσις and βίος ὁ ἔνθεος. Besides, in or.18.
28 (M.35.1017D) he uses the expression τὸ σκότος τῆς ἁμαρτίας, and in
or.45.15 (M.36.644Α) he calls the present life as νὺξ τοῦ παρόντος
βίου ; while in or.40.13 (376B) he uses: ἡ νὺξ τῆς ἁμαρτίας. On this
see Kertsch p.156 n.2 and Theodorou p.506f. Accordingly, ἡμέρα (30)
should be the eternal day (i.e. the eternity). The closest Biblical
passage to this meaning of ἡμέρα here is Ep.2Petr.3.18 where the
phrase ἡμέρα αἰῶνος ('day of eternity') may be interpreted as the day
which itself constitutes eternity (see Bauer s.v. ἡμέρα 3.b.β ; also
Apoc.22.5 and C. Spicq, Les Épitres de Saint Pierre, Sources Bibliques
(Paris: Gabalda, 1966), p.264f.). However, the metaphorical use of
ἡμέρα for eternity is possibly of the Patristic era (see Lampe s.v.2.b.).

Lines 31-32 : Meyer suggested in his apparatus criticus of the
this hymn that these lines should be omitted, in spite of the fact
that they are found in all the MSS (W. Meyer, Die zwei rhythmischen
Gedichte des Gregor von Nazianz, p.152).Although Meyer's suggestion may be
supported by the fact that these two lines extend the normal six-line rhythmical
unit, these lines are needed by the sense: lines 25-28 refer to the pair 'night-
day'in a literal sense and lines 29-32 to the same pair in a metaphorical sense.

Note the anadiplosis ἡμέραν/ ἡμέραν (30f.), a typical feature
of the solemn style of hymns and prayers.

The epithet στυγνός describes νὺξ also in LXX Sap.17.5.

III. Prayer (33-48)

The transition to the Prayer is made with μέν.

a) 33-38 : A request for a 'light' sleep

Lines 33-34: In a letter to Gregory St Basil uses the phrase ὕπνοι δὲ κοῦφοι καὶ εὐαπάλλακτοι: epist.2.6 (Courtonne BL p.12; M.32. 233A). In his Epitheta Deorum Bruchmann does not mention ἐλαφρός (or any other similar word) as an epithet of Ὕπνος; nor does Stephanus in Thesaurus s.v. ὕπνος, although he mentions a number of other epithets commonly associated with sleep. The closest passage to the present one seems to be Il.10.2: μαλακῷ ... ὕπνῳ; while the opposite epithet βαθύς is used in AP 14.128.4 (Metrod.). However, Greek pagan gods were implored (as is Christ here) ὕπνον ἐπὶ βλεφάροις βάλλειν (or χεύειν, or even ἐπιχεύειν): see Od.16.450f.: ὕπνον/ ἡδὺν ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι βάλε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη./ and cf. 12.338.

Lines 35-36 : The reason why Gregory begs for a 'light' sleep is to be able to offer nocturnal hymns to Christ. In homil.5.4 (M. 31.244Cf.) St Basil advises his fellow Christians to divide night time between sleep and prayer: μεριζέσθω σου τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ χρόνος εἴς τε ὕπνον καὶ προσευχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ὕπνοι αὐτοὶ μελετήματα ἔστωσαν τῆς εὐσεβείας. Nocturnal hymn-singing was Gregory's habit as he himself tells us in carm.2.1.34.169f. (1319): ὕμνοις παννυχίοισι/ στηλώθην. Such was also the custom of the Psalmist: LXX Ps.118.62, 91.2f. and 133.2.

35. γλῶσσαν ὑμνῳδόν : This expression is used in carm.2.1.20. 2 (1279); while in 2.2(epit.).78.3f.(M.38.51f.) = AP 8.35.3f. one finds : ὑμνήτειραν/ γλῶσσαν instead.

Lines 37-38 : The two lines repeat the idea of the preceding two lines and are similarly constructed - yet with some variation : ὡς μή + infinitive (35f.), but μήτε + optative (37f.).

As a substantive ἀντίφωνον is a technical term used for the antiphonical singing of Psalms in Church (see Lampe s.v. ἀντίφωνος 2.

and Mitsakis, Byzantine Hymnography, pp.53ff. for a discussion on the
origin and development of such singing). Here it is used as an ad-
jective describing πλάσμα to denote that Gregory in his hymn is responsive
to that of the angels, since both human beings and angels have hymn-
singing as their main task (see above the note on 2.1.38.26: ὑμνοπό-
λος).

b) 39-44 : Request for 'pious' thoughts

39. σὺν σοί : According to Mommsen's investigations Gregory
follows his contemporaries in using prepositions with sparingness
('Oligoprothesie': see T. Mommsen, Beiträge zu der Lehre von den
griechischen Präpositionen (Berlin, 1895), p.235f. and p.318 n.20
where he gives other instances in Gregory's poems of σύν with person-
al substantives in dative).

40. ἐταζέτω : This is a common Biblical verb: LXX 1Par.29.17,
28.9, Ps.7.10 and Jer.17.10.

Lines 41-44 : What the poet wishes positively in the previous
two lines (namely to make only pious thoughts at bed) he expresses it
negatively here   where he wishes that he may avoid examining any-
thing impious of the day and his dreams may be free from any sinful
illusions. All these requests are commonly found in early Christian
evening prayers. Apart from that cited in the introduction to this
hymn we may here refer to two prayers from the Office of Vigils. The
first (entitled Εὐχὴ τῆς κεφαλοκλισίας) is found in Goar, Euchologion,
p.32 and reads: οὕς (sc. τοὺς σοὺς δούλους) διαφύλαξον ... κατὰ τὴν
παροῦσαν ἑσπέραν καὶ τὴν προσιοῦσαν νύκτα ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐχθροῦ, ἀπὸ πά-
σης ἀντικειμένης ἐνεργείας διαβολικῆς καὶ διαλογισμῶν ματαίων καὶ ἐν-
θυμήσεων πονηρῶν . The second is in Goar, p.36 in which similar
requests are expressed : ἀπόστησον δὲ ἀφ' ἡμῶν πᾶσαν φαντασίαν ἀπρε-
πῆ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν βλαβεράν. Διαφάστησον δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς προσ-
ευχῆς ... . From Τὸ Μικρὸν 'Απόδειπνον is taken the following part

of a prayer in which Christ is implored: δώρησαι ἡμῖν ... ὕπνον ἐλαφρὸν καὶ πάσης σατανικῆς φαντασίας ἀπηλλαγμένον. ... Παννύχιον ἡμῖν τὴν σὴν δοξολογίαν χάρισαι ... . For other requests for a sinless night in evening prayers see Const.Apost.8.36.3, 37.3, and cf. the prayer Πρὸ τοῦ ὑπνῶσαι καὶ εἰς ἐνυπνιαζόμενον in Goar p.529.

Behind these lines one may even discern the standard philosophical view that dreams reflect events of the day (see e.g. Aristot. De Somnis chapter 3 and Costelloe-Muirhead, Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics, vol.2, p.76f.).

Note the emphatic antithesis in the juxtaposition: ἡμέρας νύξ.

The verb ἐλέγχειν is used in the sense 'to examine' (see Lampe s.v. B.) or more likely 'to find out'.

Lines 43-44 : 'Let not the illusions of the night disturb my dreams'. The verb θροέειν is used not in its classical meaning but in the sense 'to disturb' (see Lampe s.v.).

c) 45-50 : Request that the poet's mind may communicate with God and final doxology

Lines 45-46: These lines may be compared to a number of other Gregorian passages which are related to the notion of the purification of mind and body as the prerequisite for the contemplation, vision and knowledge of God (discussed also in the notes on 1.1.34. 21b,26 and 1.1.29. 14b-15a). The Platonic and Neoplatonic terminology used in them has been noticed by various scholars: Gottwald p. 43f., Pinault p. 195ff. and Moreschini pp.1358-62. From these I choose : or.2.7 (Bernardi p.96; M.35.413Bf,) ≃ or.20.1 (Mossay p.56 M.35.1065A): Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει μοι τοιοῦτον οἷον μύσαντα τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ἔξω σαρκὸς καὶ κόσμου γενόμενον, εἰς ἑαυτὸν συστραφέντα, μηδενὸς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων προσαπτόμενον, ὅτι μὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, ἑαυτῷ προσλαλοῦντα καὶ τῷ θεῷ. This passage, together with or.28.12 (Gallay p.126; M.36.41B) and ib.13(p.128;44A): Οὕτω κάμνει ἐκβῆναι τὰ σωματικὰ ὁ

ἡμέτερος νοῦς, καὶ γυμνοῖς ὁμιλῆσαι τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις, is compared by

Moreschini (pp.1358-62) with Plato's Phaedo, particularly 65a-67d.

Gottwald (p.46) cites some further passages worth quoting here: or.12.4

(M.35.848A):τὸν νοῦν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι καὶ συστραφῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν

αἰσθήσεων, ὥστε ὁμιλεῖν ἀκηλιδώτως θεῷ and or.26.7 (Mossay p. 242;

M.35.1237A): χρῆναί τι καὶ ἡσυχάζειν, ὥστε ἀθολώτως προσομιλεῖν τῷ

θεῷ καὶ μικρὸν ἐπανάγειν τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῶν πλανωμένων ; and he sees

some connection of these texts with Plat. Rep. 500c 9 and Numenius fr.

11 (E.-A.Leemans, p.131.11) ; while Theodorou (p.509) sees in the

former passage an influence from the Plotinian mystic philosophy.

However, the addition in line 45 of καί ('even': see LSJ s.v.

B.5) leads me to believe that the poet here does not refer simply

to the purification of mind from the abstractions caused by the body

or flesh (or even from the distractions of the sensible world as is

seen in some of the above passages), but rather to the common philo-

sophical view that during sleep the mind remains awake and separate

from the body (cf. e.g. Aristot. De Anima iii.4-5(429a10-430a25), Ross's

note ad loc. and Costelloe-Muirhead, Aristotle..., ii, p.93ff.).

Line 46: The expression προσλαλεῖν τῷ θεῷ ('to address God',

i.e. 'to pray to God': see Lampe s.v.1.) apart from the passages

cited above, may be seen in or.21.19 (Mossay p. 148 ; M.1104A): οἱ

μὲν τὸν πάντη μοναδικόν τε καὶ ἄμικτον διαθλοῦντες βίον ἑαυτοῖς μό-

νοις προσλαλοῦντες καὶ τῷ θεῷ (said of the hermits and monks) and

in Clem.Alex. Strom. vii.7 39,6(GCS 3 p.30.15ff.) which is cited

below in the note on 1.1.29.10b; while the equivalent προσομιλεῖν

τῷ θεῷ is seen in some of the above Gregorian passages and in those

quoted in Lampe s.v. 6.f.

Lines 47-48: Although the rest of the hymn refers to Christ

this does not prevent the poet from closing it by addressing God in

this common trinitarian formula.

Lines 49-50 : Final doxology

Such doxologies are to be found in the prayer of Manassis 15 (Swete, OT, iii p.826): ὅτι σὲ ὑμνεῖ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν, very often in the prose hymns of NT: Ep.Rom.11.36, 1Tim.1.17, 6.15, 1Petr.4.11, Apoc.1.6, 7.12 (see on this J. Marty, Rev.Hist.Phil.Rel., 9(1929), pp.253ff. and E.F. von der Goltz, Das Gebet in der Ältesten Christenheit (Leipzig, 1901), pp.157-60); and at the end of most of the Christian hymns and prayers: hymn in Trinitatem 24-28 ap. Pap.Oxyr.1786 (ed. Heitsch p. 160), hymn in Christum 6 ap. Pap.Berol.Mus.8299 (Idem p.161), The Morning and Evening Hymns ap. Const.Apost.7.47.3 and 48.3 respectively and ib.8.13.10.   Similar doxological formulae are also used to end various homilies: see e.g. Gregory's or.31.32 (M.36.172B), or. 45.30 (664Bf.) and or.36.12 (280C). See finally, the notes on 1.1. 34. 29b-30 and 1.1.30. 50-51.

The necessity for a final doxology (yet in prayers) is under-lined by Origen in his Orat.33.6 (GCS 2 p.402.32ff.;M.11.561A): εὔ-λογον δὲ ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ δοξολογίας εἰς δοξολογίαν καταλήγοντα κατα-παύειν τὴν εὐχήν, ὑμνοῦντα καὶ δοξάζοντα τὸν τῶν ὅλων πατέρα διὰ ᾽Ι-ησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

50. ἀμήν : Greek pagan hymns and prayers end occasionally with a conventional wish which serves the same purpose as the Amen: Soph. OT 1096f.: ἱήιε Φοῖβε, σοὶ δὲ/ ταῦτ᾽ ἀρέστ᾽ εἴη./ and Aristoph. Pax 453 : ἡμῖν δ᾽ ἀγαθὰ γένοιτ᾽ (see RAC s.v. Amen vol.1, cols 378-80).

As a conclusion to this poem it would be appropriate, I think, to discuss the problem of its authorship. As we have said above the authenticity of this hymn (and that of carm.1.2.3) has been challenged by various scholars primarily on grounds of its peculiar metrical structure.(see above pp. 58ff.). A summary of the arguments expressed

until 1958 in favour or against the authenticity of 1.1.32 may be
found in Lefherz p.69f.

From the examination of the MS tradition of the hymn (see above
pp. 75ff) we have seen that our hymn is included not only in poetic
but also in prose MSS and that a version of it is found in Syriac and
other MSS.   Generally the external evidence supports the authentici-
ty of the hymn, although a slight possibility for the opposite re-
mains in the fact that among the texts in which 1.1.32 is included
and which constitute the appendix to the Gregorian orations in the
prose MSS one finds inauthentic works (e.g. the epistle 243). Despite
the support from the external evidence of the authenticity of this
hymn and the rejection by Werhahn of the opposite views of Keydell,
the former scholar insists on keeping the hymn in the category of the
dubious poems until further and fuller investigation on it is under-
taken (see Werhahn, TU 92, p.343f.).

In the commentary we have seen a number of expressions and ideas
which find their parallels in authentic Gregorian works so that
Keydell appears to be wrong when, suggesting the inauthenticity of this
hymn, he notes that it has nothing in common with Gregory's thought
or style (see Keydell, BZ, 43 (1950), p.337).   These similarities
are, I think, sufficient to support the authenticity of 1.1.32.

It is true that, apart from Christ's appellation as ταμίας, the
entire poem is similar in themes and structure to other early
Christian hymns (particularly in the use of εὐλογεῖν, the final
doxology, the various requests, the parallel or antithetical cola
and other rhetorical figures).   However, this is not sufficient
reason for placing the hymn at a later period (around A.D. 600),
since in it the obvious preference for philosophical terms (instead
of those commonly accepted in Christian usage), together with the
careful arrangement of the various themes, is, as we have repeatedly

seen a beloved Gregorian custom which in turn gives the hymn such a character as to differentiate it from the more vulgar style of the anonymous early Christian hymns.

Besides, the fact that the hymn is written in non-quantitative metre and in a style somewhat distant from that of the hexameter and elegiac hymns, in my view, does not cast doubt on the authenticity of the poem, but, on the contrary, this should be seen to be in line with the techniques used by Gregory in verse-composition (which are observed a number of times in the commentaries on the hymns under discussion and in Appendix III). As Gregory did not compose poems only in common Greek metres (hexam., iamb.,eleg.), but also in hemiambs (carm.2.1.88 (435)), or in a combination of iambic trimeters dimeters and monometers (1.2.24 (790-813)[1]; see also West, Greek Metre p.175f. and 183 n.66), I am not convinced that he could not have written also in non-quantitative metre (since the feeling for quantity had already started to become weaker : see West pp.161-63)[2].

On the other hand, the reason provided by Keydell (BZ,43, p. 337) that in Gregory's poetry which was destined to replace the pagan one non-quantitative poems have no place is in my view not a strong one, since Gregory wrote poetry also for consoling himself in his old age and 1.1.32 (as a personal evening hymn) could have been composed precisely for this reason (see above p.38).

Finally, both the external and internal evidence seem to support the Gregorian authorship of this hymn, although the problem stil remains with regard to the metrical structure of 1.1.32.

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1. On the various metres used by Gregory see Wyss, Museum Helveti-cum,6 (1949), 203f.
2. As we have seen above (pp.32ff.) most of the so-called quantita-tive early Christian hymns (e.g. the hymn to Christ by Clement of Alexandria) which are even earlier than Gregory's do not strict-ly follow accepted Greek metres, but rather show tendencies of non-quantitative poetry.

III.5. <u>Carm</u>. 1.1.29

This poem which is better known as a Neoplatonic Hymn to God has attracted the greatest interest among the hymns examined in the present research, ever since Jahn disputed its authenticity as early as 1838 (see A. Jahn, <u>Lesefrüchte altdeutcher Theologie und Pholosophie</u> (Bern, 1838), p.19). The Neoplatonic elements in it and the fact that it is found in a Proclean MS (Monacensis gr. 547) led Jahn to attribute it to Proclus (see A. Jahn, 'Hymnus in Deum platonicus, vulgo Gregorio Naz. adscriptus nunc Proclo platonico vindicatus', in <u>Eclogae e Proclo de Philosophia Chaldaica sive de Doctrina Oraculorum Chaldaicorum</u> (Halis Saxonum: Pfeffer, 1891), pp.49-77).

The opinions of later scholars were divided : some followed Jahn's thesis, some criticized it and retained the Gregorian authorship, while others suggested an attribution to any Neoplatonist, or even to Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite. A summary of the various opinions provided till the early fifties to defend this or that view may be found in Lefherz p.68f. However, all the opinions provided were primarily based on internal evidence, yet not systematically examined.

The first who focused his attention on the external evidence was Werhahn. His investigation of the surviving MSS with Gregory's poems revealed that our hymn is found not only in one group of Gregorian MSS, but also in a Proclean and two Ps.-Dionysian MSS. The results of his investigation were announced at the fourth International Conference on Patristic Studies which took place at Oxford in 1963 (see H.M. Werhahn, 'Dubia und Spuria', <u>TU</u> 92 p.345f.).

In his communication Werhahn expressed doubts similar to Jahn's on the authenticity of the hymn. Yet, he too based his remarks on partial evidence, and therefore his view should be given no greater

weight than the earlier opinions, even if it seems to have been accepted as authoritative by later scholars.

Here I am going to examine these MSS , together with Vaticanus Palatinus gr.39 (s. xv) which came to my attention in the course of my research but is not mentioned by Werhahn. Such an examination cannot be the final word on the problem either, since, despite my efforts, it was impossible for me during the course of this research to visit the various libraries and have an autopsy of the MSS involved. However, the descriptions of them in the various catalogues and the readings of the hymn which have been available to me, partly on photostats or photographs and partly through Professor Sicherl's first collation (kindy sent to me), would, I think, help us in reaching a further step towards finding a possible solution to the problem of authenticity.[1]

As I have shown in a communication presented at the Ninth International Conference on Partistic Studies (which took place at Oxford in September 1983), these MSS may be classed in two different groups: one (α) containing ten MSS where the hymn appears among Gregory's poems and the other (β) containing a Proclean and three Ps.-Dionysian MSS (see above pp.81ff.).

The text of the hymn in group α omits lines 8-10; while that in group β retains them, but reverses lines 3 and 4, and follows three major different readings : ὑπάρχεις, πολύλλογε, ὑπερφανέας instead of καὶ οὐδέν (12), πανώνυμε (13), ὑπερνεφέας (14) of the text of group α respectively. The discussion of these textual problems appears below in the commentary.

On grounds of their similarities, at least in the main three

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1. I do hope soon after the completion of this research to have the opportunity of visiting these libraries so that firmer conclusions may be drawn on this matter.

readings (mentioned above), the MSS of group α (where the hymn appears always among Gregory's poems) seem to descend (though not directly) from the oldest, namely Cod. Vh . Therefore, the results from the examination of this MS with regard to the authenticity of 1.1.29 may apply also to the rest of the MSS of this group.

Cod. Vh consists of an anthology of works from Gregory, Ps.- Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor. The hymn is entitled Ὕμνος εἰς θεόν and not Εἰς τὸ περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων as Werhahn says (TU 92 p.345), possibly by confusing it with that in Cod. Vk (see below). It appears at the beginning of the section which includes an anthology of Gregory's hexameter poems. The section is entitled Ἀπανθίσματα ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου and is placed after a long section (ff.130-165^V) which contains Gregory's epistles, and before another one (ff.172^V-181^V) including an anthology of his iambic poems. Since the description of the MS in Devreesse's Catalogue (see R. Devreesse, Cod. Vat. Gr., vol.ii, pp. 294-80) and the photostat of the folio containing the hymn show that the hymn is clearly not a later interpolation by another scribe, we must accept its Gregorian authorship unless of course such an inter- polation took place at an earlier stage in the transmission of the hymn-in a non-surviving MS. On the present MS evidence of group α 1.1.29 is attributed to Gregory.

To turn to the MSS of group β and first to the Proclean MS (Cod. Ms): From I. Hardt's description of Cod. Ms in his Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavariae, vol.5 (Munich, 1812), p.366 we learn that the hymn is written on a parchment sheet, while the Proclean text covering the rest of the MS is written on paper. Furthermore, the photostat at my disposal of this parchment sheet shows that the hymn is anonymous and bears no title. Finally, Saffrey has claimed that the hymn was written by a second hand, that

of Cardinal Bessarion (see H. D. Saffrey, 'Notes autographes du
Cardinal Bessarion dans un manuscrit de Munich' Byzantion,35(1965),
p.538; cf. also Idem-L.G. Westerink, Proclus. Théologie Platonicien-
ne, vol.1 (Paris,BL,1968), p.cxxi).

From the above it is more than obvious that the hymn is a later
interpolation and that the possibility of its attribution to Proclus
is, if not impossible, at least improbable. Another reason which may
also exclude such possibility is the fact that the extant Proclean
hymns (addressed to particular Greek gods and not to the transcend-
ent god) are completely different in content and structure from 1.1.29.

The possible reason why Bessarion added the hymn in the Proclean
MS is, I think, because it has some similarities with Proclus's
philosophy and not because he believed it belonged to Proclus.

Of the remaining three Ps.-Dionysian MSS of this group (i.e. β)
Cod. Vk (the oldest MS of the group), according to Giannelli's descri-
ption (see above p. 83   ) is partly of the eleventh and partly of
the thirteenth centuries. Here, the hymn is found in f.88^V, and
(again according to Giannelli) is written by a different hand, that
of a fourteenth century scribe. It is preceded by two empty folia
(f.87^V, 88^r) which mark the end of the first section of the MS. This
section contains the De divinis Nominibus (ff.8^V-86^r) and a prologue
to Ps.-Dionysius's works by Maximus the Confessor (ff.86^V-87^r). From
the photostat I have of f.88^V I see that the hymn is cited anonymous-
ly and carries the title Εἰς τὸ περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων. From this we
may infer with Werhahn (TU 92, p.345) that the addition of the hymn
at the end of the first section was possibly made in order to provide
a sort of poetic summary of the Ps.-Dionysian work with the same title.
Despite the poem's misleading title, the preceding empty folia and the
fact that 1.1.29 is written by a later hand, strongly favour the view
that here too the poem is a later interpolation and, consequently, its

attribution to Ps.-Dionysius remains groundless.

The other two Ps.-Dionysian MSS on grounds of their similarity to the readings of Cod. Vk seem to descend (if not directly) from the latter MS. In one of them, namely Cod. Lr, the hymn is entitled Στίχοι εἰς τὸ περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων and is placed at the beginning of the section which follows the Ps.-Dionysian works and contains scholia on them (see above p. 83) . The reason which led the copyist to preface these scholia with 1.1.29 is possibly the same as that which led to the interpolation of the same poem in Cod. Vk . Therefore, the appearance of the hymn in this MS must be explained quite independ-ently from its authorship.

Finally, in Cod. Pl 1.1.29 appears (according to H. Stevenson's description of the MS in his Codices Manuscripti Palatini Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae (Vatican, 1885), p.21 and the photostats I have), between the De divinis Nominibus (ff.81-138^V) and De mystica Theologia (ff.139^V onwards) in ff.138^V-139^r and is entitled τοῦ ἁγίου Διο-νυσίου ὕμνος θεῖος διὰ στίχων ἡρωϊκῶν. I gather from the photostats containing the hymn that it is written by the same hand as the rest of the MS (so that there seems to be no possibility of the hymn having been interpolated). Besides, its attribution to Ps.-Dionysius, I believe, must be due to the scribe of Cod. Pl himself (who took it for granted that since the hymn appeared in the Ps.-Dionysian MS he was copying from, it must have come from Ps.-Dionysius's own pen, even if in the MS he was copying from the hymn appeared anonymous.

To conclude: it looks as if in the case of group α the attribution to Gregory of the poem (i.e. its 13-line form) relies entirely on the degree of accuracy of the scribe of Cod. Vh to include the poem among Gregorian works. On the contrary, in the case of group β there are two possibilities: either the poem (i.e. its 16-line form) has no authorship connection with that in group α (in which

case its author - possibly a Neoplatonist or a Christian Neoplatoni-
zing - will remain anonymous till more evidence, if ever, comes to
light); or it came from the Gregorian 13-line form, in which case the
differences between the two forms are likely to have been caused by
scribal activities (i.e. of interpolating lines 8-10, reversing lines
3 and 4 and replacing the original readings of the 13-line form by a
gloss or similar word).

The first possibility, namely that more than one hymn and several
authors lie behind the two forms of 13 and 16 lines respectively, is
supported by the fact that two short versions of the present hymn are
found : one as a Christian epigram in AP 1.102 and the other in two
forms in Olympiodorus's Commentary on Plato's Gorgias : a) in Gorg.
4.3 (Westerink p.32. 22-24) and b) ib. 47.2 (p.243. 21-22).

In order to facilitate the discussion on them it was thought
necessary to cite the text of all three versions. Thus, the Christ-
ian epigram, taken from P. Waltz's edition of Anthologie Grecque,
vol.1 (Paris:BL, 1928), p.40 reads :

<div align="center">

Εἰς τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,

υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ

</div>

Ὦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα - τί γὰρ πλέον ἄλλο σε μέλψω;-

πῶς σὲ τὸν ἐν πάντεσσιν ὑπείροχον ἐξονομήνω;

πῶς δὲ λόγῳ μέλψω σέ, τὸν οὐδὲ λόγῳ περιληπτόν;

The text in the work of Olympiodorus is that of L.G. Westerink in his
Olympiodori in Platonis Gorgiam Commentaria (Leipzig:T, 1970).

The first form of in Gorg.4.3 (Wester. p.32. 21-24)= Olymp. a runs:

ἀμέλει λέγων τις ὕμνον εἰς τὸν θεὸν φησιν

'Ὦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα· τί γὰρ πλέον ἄλλο σε μέλψω;

πῶς σε τὸν ἐν πάντεσσιν ὑπείροχον ὑμνοπολεύσω;

πῶς σε λόγῳ μέλψαιμι τὸν οὐδὲ νόῳ περιληπτόν;'

21. mg. ση. τὸν θαυμάσιον τοῦτον ὕμνον .

The second version of Olymp. <u>in Gorg</u>.47.2 (p.243. 19-22)= Olymp. b

is: δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι ὅτι οἱ φιλό-

σοφοι μίαν τῶν πάντων ἀρχὴν οἴονται εἶναι καὶ ἕν τὸ πρώ-

τιστον αἴτιον ὑπερκόσμιον, 'ἐξ οὗ πάντα πέφυκεν', ὃ οὐδὲ

ὀνόματι ἐκάλεσαν· τίς γὰρ ὀνοματοθεσία ἐκείνου; ἀμέλει

20 καὶ φησίν τις ἐν ὕμνῳ·

'πῶς σε τὸν ἐν πάντεσσιν ὑπείροχον ὑμνοπολεύσω;

τίς δὲ λόγος μέλψει σε τὸν οὐδὲ νόῳ περιληπτόν;'

All the three versions, as we see, are cited anonymously. Besides,

the Christian epigram and Olymp. a begin with the opening line of the

present hymn but have two slight differences : πλέον for θέμις and

μέλψω for μέλπειν of our hymn.

In the same commentary by Olympiodorus there are two variations

of another verse, also taken from an anonymous hymn to God : one <u>in</u>

<u>Gorg. prooem</u>.8 (p.7.15) and the other in <u>ib</u>.16.1 (p.93.9). In   its

context the former reads (p.7. 12-15)= Olymp. c :

                                        ἁπλοῦς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐξ

οὐδενὸς παραγόμενος, ὅθεν καὶ ὕμνος λέγεται εἰς αὐτὸν

φάσκων

15 'ἐξ οὗ πάντα πέφηνε, σὺ δ' οὐδενὸς οὕνεκα μοῦνος'.

and the latter (p.93. 7-9) = Olymp.d :

                                    ὅτι δὲ ὡς εἴρηται μόνως

οὗ ἕνεκα τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον, δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ ὕμνος ὁ λέγων

9 'ἐκ σοῦ πάντα πέφυκε, σὺ δ' οὐδενὸς οὕνεκα μοῦνος'.

The earliest version of this line seems to be the verse which is

quoted twice – again anonymously – by Asclepius in his Commentary on

Aristotle's <u>Metaphysics</u>. The first is : <u>in Metaph</u>. (<u>Comm. in Aristot.</u>

<u>Graec</u>., vol.vi.2 (Berlin, 1888), p.20.27f.) and runs:

                        διὸ παγκάλως φησὶν ἐκεῖνος 'ἔκ σεο πάντα πέ-

φηνε, σὺ δ' οὐδενὸς εὕνεκα μοῦνος'.

27. ἐκεῖνος] nescio quis Orphicus

and the second in ib. (p.123.14f.):

ὥστε πᾶσά ἐστιν ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὸ τελικὸν αἴτιον. διὸ φησιν

15 ἐκεῖνος 'ἐκ σέο πάντα πέφηνε, σὺ δ' οὐδενὸς εὕνεκα μοῦνος'.

15 ἐκεῖνος] nescio quis; cf. p.20, 27.28

A variation of the first hemistich of these lines is found only

a few lines before the 2-line version in Olympiodorus (see Olymp. b

line 18 : 'ἐξ οὗ πάντα πέφυκεν').

Whether of course this single verse in its various forms, and

the variation of its first hemistich form part of Olymp. a or b is

not certain, although the close position of this hemistich with Olymp.

b might suggest such a possibility.

What is however clear from the above exposition of the short

versions of 1.1.29 (and may be drawn also from its MS tradition) is

that the hymn was circulated among both pagan (and more precisely

Neoplatonic) and Christian authors.

In order to explain the existence of so many versions, in my

paper (which will be published in due course in the Proceedings of the

Oxford Conference) I maintained the theory of variatio, a divice so /e

commonly used in Hellenistic and late-Greek epigrams[1]. Following

this theory I suggested that the opening line of the present hymn was

likely to have originated in a Neoplatonic environment and later to

have been taken by Christian writers.

Provided that the information derived from the various MSS is

correct, one must, finally, not overlook the fact that Gregory lived

earlier than either Ps.- Dionysius, or Proclus, Olympiodorus and

even Asclepius (all people associated with the hymn) and that, there-

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1.   See e.g. W. Ludwig, ' Die Kunst der Variation im hellenistischen
     Liebesepigram', Entretiens Hardt, vol.xiv (1968) , pp.297-334
     and Sonya Lida Tarán, The Art of Variation in the Hellenistic
     Epigram, Columbia Studies in class. Tradition, vol.ix (Leiden:
     Brill, 1979).

fore he should be considered the first possible author of the hymn
(at least of its 13-line form).

We may now turn to analyse the content of 1.1.29. The hymn
begins with the invocation to God ὦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα ('you who are
beyond everything') the meaning of which is discussed in detail be-
low ad loc. My view expressed in this discussion is that when the
poet uses this epiclesis he means that God is beyond knowledge and
expression, and not that He is transcendent in the Neoplatonic sense
by being situated in the outermost sphere of cosmos. In support of
my view is also the fact that by calling God ὦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα (an
expression standing in the place of the non-existent proper name of
God, or one of His common titles) the poet fittingly anticipates his
view expressed below in the same hymn that God is without any name by
which to be called upon (see ἀκλήϊστος:14 and the note ad loc.).

The rhetorical question which follows (1b) serves the same
purpose as this epiclesis and to some extent is added by the poet: a)
as his self-justification for using this epiclesis and b) in order
to anticipate the main subject of the hymn : the incomprehensibility
and ineffability of God.

These two themes are treated first in lines 2-5 (which are in
reality a development of line 1b) and then in lines 13b-15a . Lines
2-5 are carefully structured and well balanced, since they may be
divided into two couplets (A,B), each line of which deals with one of
the two themes: 1) God is ineffable (A1,B1) and 2) God is unknowable
(A2,B2), arranged in a parallel order (A1-A2-B1-B2). Besides, the
strong trochaic caesura breaks each line into two hemistichs: a,b
(where b always gives the reason for the ideas expressed in a).
Finally, although the two couplets (A,B) contain the same themes (1,2)
they are expressed with some variation: in A1,2 with a rhetorical

question and a γάρ-clause ; while in B1,2 the definition by negation
in the first hemistich is followed by an ἐπεί-clause.

Apart from the above observations on the structure and themes
used in lines 2-5 one may add the various rhetorical figures : ana-
phora (πῶς:2,3, μοῦνος:4,5), homoioteleuton (2a-3a, 2b-3b, 4a-5a,
4b-5b), and polyptoton (λόγος-λόγῳ:2, νόος-νόῳ:3).   All are common
features of Gregory's poetry (see above p. 46).

The reference to God's creation in lines 4b and 5b leads on to the
following two lines (6-7): All (sc. the creation) praises God. Such
a notion whereby the whole of the creation responds to its Creator
by addressing a thankful song of praise to Him appears in 1.1.31.7-10
where it is discussed in detail (see the notes ad loc.).

The structure of this couplet with the anaphora of πάντα and the
homoioteleuton follows that of lines 2-5. To these features one may
add the fact that the poet states the content of πάντα in two pairs
each including antithetical terms: a) λαλέοντα - οὐ λαλέοντα and b)
νοέοντα - οὐ νοέοντα. Both pairs are deliberately chosen so that the
former corresponds to λαλεῖται (4) and the latter to νοεῖται (5);
also the former recalls the theme of God's ineffability (2,4) and the
latter His incomprehensibility (3,5).   In other words God is ineffa-
ble and incomprehensible because He is the Creator of all that:a)
can be spoken of, or thought and b) have or have not the ability to
speak or think. So, although the poet in lines 4-7 appears to play
with a limited number of verbs used in various forms: active (positi-
ve or negative) and passive, in reality every word he writes is
cleverly chosen to serve the main subject of section 2-7.

Let us come now to lines 8-10 which are missing from the MSS of
group α . Two possibilities may explain such an omission: a) lines
8-10 are a later interpolation in the MSS of group α and therefore
do not belong to the original hymn, or b) they form part of the

original hymn, but were lost well before the earliest extant MS of group α.

Before examining these possibilities with regard to the internal evidence it seems important to say a word about the extant editions of the hymn (see above p. 87f.).

All of them attribute the hymn to Gregory and follow the readings of group α, but include lines 8-10 (which as has been said are missing from all the MSS of this group). Besides, the text of the hymn in the earliest extant edition (that of Canter in 1567) was based, as Canter tells us (see ed. 1567; p.219) on a very old MS containing Gregorian poems (which was at that time in the possession of Levenlavius). Jahn (p.50f.) casts some doubts as to whether the hymn was really taken from this Gregorian MS and whether it was written by Gregory. However, his doubts do not prevent us from suggesting that this MS of Levenclavius (or any other carrying such a text of 1.1.29 as described above) is very likely to have been earlier than the extant MSS and belonged to group α. The appearance of lines 8-10 in this early MS support the second possibility, namely that these lines form part of the original hymn but were lost some time before the earliest extant MS.

Let us now discuss the content of lines 8-10 with regard to the rest of the hymn.

The interpretation of these lines is discussed in detail in the commentary ad loc. Here it will suffice to give briefly their content. These three lines refer: a) to the great desire and pangs of all for God, b) to the prayer of All to Him, and c) to the silent hymn which All offer to God realizing that they are God's own 'creation/composition' (σύνθεμα:10).

As they stand, these lines (particularly 9-10) appear to repeat to some extent the content of lines 6-7. Besides, their structure

differs from that of the rest of the hymn in the use of enjambement in lines 8f. and 9f. Such observations may be used to support the possibility of interpolation. However, as will be shown below, a closer examination of these lines will prove that they could well be part of the hymn.

The apparent repetition of the content of lines 6-7 in 9-10 can be easily explained. Lines 6-7 refer, as we have seen, to the hymn of all creation: rational (νοέοντα, λαλέοντα) and irrational (οὐ νοέοντα, οὐ λαλέοντα). On the contrary, lines 8-10 refer only to animate beings (or, better, to rational beings: νοέοντα in 10). Therefore, section 6-10 seems to correspond to 1.1.31. 7-10 where, as we have seen, the first couplet refers to the hymn of all the creation and the second to that of the rational natures. Besides, in both poems the two hymns are offered as a response to God's creation (see the note on 1.1.31. 7-10). According to this interpretation ἀπάντων (8), and πάντα (twice in line 9) should refer to all rational beings only and not all the creation as πάντα and ὅσσα do in lines 6-7 and 4-5 respectively. That only rational beings show great desire and suffer pangs in the search for God may be seen for instance in Gregory's or.28.13 (cited below in the note on πόθου:8).

The conjunction γάρ (8) is used to join the content of lines 8-10 with that of 6-7 and explain why the νοέοντα (7) praise God: because, as rational beings, they all have common desires and suffer pangs for God. Besides, the fact that they are rational beings explains why they alone pray to God. And, finally, using their reason they know that they are God's 'creation/composition' , and as a result praise Him. The characterization of their hymn as silent is, I think, made only to be contrasted to λαλεῖ (or even to λαλέοντα in line 6).

To come now to the rest of the hymn and first to lines 11-13a:

they describe God in relation to All.   All remains in God and All is directed towards God who is the end of All.   Then (12b-13a) in terms of a paradox God is at the same time One and All and Nothing - and not One and not All.   The anaphora of σοί in the two hemistichs of line 11, the polysyndeton in line 12 and the use of antithetical words in line 12f. are the main features of this section.

With lines 13b-15a the poet returns to the subject of lines 2-5 (God's ineffability and incomprehensibility) which he expresses here with two rhetorical questions only.   God is ἀκλήϊστος (cannot be called/named : see below ad loc.) and yet He is πανώνυμος (has every name).   His anonymity is contrasted to His 'having every name'.   The subject of God's incomprehensibility lies behind the second rhetorical question, each word of which is cleverly chosen (see below the discussion ad loc.).   However, in these lines the two themes are not simply repeated, but, I think, are expressed in such a way as to show that the poet has made his greatest and final effort to name/express or understand God but did not manage to do so.   Therefore, aware of his lack of ability he asks for God's mercy and repeats his introductory epiclesis (since throughout the hymn he did not manage to find any other proper way of invoking God).

The repetition of the first line at the end gives the hymn a ring form, while, as is seen from the above analysis, all the sections of 1.1.29 seem to flow naturally from one to another.   A main characteristic appearing throughout the hymn is the extensive use of second person pronouns (14 times) and of πάντα (or ἅπαντα):12.

Finally, we may conclude by observing that the word-play is the primary feature of this hymn as it is composed throughout with a limited number of words arranged in such a way as to make the main point of the hymn, namely that God is, and will remain ὁ πάντων ἐπέ-κεινα ('the One beyond human expression and understanding').

I. Introduction (1)

1. ὦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα :   'oh you who are beyond everything' . In the introduction to the hymn I have maintained the theory of <u>variatio</u> in order to explain the existence of more than one version of this hymn and suggested that the opening line seems to have originated in a Neoplatonic environment before it was taken over by Christian writers.

For a Neoplatonist this introductory epiclesis to God would obviously refer to the notion of God's transcendence, since for him God is understood as 'something extra , something outside and beyond, (...) [something] which is left over, which remains outside and transcending our systematization and classification of the cosmos' (see A.H. Armstrong, <u>The Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus: An Analytical and Historical Study</u> (Amsterdam: A.M.Hakkert, 1967), p.5, although the author here refers to the Plotinian One). However, for Gregory (if he is the writer of this hymn), or any Christian , such an interpretation would be, I think, unacceptable. This may be shown for instance by Gregory's acceptance of both the transcendence of God and His appearance/immanence in the world (see the passages cited below and on the rejection of immanence by Neoplatonists the note on Procl. <u>Inst.Theol.</u>30 by Dodds). Therefore, the meaning of this epiclesis for Gregory is, I think, different, even if he happened to take it from Neoplatonism. The content of the hymn as a whole will help us to decide what precisely Gregory means by this epiclesis.

As is noted above in the analysis of 1.1.29, the general subject of the hymn is God's incomprehensibility and ineffability (the latter idea expanded by the paradox that God has all names and no name). Had the poet chosen any other expression from those commonly used in Christian hymns and prayers to address God, this would have been, I

think, inappropriate to the general theme of the poem, since such an expression would to some extent have described God (either His nature, or His characteristics). The only way the poet could make an address to God and not describe Him was to use this general epiclesis ὦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα (i.e. you who are beyond any human understanding and expression).

Having established the meaning of this epiclesis, in the following lines I shall refer briefly to the development of the Neoplatonic notion of the transcendent God, insisting particularly on expressions similar - yet only verbally - to the present epiclesis, and give some Christian texts (though later than Gregory's) where such expressions are found, only in order to show the wide range of texts using such expressions and, consequently, to justify Gregory's readiness to use in a hymn (possibly intended only for private worship) this Neoplatonic expression without fear of being misunderstood by his contemporaries - as he has been by some modern theologians (see Lefherz p.68f.).

The idea of trancendence is first hinted at in Plato Rep.509b : τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ... ἔτι ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας, reaches its fullest development in Plotinus in expressions e.g. ἐκεῖνο (sc. τὸ πρῶτον) ἐπέκεινα τῶν πάντων in Enn.v.4.2.39f. (cf. v.3.13.2)which Norden p.78f. regards as the origin of our expression), and then is used as a doctrine by later Neoplatonists such as Proclus : see his Theol.Plat.2.12 (Saffrey-Westerink p.73): τὸ ἄρρητον τοῦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα θεοῦ and the passages cited in Jahn p.65 and L.J.Rosán, The Philosophy of Proclus (N.York:Cosmos, 1949), p.54. Similar expressions are found also in Christian writers influenced by Neoplatonism such as Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite: see his Epist.2.1 (M.3.1068A): ὁ πάντων ἐπέκεινα, epist.4.1 (1072A) and Div.Nom.11.6 (956B); and Synesius: see hymn.1. 164-166: (sc. ἄναξ) ἐπέκεινα θεῶν,/ ἐπέκεινα νόων,/ ἐπέκεινα νόμων,/. Likewise, Origen in Cels.vii.38 (GCS 2 p.188.11) calls God: ἐπέ-

κεινα νοῦ καὶ οὐσίας (cf. vi.64 (p.135.4)); while Elias of Crete, the ancient scholiast of Gregory's orations, uses phrases such as: ἵλεως εἴη ὁ πάντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ πᾶσαν νόησιν καὶ κατάληψιν ὑπερβαίνων (M.36. 801B) when commenting on or.20.9, and :τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὑπερουσίου καὶ πάντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ ἀλήπτου Τριάδος (802A and 811A), a comment on or. 20.10 and or.29.13. For other passages from Christian authors see Lampe s.v. ἐπέκεινα.

Such an idea is hinted at in Gregory's writings, although, so far as I know, he nowhere uses the phrase ὁ πάντων ἐπέκεινα. See e.g. carm.1.1.5.2f. (424):/ νοῦς μέγας (sc. God) ἐντὸς ἅπαντα φέρων καὶ παντὸς ὕπερθεν/ αὐτὸς ἐών, De Virtute:1.2.10.958f. (749):/ ὃς πάντα πληροῖ καὶ ἄνω παντὸς μένει/ ὃς νοῦν σοφίζει καὶ νοὸς φεύγει βολάς,/, or.6.12 (M.35.737B): κάλλιστον μὲν τῶν ὄντων καὶ ὑψηλότατον θεός, εἰ μὴ τῷ φίλον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν οὐσίαν ἄγειν αὐτόν, ἢ ὅλον ἐν αὐτῷ τιθέναι τὸ εἶναι, παρ' οὗ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις (cf. Gottwald p.23) and or.2.76 (Bernardi p.188; M.35.484A): (sc. θεός) ὃς ἐν τῷ παντὶ τῷδε καὶ τοῦ παντός ἐστιν ἔξω, ὃς καλόν ἐστιν ἅπαν καὶ ἄνω παντὸς καλοῦ, ὃς νοῦν φωτίζει καὶ διαφεύγει νοῦ τάχος καὶ ὕψος. In these passages Gregory, by contrasting God's transcendence to His appearance in the world, appears to accept both ideas (in their Christian meaning of course). Finally, the expression that God is ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα whereby the second theological oration ends (or.28.13 (Gallay p.174; M.36.72C)) in the view of Fernández could be said that it substitutes the more philosophical and poetical πάντων ἐπέκεινα (see Fernández, Emerita 36 (1968), p.243f.).

An exclamatory phrase to begin a hymn may be found in e.g. hymn. Apoll.1 (Heitsch p.168): ᾽Ω μέγα πᾶσι⟨ν⟩ χάρμα βροτοῖσιν.

Line 1b : The reason why the poet addresses God by the general invocation ὦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα is given in the rhetorical question which stands in the place of a negative statement: 'because there is no

other lawful way of praising you'.

A number of Greek pagan hymns begin (as does the present) with a rhetorical question: Callim. hymn.Jov.1ff. : τἰ κεν ... ἀείδειν; (cf. McLennan's note ad loc.), hymn.Del.1f., Pind. fr.89a (ed. Snell-Maehler, 1975) (see Norden p.152 for other examples in Pindar), hymn. Fortunam 3 (Heitsch p.172) and Mesom. hymn.Adrias 1ff. (Idem p.28). The rhetorical question becomes a device for praising God and may be compared to the use of negative sentences for the same reason (see above the note on 1.1.37.1). Both ways serve the 'hyperbolic' style of hymns as do various other features, for instance the use of compound epithets in παν- or παντο- (see Keyssner pp.28ff.).

On the phrase θέμις (sc. εἶναι) see the note on 2.1.38.3. Here we may add that the hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes, after the introductory salutation to the god (with a χαῖρε-formula), is followed in line 3 by a clause with θέμις (sc. εἶναι) which serves the same purpose as the present one: σὲ γὰρ πάντεσσι θέμις θνητοῖσι προσαυδᾶν.

μέλπειν : The verb may be found in 2.1.38.24,48, 2.1.22.12 (cited above on p.196), carm.2.1.34.71,75,77,85,87 (1312, 1313), 1. 1.8.63 (451) = 1.2.1.85 (528) and 2.1.45.26 (1355). It is used also in Synes. hymn.1.21,271,278, 2.7,26, 3.55 etc. and Anonym. hymn.Dion. 1,26 (= AP 9.524.1,26 or in Abel, Orphica, p.284f.). As a verb of celebrating it could be used to introduce Greek pagan hymns (see above p.23).

The two versions in Olympiodorus and the Palatine Anthology (cited above p. 309) have πλέον and μέλψω instead of θέμις and μέλπειν of the present hymn.

In his edition of this hymn and after the first line Jahn completely unjustifiably and without any MS evidence adds line 2 of Olymp. a which is cited on p. 309 (see Jahn, p.76). However, this line, as well as that in the Anthology version (which has ἐξονομήνω

instead of ὑμνοπολεύσω) has no structural connection with either line 1 or lines 2ff. of our hymn (each of which consists of two distinct hemistichs). On the contrary, the Olympiodorus and Anthology lines may be compared in structure with the sentence in line 13f.: πῶς ... ἀκλήϊστον. Jahn's innovation is further extended when he adds after line 10 the single line from the Asclepius version (cited above p.310f.).

The verbs ἐξονομαίνειν (of the Anthology version) and ὑμνοπολεύ-ειν (of Olymp. a and b) are both used by Dioscorus in one of his verse encomia : No 6.13,15 (Heitsch p.136). For the latter verb see also Apollinarius Προθεωρία 108, Met.Ps.9.4, 20.27, 21.45, 103.71 etc. and Golega p.44 for examples in other authors.

As has been said in the introductory analysis of 1.1.29, the hymn acquires a ring form with the repetition of line 1 at the end. Hymns 1.1.34 and 1.1.31 are also ring compositions. Similar ring compositions may be found in Procl. hymn.6. 1-3 = 13-15, Anacreontea 36. 1-2 = 26-27 (PLG iii p.319 Bergk) and LXX Ps.8, 117, 103. Other types of line-repetitions in Gregory's poems may be found in Appendix III.

II. Praise (2-15a)

a) 2-5 : Ineffability and incomprehensibility/unknowability of

God. Description of God by negation

Line 2b : A similar question used possibly to show the poet's embarrassment/hesitation as to how he should praise the god is: πῶς τ' ἄρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα; in Hom. hymn.Apoll.19, 207. See also Callim. hymn.Jov.4 and McLennan's note ad loc.

The use of five questions in the hymn (1,2,3,13,15) may place it in the category of διαπορητικοὶ ὕμνοι (see above p.27).

ὑμνήσει : See above the note on 1.1.31.7.

Note the variations of the Anthology version and Olymp. a and b : πῶς λόγῳ μέλψω σε(3), πῶς σε λόγῳ μέλψαιμι and τίς δὲ λόγος μέλψει σε respectively.

2. ὑμνήσει σε; σύ :   Mommsen observed a three-syllable 'sigmatismus' in this and the following line which is 'mild' (gemildert) as one such syllable is the ending of a verb and between the second and third there is a punctuation mark (see Mommsen, Griechischen Präpositionen p.670f. and 723).

Line 2b :   See above the note on 2.1.38.5: φέρτερε μύθου.

This passage, together with line 4a refers to the notion of God's ineffability. This notion is usually connected with the conceptions of God's unnameability and incomprehensibility (which are expressed in lines 3,5 and 13b-14a respectively). To save repeating the same texts, a survey of the passages dealing with these ideas will be given below (cf. line 5a). Here we may confine ourselves to a reference to ἄρρητος which is used as a divine epithet of Persephone, since as an underworld deity her name was too dangerous for pronunciation (see Haldane p. 116). The same epithet is used of various deities six times in the Orphic hymns (e.g. 6.5, 30.3) and of Zeus in Arat. Phaenom.2. Cf. also Procl. hymn.1.14 and Pap.Mag.Gr.xii.171.

3. ἀθρήσει :   The verb is used in Gregory's carm.2.1.45.19 (1355): ἀθρῆσαι ἄνακτα θεόν, 1.1.4.11 (416), and 2.1.32.14 (1301). See also Procl. hymn.6.9.

3. νόῳ ... ληπτός :   Cf. or.38.10 (M.36.321B) = or.45.6 (629C): αἱ νοεραὶ φύσεις καὶ νῷ μόνῳ ληπταί.

The Anthology variation: (τὸν) οὐδὲ λόγῳ περιληπτόν and that of Olymp. a and b : (τὸν) οὐδὲ νόῳ περιληπτόν may be compared - yet in wording only - to Plat. Rep.529d: ἃ δὴ λόγῳ μὲν καὶ διανοίᾳ ληπτά, and Empedocles fr.2.8 (H.Diels, PPF, p.106):/ οὔτε νόῳ περιληπτά.

In spite of the fact that the reversal of lines 3 and 4 (follow-ed by the MSS of group β) produces a more attractive and smoother syntactical arrangement for lines 2-7, it cannot be accepted because it spoils the symmetrical structure of the section (explained in

detail above in the introductory analysis to 1.1.29). Lines 2-7
consist of three pairs of lines each of which may be compared in
structure with Callim. hymn.Jov. 87-88 and hymn.Apoll.26-27 where
anaphora exists both at the beginning and end of the two lines in
each pair (see also McLennan's note on Callim. hymn.Jov.87).

4. μοῦνος :   For the significance of the use of expressions
with μόνος in hymns see above the note on 1.1.31.8.

4. ἄφραστος :   The epithet (a variant of οὐδενὶ ῥητός in line 2)
is used by Gregory in carm.2.1.32.56 (1305) to refer to the Trinity:
/ κάλλεα μαρμαίροντα φάος περὶ τρισσὸν ἄφραστον and in 1.1.30.28 to
the οὐσία of the Trinity (see above the note ad loc.).   The epithet
is not cited in Bruchmann, Epitheta Deorum, under any Greek pagan god.
However, Hesychius s.v. ῎Αφραττος regards this as a by-name of Hecate
(see Haldane p.116,n.1). On the contrary, the equivalent ἄφθεγκτος
appears in the Magic papyri (e.g. Pap.Mag.Gr.xiii.983) and the hymns
of Synesius: hymn.1.221 (see Terzaghi's note ad loc.) and 236-37.

Line 4b :   This phrase, together with the parallel one in the
following line, refers to the creation of the world, which consists
of all that can be spoken of (ὅσσα λαλεῖται) and all that can be
thought of (ὅσσα νοεῖται).   The reason why the poet states the con-
tent of the creation in these terms is, as has been noticed in the
introductory analysis of 1.1.29, to contrast God the Creator with His
creation: God the Creator is ineffable and incomprehensible, while
His creation is 'effable' and comprehensible, and at the same time to
explain why God has these qualities.

The poet uses here τίκτειν to describe the act of creation in-
stead of the Biblical κτίζειν which is found in 1.1.33.3, 1.1.31.3,
1.1.30.13 and 1.1.32.9.   Thus, he appears to imitate the practice of
Greek pagan hymns in which gods are said to give birth to everything.
However, the common verb used in these hymns is not τίκτειν (which

nowhere seems to have been used in the sense of 'producing the world') but γεννᾶν (possibly metri gratia). See for instance Orph. hymn.55.5 (Aphrodite): γεννᾷς δὲ τὰ πάντα. More examples of this verb or its cognitive nouns and epithets may be found in Keyssner pp.20-22.

5. ἄγνωστος : The notion of the unknown God (expressed here in ἄγνωστος) has been the subject of Norden's monograph on Agnostos Theos in which it was maintained that neither the expression ἄγνωστος θεός nor the idea it represents is genuinely Greek (see particularly p.84 and 109). Besides, Dodds tried to show that in Neoplatonism the meaning of the doctrine of the unknowableness of God is quite different from that in Gnosticism (see E.R. Dodds, Proclus. The Elements of Theology, second edition (Oxf.,1963), 'Appendix I', pp.310-13). Whatever the case may be, for our purpose it is sufficient to mention simply the various areas where this notion (together with that of God's incomprehensibility in line 3 and His ineffability in lines 2 and 4) appears, insisting above all on expressions similar to the present ones. Most of the passages cited below have been collected and discussed by various scholars: Norden, particularly pp.69ff., Terzaghi on Synes. hymn.2.227, Le R.P. Festugière, La Révélation d' Hermès Trismégiste, vol.iv, (Paris, 1954), pp.1-140; and in relation to Gregory: Gottwald pp.17-19, Moreschini pp.1370-74, Theodorou pp.236-39, Fernández, Emerita,36(1968), 236-45, Pinault, pp.61-110.

These ideas are first hinted at in Plat.Tim.28c: τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν, Parmen.142a: Οὐδ' ὀνομάζεται ἄρα οὐδὲ λέγεται οὐδὲ δοξάζεται οὐδὲ γιγνώσκεται, οὐδέ τι τῶν ὄντων αὐτοῦ αἰσθάνεται and Epist.vii.341c: ῥητὸν γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐστιν. Later they appear in Albinus Introductio in Plat.10.4 (ed. Louis p.55): Ἄρρητος δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ νῷ μόνῳ ληπτός and in Neoplatonism: Plot. Enn.v.3.13.1: ἄρρητον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ (sc. τὸ ἕν), v.5.6.12: οὐδὲ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ λέγει and

vi.9.4.11f.: Διὸ οὐδὲ ρητόν, οὐδὲ γραπτόν. However, Plotinus does not use ἄγνωστος. Finally, they culminate in Procl. Theol.Plat.iii. 7.12 (Saffrey-Westerink): ἄρρητος μὲν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἄφραστος, ἄγνωστος δὲ πάσῃ γνώσει καὶ ἄληπτος, Inst.Theol.162 (Dodds p.140.33-142. 1): ἄρρητον γὰρ καθ᾽ αὑτὸ πᾶν τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἄγνωστον, 123 (p.108.25f.): Πᾶν τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν ὑπερούσιον ἕνωσιν ἄρρητόν ἐστι καὶ ἄ-γνωστον and Theol.Plat.ii.11 (Saff.-West. p.65.13f.). Further examples from Proclus are cited in Jahn p.66f. and 68.

The same ideas appear in Philo Alexandrinus :iii.219.14f.(Wend-land): τοῦ ἀκατονομάστου καὶ ἀρρήτου καὶ κατὰ πάσας ἰδέας ἀκατα-λήπτου θεοῦ, 159.5,13: τὸ ὂν ἄρρητόν ἐστιν and καὶ μὴν εἰ ἄρρητον, καὶ ἀπερινόητον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον, 39.13: ἄρρητον γὰρ τὸ ὂν and ii.70. 16f.: ὁ δ᾽ ἄρα οὐδὲ τῷ νῷ καταληπτός (although, like Plotinus, Philo does not use ἄγνωστος). On unknowability in Philo see H.A. Wolfson, Philo, second revised printing, vol.ii (Camb. Mass.:Harv.Un.Press, 1948), pp.94-164.

These ideas are not absent from the Hermetic and Gnostic litera-ture either: a) Corp.Herm.i.31 (Nock-Festugière): ἀνεκλάλητε, ἄρρητε, σιωπῇ φωνούμενε (see the note of Nock-Fest. ad loc. where further examples on ἄρρητος are cited), vii.2: οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀκουστός (sc. ὁ θεός), οὐδὲ λεκτός, x.9: ὁ γὰρ θεός ... οὔτε λέγεται οὔτε ἀκούεται and 5 where ἄληπτον is used for τὸ κάλλος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; and b) Const. Apost.6.10.1 where Gnostics are reported to call god ἄρρητον and ἄ-γνωστον and Clem.Alex. Strom.v.11, 77.2 (GCS 2 p.377.24): ὑμνοῦντας (sc. ἀγγέλους) θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον (a passage taken from the Apoca-lypse of the Gnostic Sophonias).

The same ideas either through the mediation of Philo, or direct-ly from Neoplatonism have been introduced into Christian literature, although a reference to the phrase ὁ ἄγνωστος θεός appears in St Paul's speech on Areopagus (Act.17.23) and ἄρρητος is used again by St Paul

to describe ῥήματα (Ep.2Cor.12.4). We may here refer to: Synes. hymn.2.132f.: νόος ἀρρήτου/ τίκτει σε πατρός,/ and 227-30: πάτερ ἄ-γνωστε,/ πάτερ ἄρρητε,/ ἄγνωστε νόῳ,/ ἄρρητε λόγῳ,/ (see Terzaghi's extended note ad loc. for various passages on these ideas taken from the magic papyri, Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophers, minor late Latin poets, gnostic and Christian writers). On ἄρρητος see also Origen. Cels.vii.43 (GCS 2 p.193f.), De Principiis 4.4.1 (GCS 5 p. 349.20f.), Didymus De Trinitate iii.2.1 (M.39.788A) and Lampe s.v. The same ideas are common in Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, whose philosophy, according to Scheldon-Williams, approximates very closely to that of Proclus (see I.P. Scheldon-Williams, 'The ps.-Dionysius and the Holy Hierotheus', Studia Patristica viii (= TU 93, Berlin, 1966), pp.108-117; cf. Plagnieux p.332 n.192): div.nom.1.1 (M.3. 588B): ἄρρητόν τε λόγῳ παντὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ λόγον ἀγαθόν, ... καὶ νοῦς ἀνό-ητος καὶ λόγος ἄρρητος, 1.5 (593Af.) where God is described as ἄλη-πτος,   ἄκλητος (which is interpreted in Max.Conf. schol.div.nom. (M.4.201C) as: ἀκλήτου, φησί, ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ καλουμένου τινὶ γνωρίσμα-τι and may be compared to ἀκλήϊστος in line 14 of our hymn) and ὑπερ-ώνυμος; while in 2.4 (641A) God's nature is ἄφθεγκτος. See also epist. 3 (1070B): καὶ λεγόμενον (sc. τὸ μυστήριον Ἰησοῦ) ἄρρητον μένει, καὶ νοούμενον ἄγνωστον.

In the School of Alexandria Plat. Tim.28c, together with the two Biblical passages cited above, becomes a regular starting point for any discussion on the ideas of incomprehensibility and ineffability of God. See for instance Clem.Alex. Strom.v.12 78.1 (GCS 2 p.377.25 25ff.) and 79.1 (p.378.14ff.). A number of examples from pagan and Christian literature which make use of the Platonic passage are mentioned in J. Geffcken, Zwei griechische Apologeten, Sammlung Wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu griechischen und römischen Schrift-stellern, reprint from the Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1907 edition

(Hildesheim-N.York: Georg Olms, 1970), p.174f.

Finally, the incomprehensibility of God - yet mainly expressed in the epithet ἀκατάληπτος - is the subject of five homilies by John Chrysostom edited by A.M. Malingrey and R. Flacelière in Sources Chrétiennes 28, second edition (Paris, 1970) with an introduction by J. Daniélou on the history of this idea until Chrysostom's time (pp. 15-29). See B. Otis, Dumbarton Oaks Papers,12(1958), p.108 n.30.

We now turn to Gregory's works where a number of parallel passages are found dealing with both ideas (which are expressed in various developing stages). These are: or.40.5 (M.36.364B): Θεὸς μέν ἐστι φῶς τὸ ἀκρότατον καὶ ἀπρόσιτον καὶ ἄρρητον, οὔτε νῷ καταληπτόν, οὔτε λόγῳ ῥητὸν πάσης φωτιστικὸν λογικῆς φύσεως, or.30.17 (Gallay p.260f.; M.36.125B): Τὸ θεῖον ἀκατονόμαστον .... Οὔτε γὰρ ἀέρα τις ἔπνευσεν ὅλον πώποτε, οὔτε οὐσίαν θεοῦ παντελῶς ἢ νοῦς κεχώρηκεν, ἢ φωνὴ περιέλαβεν, or.45.3 (M.36.625C-628A) = or.38.7 (317Bff.): (sc. God) νῷ μόνῳ σκιαγραφούμενος καὶ τούτῳ λίαν ἀμυδρῶς καὶ μετρίως .... Ἄπειρον οὖν τὸ θεῖον καὶ δυσθεώρητον· καὶ τοῦτο πάντη καταληπτὸν αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἡ ἀπειρία· ... ἢ ὅλον ἄληπτον εἶναι. The incomprehensibility of God is discussed at length in the second theological oration having as its starting point Plat. Tim.28c: or.28.4 (Gallay p.106f.; M.36.29Cf.): Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν χαλεπόν, φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον, ὥς τις τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι θεολόγων ἐφιλοσόφησεν, - οὐκ ἀτέχνως ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἵνα καὶ κατειληφέναι δόξῃ τὸ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν, καὶ διαφύγῃ τῷ ἀνεκφράστῳ τὸν ἔλεγχον. Ἀλλὰ φράσαι μὲν ἀδύνατον, ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, νοῆσαι δὲ ἀδυνατώτερον. In paragraph five (p.108f.;32B) God's nature is described as ἄληπτος and ἀπερίληπτος (which is interpreted by Elias of Crete as ἀκατάληπτος : M.36.770A); while in paragraph eleven (p. 122;40B) the idea of incomprehensibility is given in a short statement: Τὸ μὴ ληπτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρωπίνῃ διανοίᾳ τὸ θεῖον. See ib.17 (p. 134;48C). In or.31.8 (Gallay p.290; M.36.141C) the nature of God is

called ἄρρητος καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον. Finally, both ideas given with some flexibility may be seen in carm.2.1.87.13f.(1434): / μῆτερ ἐμή, τί μ' ἔτικτες, ἐπεὶ θεὸν οὔτε νοῆσαι,/ οὔτε φράσαι δύναμαι τόσσον, ὅσον ποθέω;/ and De Virtute:1.2.10.934-36 (747f.): θεὸς νοεῖται μέν τισιν, εἰ καὶ μετρίως,/ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς δὲ φράζετ' οὐδ' ἀκούεται,/ ὅσον πέρ ἐστι, κἄν τις οἴηται λίαν./.

The question whether Gregory based the exposition of both ideas directly on Plato (as his reference to Tim.28c in or.28.4 leaves us to believe)or indirectly through his acquaintance with the School of Alexandria contributes little to the problem of authenticity of the hymn, since in either case the hymn could have been easily written by Gregory. The dependence of Gregory's second theological oration on Clem.Alex. Strom.v.12 (GCS 2 p.377.25ff.) was pointed out by H. Pinault, pp.73-82. Cf. also Otis, Dumbarton Oaks 12 (1958), p.108 n.31.

b) 6-10: All the creation in relation to God

Lines 6-7: All the creation praises God

On the notion of the creation (πάντα:6,7) praising its Creator see above the notes on 1.1.31. 7-10.

6. πάντα : It corresponds to ὅσσα (4,5) and is contrasted to μοῦνος (4,5).

6. λιγαίνει : Cf. Synes. hymn.5.4f.:/ πάλι μοι λίγαινε θυμέ,/ θεὸν ὀρθρίοισιν ὕμνοις,/, Apoll. Met.Ps. e.g.18.2, 25.23 (both in the same sedes), Anacreontea 48.3(PLG iii p.325 Bergk) and Nonn. Dion.e.g. 48.197. Besides, the same verb is used by Marinus (a pupil of Proclus) in an epideictic epigram referring to the latter and found in AP 9.197. 5 (same sedes).

7. γεραίρει: Cf. Gregory's carm.2.1.45.349 (1378), 2.1.1.634 (1017), Orph. Arg.619 (Abel) and Apoll. Met.Ps.e.g.4.10, 21.47 (all in the same sedes).

On the structure of lines 6-7 see the introductory analysis to

the hymn. Here, it seems necessary to point out that such techniques
as those used in these lines are common in Gregory's style. See for
instance the antithetical juxtaposition of active positive and passi-
ve negative forms of the same verb in or.41.9 (M.36.441B). See also
Ruether p.59ff.,70ff. on figures of language and thought respectively.

Besides, the same feature, whereby the content of πάντα is stated
by two antithetical words, may be seen in 1.1.33.1f. (πάντων: οὐρανός-
γαῖα), 1.1.34.1f.(πάντων: τὰ νοητά - τὰ ὁρατά) and 1.1.31.3f.(πάντα:
οὐρανόν - γαῖαν). In all these cases the poet chooses the antithetical
pair in connection to the general context of each hymn and not in
order to describe exactly the full scale of πάντα.

Lines 8-10: The possibility that these lines may be a later
interpolation in the hymn is discussed in detail in the introductory
analysis to the hymn.

8. ξυνοί ... ξυναί : The epithet is used four times at the end
of carm.1.1.9. 97-99 (464) to produce the same effect as here:/ ξυ-
νὸς μὲν πάντεσσιν ἀήρ, ξυνὴ δέ τε γαῖα,/ ξυνός δ' .../ ξυνόν δ' ....
The double repetition of this epithet within the same line is featured
also in Hesiod. fr.1.6 (Merkelbach-West), Apoll.Rhod. Arg.3.173 (cf.1.
336,337), Theocr. Idyl.7.35 (see Gow's note ad loc.) and Oppian.
Cyneg.4.43.

8. τέ ... δέ : For this irregular corresponsion (instead of the
more common τέ ... τέ or τέ ... καί) see J.D. Denniston, The Greek
Particles, second edition (Oxf., 1954), p.513. See also above the
note on τέ ... τέ in 2.1.38.21.

8. πόθοι : The word, together with ἔφεσις (which is similar in
sense), appears in Moreschini's view to be a technical term in Neo-
platonic philosophy, used to describe the great desire of the purified
soul to ascend to God (see Moreschini p.1369f.; cf. Gottwald p.39).
An example of this is Plot. Enn.i.6.7.

In Gregory it is used for instance in carm.1.1.7.10 (439): ὥς κε
πόθοισι/ τεινώμεσθα πρὸς ὕψος ἀεὶ νέον, 1.2.15.151f. (777):/ ψυχὴ δ᾽
ἔστιν ἄημα θεοῦ, καὶ κρείσσονα μοίρην/ αἰὲν ἄγαν ποθέει τῶν ὑπερου-
ρανίων, or.28.13 (Gallay p.128; M.36.44Af.): Ἐπεὶ ἐφίεται μὲν πᾶσα
λογικὴ φύσις θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας· καταλαβεῖν δὲ ἀδυνατεῖ δι᾽
ἃς εἶπον αἰτίας. Κάμνουσα δὲ τῷ πόθῳ, καὶ οἷον σφαδάζουσα, ..., δεύ-
τερον ποιεῖται πλοῦν and or.32.15 (M.36.192A).

Examples with πόθος or ποθεῖν from the Platonic Theology of
Proclus are collected in Jahn p.69. Here we cite only Procl. hymn.
2.5: πόθων ἀναγώγια κέντρα λαβοῦσαι/ (sc. ψυχαί).

8. ὠδῖνες : Delfgaauw (p.148) sees under the whole verse(8) an
allusion to Ep.Rom.8.22 where the world - inanimate creation -
appears to 'groan and suffer' with mankind: πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συνστενάζει
καὶ συνωδίνει. However, if lines 8-10 belong to this hymn, such a
meaning for ὠδῖνες is not suitable to the general context of lines
6-10: the relation of All with God and the prevailing notion of All
praising God. Jahn, on the other hand, influenced by the Neoplatonic
overtones of the whole hymn, interprets ὠδῖνες in connection with πό-
θος as meaning 'great love' (Lebenswehen in p.69). The word in this
sense may be found in Plat. Phaedrus 251e 5: ὠδίνων ἔληξεν (sc. ψυχή),
Epist.ii.313a 5 and Rep.490b 7 (on which Plot. Enn.v.3.17.16 and
later Procl. Theol.Plat.ii.8 (Saffr.-West. p.57) are based).

This word is used, I think, in the same sense as the participle
σφαδάζουσα of or.28.13 which is cited in the previous note.

8. ἁπάντων : This, as well as the two πάντα in the following
line, refers (as I have maintained above in the introductory analysis
to the hymn) to all rational beings (νοέοντα:10).

9. ἀμφὶ σέ : 'about you'. The object of the longing and great
desire of all rational beings is expressed with a prepositional phrase.

9. σοί ... προσεύχεται : Another characteristic which marks the

relation of all rational beings with God is that they offer prayers
to Him.

9f. εἰς σέ ... ὕμνον :   Note another preference of the poet for
prepositional expressions to denote this time the person to whom the
hymn of All is addressed. The significance of the use of such ex-
pressions in this hymn is discussed below in the note on σοὶ ἔνι in
line 11.

10. σύνθεμα :   None of the meanings provided in LSJ s.v. is here
appropriate. On the contrary, the word appears to mean 'creation',
according to Delfgaauw (p.148), or 'composition', according to Lampe
s.v.   The attitude of the poet to use this word with a different
meaning is in accordance with Gregory's tendency to use words with
different meaning (see above p. 41).

With this meaning the whole sentence (9f.) becomes: 'to you All
(rational beings), realizing that they are (sc. ὄντα) your creation
/composition, 'say' 'a silent hymn'.

10. (πάντα) νοέοντα λαλεῖ :   This juxtaposition recalls (πάντα)
νοέοντα (7) - λαλέοντα (6) which might be further internal evidence
for regarding lines 8-10 as part of this hymn.

10. λαλεῖ σιγώμενον ὕμνον :   This oxymoron may have been formed
to recall the one in line 6 : οὐ λαλέοντα λιγαύνει (although this is
less stressed).

In Gregory this type of oxymoron seems to be common. See for
instance carm.2.1.12.364 (1192):/ σιγῇ βοῶντες, κἂν δοκῶμεν μὴ λέγειν/,
and other passages from poems and epistles related to Gregory's vow of
silence (see above p.203f.) : 2.1.34.1f. (1307):/ Ἴσχεο γλῶσσα φίλη·
σὺ δέ μοι, γραφίς, ἔγγραφε σιγῆς/ῥήματα καὶ φθέγγου ὄμμασι τὰ κραδί-
ης./, 209f. (1322): ὡς μὲν ἔχοιτε/ ἡμετέρης σιγῆς μνημόσυνον λαλέον./
and (though in a different context) epist.112.1 (Gallay ii p.6; M.37.
209A): Εἰσεδεξάμην σε καὶ σιωπῶν, ἵνα μάθῃς καὶ σιωπῆς λόγον τῇ γρα-

φύδι λαλούμενον, and epist.111 (p.6; 209A): κοινῇ τὸν θεὸν ᾀσόμεθα,

καρποφοροῦντες ὥσπερ εὔλογον σιωπήν, οὕτω καὶ λόγον ἔνθεον. However,

the best parallel seems to be or.44.11 (M.36.620B): πάντα θεὸν ὑμνεῖ

καὶ δοξάζει φωναῖς ἀλαλήτοις.

A similar oxymoron appears in other Christian writers : Synes.

hymn.2. 80-86: Ὑμνῶ σε, μάκαρ,/ καὶ διὰ φωνᾶς,/ ὑμνῶ σε, μάκαρ,/ καὶ

διὰ σιγᾶς· / ὅσα γὰρ φωνᾶς,/ τόσα καὶ σιγᾶς/ ἀΐεις νοερᾶς./ to which

Terzaghi ad loc. adds Clem. Alex. Strom.vii.7 39,6 (GCS 3 p.30.15ff.):

ἔστιν οὖν ... ὁμιλία πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡ εὐχή· κἂν ψιθυρίζοντες ἄρα μηδὲ

τὰ χείλη ἀνοίγοντες μετὰ σιγῆς προσλαλῶμεν, ἔνδοθεν κεκράγαμεν .

Finally, in a liturgical papyrus (Berol.pap. 9794) God is called σι-

ωπῇ φωνούμενε (see C. Wessely, Les plus anciens Monuments du Christi-

anisme écrits sur Papyrus, vol.ii, in Patrologia Orientalis 18(1924),

p.431 line 51f.).   The same expression appears in a similar prayer

in Corp.Herm.i.31 (cited above p.325; see also note 76 of Nock-Festug.

on Corp.Herm.i.30).

c) 11-13a : God's nature and characteristics in relation to All

11. σοὶ ἔνι : The alternative reading ἐνί produces a remarkable

contrast with πάντα as both words are juxtaposed. Such a contrast is

in harmony with those in μοῦνος (4,5) - πάντα (6,7), and καὶ εἷς καὶ

πάντα (12). However, the use of the preposition ἔνι (in anastrophe)

seems to be necessitated by the syntax of μένειν (see LSJ s.v.). In

this way the prepositional expression σοὶ ἔνι may be compared to those

in line 9: ἀμφὶ σέ and εἰς σέ, and add a further internal evidence that

lines 8-10 form part of this hymn.

Using these prepositional phrases to express various relations

of All with God, the poet consciously or not seems to follow a

general attitute, appearing for instance in the stoic-gnostic order:

ἐξ οὗ - ἐν ᾧ (or δι' οὗ) - εἰς ὅν (sc. ὁ κόσμος γίγνεται) (see H.

Dörrie,'Präpositionen und Metaphysik', Museum Helveticum 26 (1969),

pp.217-28 and W. Theiler, Die Vorbereitung des Neuplatonismus,

second edition (Berlin-Zürich: Hildebrand, 1964), pp.31ff.), and in St

Paul's epistles (Rom.11.36, 1Cor.8.6 which Norden believes to have

been influenced by Stoicism: see Norden p.240ff.).

11. σοὶ ἔνι πάντα μένει : Cf. carm.1.1.5.2 (424):/ νοῦς μέγας

(sc. God) ἐντὸς ἅπαντα φέρων and the rest of the passages cited above

in the note on line 1a in which the transcendence of God is opposed

to His immanence in the world; also Corp.Herm.v.10 (Nock-Festugière):

πάντα δὲ ἐν σοί (see Festugière , La Révélation d' Hermès Trismégiste,

vol.iv, (Paris,1954), p.69 n.2), Clem.Alex. Paed.iii.12 101.2 (GCS 1

p.291.9f.): πάντα τῷ ἑνί, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα ἕν (sc. ἐστί),

and Marc. Aurel. Εἰς ἑαυτόν iv.23.2: ἐκ σοῦ πάντα, ἐν σοὶ πάντα, εἰς

σὲ πάντα.

This idea, namely that everything remains within God may be com-

pared to that in 1.1.30.22f.: the Holy Spirit contains everything (see

the note ad loc.). See also Apoll. Met.Ps.118.166:/ γαῖα, μάκαρ,

παλάμῃσι μένει σέο ῥιζωθεῖσα,/, Procl. Inst.Theol.30 (Dodds p.34): πᾶν

τὸ ἀπό τινος παραγόμενον ἀμέσως μένει τε ἐν τῷ παράγοντι καὶ πρόεισιν

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (see the note of Dodds ad loc.) and Orph. fr.168.10 (Kern) =

Orph. fr.169.5 (Kern):/ πάντα γὰρ ἐν Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ τάδε σώματι κεῖται/.

The above passages show that the idea in line 11a was widespread and

common to different areas.

Line 11b : The idea of this hemistich may be illustrated with

a passage which describes the relationship of All with God in carm.1.

2.2. 454f.(614): (πάντες γὰρ ἑνὸς γένος: cf. Arat. Phaen.5).../ πάντες

ἑνός, πάντεσσι πνοὴ μία, εἰς ἕνα πάντες/ νεύομεν. Thus, θοάζειν τινί

(compared to νεύειν εἴς τινα of this Gregorian passage) should, I

think, mean 'rushing quickly towards somebody' (see LSJ s.v. θοάζω A).

With this meaning this verb may be contrasted to μένειν of the first

hemistich. The above Gregorian passage helps us also to trace for

line 11 a possible source in (or at least a connection with) the famous passage in St Paul's speech on Areopagus: ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν (Act.17.28). See also Ps.-Dionysius Areop. div. nom.13.3 (M.3.980B): ἐν ᾗ (sc. θεῖκῇ ἑνότητι) ... πάντα ἐστί ... καὶ μένει ... καὶ ἐπιστρέφεται.

12. καὶ πάντων τέλος ἐσσύ : Cf. 2.1.38.9: (sc. Christ) αἰῶνος πείρημα and the note ad loc.

The notion that a deity is the beginning and end of all has come from religion but philosophy, as Keyssner observes (p.15), developed it so that it was spread further. Its appearance in Greek pagan hymns may be seen in: hymn. in Fortunam 11 (Heitsch p.172):/ πάντων γὰρ ἀρχὰν καὶ τέλος αἰὲν ἔχεις, Orph. hymn.4.2 (Uranus) = 15.7 (Zeus): ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή/ and Mag.hymn.Selene 35f.(Heitsch p. 192):/ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος εἶ, πάντων δὲ σὺ μούνη ἀνάσσεις· / ἐκ σέο γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ καὶ εἰς {αἰώνιε} ⟨σὲ ἄ⟩ παντα τελευτᾷ.

In Greek philosophy this notion may be traced in Plat. Leges iv. 715e-716a which, according to Procl. Theol.Plat.vi.8 (Portus,1618 p. 363), is based on Orph. fr.21 (Kern). Cf. also Orph.fr.21a and 168 and the note of des Places on Plat. Leges iv.716a. Later, it appears in the Neoplatonist Iamblichus (e.g. Protrepticus c.iv ed. Pisteli p.23.3ff.) and finally, in Procl. Theol.Plat.ii.8 (Saffr.-West. p.55. 12) and iii.7 (p.29.15f.), as Jahn already observed (p.73).

12. καὶ εἷς καὶ πάντα : Jahn (p.73) suggests a correction of εἷς into ἕν (without any MS authority) in order to correspond to the neuter form ἕν in the following line.

This expression may be compared with Synes. hymn.1.180-82: ἓν καὶ πάντα,/ ἓν διὰ πάντων,/ ἕν τε πρὸ πάντων,/ and 199-201: ἓν καὶ πάντα,/ ἓν καθ' ἑαυτό,/ ἓν διὰ πάντων./. Terzaghi (pp.87-89), comment-ing on the first passage, gives - after Norden (pp.247-49) - the history of the phrase ἓν εἶναι τὰ πάντα in Greek philosophy - begin-

ning from Heraclitus fr.50 (Diels, Vorsokr. i p.161) - Orphicism, and

Apocryphal/Gnostic and Hermetic literature. However, this phrase is

quite different from that in Synesius (i.e. ἓν καὶ πάντα), since in

the latter phrase ἓν and πάντα are both qualifications of God and

their connection produces a paradox; while in the former ἓν is a

qualification of τὰ πάντα, as πάντα is a qualification of ὁ εἷς in the

opposite expression πάντα ὄντα τὸν ἕνα in Corp.Herm.xvi.3.

The Synesian passage in turn differs from the present one in the

use of ἓν instead of εἷς. Nor is the passage mentioned by Norden

(p.184 n.1) from the Stoic Senecas: (sc.deus) solus est omnia (Natur.

Quest. 1.praef.13) an exact parallel to the present phrase, as

Festugière rightly comments (see Festugière, La Révélation, vol.iv,

p.69). The latter scholar provides further expressions for compari-

son taken from Hermetic literature (e.g. Asclep.20) and Philo Ale-

xandrinus: 1.72.7 (Cohn): εἷς καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸς ὤν.

The present expression, as Festugière has already observed (p.69),

must be seen in its contrast to line 13a: οὐχ ἓν ἐών, οὐ πάντα (and,

may I add, to καὶ οὐδέν:12) as used simply to emphasize that God can-

not be conceived (or described).

12 καὶ οὐδέν : This is the reading of all the MSS of group α,

while group β has ὑπάρχεις. In order to obtain a better philosophi-

cal meaning in line 12b with the triple polysyndeton and avoid the

hiatus caused by ὑπάρχεις, I think that the reading of group α is

preferable.

Lines 12b-13a : The similarity of this passage with Plot. Enn.

v.2.1.1: Τὸ ἓν πάντα καὶ οὐδὲ ἕν· ἀρχὴ γὰρ πάντων οὐ πάντα, ἀλλ' ἐ-

κείνως πάντα has already been pointed out by P. Henry and H.R.

Schwyzer ad loc. (see also Moreschini p.1386). However, this is a

purely verbal similarity because the ideas in both texts are differ-

ent: in Plotinus the One (τὸ ἕν) is compared to πάντα (All); while in

our passage God is paradoxically at the same time One, All, Nothing, and the opposite of these.

d) 13b-15a : God is both πανώνυμος and ἀκλήϊστος, and incomprehensible

This section expands further the subject of God's ineffability and incomprehensibility discussed in lines 2-5.

13. πανώνυμε : This is the reading of group α and as a lectio difficilior (this is the only citation in Lexica) must be preferred to πολύλλογε of group β.

In the meaning 'having all names' it is precisely contrasted with ἀκλήϊστος in the following line, which here has the meaning 'without any name' (see below the note ad loc.).   The alternative reading πολύλλογε ('multinominis') of group β seems to have been a gloss which eventually substituted the original word (since in some MSS it appears as a marginal or linear note).

The subject of the polynomy of pagan gods (expressed in our hymn with πανώνυμος) features nearly in every Greek hymn (see above p. 27). In these hymns, however, the common epithet used is πολυώνυμος which first appears twice in the Homeric hymn to Demeter (18,32), very likely as an epithet of Pluto (see the note by Allen-Halliday-Sikes on hymn.Dem.18). Later we find it in the philosophical hymns: Cleanth. hymn.1 (Zeus)(on this see Adam, The Vitality of Platonism, pp.119-21) and Procl. hymn.2.1 (Aphrodite). Finally, it applies quite often to various deities in the Orphic and Magic hymns: Orph. hymn.45.2 (Dionysus) and Mag.hymn.5.20 (Selene) (ed. Abel). For further examples see Keyssner p.47.

14. ἀκλήϊστον : In LSJ s.v. we find passages which use the epithet (as a compound from α + κλείω) in the sense 'not closed or fastened'. However, its contrast with πανώνυμος (13) shows (as is also mentioned in Lampe s.v.) that it should mean 'without name'.

It is therefore used here as a compound from α + καλέω. This shows
that the poet follows a custom common to Gregory, namely he uses
words (appearing in Greek literature) with a different meaning (see
above p. 41   ). Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite uses in the same
sense the similar epithet ἄκλητος : <u>div.nom.</u>1.5 (M.3.593B).

In line 13f. the poet expands the subject of God's ineffability
(2,4) by stating another paradoxical view : God is at the same time
πανώνυμος and ἀκλήϊστος (i.e. has every name, and no name). These
ideas are discussed in Ps.-Dion.Areop. <u>div.nom.</u>1.6f. (M.3.596A-C)
expressed in the terms: τὸ πολυώνυμον (sc. τῆς θεότητος) and τὸ ἀνώ-
νυμον alternatively. The author explains the latter term by basing
it on LXX <u>Gen</u>.32.29 and <u>Jud</u>.13.18. Besides, Maximus the Confessor,
when commenting on the above passage (in M.4.208C) says: ἀνώνυμον
(sc. τὴν θεότητα) διὰ τὸ πάντα εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ὄντων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
πάντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ὡς αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξηγεῖται. As we see, this
passage bears some relation to our line 12f.

As has been already noticed above, the word-arrangement of πῶς
... ἀκλήϊστον; (13f.) may be compared to line 2 of the Anthology and
Olymp. a and b versions.

14b-15a : This is another rhetorical question with the inter-
rogative pronoun (τίς) postponed as happens for instance in Callim.
<u>hymn.Jov</u>.1.92.

With this rhetorical question the poet expresses that it is im-
possible for any 'heavenly mind' (νόος οὐρανίδης) to penetrate the
veils above the clouds (ὑπερνεφέας καλύπτρας), or the veils appearing
above (ὑπερφανέας: the reading of group β καλύπτρας). Since in line
13f. the poet expands with the paradox: πανώνυμος - ἀκλήϊστος the
first idea of section 2-5, namely God's ineffability, it is, I
believe, quite certain that with this metaphor (14b-15a) he wants to
do the same with the second idea in section 2-5, namely God's incom-

prehensibility. This may be seen from the fact that in line 2 God

is incomprehensible only to νόος (most likely the ordinary human

mind); while here, God is incomprehensible even to νόος οὐρανίδης

(i.e. to a heavenly mind, or a mind pertaining to heaven). It is

obvious that οὐρανίδης was added by the poet deliberately to illustra-

te the expansion of this idea : God is incomprehensible not only to

νόος but even to νόος οὐρανίδης (the exact meaning of the express-

ion is given below). This impossibility in understanding God is

expressed with the metaphor of the veils which in the MSS of group α

are characterized as 'found above the clouds' (ὑπερνεφέας) and in the

MSS of group β as 'appearing above' (ὑπερφανέας: see LSJ s.v.). I

think that this metaphor is not perfect if these veils are not

characterized as 'found above the clouds' , because otherwise they

could be penetrated by any heavenly mind (through its own heavenly

nature).   Therefore, the reading of group α is preferable to that of

group β.   Gregory uses ὑπερνεφεῖν in various metaphorical meanings

in carm.1.2.2.6 (578), or.43.64 (M.36.581A) and De Vita Sua: 2.1.11.

- 413 (Jungck p.74; M.37.1057)

Let us now attempt to find the exact meaning of νόος οὐρανίδης

and ὑπερνεφέας καλύπτρας. Provided that the hymn is written by

Gregory, νόος οὐρανίδης may be interpreted as either ' a purified

human mind' (i.e. free from the bonds of flesh: see above the note on

1.1.32.45 and that on 1.1.34.21b), or 'an angel' since νόες οὐρανί-

ωνες in 2.1.38.23 refer also to angels, as I maintain in the note

ad loc. where I also note the interchangeability between οὐράνιος, οὐ-

ρανίων and οὐρανίδης without any particular difference in their

meaning (see on this also the note on 2.1.38.24: ἐπουρανίης). The se-

cond interpretation may be supported by a passage from Gregory's

second theological oration , addressed to his audience and used to

show that it is impossible for anybody to know God: or.28.3 (Gallay

p.106; M.36.29B): Κᾶν γὰρ οὐράνιον ἄπαν, κᾶν ὑπερουράνιόν τι, καὶ πο-
λὺ τὴν φύσιν ὑψηλότερον ἡμῶν ᾖ, καὶ ἐγγυτέρω θεοῦ, πλέον ἀπέχει θεοῦ
καὶ τῆς τελείας καταλήψεως, ἢ ὅσον ἡμῶν ὑπεραίρει τοῦ συνθέτου καὶ
ταπεινοῦ καὶ κάτω βρίθοντος κράματος. This is also the view of
Delfgaauw (p.151), based on paragraph 4 of this oration (p.108;32A).

In its literal sense ὑπερνεφὴς καλύπτρα is a veil above the
cloud and if one takes the cloud as the first veil, the veil above it
should be the second. Therefore, in knowing (or seeing) God there
are two hindrances. Such an idea may be seen in Gregory's De Virtu-
te: carm.1.2.10. 954-57 (749): (sc. God)

> ὃν φῶς καλύπτει, οὗ σκότος προΰσταται.
>
> ἣν καὶ ζόφον τέμνῃ τις, ἀναστράπτεται
>
> τοῦ φωτὸς ἄκρου δευτέρῳ προβλήματι.
>
> διπλοῦν δ' ὑπερέχειν οὐ μάλ' εὐπετὲς σκέπας

According to this passage it is not possible for anybody to see God
because of the double veil which covers Him (διπλοῦν σκέπας:957) and
which consists of: a) the σκότος:954, or ζόφος:955 (i.e. the first
'veil') and b) the φῶς:954 (i.e. the second 'veil': δευτέρῳ προβλήμα-
τι:956). A passage from Gregory's second theological oration may
help us to determine the meaning of the first 'veil' (i.e. of σκότος,
ζόφος). According to this - or.28.12 (Gallay p.124; M.36.41A)-what
stands in the way of man in his attempt to understand God is: ὁ σω-
ματικὸς γνόφος, ὥσπερ ἡ νεφέλη τὸ πάλαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῶν Ἑβραί-
ων. He then goes on to interpret LXX Ps.17.12: (sc. God) καὶ ἔθετο
σκότος ἀποκρυφὴν αὐτοῦ (which seems to be a very close parallel to
line 954b of the above De Virtute passage) as τὴν ἡμετέραν παχύτητα.
In other words the first 'veil' hindering the view or knowledge of
God seems most likely to be man's body (σῶμα : in its unpurified
status), or flesh (σάρξ) (see on this the scholion by Elias of
Crete on or.28.12 in M.36.775C-776A). Such an idea may be seen

in a number of Gregory's passages: or.28.4 (Gallay p.108; M.36.32A):
Τὸ δὲ τοσοῦτον πρᾶγμα τῇ διανοίᾳ περιλαβεῖν πάντως ἀδύνατον καὶ ἀμή-
χανον, μὴ ὅτι τοῖς ..., ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ... καὶ οἷς ὁ ζόφος οὗτος ἐπι-
προσθεῖ καὶ τὸ παχὺ τοῦτο σαρκίον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς κατανόησιν, De
Virtute: carm.1.2.10. 90-94 (687):

 Θεὸς μέν ἐστιν εἴτε νοῦς, εἴτ' οὐσία

 κρείσσων τις ἄλλη, νοῦ μόνον ληπτὴ βολαῖς,

 εἰ μὲν τελείως τοῖς ἄνω (sc. angels), οἶδε θεός,

 ἡμῖν δ' ἀμυδρῶς, οἷς ἐπιπροσθεῖ νέφος

 σαρκὸς παχείας, δυσμενοῦς προβλήματος·

or.2.74 (Bernardi p.186; M.35.481Bf.):

 Τίς περικείμενος ἔτι τὸν κάτω ζόφον καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν παχύτη-
 τα ὅλῳ νοῖ καθαρῶς ἐποπτεύσει νοῦν ὅλον καὶ μιγήσεται τοῖς ἑστῶ-
 σι καὶ ἀοράτοις ἐν τοῖς ἀστάτοις καὶ ὁρωμένοις; Μόλις γὰρ ἄν τις
 ἐνταῦθα τῶν σφόδρα κεκαθαρμένων καὶ εἴδωλον τοῦ καλοῦ θεωρήσει-
 εν, ὥσπερ οἱ τὸν ἥλιον ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι.

or.39.8 (M.36.344A), carm.2.1.1.204f.(985): στενάχω δ' ὑπὸ σαρκὶ πα-
χείῃ,/ τήν ῥα σοφοὶ καλέουσι νόου ζόφον, 2.1.87. 21-24 (1434f.):

 ἀλλὰ σάω με, σάω με, θεοῦ Λόγε, ἐκ δέ με πικρῆς

 ἰλύος ἐξερύσας, ἐς βίον ἄλλον ἄγοις,

 ἔνθα νόος καθαρός σε φαάντατον ἀμφιχορεύει,

 μηκέθ' ὑπὸ σκλερῆς κρυπτόμενος νεφέλης.

and possibly De Virtute: 1.2.10. 937f.(748). Note in the above passa-
ges the various words used for the body or flesh: νέφος, νεφέλη, πρό-
βλημα, σκότος and ζόφος (on this see also Gottwald p.36).

 Having established the sense of the first 'veil' we now turn to
the second 'veil' which, as we have seen, the first De Virtute-passage
calls φῶς (or δεύτερον πρόβλημα). Since God is Light, or source of
light, or He dwells in light (cf.Ep.1Tim.6.16, LXX Ps.103.2), the
second 'veil' seems to be nothing else than God's nature itself. So

applying the <u>De Virtute</u> scheme to our passage it becomes quite

obvious that the first veil (i.e. νέφος which is implied from ὑπερ-

νεφής) should be the unpurified body and the second (i.e. ὑπερνεφὴς

καλύπτρα[1]) God Himself who is not accessible to any 'heavenly mind'

(νόος οὐρανίδης).   Following this interpretation our passage may be

compared to <u>or</u>.2.76 (Bernardi p.188; M.35.484A): αἱ καθαραὶ φύσεις

μόλις χωροῦσαι θεοῦ λαμπρότητα ὃν ἄβυσσος καλύπτει, οὗ σκότος ἀπο-

κρυφή, φωτὸς ὄντος τοῦ καθαρωτάτου καὶ ἀπροσίτου τοῖς πλείοσιν where

καθαραὶ φύσεις are interpreted by Bernardi <u>ad loc</u>. as referring to

angels following <u>or</u>.28.31 (Gallay p.172; M.36.72B).

The idea of line 14f. may be compared also with Ps.-Dion.Areop.

<u>mystic.theol</u>.1.3 (M.3.1000Bf.) where the explanation why God is at the

same time πολύλογος and ἄλογος (i.e. described with many, or no

words : see Max.Conf. <u>schol. ad loc</u>.(M.4.420B)) is given as follows:

διὰ τὸ πάντων αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν ἀγαθὴν πάντων αἰτίαν) ὑπερουσίως ὑπερκει-

μένην εἶναι, καὶ μόνοις ... ἐκφαινομένην τοῖς ... εἰς τὸν γνόφον εἰσ-[2]

δυομένοις, οὗ ὄντος ἐστίν, ὡς τὰ λόγιά φησιν ὁ πάντων ἐπέκεινα.

Finally, the idea that God is covered by His own light may be

seen in Synes. <u>hymn</u>.1.158f.:/ κεκαλυμμένε νοῦ/ ἰδίαις αὐγαῖς/ and

195-98:/ σὺ τὸ φαινόμενον,/ σὺ τὸ κρυπτόμενον,/ φῶς κρυπτόμενον/ ἰδί-

αις αὐγαῖς,/.

III. Prayer (15b-16)

15. ἵλαος εἴης :   On the use of the common request for mercy in

pagan and Christian hymns alike see above the note on 1.1.33.5. This

expression is used for instance in <u>carm</u>.2.2.3.161 (1491) and 2.1.1.

402 (1000). See also <u>carm</u>.2(epit.).2.102.7 (M.38.63) = <u>AP</u> 8.76.7,

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1.   I speak of one such veil because I do not think that the plural
     ὑπερνεφέας καλύπτρας bears any particular significance in meaning.

2.   For γνόφος in a similar context see also <u>epist</u>.5 (1073A).

Orph. hymn.17.9 (cod. Thryllit. in ed. Abel), Aristòcles hymn.Cer.
ap. Aelianus De natura animalium 11.4 and Apoll. Met.Ps. 24.23, 50.
1.

Line 16 = line 1. A renewed invocation in the Prayer or at
the end of the hymn was a common feature in Greek pagan hymns (see
above the notes on 1.1.34.14 and 29f.).

To conclude our examination of 1.1.29 we may refer once more
to the problem of its authenticity.

The preliminary investigation of the MS tradition led us to two
possibilities : a) the hymn (at least its 13-line form) may belong
to Gregory and b) behind the various forms of the hymn may lie more
than one hymn and several authors.

The examination in the commentary of the various ideas of 1.1.
29 has revealed their connection, not only with Neoplatonism and
Christian authors influenced by it, but also with other trends
current in late antiquity which are related to a monotheistic con-
ception of God and feature in Hermetic, Orphic, Stoic, Philonic and
Gnostic literature , so that the hymn may be characterized as an
example of the syncretistic attitudes of the period. However, the
hymn does not propagate any ideas of the above theosophical and
philosophico-religious systems, since, as we have illustrated in the
introductory analysis to the hymn, the poet uses them all in contra-
diction to each other producing thus various paradoxical statements
(about God's nature and characteristics), only for the purpose of
showing that none of these ideas is sufficient to define God who is
beyond man's reach.

The comparison of the hymn (its 16-line form) with Gregory's
works (made in the commentary) has shown many affinities between
them in ideas - if not expressed always with the same words - some of

which cannot be illustrated fully and interpreted satisfactorily,
unless they are related to various Gregorian passages. Besides,
the careful structure of the hymn (illustrated in the introductory
analysis to it) is in accordance with the various techniques we have
seen Gregory repeatedly using in his verse-composition.

Finally, the absence from the hymn of words commonly associated
with the Christian tri-une God (e.g. Τριάς, Πατήρ, Υἱός, Πνεῦμα) need
not be a point against Gregorian authorship, since they are also
absent from the main body of Gregory's second theological oration,
only to be found twice : once in the exordium where Gregory invokes
the assistance of the Trinity, and once in the peroration in the
phrase: Ταῦτα εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἀξίαν ὕμνηται, τῆς Τριάδος ἡ χάρις καὶ
τῆς μιᾶς ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ θεότητος (or.28.31 (Gallay p.174; M.36.72C)).
Furthermore, the words τὸ θεῖον or ὁ θεός, used in this oration, have
been substituted in our hymn by the second personal pronoun (used 14
times) and the general introductory invocation ὦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα
(which, as we have said, are cleverly used by the poet in order to
avoid naming and thus defining God, since this would have come in
contradiction with the main themes of the hymn). The similarities
of the themes appearing in both texts have led Delfgaauw (p.113) and
Fernández (p.241) among others to consider the hymn as a poetic
summary of this oration.

From the above I believe that we have enough evidence to con-
sider the hymn as written by Gregory, most probably at one of the
moments when his tendency to appear more 'Greek' than 'Christian'
was at its most.

Appendix I : Metre

Table 1 :   Caesura and Diaeresis

Poem	No of lines	Troch. 3rd Caesura	Strong 3rd Caesura	Strong 4th Caesura	Bucolic Diaeresis
1.1.33	11	6	5	-	7
1.1.34	30	13	17	-	17
1.1.35	13	9	4	-	6
1.1.36	33	24	9	-	26
1.1.37	7	6	1	-	4
1.1.29	16	13	3	-	11
1.1.38	6 (3)	1	2	-	3
2.1.38	52 (26)	23	3	-	22
1.1.31	12 (6)	3	3	-	6
Totals	145	98	47	-	102
%		67.59%	32.41%		

Table 2 :   The Use of the long Monosyllables

Poem	No of lines	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1.1.33	11	4	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	6
1.1.34	30	11	-	5	1	-	6	6	1	4	-	-	-	34
1.1.35	13	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	8
1.1.36	33	8	1	6	3	-	2	-	1	9	-	-	-	30
1.1.37	7	3	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
1.1.29	16	9	-	5	1	-	1	7	1	2	-	-	-	26
1.1.38	6 (3)	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	7
2.1.38	52 (26)	11	2	5	1	-	1	2	2	1	-	-	-	25
1.1.31	12 (6)	2	-	3	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	9
Totals	145	53	4	31	10	-	12	16	5	21	-	-	-	152

Table 3 : Proportion of Dactyls and Spondees

Poems	Lines/Feet	1 D	1 S	2 D	2 S	3 D	3 S	4 D	4 S	5 D	5 S	Total D	Total S
1.1.33	11 55	9	2	6	5	8	3	6	5	11	–	40	15
1.1.34	30 150	25	5	21	9	23	7	24	6	28	2	121	29
1.1.35	13 65	10	3	7	6	13	–	9	4	13	–	52	13
1.1.36	33 165	25	8	23	10	27	6	30	3	33	–	138	27
1.1.37	7 35	5	2	3	4	6	1	5	2	6	1	25	10
1.1.29	16 80	12	4	10	6	13	3	13	3	16	–	64	16
1.1.38	6(3) 15	1	2	3	–	2	1	3	–	3	–	12	3
2.1.38	52(26) 130	18	8	21	5	23	3	23	3	25	1	110	20
1.1.31	12(6) 30	5	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	5	1	19	11
Totals	725	110	35	97	48	118	27	116	29	140	5	581	144
%												80.14	19.86

Table 4: Number of Lines containing 5 Dactyls, 1,2 or 3 Spondees

Poems	Lines	5 Dac.	1 Sp.	2 Spon.	3 Spond.
1.1.33	11	3	3	3	2
1.1.34	30	9	13	8	–
1.1.35	13	3	7	3	–
1.1.36	33	11	17	5	–
1.1.37	7	1	2	4	–
1.1.29	16	3	11	2	–
1.1.38	6(3)	1	1	1	–
2.1.38	52(26)	11	10	5	–
1.1.31	12(6)	2	–	1	3
Total	145	44	64	32	5
%		30.34	44.14	22.07	3.45

Table 5 : Proportion of Dactyls and Spondees in the Pentameters

Poems	Lines/Feet	1st hemist. 1 D	S	2 D	S	2nd hemis 1 D	S	2 D	S	Total D	S	4 D.	1Sp.	2Sp.
1.1.38	6(3) 12	3	–	1	2	3	–	3	–	10	2	1	2	–
2.1.38	52(26) 104	17	9	20	6	26	–	26	–	89	15	11	15	–
1.1.31	12(6) 24	4	2	5	1	6	–	6	–	21	3	3	3	–
Total	140	24	11	26	9	35	–	35	–	120	20	15	20	
%										85.71	14.29			

Table 6 : Position of the final Accent

Poems	Lines	Ultimate Syl.	Penultim. Syl.	Antepenult. Syl.
1.1.33	11	6	5	–
1.1.34	30	4	19	7
1.1.35	13	3	8	2
1.1.36	33	5	13	15
1.1.37	7	1	4	2
1.1.29	16	3	13	–
1.1.38	3	–	2	1
2.1.38	26	5	10	11
1.1.31	6	–	5	1
Total	145	27 (18.62%)	79 (54.48%)	39 (26.90%)

Poems	Lines	1st Hemiepes Ultim.	Penult.	Antep.	2nd Hemiepes Ultim.	Penult.	Antepen.
1.1.38.	3	1	2	–	–	3	–
2.1.38	26	4	20	2	–	22	4
1.1.31	6	2	4	–	–	6	–
Total	35	7	26	2	–	31	4
%		20%	74.29%	5.71%	0 %	88.57 %	11.43%

Poems	Lines	Ultimate Syll.	Penultim. Syll.	Antepenult. Syl.
1.1.30	51	3	41	7
%		5.88%	80.39 %	13.73%
1.1.32	50	14	35	1
%		28%	70%	2%

Table 7 : Position of the final Accent in 1.1.32 according

to the Length of its Cola

Final Accent	First Colon			Second Colon		
	7 syll.	8 syll.	9 syll.	7 syll.	8 syll.	9 syl.
Ultimate Syll	8	2	–	4	–	–
Penult. Syll.	9	4	2	18	1	1
Antepen. Syl.	–	–	–	–	1	÷

Appendix II : Table of Editions

	Auth.	Editor	Place	Publisher	Date	1.1.29	1.1.30	1.1.32	1.1.31	1.1.33	1.1.34	1.1.35	1.1.36	2.1.38	1.1.37	1.1.38	Vol
Gr - L	Greg.	Aldus Manutius	Venice	Aldus Manutius	1504								_*	_*			
Gr - L	Greg.		Basel	J. Hervagius	1550								52	54			
Greek	Syn.	Guliel. Canter	Basel	Joan. Oporinus	1567	220											
Gr - L	Syn.	Fr. Portus Cret.	[Geneva]	Henr. Stephanus	1568		164-169	188 -191 (1 - 28)					?	?			
Latin	Greg.	Jac. de Billy	Paris	Joan.Benenatus	1569												
Gr - L	Syn.		Paris	Joan.Benenatus	1570		101-104	116f. (1-28)									
Latin	Greg.	Löwenklau	Basel	J. Hervagius	1571	1019	1012	1054(1-50)									3
"	"	"	"	"	"								972	975f.			2
Gr - L	Greg.	Jac. de Billy	Paris	Joan.Benenatus	1575		406f.(Lat.)										
Latin	Greg.	Jac. de Billy	Paris	Nic. Chesneav	1583								?	?			
Gr - L	Syn.	Steph. Myliander	Rostoch	Henr. Stephanus	1586		$E_3^v - E_4^v$	$E_8^v - F_1^r$ (1-28)									
Gr - L	Greg.	de Billy-F. Morèl	Paris	Cl. Morel	1609-11	252	185f.						127f.	131f.			2
"	"	"	"	"	1630	(om.6)											
"	"	"	Cologne	M.G.Weidmann	1690												
Gr - L	Syn.	Fr.Portus Cret.	Paris	Cl. Morel	1618		166-171	190-193 (1-28)									
Gr - L	Greg.	N.M.Zimmermann	Lunaeburg	M. Lamprecht	1647		$G_4^v - G_7^r$	$H_5^v - H_7^v$ (1-28)						$D_3^v-D_6^r$			
Gr - L	Greg.	J. Tollius	Tra.ad Rhenum	Franc. Halman	1696			96-99 (1-50)	96f.	94f.	94-97	92-95					
Greek	Greg.	L.A.Muratori	Patavia		1709										165	170	
Gr - L	Coll.	Andr.Gallandius	Venice	Joan. Baptista	1770			446 A-E	445E-446A	444	445	444C-D					6
Gr - L	Coll.	J.Fr.Boissonade	Paris		1825		161ff.										
Gr - L	Greg.	D.A.B. Caillau	Paris	P. Desparres	1840	287	287ff.	291	289f.	292f.	293ff.	295	295ff.	897ff.	297	297	2
Gr - L	Coll.	J.- P. Migne	Paris		1862	507f.	508-10	511-14	510-11	514	515-17	517f.	518-20	1325-29	520f.	521f.	37
Greek	Coll.	Christ-Paranikas	Leipzig	B.G. Teubner	1871	24	23f.	29(1-28)						24-26			
Gr - L	Coll.	J.B. Pitra			1884	xlvif.											
Greek	Coll.	Joh.Sakkelion	Athens		1890			23									
Greek		A.H. Jahn	Halis Saxon.		1891	76											

* The edition is without pagination.

Appendix III : Gregory's Techniques in Verse-Composition

Some of the techniques Gregory followed in composing his poems are:

1) The composition of poems with the same subject but different metre: carm.1.1.5, 1.1.6 (424-29, 430-38): De Providentia, carm.1.2.9, 1.2.10 (667-80, 680-752): De Virtute and carm.1.2.26, 1.2.27 (851-54, 854-56): Εἰς εὐγενῆ δύστροπον . The first poem of each pair is in hexameters, while the second is in iambics. In carm.1.2.35, 1.2.36 (965, 965f.):Εἰς πενίαν φιλόσοφον, and carm.1.2.37, 1.2.38 (966,967): Εἰς τὴν ὑπομονήν the first poem of each pair is in iambics and the second in elegiacs. Finally, in carm.1.1.36, and 2.1.3 (1020f.) - a hymn and a prayer before a departing journey - the first poem is in hexameters and the second in iambics. As Wyss observes, this technique (namely the composition of poems on the same subject and different metre) was a beloved practice in schools from the Hellenistic period onwards[1].

2) The beginning of two poems with the same verse: carm.2.1.10. 1(1027): Πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἱερέας καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, and carm.2.1.13.1 (1227): Εἰς ἐπισκόπους begin with:

Ὦ θυσίας πέμποντες ἀναιμάκτους, ἱερῆες[2]

3) The beginning of two poems with similar verses: 1) carm.2.1. 87. 1-2 (1433):

Μῆτερ ἐμή, τί μ' ἔτικτες, ἐπεὶ πολύμοχθον ἔτικτες;

τίπτε με τῷδε βίῳ δῶκας ἀκανθοφόρῳ;

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1. See B. Wyss, 'Gregor von Nazianz. Ein griechisch-christlicher Dichter des 4. Jahrhunderts',Mus.Helv.,6(1949), 177-210 (p.189).
2. Repetitions of lines within the poems have been collected by Werhahn, Σύγκρισις βίων, p.7 n.5. To these we may add: carm. 2.1.22.13 (1281) = 2.1.92.1 (1447), 2.1.13.1(1227)=2.1.10.1(1027), 1.1.7.8-12(439)=1.2.1.15-19(523) and 1.1.7.13-16(439f.)=1.2.1.31-34(524). Similar repetitions appear also in Gregory's orations and have been attested by Sajdak (J.Sajdak,'Nazianzenica, part I',EOS, 15 (1909), 123-29 (p.124).

and carm.2.1.92. 1-2(1447):

> Χριστὲ ἄναξ, τί με σαρκὸς ἐν ἄρκυσι ταῖσδ' ἐνέδησας;
>
> τίπτε με τῷδε βίῳ θῆκας ὑπ' ἀντιπάλῳ;

ii) carm.2.1.75.1 (1422): Θρῆνος πρὸς Χριστόν

> Οἴμοι, στενοῦμαι τῷ βίῳ· καὶ τὸ πλέον/ (ζωῆς παρῆλθεν)

and carm.2.1.76.1 (1423): Ἕτερος θρῆνος

> Οἴμοι στενοῦμαι τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ τέλει.

and iii) a) carm.1.2.17.1 (781): Διαφόρων βίων μακαρισμοί and b) carm.

2.1.28.1 (1287): Ἐλεγειακόν

> Ὄλβιος ὅστις ἔρημον (ἄσαρκον b) ἔχει βίον, οὐδ' ἐπίμικτον

An elaborate example of variation of whole poems offers a group

of four short poems: carm.1.2.20, 1.2.21, 1.2.22, 1.2.23 (788-90).

This can be **sufficiently** illustrated only if we cite their texts.

1)   carm.1.2.20 (788): Περὶ πόθου

> Δεινὸν πόθος πᾶς. Ἂν δὲ καὶ φιλουμένου,
>
> διπλοῦν τὸ δεινόν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ κόρας νέας,
>
> τριπλοῦν τὸ κέντρον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ κάλλους γέμων,
>
> πλεῖον τὸ κακόν. Εἰ δὲ πρὸς γάμον φέρει,
>
> 5   πῦρ ἔνδον αὐτὴν βόσκεται τὴν καρδίαν.

2)   carm.1.2.21 (789): Περὶ θανάτου φιλουμένων

> Πικρὸν τάφος πᾶς. Ἂν δὲ καὶ τέκνου τάφος,
>
> διπλοῦν τὸ κακόν. Εἰ δ' ἀρισταίου πάλιν,
>
> ἡ συμφορὰ πῦρ. Εἰ δὲ νυμφίου νέου,
>
> ἡ καρδία ῥάγηθι τῶν γεννητόρων.

3)   carm.1.2.22 (789): Περὶ φίλων τῶν μὴ καλῶν

> Δεινὸν τὸ πάσχειν. Ἂν δὲ καὶ φίλων ὕπο,
>
> ὡς χεῖρον. Ἂν δὲ καὶ λαθραίοις δήγμασι,
>
> τοῦτ' οὐ φορητόν. Ἂν δὲ καὶ πιστῶν ὕπο,
>
> ἐπίσχες. Ἂν δὲ καὶ θεοῦ παραστατῶν,
>
> 5   ποῖ τις τράπηται; Πῶς φύγῃ κακῶν φοράν;

4) carm.1.2.23 (790): Εἰς τὸ αὐτό

Δεινὸν τὸ λυποῦν. Ἂν δὲ καὶ λυπῇ φίλος,

ἀνδραποδῶδες. Ἂν δὲ καὶ δάκνῃ λάθρα,

ὡς θηριῶδες. Ἂν δὲ καὶ γυνὴ λάλος,

δαίμων σύνοικος. Ἂν δὲ καὶ θυηπόλος,

5 ἄκουε, Χριστέ, καὶ δίκαζε τὴν δίκην.

The art of variation may be seen also in a number of Gregory's epitaphs and epigrams (particularly when they refer to the same person): see M.38 cols 11ff. Besides, the variation in carm.1.1.37 and 1.1.38 is discussed above pp.189ff., 192ff. respectively[1].

4) A final technique in Gregory's verse-composition is the repetition within the same poem of a line (as a refrain after an equal number of lines) with its second hemistich changed: carm.2.1.78 (1425f.). Here the first line reads:

῎Εργον ἔχεις ψυχὴ καὶ μέγα ἢν ἐθέλῃς

and is repeated in lines 5 and 9 ending in: τοῦσδε κάθαιρε βίον, in line 13 ending in: πρὸς θεὸν οἷον ὅρα, and in the last line (17) ending in: μή τι πάθῃς καμάτῳ.

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1. On the art of variation as a particular feature of Hellenistic poetry see above p.311 n.1.

Appendix IV : Table of Main Features of the 'Gregorian' Hymns

Poem	INTRODUCTION			PRAISE		PRAYER					
	Addressee	Epithets/By-names	Verb	Transition	Themes	Transition	Verbs/Requests	New Address	New Praise	Promise	Doxology
1.1.33	σοί (sc.Father) (1)	ὦ πάντων βασιλεῦ, πάντων ποιητά (1)	χάρις (εἶ-ναι) (1)	asyndeti-cally (2)	creation (2-4)	asyndeti-cally (5)	ἰλήκοις (5) ἵλαθι (5)	θεία Τριάς (5) Υἱὲ θεοῦ (6)	incarnation -crucifixion -resurrection -victory over death (6-11)	—	—
1.1.34	σοί (1)	ὦ πάντων βασιλεῦ, πάντων ποιητά (1)	χάρις (εἶ-ναι) (1,2)	ὅς (2)	- creation (2b-3) - scene of the throne (4-13)	ναί(14) ἀλλά(19)	λίτομαι (14) (λισσομένῳ)(17) οἰκτείροις(19) ἵλαος ἔσσο (19) σάου (20) μή μ' ἀπογυμ-νώσῃς (22) χεῦε μένος, θάρσος (23) δός (26)	Πάτερ ἄφθιτε (14) Πάτερ ἄμβροτε (15) ἐλέους Πάτερ (19)	ὡς ἀγαθὸς βασιλεύς (29α)	ὄφρα ... ἀείσω (24)	ὅτι ... ἅπαντας (29b-30)
1.1.35	Πάτερ Χριστοῦ (1)	πανεπίσκοπε (1)	κλῦθι (1)	γάρ (3)	indirect praise of Father and Christ (3b-5) incarnation - releasing man from death(6-9)	δέ (2)	χαρίζεο (2)	—	—	—	—
1.1.36	Χριστέ (1)	ἄναξ (1)	—	ὅς (1)	Christ is bene-factor and the way (1b-2) -Exodus journey (3-11) NT events(12-18)	ἀλλά (19) ἀλλά καὶ νῦν (33)	ἐλθέ (19) πόροις (20) ἄγοις (33) (λισσούμην) (27)	μάκαρ (19) βίου φάος (28) σοί (31-32) ὦ ἄνα Χριστέ (31)	poet's devo-tion to Christ (26-32)	—	—

Poem	Addressee	Epithets/By-names	Verb	Transition	Themes	Transition	Verbs/Requests	New Address	New Praise	Promise	Doxology
1.1.37	Χριστέ (2)	ἄναξ (2)	—	ὅς (2)	- Christ is benefactor and the way (2-3)	ἀλλά (4)	πέμποις (4) πόροις (5) ἄγοις (6)	Ἄναξ (6)	—	—	—
1.1.38	Χριστέ (6)	φάος μερόπων (6)	—		- Christ in Jewish history (1-4)	καὶ νῦν (5)	ἐλθέ (5)	—	—	—	—
2.1.38	Χριστέ (1)	ἄναξ (1)	-φθέγξομ' (2)	asyndetically (5)	A -Christ's nature and attributes (5-12a) -All creation praises Christ (12b-26) -Incarnation (27-28) -poet's devotion (29-31) B -Easter narrative (39-50a)	ἀλλά (32) ἀλλά (50)	λύσσομαι (32) πόροις (32) ἔχοις (50)	(Ἄναξ) (15) Χριστέ (37)	—	—	—
1.1.31	θεῷ (1) Υἱῷ (1) Πνεύματι (2)	τῷ Πατρί (1) παμβασιλῆι (1) πανευφήμῳ (2) παναγίῳ (2)	Δόξα (εἶναι) (1,2)	asyndetically (3)	- Trinity is one god (3a) - creation and preservation of world (3-10)	asyndetically (11)	δός (12)	σέ, Πάτερ (12)	—	—	—
1.1.30	Σέ (1)	ἄφθιτον μονάρχην (1) ἄνακτα, δεσπότην (3)	(δὸς) ἀνυμνεῖν, ἀείδειν (2)	δι' ὅν (5)	- parts of creation (5-12) - creation (13-16) - Christ's nature (17-21) - Holy Spirit (22-24)	asyndetically (36)	ἵλεως γενοῦ (36,48) δός (38) ῥύψον (39) εὕρω (49)	Πάτερ (36,48)	—	ἵνα ...δοξάσω (42) ἵνα ...εὐλογήσω (44) (ἵνα) ἱκετεύσω (45)	ὅτι ... ἀμέτρου (50-51)

Poem	Addressee	Epithets/By-names	Verb	Transition	Themes	Transition	Verbs/Requests	New Address	New Praise	Promise	Doxology
					- Trinity(25-35)						
1.1.32	Σέ (1)	Χριστέ μου (2) Λόγε θεοῦ (2) φῶς ἐκ φωτός (3) Πνεύματος ταμία (4)	εὐλογοῦμεν (1)	ὅς (7)	-Cosmic light (7-12) -Enlightenment of man's mind (13-18) -Celestial bodies (19-20) -Night-Day (21-24) -Man during night-day(25-32)	μέν (33)	βάλλοις (33) ἐταζέτω (40) μηδέ ... ἐλέγξῃ (41-42) μηδέ ...θρο-εύτω (43-44) προσλαλείτω (46)	σύ (33) σὺν σοί (39) σοί,θεέ (46)	τῷ Πατρί... ...Πνεύματι (47-48)	—	ᾧ τιμή ... ἀμήν (49-50)
1.1.29	(ὦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα) (1)	ὦ πάντων ἐπέκει-να (1)	μέλπειν (1) (ὑμνήσει) (2) (λιγαίνει) (6) (γεραίρει) (7)	asyndetically (1)	- God's ineffa-bility and in-comprehensibi-lity (2-5) -God in relation to Creation (6-13a) -God's ineffa-bility and incomprehensi-bility (13b-15a)	asyndetically (15)	ἵλαος εἴης (15)	ὦ πάντων ἐπέ-κεινα (16)	τί ... μέλ-πειν; (16)	—	. —

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