Gregory of Nazianzus: *carmen* II. 1. 22:

An Edition and Commentary

by

Andrea Lynn Barrales-Hall

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Gregory of Nazianzus *(ca.* AD 330-390*)* was one of the most learned men of his time and is one of the most important theologians of the early Christian Church. His orations, letters and poetry were widely studied and greatly copied in the Middle Ages. However, there is a lack of modern scholarship on Gregory's poetry, which is why there is such need for this thesis, a study of *carm.* II 1. 22, with introduction and commentary. The introduction focuses primarily on aspects of *carm.* II. 1. 22 while outlining the events of Gregory's life and situating the poem within them. The commentary is largely linguistic with autobiographical and historical features discussed and brief mention of theological matters.

Acknowledgements

Contents

Abbreviations

DGE — *Diccionario griego- espanol*, ed. F. R. Adrados, E. Gangutia et al., 6 vols. (α-/ἔξαυος) (Madrid, 1980-2009).

EDG — *Etymological Dictionary of Greek,* R. Beekes (Leiden, 2010).

Lex. Cas. — *Lexicon Casinense*, ed. D. Kalamakis (1995).

LSJ — H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* 9th edn., revised by Sir H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1940); Revised Supplement, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford, 1996).

NTL — *A Greek-English Lexicon of the new Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd edn., revised and edited by F. W. Danker (Chicago-London, 2000).

OCD — *The Oxford Classical Dictionary,* rev. 3rd edn., ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford-New York, 2003).

PG — *Patrologia Graeca,* ed. J. P. Migne (162 vols., Paris, 1857-66).

PGL — *A Patristic Greek Lexicon,* G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford, 1968).

Introduction

1. Gregory's Works and *carm.* II. 1. 22

As one of the most learned men of his time, it is unfortunate for Gregory that his true brilliance was only really recognized after his death in 390/391. Based on his five Theological Orations (27-31) he gained the title 'the Theologian,' quite deservingly, as these are the most involved articulations of the late fourth century's view of the Trinity. He was also hailed one of the two greatest Christian orators, the other being John Chrysostom, in late antiquity. His orations were so well received that in the Middle Ages they were translated into seven different languages: Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Georgian, Armenian, Slavonic and Arabic. [1]

From the Middle Ages to the present, Gregory's orations, and letters have received the most attention from scholars. We have 44 extant orations and of 244 letters ascribed to Gregory, 241 are considered genuinely his. We could possibly understand the bias in scholarship if his corpus of poetry were small, but Gregory wrote over 17 000 verses, most of which lack a modern critical edition. For a corpus that is largely unstudied, modern opinion seems rather harsh at times, 'his historical significance springs from his detailed and lively letters, a series of polished and thoughtful orations (some of theological importance), and relatively uninspired poetry that nevertheless contains valuable autobiographical information' (Rousseau OCD). Thankfully, not all scholars think like this of his poetry; soon to be among the few modern studies on Gregory's poetry is Dr. Christos Simelidis' critical edition of the *carmina* of Gregory for the *Corpus Christianorum* series. Work such as this is necessary to understand and appreciate these poems fully, which is why I chose to work on *carm.* II. 1. 22, a poem which has not undergone any detailed work.

It is important to know where *carm.* II. 1. 22 fits in the corpus of Gregory's poetry.

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[1]McGuckin (2001: xi, 402).

Traditionally, the poems have been divided into two main groups, the theological and historical. The former is further divided into dogmatic and moral poems, while the latter is broken into five categories: about himself, about others, verse epistles, 129 epitaphs and 94 epigrams. *Carmen* II. 1. 22 is accounted for under the historical section as a poem that pertains to Gregory.

As an autobiographical poem, *carmen* II. 1. 22 is 24 verses of dactylic hexameter, which can be divided into two twelve verse sections. The first twelve lines allude heavily to the book of Exodus as Gregory asks Christ to save him from the Pharaoh, take him from Egypt and divide the Red Sea for him. In return for helping him reach the Holy Land, Gregory promises that he will sing in continuous hymns to Christ.

The next twelve lines, which I argue are styled after the Psalms as a hymn, question the necessity of a mortal life, especially when mortal life is so dismal. Gregory describes his weak and sick state, which is the effect of time and a life full of enemies. Gregory ends the poem with requests for either his pain to end on earth, to be received in heaven or to forget.

2. Biography and Dating

Gregory was born on a country estate called Karbala in Cappadocia at some point between 326 and 330. Gregory's father belonged to a Judaeo-Christian sect called the Hypsistarians before marrying Nonna, Gregory's mother, who persuaded her husband to convert to Christianity, coming from a wealthy Christian family herself.[2] In 329, while Gregory was still quite young, or perhaps not yet born, Gregory the Elder became bishop of Nazianzus.

Nonna and Gregory the Elder had two other children besides Gregory, Gorgonia who was the eldest and Caesarius who was the youngest. Like Gregory, Gorgonia tried to lead an ascetic lifestyle but unlike Gregory married. Gorgonia obviously took after her strong willed

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[2]Gallay (1943: 22)

and persuasive mother, converting her husband, Alypius, to Christianity. Gregory and his younger brother were educated together for most of their primary education. Their training began in Nazianzus but continued in Caesaraea, the capital of Cappadocia, furthering their studies in grammar and rhetoric. The aristocratic Christian Cappadocians, like Gregory the Elder who focused on his childrens' education, formed an intellectually and socially elite Cappadocian Christian class.[3] The brothers' education continued abroad in Palestine in the large city of Caesaraea. The city was well connected to Origen, and is likely where Gregory first encountered Origen's exegetical and theological works.

At probably the end of 348, the brothers continued on to Alexandria, the centre of the Hellenistic world. Eventually though, Gregory decided to move to Athens, while Caesarius stayed in Alexandria. It was this impetuous decision that led to a terrifying journey by ship. According to Gregory's account in the *De vita sua,* he dramatically promised to dedicate his life's work to God and to be baptized if God should save him from the storm at sea.[4]

In Athens, Gregory and Basil of Caesarea met (or reconnected, it is not quite certain) and began a friendship, which would have a deep impact on both of their lives. They continued their rhetorical training but also studied in a wide range of subjects. One of the most influential subjects would have been Neoplatonic philosophy, lectures of which were being given by Priscus. Surrounded by the mystical philosophy and Hellenic culture, Gregory only dove deeper into the Christian faith, trying to synthesize it with his philosophical training.[5]

While Gregory was persuaded to continue on in Athens, Basil returned home to Cappadocia, probably in 356. Not long after, Gregory decided to return home and on his way

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[3]McGuckin (2001: 7).

[4]*De vita sua* vv. 182-199.

[5] McGuckin (2001: 40-58).

met with Caesarius in Constantinople, where the younger brother was setting the foundation for his successful career. At this time, Gregory was clearly committed to an ascetic lifestyle, which would allow him to continue intellectual pursuits and enjoy quiet contemplation.[6] However, given his family's status and his level of education, Gregory was clearly expected to take on greater responsibility in the Church. His father was still the bishop at Nazianzus, now reaching his mid-eighties and, to no surprise, needing and expecting help from his son. According to Gregory, his father forced him to be ordained as presbyter in December 361 or January 362.[7]

Having a standing invitation from Basil to come to Pontus and pursue the 'philosophical' life, which is to say a withdrawn and intellectually focused life, Gregory fled his new responsibilities, as he would repeatedly in the future.[8] However, clearly feeling the tug of guilt, Gregory returned home and delivered the oration *In Defence of his Flight* at Easter. For the next decade it seems Gregory focused on balancing his desire to withdraw and his duties as a preacher.[9] He used his rhetorical training to the fullest, composing beautiful orations including the funeral orations for Gorgonia and Caesarius, who died in 368, young and unmarried.[10]

In 372, Emperor Valens decided to divide Cappadocia, at which point Basil, having apparently left behind his desire for a withdrawn life, took action to secure his ecclesiastical position throughout the territory. He did so by surrounding himself with bishops who he thought would support him at any important synodal debates, looking towards both his younger brother and Gregory, who was coerced into a new see at Sasima at the urging of Basil

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[6]*On his own Affairs* vv. 452-465.

[7]*De vita sua* vv. 337-345.

[8]*De vita sua* vv. 350-356.

[9] McGuckin (2001: 100-7).

[10]*On his own affairs* vv. 202-203; Gregory was clearly grief stricken over the loss of his brother.

and Gregory the Elder.[11] Sasima was, according to Gregory in the *De vita sua*, a tiny village of no significance to himself, but its political significance was clear as it straddled the two Cappadocian provinces.[12] Head of a previously faithless and a rather uncultured Church as well as being practically forced from his solitude, Gregory came to resent his appointment and the betrayal of his friendship. McGuckin adds that this resentment may also have been because Gregory thought that Basil wanted to use his knowledge and oratorical skills for a more direct influence in the affairs of the province rather than in some insignificant village.[13]

It is clear in his letter to Basil[14] that Gregory was in no way going to help his ambitions. As when he was appointed as presbyter in Nazianzus, Gregory fled from his duties at Sasima into quiet contemplation. However, he did not enjoy this for too long before his father called him back to Nazianzus to help again. Shortly thereafter, Gregory the Elder passed away, at almost the age of 100, and was soon followed in death by Nonna. Although Gregory was not canonically ordained as the bishop of Nazianzus, he took his father's place because no one was willing to replace Gregory and allow him to pursue his ascetical life. However, Gregory's unease with his ecclesiastical responsibilities caused him to leave again in 375.[15]

For about four years Gregory remained in a monastic community in Seleucia. Here, Gregory was able to detach himself from the ecclesiastical and political stress of Cappadocia but was close enough to Antioch to hear about the theological debates that had split the Church of Antioch into three groups: the Arian, the 'Homoousian' and a moderate pro-Nicene group, which essentially tried to find middle ground between the first two groups. After 379,

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[11] McGuckin (2001: 192).
[12] vv. 440-450.
[13] (2001: 190-191).
[14] *Ep.* 49.
[15] McGuckin (2001: 232-5).

Gregory became the leading voice of the consubstantiality of the Trinity and the complete mortality of Christ.

Once Emperor Valens was killed and Theodosius (supporter of the Nicene confession) was hailed Emperor of the East by his armies in 379, the pro-Nicene community in Antioch and Asia Minor realized the importance of a Nicene voice in Constantinople, the last of which had been bishop Evagrius in 370. It was at this time that friends, including perhaps Basil, encouraged Gregory to be that voice.[16] Though he would not be canonically recognized as bishop, he could, with his eloquent and persuasive preaching, support and augment the orthodox view. With the opportunity to stay with family and a hall in which to congregate, Gregory rose to the occasion and headed to the capital in 379.

Over the next year and a half to two years, Gregory wrote 44 orations for his pro-Nicene campaign[17] and faced much opposition. Surprisingly, this was not all anti-Nicene opposition, but also came from those Gregory had once considered friends and supporters. When it came to appointing a new Nicene bishop, the Council of 381 debated hotly over Gregory's suitability for the position. With such resistance, Gregory submitted his resignation, much to the dismay of the local clergy and congregation.[18] Finally, Gregory, who had once long ago dedicated himself to the philosophical life, was able to leave Church politics for good and retire in the country.

Though he had even more of a reason to resent public leadership, which he talks about with bitterness in his later writings, Gregory's return home was also filled with a sadness from

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[16]Daley (2006: 14), McGuckin (2001: 236-238).

[17]For further discussion of the orations and their specific dating, see McGuckin (2001: 243-369) and Gallay (136-211; 252-253).

[18]For a full description of these tumultuous years and their connection to *carm.* II. 1. 22, see section 7. Autobiographical Interpretation of *carm. II. 1. 22.*

the loss of the only ecclesiastical office he had truly wanted. The mixed emotions he felt after the events in Constantinople are evident throughout the writings of the final decade of his life, most of which are poems and letters. *Carmen* II. 1. 22 was written assuredly among those composed after his resignation in Constantinople[19] and I am inclined to agree with Daley that it was specifically composed in the last years of his life (c. 387), due to the emphasis on his failing health and solitude.[20]

3. Language

Much like the Hellenistic poets, Gregory used his extensive knowledge of other works and styles to create a new style of poetry; drawing from poetic, classical, Hellenistic, and Judaeo-Christian literature Gregory developed his own form of Christian classicising verse. Thus, the sheer amount of allusions in his work should not surprise but rather incite curiosity; to what end is he borrowing these words and phrases? What can pagan words say to a Christian audience?

In *carmen* II. 1. 22, though the first 12 lines are an overwhelming reference to Exodus, there are a number of poetic borrowings, e.g. *μερόπων* (v. 1), *βιότου* (v. 2), *πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας* (v. 5). These, along with Neo-Platonic (*πλαζομένῃ πικρῆς βιότου δι' ἐρήμης* v. 2) and Hellenistic (*ἵλαθι* v. 22) references continue throughout the clearly Christian poem. Gregory altered many of these pagan borrowings from their original meanings, if even slightly, in order to convey his ideas. While focused discussions on these words can be found in their respective places in the commentary, in general, this mixing and manipulation was ultimately meant to denote a Christian superiority. For example, Gregory uses the Hesiodic image of the 'easy way'

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[19]McGuckin (2001: 376).

[20](2006: 163). Towards the end (c. 383), McGuckin informs us that Gregory even sought relief in hot spas in Cappadocia for these protracted illnesses, including perhaps his acute rheumatism (2001: xi, 46, 387).

(*λείην δὲ πόροις ὁδόν* v. 6) but not with the same connotations; Christ can provide an easy road to the Holy Land and the divine. This 'easy way' is full of virtue and goodness, unlike Hesiod's, and therefore superior. Gregory had a talent for reusing and reworking any idea to transmit his own Christian ones.

However, some allusions, search as we might, may turn out to be merely eruditional borrowings with no hidden or altered meaning. Likewise throughout our searches, we must keep in mind that though a word (e.g. *τηκεδάνη* v. 18) or application of a word (e.g. *Αἰγύπτοιο βαρείης* v. 4), may appear unique to Gregory, he will have most likely had other texts and resources which we do not and of which we have no knowledge.

4. Metre

As it is not the focus of this work, it will be sufficient to remark briefly on the metre (dactylic hexameter) of *carm.* II. 1. 22. According to Agosti and Gonnelli, who did a study on the hexameter of Christian poets,[21] the following were the most common patterns within Gregory's hexameter: ddddd (31.69%), sdddd (19.20%), dsddd (15.22%) dddsd (8.5%). Each line also contains a masculine or feminine caesura in the third foot, though the feminine is predominant (78.82%). In 72.3% and 63.75% of the cases, the masculine and feminine caesura, respectively, are accompanied by a bucolic diaeresis, which alone occurs 65.52% of the time.

According to these figures, II. I. 22 is hardly unusual; ddddd, sdddd, dsddd comprise 79. 17% of the *carmen* with overwhelmingly more feminine caesurae. Metrically, *carmen* II. 1. 22 is unremarkable, but this is not surprising given the small size of the poem (only 24 verses).

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[21]For an in depth study of Gregory's meter and as it compares to other Christian poets, see Agosti-Gonnelli (1995: 289-434).

5. Unity

The transmission of *carm.* II. 1. 22 varies in the MSS;[22] some transmit the two 12 verse sections separately with vv. 13-24 appearing first in order, like La and Pc, while others transmit the 24 lines together, such as L. In the former MSS, vv. 13-24 are followed by *carm.* II. 1. 92 after which appear vv. 1-12 as a different poem. This cannot be a coincidence; *carm.* II. 1. 92 is another 12 verse poem whose content is so similar Pc entitles it, ἱκετηρία ἄλλο and like verse 13 of II. 1. 22, this poem begins with χριστὲ ἄναξ, τί με σαρκὸς ἐν ἄρκυσι ταῖσδ' ἐνέδησας;. It is plausible that the last 12 verses of II. 1. 22 were interpreted as a separate poem because they resemble II. 1. 92 in both form and content. However, while this appears sound reasoning for reading II. 1. 22 as two poems, there is much evidence within the *carmen* to suggest its unity.

The most convincing evidence is the language the *carmen* shares. Repetition is common throughout Gregory's works,[23] and certain words alone, such as Χριστὲ in verse 1 and 13, do not necessarily make a strong case for the unity of this poem when it is so frequently found throughout his other works. However, the abundance of repetition does not subtract from its importance; repeated words (or word groups) reveal and emphasize the important imagery in the work, connect (perhaps seemingly unconnected) sections, and even let the work respond to itself.

Two major images are presented in similar language in both 12-line sections of the poem; the description of the world as mud or muddy, πηλοῦ (v. 4), ἰλυόεντι βερέθρῳ (v. 14), and Christ's ability to stop things, ποταμοὺς στήσειας ἀπείρονας (v. 10), στῆσον κακότητα (v. 22). As this imagery will be discussed further below, it is sufficient for now to point out that these

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[22]Further information on the MSS and their transmission can be found below under section 8. Manuscript Tradition.

[23]Simelidis (2009: 52-54).

repeated ideas and words argue for the continuity of *carm.* II. 1. 22.

Furthermore, Gregory repeats the notion that he is Christ's λάχος (vv. 9, 15), which may not be remarkable if it were not for the fact that he writes this in the same metrical position and almost the same wording, ἐμὸν λάχος, ὥσπερ ὑπέστης (v. 9) and λάχος δὲ σὸν, ὥσπερ ἄκουσα (v. 15). In fact, ἄκουσα seems to acknowledge and respond to the ὑπέστης above, as if Gregory is telling Christ 'you told me, and I listened.'

Besides the language, there is the influence of the book of Exodus to consider. With even the quickest glance at this *carmen* key words, like Pharaoh, Egypt and the Red Sea, make patent the allusion to Exodus 14. These allusions do not seem to continue in the second 12 verses, which would perhaps suggest two distinct poems. But if one continues reading Exodus, book 15 begins with τότε ᾖσεν Μωυσῆς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην, a song which praises God because of the events of book 14. As Gregory promises in verse 12 to sing διηνεκέεσσιν ἐν ὕμνοις to Christ, it is possible to interpret the 12 lines that follow as the fulfilment of this promise and as a parallel Exodus 15. In further support of this argument, there are many psalmic attributes in vv. 13-24, the first of which is Gregory asking Christ 'why.' These rhetorical questions directed at God appear quite frequently in the Psalms (e.g. 21: 2), especially when the questioner is experiencing or has experienced great difficulties. Many of the difficulties which Gregory faces are presented with the language of hunting (see vv. 6-7, 13, 20-22), parallels of which can again be found within the Psalms (e.g. 140: 9). Moreover, Gregory describes the situation of his failing body and his lack of friends very similarly to Psalm 37. He explains that the strength has gone from his limbs (μελέων σθένος ὤλετο v. 16), an image which is found in Psalm 37: 11, ἐγκατέλιπέν με ἡ ἰσχύς μου, and interestingly rendered in [Apollinaris'] paraphrase of the Psalms, μελέων δ'ἀπεχάζετο κῖκυς. In the Psalm, David not only petitions God for his help because he has no strength but also because those whom he thought were friends

have turned away from him, leaving him alone in such an ill state (*οἱ φίλοι μου καὶ οἱ πλησίον μου ἐξ ἐναντίας μου ἤγγισαν καὶ ἔστησαν,/ καὶ οἱ ἔγγιστά μου ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστησαν* 37: 12). These psalmic conventions and topics following the promise to sing hymns (much like the Israelites did after crossing the Red Sea) suggest that vv. 13-24 are modelled after the Psalms and are to be understood as the first of the 'continuous hymns.'

It is not just the language, imagery and structure of the poem that suggest its unity, but also the many MSS which transmit these 24 lines together, especially Laurentianus pluteus 7, 10 and 32, 16. The superiority of the former is based on the fact that it is one of the earliest and most complete collections of Gregory's poetry and of the latter, that it was edited by the highly skilled and experienced Planudes.[24] Though there is no doubt that these 24 lines can be read separately and still with meaning, combined they create an extremely complex and layered poem, which provides one with a deeper, more enjoyable reading.

6. Imagery

The imagery the reader is first presented with is that of light, when s/he reads that Christ is the *φάος μερόπων* (v. 1). Christ and the holy land are associated with brightness two more times in the first 12 verses, *πυρόεν στύλε* (v. 1), *χθόνα δῖαν* (v. 9). The association with light is also connected to the lightness in weight or the incorporeality of Christ, who appears as a 'fiery pillar.' Compared to the brilliance and weightlessness of the divine, the descriptions of mortal life are dark and weighty in nature, *πηλοῦ μ' ἀδέτοιο* (v. 4), *ἰλυόεντι βερέθρῳ* (v. 14), *Αἰγύπτοιο βαρείης* (v. 4). Gregory clearly portrays mortality as a burden, a weight compared to divinity, in which one is placed and out of which one is taken only by the divine, *ἐν ἄρκυσι ... ἐνέδησας* (v. 13), *ἐξερύσαις* (v. 5). Thus, the mortal world and life act as 'nets' which keep Gregory trapped in a dark world, impeding his journey to the divine (cf. n. 13 *σαρκὸς ἐν ἄρκυσι*).

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[24]For more on these MSS, see section 8. Manuscript Transmission below.

This bright and light versus dark and heavy imagery is compounded by that of hunting, which appears to worsen as the poem progresses. In the beginning, Gregory makes it clear that he is stuck in the world, but there is hope that Christ will pull him out of the mire (πηλοῦ μ' ἀδέτοιο [...] ἐξερύσαις vv. 4-5) and, although his enemies chase him, again there is the hope of Christ's intervention (κίχησιν ἐχθρὸς ἐπισπέρχων, σὺ δέ μοι καὶ πόντον ἐρυθρὸν τμήξειας vv. 6-8). Later in the poem, however, Gregory's situation seems more dire as he elaborates upon being bound in the 'muddy abyss' of the world and even his own body, which acts like a net because of its mortal nature (σαρκὸς ἐν ἄρκυσι ταῖσδ' [...] βίῳ κρυόεντι, καὶ ἰλυόεντι βερέθρῳ vv. 13-14). Trapped in his own body, Gregory is now not only chased by his enemies but surrounded and trampled on by them (στείβουσ' ἀδρανέοντα [...] ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι vv. 20-21). He imagines himself as the cowering hare or deer, he is weak and completely alone because even his friends think ἄφιλα v. 18. By the end of the poem Gregory is completely downtrodden, the helpless victim whose only escape seems to be the mercy of death, which only Christ can give.

The mention of death brings us to the last prominent image in the poem, that of water ceasing to flow. It is the natural quality of water to flow and it is impossible to stop its movement. However, Christ is able to part the Red Sea, to turn a liquid substance solid, and hold back water (πόντον ἐρυθρὸν τμήξειας, στερεὴν [...] θάλασσαν [...] ποταμοὺς στήσειας ἀπείρονας vv. 7-10). The power to decide the ebb and flow of water should not be surprising. Since the divine created the world it would naturally be within His control. By extension, Gregory's life as part of the natural world and divine creation (which he notes in v. 13) is also under the control of Christ. Thus the image of stationary water acts a foil to Gregory's own desire, that of stopping his sufferings and ending his life.

7. Autobiographical Interpretation of *carm.* II. 1. 22

By naming himself (v. 1) Gregory erases any doubt the reader may have had of the

autobiographical nature of the poem. The allusion to Exodus (vv. 1-12) and the multiple references to his ill health and body (vv. 16-17) can be read simply as Gregory's poetic way of expressing the struggle of understanding and communing with God while having to work against non-believers, and an ageing body. Overall, the poem reads as a plea for death, which would return Gregory to God and bring him the greatest salvation of all.

While this interpretation is secure, I believe that one can read further into the many references to Gregory's enemies (vv. 3, 6, 7, 10, 18- 21). For the first 12 lines, Gregory relates his experience through that of the Israelites in Exodus, which can account for the specific naming of enemies, such as the Pharaoh, oppressive Egypt, etc. Yet these names as well as references to traitorous friends and dogs in the last half of the poem also recall struggles Gregory had with Egyptian bishops in his own life. For these reasons, as well as others which will be illuminated further on, I believe a strong case can be made that Gregory is also alluding to the events which took place in Constantinople.

As the capital's leading Nicene voice, Gregory became fast friends with Maximus 'The Cynic,' who, having left Alexandria, arrived in the capital in 380 as a defender of the Nicene faith. Not long after his arrival, Maximus' true intentions began to show through as he tried to manipulate and bribe his way onto the bishop's throne. In the *De vita sua,* Gregory explains that a group of Alexandrian bishops had come to the capital to ordain Maximus as the official Nicene bishop.[25] However, even with the support of Peter of Alexandria, Maximus failed to obtain Theodosius' (the emperor's) formal approval. Rather, when it came to re-establishing the religious situation, Theodosius offered the Church to Gregory,[26] who accepted this position,

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[25]vv. 845-864.

[26]Emperor Theodosius exiled Demophilus, the anti-Nicene bishop of Constantinople, because he refused to adopt the new theological position.

though he was not officially enthroned as the canonical bishop.

In May 381, Theodosius assembled a council of Eastern (from Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt) bishops to the capital, essentially to continue the council of Antioch in 379. With the anti-Nicene groups barred from clerical positions and churches and likely reaffirmation of the Nicene confession with the addition of the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit, it seemed obvious that Gregory would be recognized as the official bishop of Constantinople.[27] But this was not the case. The consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and Son, which Gregory had often professed in his orations, was not declared in the Council's reaffirmation of the Nicene faith. And although supported by the emperor and the majority of bishops from Asia Minor, Gregory found great resistance in those from Egypt, who had the support of the west (even though the Latin bishops had no votes in the Council).[28] To argue his appointment, some of the bishops (mainly the Egyptians) cited old canons which said that bishops could not transfer sees. As Gregory was bishop of Sasima, and had even been acting as such in Nazianzus, he was ineligible for the position in the capital.[29] It is clear that these were merely convenient and legitimate reasons to contest the installation. As Daley says, the canon was 'already more honored in the breach than in the observance, but one that still offered a legal excuse for objection.'[30] Knowing he lacked full support, Gregory handed over his resignation, expressing his happiness over being able to retire in Cappadocia and lead the philosophical life he so much preferred over these political games.

Given the betrayal of Maximus and his Egyptians backers and how deeply Gregory was

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[27]McGuckin (2001: 348).

[28]Sozomen, Church History 7.7 (trans. Edward Walford, rev. Chester D. Hartranft; Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers II/2 [repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983] 380).

[29]See Sozomen's account, *Church History 7.7.*

[30](2006: 24)

wounded by it,[31] it is no stretch of the imagination to read these men as the Pharaoh and the unnamed 'enemies' in *carm.* II. 1 22. If there were any doubt in interpreting Gregory's enemies as Maximus and the Egyptian bishops, v. 20 destroys any misgivings. Gregory refers to the enemies more specifically as κύνες, a term which he applies overtly to Maximus in the *De vita sua* v. 807-814, *or.* 26. 3, and in (if we agree with Simelidis) II. 1. 19 v. 20,[32] playing on his nickname 'The Cynic.'

One can even interpret χθόνα δῖαν (v. 9) and γῆς ἱερῆς (v. 12) as metaphors for Cappadocia. Driven out from the capital by, namely, the Egyptian opposition, Gregory was able to return to Cappadocia, a land which no doubt seemed like the 'holy land' compared to the political games, religious fighting, and betrayal, which Gregory experienced in the capital in only a few short years. Returning to his home estate let Gregory lead the ascetic, solitary lifestyle he had always wanted and to commune peacefully with God.[33]

8. Manuscript Tradition

As what will be provided here is only a very brief discussion of the MSS which contain *carm.* II. 1. 22, I direct those who have an interest in the transmission of Gregory's entire poetic corpus to the studies begun by Prof. Dr. Martin Sicherl. The first three books focus on the manuscript transmission: *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz. 1. Die Gedichtgruppen XX und XI* by W. Höllger, *2. Die Gedichtgruppe I* by N. Gertz, and *3. Die epischen und elegischen Gruppen* by M. Sicherl.[34] Tuilier and Bady also offer their own version of the stemma,

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[31]One need only compare *or.* 25, glowing praise of Maximus, to the description of events in the *De vita sua* and in *or.* 26, which act as Gregory's apology and account for his departure from the capital after the scandal.

[32](2009: 182ff).

[33]*or.* 26.7.

[34]These studies and commentaries on select poems are in the following series: 'Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums: NF Reihe 2, Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz' (Paderborn: Schöningh).

building upon the foundations of this research.[35]

 Carm. II. 1. 22 is part of poem group II, which is not a modern construction, but is attested in two important 11th century MSS, Laurentianus pluteus 7,10 and Parisinus graecus 990. The following is Group II as laid out by Tuilier-Bady (2004: LXXXVI):

Group II: II, 1, 73, 85, 81, 49, 87, 51, 27, 84, 22a[36], 22b, 92, 57

a	1	Vb[37] Lb
	2	Mq D Vp Pj
	3	L
b	1	Pc* S* La* Vc* Pa* Pf[38] J*
	2	Ri* Mb

The MSS which contain *carm.* II.1.22 and sigla.[39]

Ald= Ld	Vossianus gr. 0.10	XVI
D	Coislinianus 56	XIV/XV
I	Panagios Taphos 254	XVI
Ib	Iberon 187	XV
J	Heirosolymitanus Hagiou Sabas 419	XIV
L	Laurentianus pluteus 7,10	XI
La	Laurentianus pluteus 7,18	XII
Lb	Laurentianus pluteus 32,16	1280

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[35]See Tuilier-Bady (2004).

[36] Over time, *carm.* II. 1. 22 was transmitted in primarily two different fashions, either complete or with the second half of the poem preceding the first with an interceding poem. On account of this II. 1. 22 is often distinguished as 22a (= v. 1-12) and 22b (= v. 13-24). I have indicated the MSS which transmit the poem in the latter way with an asterisk.

[37]Vb only transmits 22a.

[38]Pf transmits a very broken poem: 22b, lac.19-24; 92, lac. v. 1-12; 22a, lac. v. 1-6.

[39]Formatted after Simelidis (2009).

Mb	Marcianus gr. 83 (coll. 512)	1327
Mc	Monacensis gr. 201	XIII
Mq	Mosquensis Bibl. Synod. gr. 156	XII
N	Borbonicus gr. 24(II. A. 24)	XV
Pa	Parisinus gr. 39	XIII
Pc	Parisinus gr. 990	1028/29
Pf	Parisinus gr. 993	XIV
Pj	Parisinus gr. 1220	XIV
Ps	Suppl. gr. 1090	XVI
Ri	Riccardianus 64	XIV
S	Baroccianus gr. 96	XIV
Va	Vaticanus gr. 482	XIV
Vb	Vaticanus gr. 497	XIII
Vc	Chisianus gr. 16	XIV
Vp	Palatinus gr. 90	XIII/XIV

 The manuscripts I collated for *carm.* II.1.22

1) L

2) La

3) Lb

4) Mq

5) Pc

1) Laurentianus pluteus 7, 10 (L)

This manuscript is from the 11th Century. Ff 1r- 165v contain the poems of Gregory,

while ff. 166-188 contain the *Paraphrase* of Nonnos. The first two folia of the first quaternion were lost early on and replaced at a later time. On f. 8 there is a lacuna in the poem I. 2. 1 and between f. 172v-181 in the *Paraphrase* a fragment of another poem has been inserted. The end of the work is mutilated. The MS is primarily the work of one scribe, who wrote most of the glosses and variants. Later hands can be identified but they are rare occurrences.

Though L does not contain all Gregory's poems, it is the most complete collection which has survived (C has many mutilations). We do not know from what L was copied, as this is lost today, but the large parts of L also appear in Cosmas, Nicetas and C, which state that they had the same sources for Gregory's texts. We also do not know if L served as the model for any copies. However, its textual tradition appears (at least partially) in Ln, Am, and A.

2) Laurentianus pluteus 7, 18 (La)

This MS dates to the 12th Century, one of the oldest at the Biblioteca as it belonged to the Medici at least before 1492. The work is divided into two columns on the page; Gregory's verses appear on the left and Paraphrase A on the right. The text is neat with a precise numbering system and there is evidence of correction by multiple hands, all of which suggest that La served as a model for copying the works of Gregory. La seems to be strongly connected to Pc in the textual tradition, containing almost the same pieces in very similar order as well as common mistakes.

3) Laurentianus pluteus 32, 16 (Lb)

This MS was copied on oriental paper and completed on September 1st, 1280 by Maxmius Planudes, who was the main copyist, and a group of scribes working under his direction. Gregory's poems occupy the end of the MS, f. 324r-389v, and are written in two columns which are read together from left to right. There is no paraphrase but there are many glosses and marginal scholia to clarify the text.

The MS consists of poetic texts ranging from the very beginning of Greek works to the 5th Century, which seem to be gathered thematically, and clearly belong to both the pagan and Christian literary tradition. If the choice of authors was originally conceived by Planudes (of which we cannot be certain) then the work is truly a testament to Planudes' skill as it was only written in the early years of his career, which really began in the later 1280s. The work was probably carried out in Constantinople where Planudes spent most of his life as both a humanist and great text editor.

4) Mosquensis Bibliothecae Synodalis graecus 156 (52/LIII) (Mq)

Mq dates to the 12th Century and has belonged for a long time to the Library of the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church having been given over from the convent of the Iberians of Athos. The MS transmits 55 poems of Gregory with paraphrase in two columns; the verse appears on left and the paraphrase on the right. The titles which appear at the beginning of each poem seem original to the Mq recension, as they do not appear in the medieval tradition except for two later witnesses, Pj and D (both 14th century). We know the scribe to be the monk Arsene.

5) Parisinus graecus 990 (Pc)

Pc can be dated to the years 1028/1029 or 1029/1030. It contains four of the poetic groupings of Gregory, I, II, III, IV, accompanied by paraphrase A; as in many other MSS, Gregory's poems appear on the left and the paraphrase on the right. The first few original folia are lost and throughout appear other lacunae. The text was written by one hand with the number of lines of each poem indicated alongside the title, suggesting that this MS was most likely copied from a model in a library, and was in turn used as a model for other copies.

Ἱκετηρίον

Χριστὲ φάος μερόπων, πυρόεν στύλε Γρηγορίοιο

ψυχῇ πλαζομένῃ πικρῆς βιότου δι’ ἐρήμης,

σχὲς Φαραὼ κακόμητιν, ἀναιδέας ἐργοδιώκτας·

καὶ πηλοῦ μ’ ἀδέτοιο καὶ αἰγύπτοιο βαρείης

ἐξερύσαις, πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας   5

δυσμενέας, λείην δὲ πόροις ὁδόν. ἤν δε κίχησιν

ἐχθρὸς ἐπισπέρχων, σὺ δέ μοι καὶ πόντον ἐρυθρὸν

τμήξειας, στερεὴν δὲ διεκπεράοιμι θάλασσαν,

σπεύδων ἐς χθόνα δῖαν ἐμὸν λάχος ὥσπερ ὑπέστης·

καὶ ποταμοὺς στήσειας ἀπείρονας, ἀλλοφύλων τε   10

κλίναις θούριον ἔγχος ἀγάστονον. Εἰ δ’ ἐπιβαίην

γῆς ἱερῆς, μέλψω σε διηνεκέεσσιν ἐν ὕμνοις.

tit. ἱκετήριος Mq : ἱκετηρία ἄλλη (22a) πρὸς χριστον ἱκετηρία (22b) Pc : om. L, La, Lb   1 πυρόει L La Lb Mq Pc   3 φθαραῶ La   5 πληγῇσι Pc : δαμάσας La   8 θάλατταν Mq   9 δῖαν Lb : θείαν L La Mq Pc   12 ἱερίης La

Χριστὲ ἄναξ, τί με σαρκὸς ἐν ἄρκυσι ταῖσδ’ ἐνέδησας;

Τίπτε βίῳ κρυόεντι καὶ ἰλυόεντι βερέθρῳ,

Εἰ ἐτεόν θεός εἰμι, λάχος δὲ σὸν ὥσπερ ἄκουσα;   15

ἐκ μέν μοι μελέων σθένος ὤλετο, οὐ δέ τι γοῦνα

ἕσπεται· ἀλλά μ’ ἔλυσε χρόνος καὶ νοῦσος ἀνιγρὴ,

τηκεδανή τε μέριμνα, φίλοι τ’ ἄφιλα φρονέοντες.

εἴκειν δ’ οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἁμάρταδες, ἀλλ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον

στείβουσ’ ἀδρανέοντα, κύνες δ’ὡς πτῶκα λαγωόν,   20

ἢ κεμάδ' ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι λιλαιόμενοι κορέσασθαι.

ἢ στῆσον κακότητα καὶ ἵλαθι, ἢ μ’ ὑπόδεξαι

δηρὸν ἀεθλεύοντα, καὶ ἄλγεσι μέτρον ἐπέστω,

ἢ λήθης νέφος ἐσθλὸν ἐμὰς φρένας ἀμφικαλύπτοι.

13 ἄρκυσιν La ταῖσδε La   16 ὤχετο La   18 φίλι Pc 19 δ’ om. L   20 στίβουσ' La Pc   21 οἵ \ἢ/ La   22 τὴν κακότητα add. Pc   23 ἀεθλεύσαντα La Pc ἄλγεσιν La ἐπέσθω La Pc

Suppliant's Song

Christ, light of mankind, fiery pillar for Gregory's

soul wandering through the bitter desert of life,

restrain the evil-minded Pharaoh, the shameful taskmasters,

and from the unbound earth and oppressive Egypt

draw me out, having overpowered with ill favoured blows

my enemies, provide an easy way for me. And if my Enemy, pressing on,

overtakes me, then divide for me

the Red Sea, and I will pass through solid sea,

speeding to the bright land, my inheritance, as you promised;

And hold back the innumerable rivers, and turn aside

the rushing, wail-inducing spear of the foreigners. And if I tread

the Holy Land, I will sing to you in continuous hymns.

Lord Christ, why did you entangle me in such nets of flesh?

Why in a bitter life and muddy abyss,

if I am truly divine, your heir, as I heard?

The strength from my limbs has failed, but my knees

did not follow, but time undid me, and grievous sickness,

and wasting anxiety, and friends thinking friendless things.

The sins do not want to withdraw, but rather still

they trample the weak one, like dogs surround on all sides a cowering hare,

or a young deer, desiring to sate themselves.

Either stay this evil and be gracious, or receive me,

struggling for a long time, and let there be a limit to my pains,

or may a good cloud of forgetfulness enwrap my mind.

1-12: In his initial appeal to Christ, Gregory associates Him with light, which he contrasts with the connection between mortality and darkness throughout the rest of the poem. Gregory asks Christ to save him from his enemies, all of whom appear to be connected to Egypt. By verse 7 it is clear that Gregory is paralleling his experience to that of the Israelites in Exodus chapter 14 with his mention of dividing the Red Sea. According to Gregory, Christ has the power to stop rivers flowing and enemies attacking, which would allow him to reach the 'holy land.' In return for this salvation, Gregory offers to sing to Christ in 'continuous hymns.'

1.   **φάος μερόπων:** cf. *carm.* I. 2. 38 v. 6 *Χριστὲ φάος μερόπων* and Nonn. *Par. Jo.* 124 *φάος μερόπεσσιν.* The ending of *μεροψ (-οψ)* is found elsewhere in the names of people and animals and is most likely not Indo-European. The word as a whole is considered pre-Greek and etymologically, the original meaning is undetermined (EDG: 933). However, in Homer, *μέροπες* is always applied as an epithet to *ἄνθρωποι,* which it later stands for substantively; cf. A. *Ch.* 1018, E. *IT.* 1263, A. R. 4. 536. Thus, Gregory uses poetic (though not Homeric) language to express a typical Judaeo-Christian concept (see John 1:4, 8:12, 9:5). This is the beginning of the divine's association with light in the poem, see section 6 of the introduction.

πυρόεν στύλε: I have emended *πυρόει* here to its proper vocative form to agree with *στύλε,* though all the manuscripts read *πυρόει,* which is neither a traditional form of the paradigm nor found in any other context. The fiery pillar has great significance in Exodus as God's guiding presence for the Israelites; cf. Orac. Sib. 3. 250 *ἐν στύλῳ πυρόεντι.* This is the first hint in the poem of Gregory connecting his personal spiritual experience with that of the Israelites. This adjective also reinforces Christ's connection with the light; he is a bright,

almost intangible, and weightless guide; cf. Section 6 of the introduction for further discussion of this imagery.

Γρηγορίοιο: As God is the pillar of fire for the Israelites so Christ is for Gregory personally. As Simelidis notes, this self-naming is a rather common occurrence in Gregory; cf. *carm.* I. 2.17 v. 66, II. 1. 10, v. 35, II. I. 17 v. 60, II. 1. 19 v. 25, II. 1. 92 v. 12, II. 1. 99 v. 3, *AP* 8. 147 v. 6, etc. As much as he names himself so there are as many reasons for it, for an involved discussion of which see Simelidis (2009: 149-52). The significance of the self-naming in this poem may perhaps be understood as part of a personal prayer; Gregory is not just simply recounting his sufferings but is asking Christ, his own personal 'pillar' and saviour, to end them, to give him salvation. Though Christ is the *φάος μερόπων* Gregory is praying to him on his own behalf, not for anyone else.

2.   **ψυχῇ:** In the poem *Περὶ Ψυχῆς* (I. 1. 8 ed. Moreschini) and *or.* 38 Gregory describes the soul as the breath of God, *παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ πνοὴν ἐνθείς* (*or.* 38. 11, cf. Ge. 2:7). From these descriptions we understand the soul as divine in its origin and therefore man as part divine. For a further discussion of the soul and the dual nature of man, see Ellverson (1981).

πλαζομένη ...δι' ἐρήμης: In *Περὶ Ψυχῆς* Gregory uses similar wording, *ψυχὴ πλαζομένη τε δι' ἠέρος* (v. 24), where he adopts Pythagorean language from Diogenes Laertius, *τ' αὐτὴν (ψυχὴν) ἐπὶ γῆς πλάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀέρι* (8. 31). Diogenes Laertius is quoting Alexander Polyhistor's account of the soul's departure from the body at death, Moreschini and Sykes (1997: 226). Yet again, Gregory uses another language, this time Pythagorean, and manipulates it to express his own ideas; Gregory sees his soul wandering through mortal life, not through the air after bodily death.

βιότου: *βίοτος (βίος)* is Homeric. Although there is significant overlap with *ζωή*, in

Judaeo-Christian literature *βίος* denotes physical, earthly life whereas *ζωή* denotes eternal life; though *βίος* ends, *ζωή* may continue, e.g. Clem. *paed.* I. 13 *καθῆκον δὲ ἀκόλουθον ἐν βίῳ θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ βούλημα ἕν, κατορθούμενον ἀιδίῳ ζωῇ* (NTL, PGL).

ἐρήμης: *ἔρημος* can be used substantively as an uninhabited region, a desert as compared to cultivated land (NTL). In Judaeo-Christian literature it is often applied to the Judean wilderness, especially of the barren mountains that head toward the Dead Sea (e.g. 1 Macc. 2:29, 5:24, 28, 2 Macc. 5:27, Mt. 3:1, 4:1, 11:7). Though clearly metaphoric in its usage here, the word brings to mind Exodus as Gregory links his experience to that of the Israelites.

In *or.* 26.7 Gregory refers to his retreat to the country as the 'desert' (*τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα, καὶ ἅ παρὰ τῆς ἐρημίας ὑμῖν κομίζομεν*). Gregory explains that the solitude allows one to converse with God, to think without disruptions, citing Elijah, John and Jesus himself as his examples. The emphasis here lies on 'solitude,' rather than on 'desert.' To commune with God one did not need physical solitude but spiritual solitude, c.f. Clem. *str.* 7.12 *ὃς πόλιν οἰκῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν κατεφρόνησεν...καὶ καθάπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τῇ πόλει βιοῖ, ἵνα μὴ ὁ τόπος αὐτὸν ἀναγκάζῃ, ἀλλ' ἡ προαίρεσις δεικνύῃ δίκαιον.* Turning away from material and worldly things does not necessarily mean peace; Evagrius Ponticus tells us that in a deserted state it is easier for the demons to attack the mind because it is easier to sin in thought than in deed (*οἱ δαίμονες... παλαίουσι... μοναχοῖς... διὰ τῶν λογισμῶν. πραγμάτων γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐστέρηνται*) *cap. pract.* B48. Where Gregory appreciated the 'desert' before, its experience is now 'bitter' (*πικρῆς*) to him, perhaps because he has spent so much time battling his demons and/or because he is simply lonely.

3.   **Φαραὼ κακόμητιν, ἀναιδέας:** A very rare adjective used only 14 times, primarily after Gregory, except the notable use in Eur. *Or.* 1403 *κακόμητις ἀνήρ.* Cf. Gr. *carm.* I. 2. 1 v. 451 *τίς Φαραὼ κακόμητιν,* and the direct influence on Io. Geo. *carm.* 65.32 *πείσαις Φαραὼ κακόμητιν,*

ἀναιδέας ἀστούς, and 68.7 *Φαραὼ κακομήτιδος ἐξερύσειας.* In *Orestes,* Euripides elaborates upon the adjective by comparing the son of Strophius to Odysseus for his cunning but quite negatively, *σιγᾷ δόλιος/ πιστὸς δὲ φίλοις· θρασὺς εἰς ἀλκάν/ξυνετὸς πολέμου, φόνιός τε δράκων* (1404-06); as Willink says this 'is a perversion of the epic *πολύμητις (Ὀδυσσεύς)*' (1986: 314). For John Geometres, explains van Opstall, 'l'empereur ennemi … est également présent en guise de Pharaon' (2008: 234, 248). If John Geometres borrowed Gregory's wording with metaphorical intent in mind, it would not be surprising if he understood Gregory's metaphorically as well. Though Gregory may simply be relating his own spiritual experiences with that of the Israelites, we can extend the autobiographical reading further and associate the Egyptians he encountered in Constantinople to the Pharaoh and the 'enemies' mentioned throughout the poem; cf. n. 20-21 *κύνες* and see section 7 of the introduction for discussion of this reading.

Ἀναιδέας ἐργοδιώκτας: The word 'taskmasters' is first found in the Septuagint, though never accompanied by the adjective *ἀναιδής.* The adjective, however, is readily applied to kings, kings who are blatantly set against God; cf. Da. 8. 23- 24 *ἀναιδὴς προσώπῳ καὶ συνίων προβλήματα. καὶ κραταιὰ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτοῦ, καὶ θαυμαστὰ διαφθερεῖ καὶ κατευθυνεῖ καὶ ποιήσει καὶ διαφθερεῖ ἰσχυροὺς καὶ λαὸν ἅγιον.* There is a similar use in *Orac. Sib.* 5. 458-459 *ὄλεθρος/ Αἰγύπτου, βασιλῆες ὅταν μιχθῶσιν ἀναιδεῖς.* In both the Septuagint and Sibylline Oracles it is applied to an attribute of a king, if not the king directly, as well as those vying for power; cf. Da. 2.15, *Orac. Sib.* 14.92, 13. 142. It is also used to describe the leader of God's people, who are derogatorily called dogs and are judged for their blindness, selfishness and lack of faith (*οἱ κύνες ἀναιδεῖς τῇ ψυχῇ* Isa. 56. 11). Gregory likewise applies it to a king, *Ἀνίσταται δὲ βασιλεὺς ἕτερος, οὐκ ἀναιδὴς τῷ προσώπῳ κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον οὐδὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς ἔργοις καὶ ἐπιστάταις ἐκθλίβων τὸν Ἰσραήλ or.* 21. 33. In 21. 32 Gregory describes the Emperor who was

'shameless in countenance' because he was an impious Christian emperor. It is clear enough why Gregory describes the 'taskmasters' as 'shameless' yet there is an option for a deeper reading if we take into consideration the adjective's frequent application to impious, heretical kings and leaders. Gregory would certainly have viewed those who opposed his brand of Christianity at the Council at Constantinople (namely the Egyptians) as heretics. For further discussion of this autobiographical reading see section 7 of the introduction.

4.   πηλοῦ: While literally 'mud,' one must keep in mind that from this 'mud' or 'clay' mankind is made: this is another example of Gregory playing with the overlap of pagan and Judaeo-Christian concepts; cf. Hes. *Op.* 70 ff. and Gen. 2:7. Cf. *or.* 2. 91 in which Gregory explains how being human, stuck in the world (*τοῦ τε πηλοῦ τῆς ἰλύος ᾧ ἐμπεπήγμεθα*), makes it difficult to separate the divine from *τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ τῷ σκότῳ συνεζευγμένου.* The reader can interpret the word literally and as representative as Gregory's human body, both of which he considers less than the divine and impediments to reaching the divine. For further discussion of this dualism and the desire for the divine, see Ellverson (1981). Cf. the concept of being taken out of the 'mire' to Ps. 39. 3 *καὶ ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἰλύος.* See n. 14 *Ἰλυόεντι βερέθρῳ* and section 6 of the introduction for discussion of light and dark imagery.

ἀδέτοιο: The adjective repeats throughout Gregory's work often in the same metrical *sedes*; cf. I. 2. 1 v. 198, 413, 726, I. 2. 29 v. 7. The adjective's application to 'mud' or 'earth' is unparalleled elsewhere making the oddity of this description that much more pronounced. As seen in the note above, Gregory often talks about being stuck in the mud, being bound to the mortal world, and thus the reader would expect an appeal to Christ to pull him out of the 'binding earth' not the 'unbound earth.' Gregory may be imagining the earth loosening at Christ's command as He sets him free. This inversion of quality is echoed in the description of

the sea, see n. 8 *στερεὴν...θάλασσαν.*

καὶ Αἰγύπτοιο βαρείης: 'from oppressive Egypt;' cf. I. 2. 1 v. 313 *ἀπ' Αἰγύπτοιο βαρείης.* This word is often applied to objects or people that are burdensome because of threats and demands; cf. Hom. *Il.* 13.410 *βαρείης χειρὸς ἀφῆκεν,* 21.590 *ἄκοντα βαρείης χειρὸς ἀφῆκε* (NTL). *Βαρύς* as applied to places appears undocumented, suggesting Gregory's clever, and perhaps unique, manipulation of the adjective.

5.   **πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας:** cf. *epig.* 64 v. 1 *τέτρωμαι πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσιν ὁ τύμβος* and *carm.* II. 1. 1 v. 370 *πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι τεμόντες.* Gregory mixes poetic and Judaeo-Christian language again; cf. *πληγή* as 'blow' in New Testament, Lk 12:48, 2 Cor. 6:5, 11:23, Ac. 16:23, and Hom. *Od.* 4. 244, *αὐτόν μιν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας.* In v. 244 ff. Helen explains how Odysseus disguised himself as a beggar by beating himself to enter Troy, a city of *ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων .* It is interesting to see the way Gregory twists the Homeric scene; he too is set against, not just a city, but a whole country of enemies (*δυσμενέας* v. 6), but he does not need to beat himself to infiltrate them like Odysseus. Gregory can call upon Christ, who will keep him safe, fight on his behalf and overpower his enemies. Could Gregory be manipulating this allusion to boast the superiority of Christ over the pagan gods, who clearly could not help their worshippers? For further commentary on Gregory's language see section 3 of the introduction.

6.   **λείην...ὁδόν:** 'provide an easy way for me;' cf. *carm.* II. 1. 45 v. 58 *ἰέναι λείην ὁδόν.* Hesiod speaks of the 'easy road' (*λείη μὲν ὁδός Op.* 288 ff.) as one that leads only to *κακότητα* (cf. v. 22). Travelling the hard road then is the more virtuous choice, although Hesiod qualifies his statement, *ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται/ ῥηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα* (291- 92). In the New Testament, similar wording appears in Lk. 3: 5 *καὶ αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας* as an adapted quotation of Isa. 40: 4 *καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας.* It is John preparing the people for Christ's

arrival, He who will cleanse them and save them, thereby making the 'rough roads smooth.' The overlapping poetic and Judaeo-Christian language make this a striking request, of which Gregory would have been aware. Gregory seems to combine the concepts somewhat; Gregory has reached the 'top', as Hesiod imagines it, in his old age, and clearly his way was far from easy. But his journey was not just to virtue or goodness, but to Christ. Now, Christ can bring him salvation and make the rest of his journey 'smooth.'

Κίχησιν ... ἐν ὕμνοις: These next lines allude heavily to the events of chapters 14 and 15 of Exodus; the Pharaoh and his army pursue the Israelites (14:9), Moses, through the Lord's power, divides the sea (14:21), the Israelites walk on dry ground (14:22), the Lord overpowers the Egyptians (14:24), and when the Israelites are safe, they sing to the Lord (15). It is difficult not to read these lines and interpret Gregory's identification with the Israelites as an expression of the way he felt during and after his time in Constantinople. Gregory resigned from his unofficial appointment as Bishop of the capital and returned to Cappadocia, where he lived out his remaining years in the peace of the country. During this time he wrote much about the events in Constantinople, about which it is clear that he had many mixed emotions. At times his work reveals the hurt he felt at having to give up such an esteemed position, in which he felt he still had things left to accomplish (*carm.* II. 1. 15 v. 15). At other times, he rejoices that he could finally leave the city which only kept him from his true path, which was one of solitary contemplation (Daley [2006: 22-25]). He writes of his enemies there, and the betrayals of those whom he thought were friends (*carm.* II. 1. 12, II. 1. 11, *or.* 26.3, 42.20). It seems in this particular poem that Gregory is focused on only the negative aspects of his time in the capital like the enemies he made and the betrayals he experienced (Daley [2006: 17-19, 23]). His allusion to Exodus 14 makes perfect sense, as Gregory, much like the Israelites, went

searching for a better place, a haven from the persecution in the city. For the full discussion of the poem's autobiographical nature see section 7 of the introduction.

κίχησιν/ ἐχθρὸς ἐπισπέρχων: The cacophonous and hissing sounds of the alliterated χ and σ emphasize the negativity of this passage. Cf. v. 13 σαρκὸς ἐν ἄρκυσι ταῖσδ' ἐνέδησας and the simile in v. 20-21 and see section 6 of the introduction for full discussion of the hunting imagery.

7.   Σὺ δέ μοι: Apodotic δέ, rather than connective δέ, with a conditional protasis. According to Denniston, this use of δέ is only truly 'at home' in Homer and Herodotus. Following their examples, Gregory begins the apodosis with a pronoun; cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.137, 23. 559, *Od.* 4. 832, 12. 163, 16. 274 (1966: 177ff).

πόντον ἐρυθρόν: cf. [Apoll]. *Met. Ps.* 105. 16, 19, 46 πόντον Ἐρυθρόν to ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα (Ps. 105: 7, 9, 22, Ex. 15: 4, 22). The first Greek writers to use this term were Pindar (*P.* 4. 251) and Aeschylus (*Fr.* 192. 1-2 R.), naming both the Red Sea, as we know it, and the Indian Ocean (Braswell [1988: 347]). Gregory is cleverly replacing the expected Judaeo-Christian language with classical language. See later very similarly in Psell. *Poemtat.* 24.5 v.1 πόντος ἐρυθρός; Nicet. Paphl. *Laud. In Greg theol.* 20.31 πόντος μὲν ἐρυθραῖος; Niceph. Bl. *Cons. Geog.* 463.1.19 Ἐρυθραίου πόντου; Eustath. *comm on Dion.* 38.1, 596.13, 1107.46 Ἐρυθραῖος πόντος; Planud. *Boethii de philo.* 3.35.1.3 πόντου δ' Ἐρυθροῦ.

8.   στερεὴν...θάλασσαν: στερεός typically describes solid, three dimensional substances, such as earth (cf. E. *Hel.* 854, X. *Cyn.* 9.16, Epicur. *Nat.* 14.2), extending as such to dimensions, such as cubic numbers (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 5. 1316a. 8). When applied metaphorically the meaning becomes something like 'stubborn, stiff' or 'cruel.' Its application to the sea is unprecedented; in Exodus, the Isrealites walk μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης κατὰ τὸ ξηρόν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῖς τεῖχος ἐκ

δεξιῶν καὶ τεῖχος ἐξ εὐωνύμων (14: 22), and in John 6: 19, which this imagery also recalls, Jesus walks on the water (*περιπατοῦντα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης*). The sea, while certainly a three dimensional substance, lacks the firm solidity and stiff nature that the adjective represents. Gregory must have imagined the water transformed into real, solid walls, and thus his use of the term *στερεός.*

Διεκπεράοιμι: cf. Hdt. 4.152 *Ἡρακλέας στήλας διεκπερήσαντες* and Hdt. 5. 52. 2, *διεκπερᾶν τὸν ποταμόν.* In the latter, Herodotus explains that one crosses the river Halys before entering Cappadocia on the road from Sardis to Susa. It is interesting to note that Gregory applies the term to water just as Herodotus does, although Gregory passes *through* the water, not on it.

For the association with life and death cf. E. *Supp.* 953- 54 *σμικρὸν τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ βίου· τοῦτον δὲ χρὴ/ ὡς ῥᾷστα καὶ μὴ σὺν πόνοις διεκπερᾶν* and I. 2. 1 v. 444 *ῥευστοῖο διεκπεράας βιότοιο.* The use of the verb emphasizes Gregory's belief that he has run the full course of his *βίος* (see n. 2), suffering enough along the way (see n. 6 *λείην...ὁδόν*) and it is now time to transition, to pass into the afterlife (*χθόνα δῖαν).* However, in keeping with the rest of the poem, this line contains a *double entendre;* Gregory clearly imagines death, the ultimate salvation, but the allusion to Exodus also implies an earthly holy land, an immediate salvation. For Gregory this would be his return to Cappadocia. As Daley suggests, the 'homecoming [was] the fulfilment of a dream,' because it finally allowed Gregory to lead the philosophical, ascetic life he had dedicated himself to earlier (e.g. *Περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν* II. 1. 1 v. 452-465) (2006: 25). For detailed discussion of the autobiographical nature of the poem see section 7 of the introduction.

9. **Χθόνα δῖαν:** 'bright land,' Stanford notes the many meanings of *δῖα* and rests with 'glorious' as the nearest translation (1961: 209). While the majority of my MSS (L, La, Mq) read *θείαν*, which fits both in metre and sense, I have accepted Planudes' (Lb) reading for the

following reasons: 1) *χθών θεῖα* is not found in any form anywhere else, while *χθών δῖα* has multiple precedents; cf. Hom. *Il.* 24. 532 *ἐπὶ χθόνα δῖαν ἐλαύνει*, h.Tell. 3 *ὅσα χθόνα δῖαν ἐπέρχεται*, Hes. *Op.* 479 *ἀρόῳς χθόνα δῖαν*, Pl. *R.* 379. d. 8. *ἐπὶ χθόνα δῖαν ἐλαύνει*, A. *Supp.* 4-5 *δίαν… χθόνα*, Opp. *C.* 4.343 *ἐς χθόνα δῖαν*. 2) The chance of scribal error. The word forms of *θει-* and *δι-* are similar enough to give pause; add to this the similar meanings and that a monk would probably be more familiar with *θεῖαν,* it seems highly likely that mistakes were made. Also the presence of *χθόνα* immediately preceding only increases the chance for error by the partial assimilation (West [1973: 21, 23, 25]). 3) *θεῖα,* though it does share a similar meaning to *δῖα,* lacks the association with the light and brightness, which is strong imagery throughout the poem.

Note the imagery of light and brilliance that is associated with the divine; Christ is light (*φάος*), who acts as a guiding light for his followers (*πυρόεν στύλε*) to bring them into the light (*χθόνα δῖαν*). This is compared throughout the poem to the darkness that is the mortal world. See section 6 of the introduction for the light and dark imagery in the poem.

λάχος: 'my inheritance;' cf. v. 15 *εἰ ἐτεὸν θεός εἰμι, λάχος δὲ σόν* (for the unity of the two sections of the poem see the introduction) and II. 1. 1 v. 423 *σὸν δὲ λάχος*. As discussed in n. 2, Gregory believes man to be part divine on account of his soul, and this divine part of man is what keeps him inclined to God (*or.* 38. 11). Thus, the final goal or inheritance of mankind is to return to God, to become divinized; *Τοῦτο ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα μυστήριον βούλεται· τοῦτο ἡμῖν ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας δι᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ πτωχεύσας Θεός, ἵνα ἀναστήσῃ τὴν σάρκα καὶ ἀνασώσηται τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἀναπλάσῃ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα γενώμεθα οἱ πάντες ἓν ἐν Χριστῷ, γενομένῳ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τελείως, ὅσα πέρ ἐστιν αὐτός, ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ, βάρβαρος καὶ Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος, τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς γνωρίσματα, μόνον δὲ φέρωμεν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεῖον χαρακτῆρα, παρ᾽ οὗ καὶ εἰς ὃν γεγόναμεν, τοσοῦτον ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μορφωθέντες καὶ τυπωθέντες ὥστε καὶ ἀπὸ μόνου*

γινώσκεσθαι (*or.* 7.23), for more on the divinisation of man cf. *or.* 2. 22; 17. 9; 21. 1; 34. 12; 38.11. It is important to note that the divinisation of man is possible through the Holy Spirit and the Son, specifically the Incarnation, *ἵνα γένωμαι τοσοῦτον θεός, ὅσον ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος or.* 29. 19; cf. 30. 14, 21; 31. 4. For further discussion on the divinisation of man see, Ellverson (1981) and Winslow (1979: 34ff).

10.   **ποταμοὺς στήσειας ἀπείρονας:** *στήσειας* alternative 1st aorist form for *στήσαις.* For the imagery of halting water cf. A. R. 3.532 *ποταμοὺς ἵστησιν ἄφαρ κελαδεινὰ ῥέοντας* and Plu. *Soll.* 982F *πᾶσαν ἵστησι θάλασσαν ἀκύμονα καὶ ἀσάλευτον;* this power is ascribed to Medea (taught by the goddess Hecate) and Poseidon respectively; powers like this were commonly associated with witches, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* I4. 487 and Hp. *Morb. Sacr.* 4. 1-3. However, for Gregory there is only one who is powerful enough to divide a river into two solid walls (cf. n. 8 *στερεὴν...θάλασσαν*) or stop water from flowing: the Lord. Demoen reads this second water image as an allusion to the passage of Jordan (Joshua 3: 15-17) (1996: 349). In chapter 3, Joshua tells the Israelites that when the priests step into the river the waters on either side will stop (*ὡς ἂν καταπαύσωσιν οἱ πόδες τῶν ἱερέων [...] ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ Ιορδάνου, τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Ιορδάνου ἐκλείψει, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ καταβαῖνον στήσεται* 3: 13). Not only are multiple waters discussed but in 3: 16 'water' is pluralised (*τὰ ὕδατα τὰ καταβαίνοντα*). Gregory appears to echo this passage with the pluralisation of water (*ποταμοὺς)* and his verb choice, *στήσειας*, recounting the final river crossing into the promised land. In the following verses, 11-12, Gregory also uses the same words to describe coming into the Holy Land (*ἐπιβαίην γῆς ἱερῆς*) as appear in Joshua 1: 3, 11 concerning the Israelites entering the promised land (*ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ἐπιβῆτε [...] κατασχεῖν τὴν γῆν*). The similarity in language makes Demoen's interpretation highly likely. The second image of Christ controlling the ebb and flow of the water, reinforces His control over the natural world

and man by extension. It makes sense that Gregory presents us with this imagery in a poem that asks Christ to end his life. For further discussion of this imagery see section 6 of the introduction.

Ἀλλοφύλων: 'of the foreigners,' though clearly a hostile force, can be understood as 'of the enemy,' f. *δυσμενέας, ἐχθρός.* This is a very common word and used often throughout the Septuagint in reference to the Philistines, e.g. Jd. 14: 1. Demoen believes that the term *ἀλλόφυλοι* 'exceptionally refers to the Amalekites here' given the context of the 'paradigmatic prayer' (1996: 349, 394). While the battle of the Amalekites does appear in Exodus (17: 8-16), I see no text-based reason to associate vv. 10-11 with this particular battle, especially if one accepts reading vv. 10-12 as the final river crossing into the promise land. In this case, 'the foreigners' (*ἀλλοφύλων*) might more aptly refer to the men of Gai, who were the cause of Joshua's great lament (*καὶ διέρρηξεν Ἰησοῦς τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔπεσεν Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐναντίον κυρίου ἕως ἑσπέρας αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ισραηλ καὶ ἐπεβάλοντο χοῦν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν* 7: 6).

11.   Θούριον ἔγχος: cf. II. 2. 4 v. 120 *ἡνίκα θούριον ἔγχος Ἀχαιμενίδῃσι τίνασσες* and II. 2. 5 v. 55 *θούριον ἔγχος ἔχειν, νούσοις δέμας. Θοῦρος* is strongly connected to Ares; cf. E. *Ph.* 240, Hom. *Il.* 5. 30, 35, 355, 454 etc., and *Lex. Cas.* as it understands *θούριον* as equivalent to *τὸ πολεμικόν.*

Ἀγάστονον: The DGE cites this line as example of an object *que provoca lamentos del dolor.* Cf. the application of the adjective to Amphitrite in Hom. *Od.* 12. 97 and *h.Ap.* 94 and the sea in Hes. *Fr.* 31. 6. Hutchinson believes it 'adds pathos' in A. *Th.* 99, *τί μέλομεν ἀγάστονοι;* at which point the chorus seeks help from the Gods in the midst of war (1985: 62). With only seven sure instances of this adjective appearing before Gregory's time, it seems possible that Gregory may have had this passage in mind since he too petitions Christ to save him from his enemies.

12.   **Γῆς ἱερῆς:** Note the echo of imagery from verse 9, *χθόνα δῖαν*. The repetition of the image and its emphatic positioning brings the reader's attention to Gregory's ultimate desire, to reunite with God in heaven, see n. 2 on *ψυχῇ*.

Διηνεκέεσσιν ἐν ὕμνοις: cf. II. 1. 1 v. 634 *ὕμνοις σε διηνεκέεσσι γεραίρειν* (ed. Tuilier-Bady) and II. 1. 54 v. 20 *ἦχον τε διηνεκέεσσιν ἐν ὕμνοις*. Cf. Cleanth. 37 *ὑμνοῦντες τὰ σὰ ἔργα διηνεκές;* Thom asserts that this unbroken praising 'consists in the very act of living' (2005: 160). In Gregory too the continuous praise, which is promised for the future (*μέλψω*), takes us beyond the confines of the poem, and even beyond the confines of mortal life. In *or.* 28. 31 (ed. Gallay), Gregory discusses angels, the hymners of the divine, who contemplate the eternal glory of God eternally (*ὑμνῳδοὺς θείας μεγαλειότητος, θεωροὺς δόξης αἴδίου καὶ αἴδίως*). In *Arc.* 7 (ed. Moreschini) Gregory mentions the angels as the hymners of God's eternal glory again and adds that man, as a different kind of angel, sings of God's purposes and mind (*ὑμνοπόλοι μέλποντες ἐμὸν κλέος οὔποτε λῆγον [...] ἄγγελον ἄλλον/ἐκ χθονός, ὑμνητῆρα ἐμῶν μενέων τε νόου τε* v. 62-69).

13-24: In the style of a hymn, Gregory questions why he must experience a mortal life when ultimately he is meant to return to a fully divine existence. He bemoans his failing body, the havoc that time has wreaked, and those who betrayed him. His thoughts return to his enemies, and his weakness in comparison to them. Gregory ends his poem pleading for any of the three 'solutions' he sets before Christ: 1) that Christ be kind and stop his sufferings on earth, 2) that Christ receive him (implication, in heaven) and in doing so end his suffering or 3) that he forget, see n. 24 *λήθης νέφος*.

As discussed in the introduction, these 12 lines are transmitted differently throughout the MSS . Some, like La and Pc, read as such: II. 1. 22 v. 13-24, II. 1. 92, II. 1. 22 v. 1-12. While others, like L, read these lines as a whole poem. Naturally this raises confusion and debate among

scholars as to the unity of the poem. A closer examination of both La and Pc shed light on this confusion; both MSS transmit II. 1. 92 immediately following v. 13-24 of II. 1. 22. This second poem is 12 lines as well and begins with the same verse as v. 12 of II. 1. 22, *χριστὲ ἄναξ, τί με σαρκὸς ἐν ἄρκυσι ταῖσδ' ἐνέδησας;*. In light of such a similar poem, both in form and content, it is plausible that these 24 lines were interpreted as two separate poems. However, there are many reasons to accept the unity of the poem: 1) The repetition of language and imagery, 2) the continuity of the influence of Exodus, and 3) the other MSS' transmissions. For a deeper discussion of the unity see section 5 of the introduction.

13-14. **χριστὲ ...βερέθρῳ:** cf. *carm.* II. 1. 92 v. 1-2 *Χριστὲ ἄναξ, τί με σαρκὸς ἐν ἄρκυσι ταῖσδ' ἐνέδησας; τίπτε με τῷδε βίῳ θῆκας ὑπ' ἀντιπάλῳ;* and II. 1. 19 v.9 *Χριστὲ ἄναξ, τί τόσοις με κακοῖς διέπερσας ἄνωθεν* (ed. Simelidis). Gregory seems to like this way of framing his questions, see below (n. *τί...τίπτε*) about questions in the Psalms.

    Χριστὲ ἄναξ: cf. *carm.* II. 1. 19 v. 1, 9; II. 1. 10 v. 18; II. 2. 1 v.105, II. 1. 51 v. 36, I. 1. 35 v. 1, I. 2. 37 v. 2, I. 2. 15 v. 109, II. 1. 1 v. 1, etc. Clearly favoured by Gregory, he was also the first to use this phrase, which reappears in the works of John Geometres (*carm.* 17. 1, 300. 1, 300. 87), Theodore Prodromos (*carm. Hist.* 78.43) and Theodore Metochites (*carm.* XIV-XX 14. 211, 15. 399, 16. 81, 16. 200, 17. 285).

    τί...τίπτε: If Gregory is continuing his parallel to Exodus then what logically follows the events summarized in v. 1-12 (see n. 6 *Κίχησιν ... ἐν ὕμνοις*) is a song praising God (*τότε ᾖσεν Μωυσῆς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην* Ex.15.1). It is possible that these 12 lines are modelled after the Psalms to begin fulfilling the promise that Gregory makes v. 12 (*διηνεκέεσσιν ἐν ὕμνοις*). This reading is further supported by the fact that it is a common feature of the Psalms to ask God 'why,' especially in hard times; cf. *Ps.* 21: 2, 41: 10, 42: 2, 43: 24,

25, 73: 1, 11. For more on this interpretation and the unity of these two sections, see section 5 of the introduction.

σαρκὸς ἐν ἄρκυσι: As previously discussed, Gregory believed man to be comprised of both divine and mortal material, the soul and the body, respectively. In *or.* 38.12, Gregory explains that originally Adam wore no covering or 'defence' of any kind, he was completely naked (*γυμνὸν [...] καὶ δίχα παντὸς ἐπικαλύμματος καὶ προβλήματος*). After the fall, however, he gained a very thick/thicker flesh, which was mortal and contradictory (*τοὺς δερματίνους ἀμφιέννυται χιτῶνας, ἴσως τὴν παχυτέραν σάρκα καὶ θνητὴν καὶ ἀντίτυπον*). Ellverson discusses the ambiguity of the comparative, but what is clear is that after the fall, men were burdened with a dense flesh which impedes the soul's quest (see n. 2 *ψυχῇ*) and keeps man from knowing God (*or.* 2. 74; 17.4; 21.2; 28. 4, 12; 32.15; 39.8, *carm.* II. 1. 34 v. 171-2) (1981: 31). That the body, and by extension the material world, opposes the divine goal of men, is the reason Gregory holds such an obviously negative view of it.

Note the similarity of the hunting imagery in Ps. 140: 9, 10, 141: 4, 7, 8. We have already encountered this imagery (cf. n. 6 *κίχησιν/ ἐχθρὸς ἐπισπέρχων*) which seems to darken as the poem progresses; where Gregory was free to run from his attackers, he now appears stuck, trapped in nets. See n. 20-21 *στείβουσ'...ἔχουσι* where the imagery reappears and section 6 of the introduction for further discussion.

τί...ἐνέδησας: Gregory questions Christ bitterly; if man is part divine and meant to live with God in heaven, why must he first live on earth, trapped in a mortal body? Here, Gregory only poses rhetorical questions, in the style of the Psalms (see n. 13 *τί...τίπτε*), but a variety of possible answers can be found throughout his works: 1) To earn divinity: Gregory believes that man holds on more dearly to that which he works for, thus, if divinity were simply a gift, there

is a chance it would be discarded, but if man chooses it and must work for it than it is a prize and a reward, all the more sweet because it was earned (*or.* 2.17, 28. 12); 2) A task for the soul: according to Gregory, the body is the fellow heir of the soul (*or.* 14. 6) and so it is only with the help of the soul that the material may ingratiate itself with the divine (*or.* 2. 17); 3) A preventative measure: Gregory implies man's inclination toward pride and an inevitable fall, thus an earthly body serves as a reminder of man's 'lower' half and restrains him (*or.* 14. 7, 28. 12, 38. 11, *PD* 4. 84); 4) An angel and king for earth: God needed someone of holy mind on earth, a hybrid of mortal and immortal to rule the earth and praise him (*PD* 8. 57).

The unanswered questions, rhetorical though they may be, coupled with the negativity of the poem emphasizes Gregory's desperation. His only desire is that his life ends and he continue his afterlife with God.

14.   **Βίῳ κρυόεντι:** cf. Hes. *Th.* 936 *ἐν πολέμῳ κρυόεντι* and B. *Fr. Dubia* 60. 12 *κρυόεντι γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ* (Maehler). The use of a term often applied to war emphasizes the way Gregory views his mortal life (see n. 2 *βιότου*), namely, as a war.

    Ἰλυόεντι βερέθρῳ: *βέρεθρον* (*βάραθρον*) is Homeric. cf. I. 2. 9 v. 9 *ζωῆς ἡμετέρης, καὶ ἰλυόεντι βερέθρῳ.* Gregory refers to the muddiness of the earth again and calls it an 'abyss;' cf. n. 4 *πηλοῦ.* The world for Gregory is dark, unpleasant, and impossible to leave, which is strongly contrasted against the brilliant, holy and intangible nature of the divine. For a full discussion of the light and dark imagery see section 6 of the introduction.

15.   **Εἰ ... ἄκουσα:** Note how this echoes v. 9 *σπεύδων ἐς χθόνα δῖαν, ἐμὸν λάχος, ὥσπερ ὑπέστης.* Gregory repeats that, according to what he knows, his inheritance is divinity (see n. 9 *λάχος*). The repetition draws attention to Gregory's primary focus in this *carmen*, his release from mortal life and the salvation he will find with God and Christ.

16.   **Μέν μοι μελέων:** The labial alliteration lulls the reader and imitates the slowing down and ageing process which Gregory is describing.

Μελέων σθένος ὤλετο: cf. Ps. 37: 11 *ἐγκατέλιπέν με ἡ ἰσχύς μου*, and [Apoll.] *Met.Ps.* 37: 11 *μελέων δ' ἀπεχάζετο κῖκυς.* This Psalm, attributed to David, petitions God, much like Gregory does in his poem, for help when his body is failing, his friends are few and his enemies numerous. Drawing the same sentiment from a Psalm, similar in content, supports the argument that Gregory modelled v. 13-24 after a hymn. Cf. Io. Geo. 53. 5-6 *ὤλετο μέν σοι καὶ φάος, ὤλετο καὶ μένος ἐσθλόν/ ὤλετο δ' ἡλικίη, χεὶρ δὲ λέλοιπε κράτος.*

Οὐ δέ τι γοῦνα ἕσπεται: In epic, the knees mark the place of strength, vigour and that which is affected by weariness, etc; cf. Hom. *Il.* 19.166, *Od.* 13. 34, Hes. *Op.* 608. Cf. Agamemnon's wish about Nestor's bodily strength equalling that of his spirit, *ὥς τοι γούναθ' ἕποιτο* (*Il.* 4. 314). Gregory recalls the familiar scene but alters it; he envisages himself as Nestor, old and feeble, but, unlike Nestor, wishes for his body to give out completely.

17.   **μ' ἔλυσε χρόνος:** 'time undid me;' cf. Ph. *Abrah.* 23. 5 *ὧν τὰ μὲν σώματα διέλυσεν ὁ χρόνος* and elsewhere in Gregory, *or.* 2. 16 *ἢ γὰρ νόσος ἢ χρόνος ἔλυσεν.* Gregory is feeling the burden of old age and the events of his life are wearing him down.

Νοῦσος ἀνιγρή: cf. Call. *Fr.* 174Mass. 12-14 *νοῦσος...ἀνιγρή* and 187Mass. 12 *[ἀνι]γροί.* Massimilla informs us that the adjective is first used in Callimachus, in the former fragment with the meaning of *ἀνιαρός*, in the latter with the meaning *ἀκάθαρτον, ἀσεβές* (2010: 355, 417). It is clear that Gregory alludes to *Fr.* 174Mass. as he describes his weakening body, the effects of old age and this 'grievous sickness' (precisely to what malady he refers is unknown to us); cf. Gr. Naz. *carm.* II. 1. 34 v. 175, *νῦν δ' ὅτε νοῦσος ἔχει με πικρὴ, καὶ γῆρας ἔκαμψεν.* However, one wonders if Gregory also had in mind *Fr.* 187Mass., which would reinforce the deeper

autobiographical reading of the poem. *Fr.* 187Mass. tells the story of Euticles who returned to his city only to have his statue unjustly vandalized by the citizens, who are called 'impure' or 'sacrilegious' (*ἀνιγροί*) because their actions are against the gods' will. If we accept that Gregory uses the adjective with this story in mind as well, then we gain a second meaning; the 'unholy disease' with which Gregory is plagued might very well be the heretics who fought and betrayed him while in Constantinople.

18.   **Τηκεδάνη τε μέριμνα:** 'wasting anxiety;' cf. *carm.* I. 2. 9 v. 27 *τηκεδανή τε μέριμνα χαμαὶ βάλε*, II. 1. 50 v. 16 *τηκεδανὴ μελέων,* and II. 1. 13 v. 160 *τηκεδανὸς, κακόχαρτος.* The adjective is so unique that I must agree with van Opstall that John Geometres 'l'a sans doute emprunté à Grégoire;' cf. *carm.* 75.9 *τηκεδαναί τε μέριμναι* (2008: 269).

    Φίλοι...φρονέοντες: cf. Hom. *Il.* 4. 219 *φίλα φρονέων, Od.* 6. 313 *φίλα φρονέῃσ'* and *carm.* II. 1. 34 v. 152, *τε φίλα φρονέων.* The first 12 verses of this poem deal with Gregory's salvation from his 'enemies,' while verses 13-17 his own body and its failings. Here, the alliteration draws the focus back to Gregory's 'enemies' (more specifically those whom he considers to have betrayed him; cf. *carm.* II. 1. 12, II. 1. 11, *or.* 26. 3, 42. 20), with whom the remaining verses are preoccupied. As mentioned above in n. 16 *σθένος ὤλετο,* Ps. 37 laments very similarly over not only a failing body, but also the lack and betrayal of friends (*οἱ φίλοι μου καὶ οἱ πλησίον μου ἐξ ἐναντίας μου ἤγγισαν καὶ ἔστησαν,/ καὶ οἱ ἔγγιστά μου ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστησαν* 37: 12). Gregory's continuous allusions to the Psalms strengthens the argument that these last 12 verses are modelled after them, to act as a hymn to Christ. Cf. John Geometres' jovial play on the words, *οἷς φρονέουσι φίλα καὶ λαλέουσι φίλα* (57. 4).

19.   **Ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον:** cf. Hom. *Il.* 9. 678, 21. 305, all appear in the same metrical *sedes.*

20-21. **Στείβουσ'...ἔχουσι:** cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 216-18 *ἵνα θηροφόνοι/ στείβουσι κύνες/ βαλιαῖς ἐλάφοις*

ἐγχριμπτόμεναι. Cf. the use of the metaphor for struggle or battle in Hom. *Il.* 10.360 *ὡς δ' ὅτε καρχαρόδοντε δύω κύνε, εἰδότε θήρης/ ἢ κεμάδ' ἠὲ λαγωὸν ἐπείγετον ἐμμενὲς αἰεὶ,* 22.310 *ἁρπάξων ἢ ἄρν' ἀμαλὴν ἢ πτῶκα λαγωόν.* Gregory inverts the traditional notion expressed in these Homeric metaphors; the Homeric hero won his glory through strength, while the 'hero' in Gregory's poems is the deer, hare (*κεμάδ' ἠὲ λαγωόν*) or whoever the weak one (*ἀδρανέοντα*) is. Gregory will be celebrated *οὔτ' ἐπὶ κάρτει χειρὸς ἔχων περιώσιον ἄλλων/ ἄλγεα δὲ στοναχάς τε περισταδόν* (II. 1. 19 v. 18-19). See section 6 of the introduction for a full discussion of hunting imagery.

κύνες: In classical Greece *κύων* was often applied to 'offensive persons' or those with a sense of 'shamelessness or audacity' (LSJ) and later, in Christian literature, 'an impure person, unqualified, infamous' (NTL); cf. *Ps.* 21: 17, *ὅτι ἐκύκλωσάν με κύνες πολλοί/ συναγωγὴ πονηρευομένων περιέσχον με,* and 21: 21, *ἐκ χειρὸς κυνὸς τὴν μονογενῆ μου.* In *or.* 26. 3, Gregory, not so subtly, refers to Maximus the Cynic with the word *κύων,* using not only the connotation of a Cynic philosopher but the derogatory, reproachful aspect of the word (*δέδοικα δὲ ἤδη καὶ κύνας, ποιμένας εἶναι βιαζομένους*). Cf. *carm.* II. 1. 19 v. 20 *πάντοθεν ἀμφυλάουσι κακοὶ κύνες* and commentary by Simelidis (2009: 182ff). For discussion of the autobiographical nature of the poem see section 7 of the introduction.

21.   **λιλαιόμενοι κορέσασθαι:** cf. Io. Geo. *Carm hex.* 76.3 *λιλαιόμενοι κορέσασθαι.*

22.   **Στῆσον:** In the six preceding lines Gregory has illustrated his absolute weakness, his only power lies in his faith in Christ, who has the ability to make even rivers stand still; cf. v. 10 *στήσειας.* The echoed verb reminds the reader of Christ's absolute power over all life. See section 6 and 5 of the introduction for further discussion on both the imagery of things stopping or coming to an end, and the poem's unity.

Ἵλαθι: 'The homeric form is ἵληθι [...] ἵλαθι appears first in Hellenistic verse, where it is the norm' (Hopkinson [1984: 187]). For discussion of the specific phrase ἵλαθί μοι see Simelidis (2009: 30).

23.   **Δηρὸν ἀεθλεύοντα:** MSS La and Pc both contain ἀεθλεύσαντα; cf. *carm.* II. 1. 10 v. 9 δηρὸν ἀεθλεύσαντα, φαεσφόρον οὐρανίοισι. Lex. Cas. A 22 ἀεθλεύσαντα κακοπαθήσαντα, ἀγωνισάμενον. In II. 1. 10 (entitled Πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἱερέας, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, which deals with his flight and removal from the city on account of envy) this line refers specifically to the revival of the orthodox faith in the city, made possible largely by Gregory and his attractive speeches (Simelidis [2009: 158-9]). If we were to accept the aorist reading (ἀεθλεύσαντα), we would have to understand his past struggles, those which he met with in Constantinople, as in II. 1. 10. However, I choose to read ἀεθλεύοντα because I believe Gregory wants his readers to recall II. 1. 10 and Constantinople but also understand that he has present struggles, such as his health. The piteousness of his plea is due to the fact that he has suffered, is suffering and will continue to do so until Christ decides otherwise. For the full discussion of the autobiographical nature of the poem see section 7 of the introduction.

Ἄλγεσι μέτρον ἐπέστω: cf. Io. Chrys. *Epis. Olym.* 8.1.40 ἄλγει δὲ μέτρον ἐπιθεῖσα τῇ λύπῃ. Malingrey explains that John Chrysostom is using the theme of metriopathy 'qui adoucit la rigueur de l'ancien stoicisme' (1968: 160).

24.   **Λήθης νέφος:** cf. Io Chrys. PG 55. 641 καὶ τῆς λήθης ἐξελαύνειν τὸ νέφος and PG 62. 775 ὅτε δὲ τὸ τῆς λήθης νέφος ὑπέδραμον τῃ διανοίᾳ. Gregory often applies this metaphor to the mortal body, the thickness of which interferes with the knowing of God (*or.* 17.4, 21.2, 28.12, 32.15, 39.8) see n. 13 on σαρκὸς. Here, Gregory is asking for a slightly different kind of 'cloud,' one which not only makes it difficult to know and reach God, but rather impossible. We can

perhaps imagine something like amnesia, which would ensure that Gregory forget God and the possibility of divinisation (see note below on *φρένας*). If Christ cannot provide Gregory with a pain free mortal life or afterlife, Gregory wishes that he not have to know that he could have a better 'life,' presumably because he suffers more by knowing and being unable to effect anything with his knowledge.

φρένας ἀμφικαλύπτοι: 'may enwrap my mind;' cf. *h.Ven.* 243 *ἄχος πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφικαλύπτοι*, Hom. *Il.* 3. 442 *ἔρως φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν*, 16.350 *πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν*. In each of these cases, *ἀμφί* is used with emotion to represent the total engulfment of the mind (*φρένας*) (Monro [1958: 251]). Although *φρήν* has many possible definitions, here the emphasis of emotion versus *φρήν* makes it clear that *φρήν* is rationality and thought. These precedents as well as the fact that Gregory is asking for a cloud of forgetfulness (see note above) strongly argue for the translation of 'mind.' If Gregory wants his memory to be blurred by a cloud, to forget, it only makes sense to understand *φρήν* as 'mind.' It is important to note that for Gregory, man is not only a spiritual but an intellectual being, which is, as Ellverson explains, 'the base for man's knowledge about God [and] his communication with God, and his possibility to come "near" to God and into contact with him' (1981: 23). For the mind enabling the soul to fulfil its destiny cf. *or.* 7.21, 16.15, 21.2, 28.28, 37.11 and see n. 9 on *λάχος*. For further study on the word *φρήν* see Sullivan's multiple studies.

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