

## GREGORY NAZIANZINOS AND BYZANTINE HYMNOGRAPHY\*

FREQUENT references have been made by several scholars to the use of Gregory's writings as a 'mine' for Byzantine hymnography.<sup>1</sup> The discussions have usually stopped with three or four quick citations of the instances that best exemplify the borrowing. To date there has not been any systematic effort to research the topic in greater detail. This failure is understandable. Such a research presupposes knowledge not only of Gregory's writings, a major task in itself since his works occupy four volumes of *PG*, but also of Byzantine hymnography which is scattered throughout several volumes used by the Orthodox Church in its daily heortologion. Adding the possibilities that might exist among the mss of Grottaferrata and those that might exist in the Vatican Library, one can easily understand the magnitude of the task and its complexities. This paper attempts a limited but still daunting undertaking: the ferreting out of the borrowings from Gregory by the Byzantine hymnographers whose hymns are still used by the Orthodox Church. Beyond the obvious borrowings by the hymnographers from Gregory lies the insoluble problem of what may be directly borrowed and what indirectly. How can one prove that similarities or even identities in the language denote direct borrowing of one author from another? The complexities of such an investigation notwithstanding, the effort should be made, even on a limited scale, because of the interest and the challenge involved.

### II

One of the obvious borrowings that has impressed scholars and led them to the theory of 'mine' comes from Gregory's first discourse. The title of this discourse is Εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πάσχα καὶ εἰς τὴν βραδυτήτα.<sup>2</sup> It was delivered on Easter day in the town of Nazianzus upon Gregory's return from Pontos where he had gone immediately after his ordination to the priesthood. The speech is Gregory's apology to his flock for his hesitation to assume the duties of priesthood and an explanation of the reasons for his flight. He ascribes his hesitation to his piety and the awesomeness of the office to which he had been ordained. This awesomeness made him lose his nerve and depart for his self-imposed exile. To buttress his argument further he uses the biblical examples of Moses (Ex. 4.13) and Jeremiah (1.6) who both went through similar experiences when they were assigned certain tasks. The celebration of Easter finally offered Gregory the opportunity to overcome his compunctions and return to his flock. As the Jewish Passover became the symbol and model of Christ's sacrifice and resurrection so the Christian Easter should, Gregory says, be the occasion to offer one's self to Christ, and to the service of the community. Gregory feels that he should do what Aaron and Isaiah did (Ex. 4.27; Isa. 6.8) when they accepted the invitation of God (Disc. i 1). Thus, Gregory's discourse begins:

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<sup>1</sup> Oliver Strunk, *Essays in music* (New York 1977) 55-67; P. N. Trembelas, *Ecloge Ellenikes Orthodoxou Hymnographias* (Athens 1978) esp. 13-36. Some of the earlier books I checked very quickly are J. B. Pitra, *Hymnographie de l'Église Grecque* (Rome 1867) and *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum, historia et monumenta* (Rome 1868); *Analecta sacra*, i (Paris 1876); W. Christ et M. Paranikas, *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum* (Leipzig 1871); K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2nd ed. Munich 1897), Gk. trans. G. Soteriades (Athens 1910); Hans Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reiche* (Munich 1977); H.J. Tillyard, *Byzantine music and hymnography* (London 1923); J.M. Neale, *History of the Holy Easter* (London 1850). For the influence of Ephraim on Romanos, T.M. Wehofer, 'Untersuchungen zum Lied des Romanos auf die Wiederkunft des Herrn', *Sitzungsberichte d. Ak. d. Wiss., Wien, phil-hist. Kl. xlv* (1907) 1-95; K. Mitsakis, *Byzantine Hymnographia* (Thessalonike 1971); Egon Wellesz, *A history of Byzantine music and hymnography*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1961).

<sup>2</sup> Trembelas 301; Mitsakis 435.

Αναστάσεως ἡμέρα, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ δεξιά, καὶ λαμπρυνθῶμεν τῇ πανηγύρει, καὶ ἀλλήλους περιπτυξώμεθα· εἴπωμεν, ἀδελφοί, καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς, μὴ ὅτι τοῖς δι' ἀγάπην τι πεποιηκόσιν, ἢ πεπονθόσι· συγχωρήσωμεν πάντα τῇ ἀναστάσει·

Gregory's language is repeated almost verbatim by the Byzantine hymnographer who composed the doxasticon of the Lauds of the Resurrection holiday.

Ἄναστασεως ἡμέρα, καὶ λαμπρυνθῶμεν τῇ πανηγύρει, καὶ ἀλλήλους περιπτυξώμεθα. Εἴπωμεν ἀδελφοί, καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς· Συγχωρήσωμεν πάντα τῇ ἀναστάσει...<sup>3</sup>

The third stanza of the Easter Canon seems also to have received its inspiration from Gregory's Disc. i 4,

Χθές συνεσταυρούμην Χριστῷ, σήμερον συνδοξάζομαι· Χθές συνενεκρούμην, συζωοποιοῦμαι σήμερον· χθές συνεθαπτόμην, σήμερον συνεγείρομαι.<sup>4</sup>

Likewise, the third stanza of the Third Ode of the canon reads,

Χθές συνεθαπτόμην σοὶ Χριστέ, συνεγείρομαι σήμερον ἀναστάντι σοὶ· συνεσταυρούμην σοὶ χθές· αὐτός με συνδόξασον Σωτῆρ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.<sup>5</sup>

It is clear that the author of the canon, who is none other than John the Damascene, had read Gregory's discourse before he composed his beautiful Easter Canon and that he borrowed not only Gregory's language at times but also his linguistic antithetical schema, contrasting the χθές with the σήμερον. Though the above hymn does not follow verbatim the language of Gregory, the wording of the hymn clearly depends on Gregory's speech. Besides the antithesis of χθές and σήμερον, John uses the words συνεσταυρούμην, συνεθαπτόμην, συνεγείρομαι instead of συνδοξάζομαι.

In Gregory's Disc. xlv 1 which is also dedicated to Easter, the first chapter begins with "Ἐπὶ τῆς θείας φυλακῆς μου στήσομαι," φησὶν ὁ θαύμασιος Ἀββακούμ. In the same manner, the first stanza of the Fourth Ode begins with a reference to Habakkuk,

Ἐπὶ τῆς θείας φυλακῆς, ὁ θεηγόρος Ἀββακούμ, στήτω μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ δεικνύτω, φασφόρον ἄγγελον, διαπρυσίως λέγοντα· Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι ἀνέστη Χριστὸς ὡς παντοδύναμος·

The reference of John to the angel is also to be found in Disc. xlv 1,

Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν,...καὶ ἡ ὄρασις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὄρασις ἀγγέλου. Also the σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅσος ὄρατος καὶ ἀόρατος by Gregory (xlv 1) becomes in the hymn σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι ἀνέστη Χριστὸς ὡς παντοδύναμος.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Pentecostarion*, p. 5, col. 2 published in Athens by Saliveros, n.d. (The date is not so important here. All issues of the ecclesiastical books are usually identical and one is easily guided by the type of hymn and the date of the holiday in order to locate the hymn. This is true of the *Pentecostarion*, the *Triodion*, the *Menaea*, etc.)

<sup>4</sup> Discourse i 4, *PG* xxxv, col. 397.

<sup>5</sup> *Pentec.* 2, col. 2. Antithetical schemata in the writings of Gregory abound. See Disc. xli 10; xl 33-34; xlv 9-10. Gregory also used the following schema

οἱ τῶν θρόνων, τὸν νομοθέτην  
οἱ τῆς πολιτείας, τὸν πολιστήν  
οἱ τοῦ δήμου, τὴν εὐταξίαν·  
οἱ περὶ λόγους, τὸν παιδευτήν·  
αἱ παρθέναι, τὸν νυμφαγωγόν, etc.,

which schema we encounter often in many hymns, see for instance the doxasticon of Lauds for St. Nicholas, Dec. 6, 45, col. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Pentec.* 2, col. 2.

Gregory's mention of the visible and invisible world reminds us also of the third stanza of the First Ode.<sup>7</sup> The same Disc., ch. 2, Πάσχα Κυρίου Πάσχα, καὶ πάλιν ἐρῶ Πάσχα....Αὕτη ἐορτῶν ἡμῖν ἐορτῆ, καὶ πανήγυρις πανηγύρεων, brings to mind three hymns of Easter: the First Heirmos of the Easter katabasiae and the fourth hymn of the Lauds, Πάσχα Κυρίου, Πάσχα and the Eighth Heirmos of the Canon, Ἐορτῶν ἐορτῆ, καὶ πανήγυρις ἐστὶ πανηγύρεων.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Gregory's reference to the 'holy night' in xlv 15, during which the primeval darkness is dispersed is the topic of stanza four of the Seventh Ode where John speaks of the night of Easter as,

Ὡς ὄντως ἱερά καὶ πανέορτος αὕτη ἡ σωτήριος, νύξ καὶ φωταυγῆς, τῆς λαμπροφόρου ἡμέρας, τῆς ἐγέρσεως.<sup>9</sup>

In the same discourse, chapter 13, Gregory explains the reason for the introduction of sacrifices and their purpose, adverting to the Great and Unsacrificeable Victim (τὸ μέγα καὶ ἄθυτον ἱερεῖον) that cleanses not only a small part of the world for a limited time as the ordinary sacrifices do but the whole world for all times. The sacrificial victim was a yearling male lamb, free of blemishes and female weaknesses. This sacrificial victim is of course Christ, who according to Gregory, offered Himself for the liberation of mankind from sins for all time.

πρόβατον...τέλειον... Ἄρσεν δέ... ἀλλὰ δαὶ ἐκραγὲν βία δεσμῶν παρθενικῶν...τεχθὲν ἄρσεν...εὐλογοῦμενον...ἐνιαύσιον δέ, ὡς ἥλιον δικαιοσύνης... Ἀμωμον δὲ καὶ ἀκίβδηλον.

The same theme is treated in stanzas one and two of the Fourth Ode, and stanza two of the Sixth Ode,

Ἄρσεν μὲν, ὡς διανοῖξαν τὴν παρθελεύουσαν νηδύν, πέφηναι Χριστός...ἀμνός προσηγόρευται· ἄμωμος δὲ ὡς ἄγευστος κηλίδος...Θεὸς ἀληθής, τέλειος λέλεκται.<sup>10</sup>

Ὡς ἐνιαύσιος ἀμνός, ὁ εὐλογοῦμενος ἡμῖν,...ὑπὲρ πάντων τέθυται,...δικαιοσύνης ἡμῖν ἐλαμψεν ἥλιος. Σωτὴρ μου τὸ ζῶν τε καὶ ἄθυτον ἱερεῖον....<sup>11</sup>

### III

Gregory delivered a speech (Disc. xxxviii) on the occasion of Christ's theophany or birth. The speech was given in Constantinople in 379 or 380, and its beginning inspired the composer of the Christmas Canon. The speech is one of poetic intensity and vitality and full of high theological concepts, with several references to the Bible. In it Gregory exhorts the Christians to celebrate the great miracle of God's birth in a manner appropriate to the feast. He points to the pagan customs which he urges Christians to avoid. He emphasizes the trinitarian doctrine whose early champion he was. Subsequently, he speaks of Man's creation and describes Man as another type of angel, guardian of the visible creation and minister of the invisible force, earthly and heavenly vehicle, mortal and immortal, visible and intelligible (ἐννοοῦμενον). He further paints the birth of Logos as the consequence of Man's early fall and praises the mystery of incarnation. Gregory's discourse begins,

<sup>7</sup> *Pentec.* 2. col. 1; 4, col. 2; 5, col. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Pentec.* 2, col. 1; 4, col. 2; 5, col. 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Pentec.* 4, col. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Pentec.* 2, col. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Pentec.* 3, col. 1.

Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, δοξάσατε· Χριστὸς ἐξ οὐρανῶν, ἀπαντήσατε· Χριστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς, ὑψώθητε. "Ἄισατε τῷ Κυρίῳ πάσα ἡ γῆ."

The Christmas Canon attributed to Cosmas of Maiouma, the adoptive brother of John Damascene, begins with the words of Gregory,

Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, δοξάσατε· Χριστὸς ἐξ οὐρανῶν, ἀπαντήσατε. Χριστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς, ὑψώθητε· Ἄισατε τῷ Κυρίῳ πάσα ἡ γῆ,...<sup>12</sup>

In Disc. xxxviii 13 (also xlv 9), Gregory speaks of Christ as the ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν, τοῦ Πατρὸς...Λόγος, a description which brings to mind the first sticheron of the Vesper service of Christmas, Ἡ γὰρ ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν τοῦ Πατρὸς.<sup>13</sup> In the same chapter Gregory says that ὁ ὢν γίνεται καὶ ὁ ἄκτιστος κτίζεται καὶ ὁ ἀχώρητος χωρεῖται, which resembles the language of the Orthros kathisma, ὁ ἀχώρητος παντὶ, πῶς ἐχωρήθη ἐν γαστρὶ;...καὶ γέγονεν ὁ Ὡν ὃ οὐκ ἦν δι' ἡμᾶς.<sup>14</sup> Since the ἀχώρητος χωρεῖται refers to Christ's birth from the Virgin, it is clear that the hymnographer who borrowed the idea has only slightly changed the wording which refers to Christ's conception and birth by Mary. The chapter concludes with the statement that God at the time of the world's creation had given Man his spirit, while during Christ's birth God received Man's flesh,

τότε μὲν τοῦ κρείττονος μετέδωκε, νῦν δὲ μεταλαμβάνει τοῦ χειρόνος.

Gregory's idea is not used in the Christmas hymnology but in the hymnology of the doxasticon of the Annunciation holiday, which was concurrently celebrated in early Christian times. In the Annunciation hymn the hymnographer says that the mystery of ages is being revealed and that the Son of God became the son of Man,

ἵνα τοῦ χειρόνος μεταλαβὼν, μεταδῶ μοι τοῦ βελτίονος.<sup>15</sup>

In xxxix 13, Gregory used the expression καινοτομοῦνται φύσεις καὶ Θεὸς ἄνθρωπος γίνεται...ἀλλ' ὃ οὐκ ἦν προσλαβὼν. The hymnographer Germanos says in the first sticheron of the Christmas Vesper, καὶ ὃ οὐκ ἦν προσέλαβεν, ἄνθρωπος γεόμενος.<sup>16</sup> Again, as it can be gleaned from earlier similarities of Germanos' language to that of Gregory, the parallelism here cannot be entirely coincidental. Elsewhere (Disc. xxix 19) Gregory says about Christ's birth,

Ὁ μὲν ἦν, διέμεινεν· ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἦν, προσέλαβεν...καὶ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ὁ κάτω θεός.

Similarly, Germanos in the above hymn celebrates Christ's birth saying,

ὃ γὰρ ἦν διέμεινε, Θεὸς ὢν ἀληθινός

And Gregory continues (xxxix 9),

Ἐγεννήθη μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγεγέννητο· ἐκ γυναικὸς μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ παρθένου,

Gregory's language as well as the language of the Bible remind us of the phraseology of Anatolios in the beginning of the second sticheron of the Christmas Vespers, Τοῦ Κυρίου

<sup>12</sup> *Menaion*, Dec. 25, p. 200, col. 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Menaion*, Dec. 25, 194, col. 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Menaion*, Dec. 25, 200, col. 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Menaion*, March 25, 108, col. 2, doxasticon sticheron attributed to Theophanes Graptos.

<sup>16</sup> The sticheron bears the name of Germanos, who lived in the eighth cent. A.D. *Menaion*, Dec. 25, 194, col. 1 and 206, col. 1.

Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος (participle instead of Gregory's indicative) ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου.<sup>17</sup> It is possible that the hymnographer was inspired by the phrasing of the Bible, though more probably he paraphrased the language of Gregory who seems to have been a constant inspiration for these early hymnographers. Moreover, the references of Gregory to Christ as ἀπάτωρ ἐντεῦθεν, καὶ ἀμήτωρ ἐκεῖθεν (xxix 19 and xxxviii 2) and ὁ ἀμήτωρ ἀπάτωρ γίνεται· ὁ ἀμήτωρ τὸ πρότερον, ἀπάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον is to be found only slightly paraphrased in the prayer of Sophronios read by the Orthodox Church in the feast of Epiphany, on Jan. 6,

Δοξάζομέν σε, Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενές, τὸν ἀπάτορα ἐκ Μητρός, καὶ ἀμήτορα ἐκ Πατρός.<sup>18</sup>

#### IV

There is no doubt that Gregory has also been the source of inspiration for some of the hymns of the Pentecost. The certainty emerges from the fact that, as in the case of Easter and Christmas where the language of the hymnographer follows closely that of Gregory's, the same phenomenon can be observed in connection with the feast of Pentecost. The best illustration is Disc. xli 5 which reads as follows:

Πεντηκοστὴν ἐορτάζομεν, καὶ Πνεύματος ἐπιδημίαν, καὶ προθεσμίαν ἐπαγγελίας, καὶ ἐλπίδος συμπλήρωσιν. Καὶ τὸ μυστήριον ὄσον! ὡς μέγα τε καὶ σεβάσιμον!

The first of the stichera of the Pentecost Vesper copies almost verbatim Gregory's language,

Πεντηκοστὴν ἐορτάζομεν, καὶ Πνεύματος ἐπιδημίαν, καὶ προθεσμίαν ἐπαγγελίας, καὶ ἐλπίδος συμπλήρωσιν· καὶ τὸ μυστήριον ὄσον; Ὡς μέγα τε καὶ σεβάσιμον!<sup>19</sup>

Gregory's language is also used in a somewhat different arrangement, owing probably to the requirements of the melody, in the first kathisma of the Orthros,

Αὕτη ἐστὶ Πεντηκοστὴ, ἐπαγγελίας συμπλήρωσις, καὶ προθεσμίας.<sup>20</sup>

Likewise, Gregory's xli 9,

Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἦν μὲν ἀεὶ, καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται, οὔτε ἀρξάμενον, οὔτε παυσόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συντεταγμένον, καὶ συναριθμούμενον.<sup>21</sup>

is copied by the unknown composer of the second hymn of the Pentecost Lauds,

Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἦν μὲν ἀεὶ, καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται, οὔτε ἀρξάμενον, οὔτε παυσόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συντεταγμένον, καὶ συναριθμούμενον.<sup>22</sup>  
In connection with his trinitarian doctrine, Gregory describes some of the qualities of the Holy Spirit with the words (xli 9),

<sup>17</sup> *Menaeon*, Dec. 25, 206, col. 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Menaeon*, Jan. 6, 74, col. 1.

<sup>19</sup> The name of the composer is not given, *Pentec.* 208, col. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Pentec.* 203, col. 1; 215, col. 1.

<sup>21</sup> See also xxv 16 and xliii, 3; 7; xlv 13. Gregory's description of the Holy Spirit reminds us of Heraclitus' frg. 30 about the world (cosmos), κόσμον τόνδε, τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων, οὔτε τις θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καὶ ἔστιν καὶ ἔσται πῦρ αἰεζῶον, ἀπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα. Also Plut. *de anim.* 1014 A; Plat. *Tim.* 29 a, both differing from Heraclitus, ascribe the creation to a superior force. Obviously, Gregory, who had studied philosophy in Athens and knew the Greek philosophic theories well, is here paraphrasing Heraclitus' statement. See also *Sources Chrétiennes*, under Grégoire de Nazianze, *ad loc.*

<sup>22</sup> *Pentec.* 215, col. 2.

τελειούν,...πληρούν,...ζωή και ζωοποιούν· φῶς και χορηγόν φωτός· αὐτοαγαθόν και πηγή ἀγαθότητος· Πνεῦμα εὐθές, ἡγεμονικόν, Κύριον, ἀποστέλλον, ἀφορίζον,...ὁδηγούν, ἐνεργούν, ὡς βούλεται, διαιρούν χαρίσματα· Πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας, ἀληθείας, σοφίας, συνέσεως, γνώσεως, εὐσεβείας, βουλῆς, ἰσχύος, φόβου... δι' οὗ Πατήρ γινώσκεται, και Υἱὸς δοξάζεται, και παρ' ὧν μόνων γινώσκεται, μία σύνταξις, λατρεία μία, προσκύνησις, δύναμις.<sup>23</sup>

The second hymn of the Pentecost Lauds uses Gregory's descriptive language to praise the Holy Spirit,

φῶς και φωτός χορηγόν· αὐτάγαθον και πηγή ἀγαθότητος· δι' οὗ Πατήρ γνωρίζεται, και Υἱὸς δοξάζεται, και παρά πάντων γινώσκεται, μία δύναμις, μία σύνταξις, μία προσκύνησις, τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος.<sup>24</sup>

The third hymn begins,

Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, φῶς, και ζωή και ζῶσα πηγή νοερά. Πνεῦμα σοφίας, Πνεῦμα συνέσεως· ἀγαθόν, εὐθές, νοερόν, ἡγεμονεῦον, καθαῖρον τὰ πταίσματα·

The same terms are later used by Leo the Wise, the hymnographer of the doxasticon of the stichera of the Pentecost Vesper service,

Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἦν ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, σὺν Υἱῷ δοξαζόμενον· μία δύναμις, μία οὐσία, μία Θεότης...<sup>25</sup>

Gregory claims (xli 11) that the Holy Spirit acted through the prophets and the Fathers, of whom several envisioned (ἐφαντάσθησαν or ἐγνώρισαν) God while others were able to know the future, living their life as if they lived in the future. The hymnographer (whoever he was) picks up this theme in the fifth Sticheron of the Vesper where he states,

Ἐν τοῖς Προφήταις ἀνήγγειλας ἡμῖν ὁδὸν σωτηρίας, και ἐν Ἀποστόλοις ἔλαμψε...ἡ χάρις τοῦ Πνεύματός σου<sup>26</sup>

The figure of the Holy Spirit descending in the form of fiery tongues (Acts 2.3ff.) and the reason for its so coming is treated in xli 11. The Holy Spirit came in the form of tongues because of the relation between tongue and logos. The fiery form was owing to its cleansing purpose or to its essence; for God is the fire that cleanses.<sup>27</sup> In the second sticheron the hymnographer describes the coming of the tongues with which Christ cleanses (ἐκαινούργησας) his disciples on the day of Pentecost. Finally, Gregory's phrase regarding the Holy Spirit that proceeds from the Father, Πνεῦμα...προῖόν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς (xxxix 12) or Πνεῦμα ἅγιον προελθόν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἧ και προῖόν (xxv 15) is found in the exapostelation of the Pentecost holiday,

<sup>23</sup> Gregory himself relies here on the description of the Bible (Ps. 142.10; 50.5; 12; Wis. 1.7; 7.22; Matt. 28.19; 2; Cor. 13.1; Acts 13.12; John 16.13; I Cor. 12.11). Because of the similarities between Gregory's and the hymnographer's language, it would not be bold to infer that the hymnographer, who most probably knew the Bible well, borrowed the language of his hymn from Gregory. For further definitions of the Holy Spirit see also xxiii 11; xxxi 29.

<sup>24</sup> Second and third hymns of the Lauds of Pentecost, *Pentec.* 215, col. 2, and 217, col. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Pentec.* 208, col. 2.

<sup>26</sup> *Pentec.* 208, col. 1-2, and 209, col. 2; 227, col. 2.

<sup>27</sup> The cleansing power of fire was commonly accepted by many Near Eastern peoples and the Greeks.

Τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα, τὸ προῖόν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς.<sup>28</sup>

In xli 16, Gregory elaborates on the biblical story of the confusion of the tongues during the construction of the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11.1 ff.), maintaining that homoglossy enabled the undertakers of the project to pursue their evil purpose, contrary to the will of God. But God, by confusing their tongues, frustrated them and stopped them from their offensive course. The descent of the Holy Spirit during Pentecost enabled the apostles to evangelize among peoples by speaking different languages, and to bring the people together for the glory of God. This topic is handled by the unknown hymnographer in the doxasticon of the Pentecost stichos as well as that of the holiday of the Holy Spirit, celebrated on the day following Pentecost.

Γλώσσαί ποτὲ συνεχύθησαν, διὰ τὴν τόλμαν τῆς πυργοποιίας· γλώσσαί δὲ νῦν ἐσοφίσθησαν, διὰ τὴν δόξαν τῆς Θεογνωσίας. Ἐκεῖ κατεδίκησεν Θεὸς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς τῷ πταίσματι, ἐνταῦθα ἐφώτισε Χριστὸς τοὺς ἀλείεις τῷ Πνεύματι. Τότε κατηργάσθη ἡ ἀφωνία πρὸς τιμωρίαν· ἄρτι καινουργεῖται ἡ συμφωνία, πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.<sup>29</sup>

## V

While scholars have noted the similarities between Gregory's language and the language of Byzantine hymnographers and have commented fleetingly on the subject, they have ignored other occasions, pertaining to lesser holidays of the church, which provided the opportunity for hymn-writing. Almost all of these occasions have been overlooked by contemporary scholars. One such occasion is the consecration (ἐγκαίνια) of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, built by Constantine the Great and his mother Helen. This church was built on Golgotha, the alleged place of Christ's crucifixion and burial. According to the traditional story, most probably antecedent to Eusebius, the place where the Cross of Christ was thrown had been covered (συγκεχωσμένος) by the Jews and pagans in order to eliminate its traces. In Hadrian's time a temple of Aphrodite was erected on the spot with the purported intent to defile the place and cause the Christians to forget the Cross. This story is probably of later provenance (third century?), hence of rather shaky validity. It is difficult to imagine that many people *c.* 33 A.D. would have been really interested in preserving the cross on which Christ died. The disciples must have had much more important problems to contend with at that time. At any rate, the story, which no doubt correctly describes a belated interest in the discovery of the Cross, has Constantine and his mother excavate the place where the Cross was believed to have been buried. Subsequently, the Church of the Resurrection was erected under the supervision of Constantine's mother at the time when Dracilian was governor of Palestine and Macarius was Bishop of Jerusalem (*c.* 330 A.D.).<sup>30</sup>

Discourse xlv, dedicated to the New Sunday (Καινὴν Κυριακὴν, *PG* xxxvi 608-21) is the last of Gregory's existing speeches, and was delivered on the first Sunday after Easter in 383, on the occasion of the consecration of the church of St. Mamas, near Nazianzus. Gregory begins his speech with a reference to the custom of consecration, which stemmed from the Old Testament. He adverts to the custom of consecration mentioned by the prophets (a custom which

<sup>28</sup> *Pentec.* 227, col. 2. Gregory follows the Trinitarian doctrine expressed in the Nicene Creed but his locution is slightly different. The Nicene language is Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ Κύριον, τὸ Ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον instead of Gregory's προῖόν. The hymnographer uses here Gregory's locution.

<sup>29</sup> *Pentec.* 210, col. 1; 228, col. 1.

<sup>30</sup> *The Great Hôrologion* (Athens 1978) 212-13 or any other edition under the date of Sept. 13; Eus. *VC* 3.32.2; Sozomen *HE* 2.25; Theodoret *HE* 2.26; C. Couasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem* (Oxford 1974); R. Krantheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine architecture* iii (Harmondsworth 1979) 62-70; 77-78; D. Bahat, *BAR* xii (1986) 26-45; T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge MA 1981) 248-49.

he interprets allegorically) to the consecration of the tabernacle (σκηνή τοῦ μαρτυρίου), the consecration of David's reign, and to the consecration of the Church in Jerusalem. He contrasts the Christian custom of consecration with the Old Testament custom and explains the events of creation and the fall of Man, which led to the incarnation, the death, the burial, the resurrection of Christ, and the emergence of the Christian holidays. These holidays, including the Consecration holiday, aim at the revitalization of Man. By thinking of and celebrating the holidays Man avoids evil and pursues good. Consequently, Gregory exhorts the Christians to be cautious of their acts and words and to avoid everything that can harm their spiritual well-being. He urges them to turn to God, to avoid hatred or envy, to eschew greediness, to be charitable and hospitable, to nourish and love their fellowmen. On the occasion of the Consecration Holiday he asks the Christians to offer as fruit to God their personal renewal and their constant effort toward self-improvement. If they commit errors, they should try to return to the right path; if they follow the right path, they should intensify their efforts to continue on it. After these exhortations he embarks on a lyrical exaltation of Spring, which coincided then with the New Sunday. In quick strokes he paints the joy of Spring among the animals and human beings, placing special emphasis on the bees, whose love of work and perseverance he puts forth as example for imitation. He fittingly closes his discourse with a reference to St. Mamas the martyr,

Ἐγκαινία τιμᾶσθαι, παλαιὸς νόμος καὶ καλῶς ἔχων· μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' ἐγκαινίων...Ἐγκαινίζονται μὲν πρὸς Θεὸν νῆσοι, τῷ Ἡσαΐα ὡς περ ἀνέγνωμεν, ἄστινας δὴ τὰς νήσους ταύτας ὑποληπτέον· οἶμαι δὲ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων Ἐκκλησίας ἄρτι καθισταμένας, καὶ τῆς ἀλμυρᾶς ἀπιστίας ἀνακυπτούσας καὶ πῆξιν λαμβανούσας τῷ Θεῷ βάσιμον. (xliv 1).

The first hymn of the stichera of the Vesper service of Consecration composed by some unknown hymnographer runs as follows:

Ἐγκαινία τιμᾶσθαι, παλαιὸς νόμος, καὶ καλῶς ἔχων· μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' Ἐγκαινίων· ἐγκαινίζονται γὰρ νῆσοι πρὸς Θεὸν, ὡς φησιν Ἡσαΐας· ἄς τινὰς ὑποληπτέον τὰς ἐξ ἔθνων Ἐκκλησίας, ἄρτι καθισταμένας, καὶ πῆξιν λαμβανούσας βάσιμον τῷ Θεῷ...<sup>31</sup>

The hymn is taken verbatim from the text of Gregory, except of course for some minor changes in punctuation and the separation of ἄστινας which may be simply due to editorial tampering. In xliv 2 Gregory continues,

ἐγκαινίζεται δὲ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, καὶ λίαν πολυτελῶς, ἦν Θεὸς παρέδειξε...καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐπήξατο.

The Orthros kathisma of the Consecration festival celebrated by the Church on September 13 follows closely the thread of Gregory's thought with the,

Τοῦ μαρτυρίου τὴν σκηνὴν Θεὸς παρέδειξε, καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Μωσῆς ἐν γῆ ἐπήξατο.<sup>32</sup>

In xliv 6, Gregory continues,

Ἄλλ' ἐγκαινίζεσθε, καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπορρίψαντες, ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς πολιτεύεσθε, πᾶσιν χαλινὸν ἐπιθέντες ἐξ ὧν ὁ θάνατος, πάντα τὴν πονηρὰν τοῦ ξύλου βρῶσιν μισήσαντες ἢ ἐμέσαντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον μεμνημένοι τῶν παλαιῶν, ἵνα φύγωμεν.

<sup>31</sup> *Menaeon*, Sept. 13, 82, col. 2.

<sup>32</sup> *Menaeon*, Sept. 13, 86, col. 1.

The second sticheron of the Vesper picks up the same theme and utilizes the same language,

Ἐγκαινίσεσθε ἀδελφοί· καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποθέμενοι, ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς πολιτεύεσθε, πᾶσι χαλινὸν ἐπιθέντες, ἐξ ὧν ὁ θάνατος· πάντα τὰ μέλη παιδαγωγήσωμεν, πᾶσαν πονηρὰν τοῦ ξύλου μισήσαντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον μεμνημένοι τῶν παλαιῶν, ἵνα φύγωμεν.<sup>33</sup>

Gregory's xlv 6 also contains the phrase Ὠραῖος ἦν εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸς εἰς βρῶσιν ὁ ἐμὲ θανατώσας καρπὸς. The same phrase is to be found in the first hymn of the makarismoi of the Barys Mode, sung on Sunday of the Barys Mode, with only the omission of εἰς ὄρασιν, which makes the melody smoother.<sup>34</sup> In the end of chapter 6 of this discourse one finds the beginning of the doxasticon of the Lauds, Πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπανάγου·...καὶ γενοῦ καινὸς ἀντι παλαιοῦ, καὶ ψυχῆς ἐόρταζε τὰ ἐγκαίνια. With only a slight change of the reflexive pronoun Gregory's advice is repeated by the hymnographer.<sup>35</sup> In the same hymn (probably written by John Monachos) we read,

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρήλθεν, ἰδοῦ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινά. Τοῦτο τῇ ἑορτῇ καρποφόρησον, τὴν καλὴν ἀλλοίωσιν ἀλλοιούμενος· οὕτως ἐγκαινίζεται ἄνθρωπος, οὕτω τιμᾶται ἡ τῶν ἐγκαινίων ἡμέρα.

The above portion of the hymn is taken from xlv 8, which seems to be relying on Paul's word of 2 Cor. 5.17. All of Gregory's themes regarding the anointment, the tabernacle, the Church of the Resurrection, are also topics of the hymnographer in the festival's canon, while the kathisma of the holiday deals with the subject of light (*phōs*).<sup>36</sup>

Discourse xlv concludes with a paragraph dedicated to St. Mamas whose holiday is celebrated by the Orthodox Church not in the Spring but on September 2, perhaps because the first of September is the beginning of the ecclesiastical calendar. Mamas is reputed to have been from Gagras, a town of Paphlagonia. He was of Christian parentage, born while his parents were in captivity (3rd cent. A.D.). Since his parents died in captivity, Mamas was given to a Christian woman by the name of Ammia, whom the child called 'mama'; hence he received the name Mamas. Seized at the age of 15 as a Christian, Mamas was beaten and harnessed on the neck with lead, and was then thrown into the sea. According to the story, he was miraculously saved, and, concealing himself in a cave, survived by drinking deer's milk. He was found out, however, and this time he was thrown to the wild beasts. Because the beasts refused to eat him, Mamas was pierced with a pitchfork and soon died. His story was evidently widely spread among the Christian circles, since Basil of Caesarea delivered a speech in Mamas' honor.<sup>37</sup> As a young boy Mamas was supposed to have worked as a shepherd, and this story as well as his survival on deer's milk made up the main subject of Gregory's paragraph on Mamas,

Μάμας ὁ περιβόητος, καὶ ποιμὴν καὶ μάρτυς· ὁ πρότερον μὲν τὰς ἐλάφους ἀμέλων κατεπτηγομένας ἀλλήλων,...· νῦν δὲ ποιμένων λαὸν μητροπόλεως

<sup>33</sup> *Menaion*, Sept, 13, 82, col. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Paracletike* 386, col. 1.

<sup>35</sup> *Menaion*, Sept, 13, 91, col. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Odes Three and Four deal with the topic of chrismation, while Odes Three and Eight deal with the Tabernacle. See also 88, col. 1.

<sup>37</sup> The text I have been using is newly published under the general title *EPE, Ellenes Pateres tes Ecclesias* (Greek Fathers of the Church) in Thessalonike, under the general editorship of P. Chrestou, Emeritus Prof. of the Univ. of Thessalonike. The texts of Gregory with a translation on the opposite page take up eleven volumes. The text is an improvement over *PG*. Basil's speech on Mamas is in vol. vii of the *EPE* series, 274-89.

The Oikos of the holiday, which as a rule summarizes the meaning of the festival, deals with the same subject,

Τὸν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ περιβοήτον μάρτυρα, ... ὑμνήσωμεν Μάμαντα, τὸν πρὶν τὰς ἐλάφους ἐν τοῖς ἐρήμοις καινῶς ἀμέλγοντα, καὶ νῦν περισύσιον λαὸν Κυρίου, ... ὡς ποιμῆν καλῶς περιέποντα, καὶ ὀδηγοῦντα.<sup>38</sup>

## VI

While Gregory seems to be critical of the Jews for their responsibility in the death of Christ, he is not universally critical of them. Like other Fathers of the Church, he praises the Old Testament personalities distinguished for their role in promoting the faith in God. One of his discourses is dedicated to the seven Maccabee brothers, their mother, and their teacher Eleazar for having put principle and tradition above life and personal considerations. Gregory commends their readiness for martyrdom and their fear lest they might fail to secure that honour. He praises the mother who admonished her boys not to lose their courage and happily delivered them to their death. It is one of the many pre-Christian examples that fills Gregory's mind with the awe he seeks to impart to his Christian audience. Taking his cue from the example of the Maccabees, Gregory tries to inspire the Christian youth to imitate the example of the Macabbees and to spend their life in a constant struggle against human passions, and the daily Antiochus, that is the devil.

All the themes handled by Gregory in his discourse become also the themes of the hymnographer for the holiday of the Maccabees, held on August 1. Words, phrases, as well as entire sentences used by the hymnographer are so close to Gregory's language that they lead to the inescapable conclusion that the hymnographer had studied Gregory's discourse before he composed the hymns for the holiday. Furthermore, the names of the hymn composers themselves already known to us for imitating Gregory's language, strengthen this conclusion.

Referring to the words supposedly addressed to Antiochus by the Maccabees, Gregory says (xv 5),

Ἡμῖν, Ἀντίοχε, ... εἰς μὲν βασιλεὺς ὁ Θεός, παρ' οὗ γεγόναμεν, καὶ εἰς ὃν ἐπιστρέψομεν... Κόσμος τε γάρ, ἄλλος ἡμῖν, πολὺ τῶν ὀρωμένων ὑψηλότερός τε καὶ μονιμώτερος· πατρὶς τε ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, ... Ἡ καρτερὰ καὶ ἀνάλωτος ... πανήγυρις δὲ ἀγγέλων χοροστασία.

In the doxasticon of the stichera of the Vesper, John Monachus says,

Ἡμῖν ὦ Ἀντίοχε, εἰς βασιλεὺς ὁ Θεός, παρ' οὗ γεγόναμεν, καὶ πρὸς ὃν ἐπιστρέφομεν. Κόσμος μένει ἄλλος ἡμῖν, τοῦ ὀρωμένου ὑψηλότερος καὶ μονιμώτερος· πατρὶς δὲ ἡμῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ, κραταιὰ καὶ ἀνώλεθρος· πανήγυρις δέ, ἡ μετὰ Ἀγγέλων διαγωγή.<sup>39</sup>

John obviously follows the text of Gregory with only slight changes; for example, he changed the future ἐπιστρέψομεν to the more vivid present tense; he inserted the verb μένει in the place of τε γάρ and converted πολὺ τῶν ὀρωμένων to ὀρωμένου, connecting it with kosmos. The πατρὶς τε ἡμῶν ἡ ἄνω became πατρὶς δὲ ἡμῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Instead of καρτερὰ καὶ ἀνάλωτος he uses κραταιὰ καὶ ἀνώλεθρος and after Ἀγγέλων he has the word διαγωγή to Gregory's μετὰ ἀγγέλων χοροστασία.

<sup>38</sup> *Menaeon*, Sept. 2, 18, col. 1-2.

<sup>39</sup> *Menaeon*, Aug. 1, 3, col. 1.

The above scene between Antiochus and the Maccabees is also treated in the fifth stanza of the First Ode of the canon.<sup>40</sup> Ἡμῖν ὦ Ἀντίοχε, ὑπὲρ πατρώων, ἐθῶν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶ.... In the same Ode, stanza two, we read,

Τὰς σάρκας τοῖς ὀνυξίν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, ξεόμενοι ἔκραζον, οἱ τοῦ νόμου φύλακες· Ἡμῖν ὦ Ἀντίοχε, γλυκεῖς οἱ πόνοι καὶ τὸ πῦρ, διὰ τὴν πάντων ζώην.<sup>41</sup>

which seems to correspond to Gregory's text, xv 4, οὐκ ἄκμαι σιδηρῶν ὀνύχων,...οὐ σάρκες ξεόμεναι.

Describing the attitude of the boys' mother when she saw her sons being tortured, Gregory writes (xv 9),

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τελειωθέντας εἶδεν, καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς εἶχεν ἐν τῆς συμπληρώσεως, διάρασα τὴν κεφαλὴν μάλα φαιδρῶς ὥσπερ τις Ὀλυμπιονίκης ἐν ὑψηλῷ τῷ φρονήματι...μεγάλῃ καὶ λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ...Τί ἔτι; Πρόσθεσ, ὦ τύραννε, κάμῃ τοῖς παισίν, εἴ τις καὶ παρ' ἐχθρῶν χάρις,...

Stanza three, Ode Nine, follows the same idea in modified language, which nonetheless is reminiscent of Gregory's language,

Ὡσπερ Ὀλυμπιονίκη, ἀνδρεία τις καὶ γενναία, ἡ Σολομονὴ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐσφαγμένους ὀρώσα,....ἔκραζεν· Ἄκουε, Ἀντίοχε, κάμῃ τοῖς τέκνοις εἴπερ ὄλωσ, ἐστὶ χάρις παρ' ἐχθρῶν.<sup>42</sup>

Similarly, Gregory's (xv 6) πάλιν καὶ πολλάκις ἐροῦμεν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον· οὐ μισροφαγήσομεν, οὐκ ἐνδῶσομεν becomes in the hymnographer, οὐ μισροφαγήσομεν φασίν, οὐ θύσομεν, οὐδὲ γόνυ κάμψομεν εἰς γῆν.<sup>43</sup>

## VII

In Discourse vi, which deals with the theme of Peace in the Church, Gregory makes several interesting references to the events associated with the birthday of John the Baptist. The discourse was delivered in the town of Nazianzus in 364, and in it Gregory expresses his joy at the peace that was achieved between his father and the monks in the area, a peace intended to heal a schism which had been created by the promulgation of a 'supposedly' conciliatory document that Gregory's father had earlier signed, regarding the Arian heresy. After the schism, Gregory convinced his father to issue an 'orthodox' decree, which eventually brought about the conciliation of the two parties. Gregory had kept silent during the schism, but once reconciliation was achieved, he decided to celebrate it by delivering Discourse vi 7, known as *Eirenikos I*. Significantly, he draws the parallel between his decision to speak out and Zacharias' 'solution' of tongue,

Τῷ μὲν γὰρ Ζαχαρία λύει τὴν σιωπὴν γεννηθεὶς ὁ Ἰωάννης· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔπρεπε τὸν πατέρα τῆς φωνῆς σιωπᾶν, ταύτης προελθούσης· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπιστηθεῖσα τὴν γλώσσαν ἔδησεν, οὕτω φανερωθεῖσα δοῦναι τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ᾧ καὶ εὐηγγελίσθη, καὶ ἐγεννήθη φωνὴ καὶ λύχνος, Λόγου καὶ φωτὸς πρόδρομος.

<sup>40</sup> *Menaion*, Aug. 1, 5, col. 2. Since the Canon is ascribed to Andrew of Crete, who was probably the first Canon writer, this canon is one of the earliest canons of the Church.

<sup>41</sup> *Menaion*, Aug. 1, 5-6, col. 2-1.

<sup>42</sup> *Menaion*, Aug. 1, 11, col. 2.

<sup>43</sup> *Menaion*, Aug. 1, Ode 7, stanza 3, 10, col. 1.

The first sticheron of the Vesper, composed by John Monachos, begins thus:

Λύει τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὴν σιωπὴν, γεννηθεὶς ὁ Ἰωάννης· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἔπρεπε, τὸν πατέρα σιωπᾶν, προελθούσης τῆς φωνῆς· ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἀπιστηθεῖσα πρώην, τὴν γλῶσσα ἔδησεν, οὕτω φανερωθεῖσαν, δοῦναι τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· ᾧ καὶ εὐηγγελίσθη καὶ ἐγεννήθη φωνὴ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ φωτὸς Πρόδρομος...<sup>44</sup>

A superficial comparison of the two texts will show that the hymnographer, beyond the few minor changes probably required by the hymn and the melody, leaned heavily on Gregory's language. Nuances of the theme and the language of Gregory are also contained in the second sticheron by the same composer, Σήμερον ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ Λόγου, τὴν φωνὴν δι' ἀπιστίαν κρατουμένην, λύει τὴν πατρικὴν...· ὁ λύχνος τοῦ φωτὸς προέρχεται.

Likewise, the fourth sticheron by Andrew of Crete relies on Gregory's text, ὅτι τῷ Προδρόμῳ λύχνῳ, τὸ φῶς ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ ὑπέρλαμπρον, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ὁ Λόγος.<sup>45</sup> The doxasticon of the stichera, written by Byzantios returns to the same theme, Σήμερον τοῦ φωτὸς ὁ λύχνος, προοδοποιεῖται τὴν ἔλευσιν Θεοῦ τοῦ Λόγου,...ἔπρεπε γὰρ οὕτω, τὸν πατέρα τῆς φωνῆς, μὴ σιωπὴν φυλάττειν, προελθούσης.<sup>46</sup>

### VIII

In the autumn of 381 A.D. Gregory delivered the funeral oration on his friend Basil, in Cappadocian Caesarea. The discourse, the longest in the series of funeral orations, sketches the strong personality of Gregory's great friend for whom he nurtured an unlimited admiration, despite past misunderstandings. He reminisces about their years in Athens, which he sketches vividly. He underscores Basil's steadfastness and irreconcilability to the threats of the emperor's representative, and presents Basil as the organizer of monastic life. He describes Basil's social work; he delights in Basil's spiritual flights; he expresses his amazement for the superb management of the Church by Basil. In short, what emerges from the funeral oration is a beautiful prosopographical essay dominated by the unreserved admiration for a great friend. This speech was used by John Damascene to compose the canon of the holiday of St. Basil, celebrated on Jan. 1. In xliii 32, Gregory describes Basil as,

Γίνεται τοῖς μὲν τεῖχος ὄχυρόν καὶ χαράκωμα· τοῖς δὲ πέλεκυς κόπτων πέτρων, ἡ πῦρ ἐν ἀκάνθαις...ἀναλίσκον τοὺς φρυγανῶδεις καὶ ὑβριστάς τῆς Θεότητος.

<sup>44</sup> *Menaion*, June 24, 80, col. 2. The birthday of John the Baptist is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on June 24. The holiday coincides with the summer solstice with only a couple of days difference. The exact date of John's birthday is of course unknown, except for the reference in Luke 1. 26 that Elizabeth was six months pregnant when the Virgin conceived Jesus. But then we do not know Jesus' exact birthday; so we are back where we started. At any rate, if Christ was born in winter, John must have been born some time in summer, according to the Bible. What we also know is that it is no coincidence that Christ's birth date was placed around the winter solstice since the festival of Sol Invictus was held at that time, and the Christian Fathers cleverly sought to replace it by the festival in honour of the new Sun. Similarly, the birth of John seems to have replaced a pagan holiday since John's birth is connected even today with remnants of pagan customs, such as lighting fires throughout Greece, clearly a pagan custom. Hence, John's birthday is known as St. John the Lambada.

<sup>45</sup> *Menaion*, June 24, 80, col. 2.

<sup>46</sup> *Menaion*, June 24, 81, col. 1. There is considerable doubt whether Byzas and Byzantios are two different names or different forms of the same name. Under the name of Byzantios there are no canons, only hymns. This fact led W. Christ to think that Byzantios lived before the rise of canon, Trembelas' 261; Beck 472 and 519 for Byzantios, 472 for Byzas. Beck does not know if they are two different persons or one; C. Émerseau, *EO* xxii (1923) 12-14.

John expresses the same idea in one of his stanzas,

Τῆ Ἐκκλησίᾳ δέδοσαι, παρὰ Θεοῦ χαράκωμα, καὶ τεῖχος ὄχυρόν, Βασίλειε παμμακάριστε.<sup>47</sup>

Then he continues, τοῖς ἀντιθέοις (instead of Gregory's τοῖς δὲ) πέλεκυς ἐκκοπτικός, καὶ πῦρ καταναλίσκον, τὴν ἀπάτην ὄφθης.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, Gregory's

Φιλοσοφία δὲ ἡ σπουδή, καὶ τὸ ραγῆναι κόσμου, καὶ μετὰ Θεοῦ γενέσθαι τοῖς κάτω τὰ ἄνω πραγματευόμενον, καὶ τοῖς ἀστάτοις καὶ ρέουσι τὰ ἐστῶτα καὶ μένοντα κατακτώμενον. (xliii 13).

John expresses the same idea in Ode Six, stanza four,

Ἔσπευσας κόσμου ραγῆναι, καὶ Θεῷ συμβιοτεῦσαι· διὸ τοῖς ἀστάτοις, καὶ ρευστοῖς, Πάτερ Βασίλειε, τὰ μένοντα ὡς σοφὸς κατεκτήσω.<sup>49</sup>

In this encomium of Basil, Gregory says that his friendship with Basil gave the impression of one soul in two bodies (μία μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ἐδόκει ψυχῇ, δύο σώματα φέρουσα).<sup>50</sup> John deals with this theme in Ode Seven, stanza three,

Ὡ σύμπνοια νοῦ, ἱερά τε ξυνωρίς, ἢ ὥσπερ μία ψυχῇ, ἐν δυσι σώμασιν ἀδιαίρετος, ἐν Γρηγορίῳ Βασίλειος, πόθῳ θεϊκῶ συνημμένοι.<sup>51</sup>

The hymns of the Ninth Ode clearly refer to the theme handled by Gregory in xliii 30 ff. about the religious controversy in the reign of Valens who ruled after Julian, while xliii 34-36, explains the efforts of Basil to feed his flock during the period of famine (Λιμὸς ἦν ...χαλεπώτατος, 34). In connection with the famine, Gregory describes the greediness of some people which he contrasts with Basil's philanthropic activities, νέος σιτοδότης ἡμῖν, καὶ δεύτερος Ἰωσήφ (36). According to Gregory, Basil aimed at only one thing: to beget charity through charity and to win the benefits of afterlife through the distribution of wheat (διὰ τῆς ἐνταῦθα σιτομετρίας, 36). For if the bread of the angels is the logos by which the souls hankering after God are fed and watered, and if those which demand the type of food that does not 'flow' and does not ever get exhausted but stays and feeds for ever, then Basil was the distributor of the real food (σιτοδότης).<sup>52</sup> Stanza two of the Sixth Ode treats the food subject: ἔθρεψας ψυχὰς πεινώσας, τροφῆ τῇ ἐπουρανίῳ· ἄρτος γάρ Ἀγγέλων ὑπάρχει, ὁ λόγος Βασίλειε· οὗ ἄριστος σιτοδότης ἐγένου,<sup>53</sup> while stanza three of Ode Five says, Οὐ νομοθέτης Μωσῆς, οὐ πρὸ τοῦ Νόμου, Ἰωσήφ γέγονε, τῆς κατὰ σὲ τροφῆς σιτομέτρης· τῆς θείας γὰρ σαρκὸς, αὐτὸς ἐστιάτωρ ἐδείχθης Βασίλειε.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Menaeon*, Jan. 1, Ode Four, stanza four, 10, col. 1.

<sup>48</sup> *Menaeon*, Jan. 1, Ode Four, stanza five, 10, col. 1.

<sup>49</sup> *Menaeon*, Jan. 1, 11, col. 1.

<sup>50</sup> xlii 20.

<sup>51</sup> *Menaeon*, Jan. 1, 12, col. 1. For the use of ξυνωρίς by Gregory see xliii, 22. In xliii, 12 ff. Gregory uses the picture of friendship, used also by Pindar (*Ol.* 6. 1-2), to describe his relationship with Basil. Likewise, Gregory paraphrases Anaxagoras' εἰ τὸ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ κεῖσθαι, μὴ πειστέον τοῖς λέγουσιν, *Anax. fr.* B 4-6. Throughout the discourse Gregory refers constantly to Homer, Greek history, philosophy, poetry, mythology, and displays his superb knowledge of the Greek authors, despite the fact that in his writings he frequently employs his knowledge of antiquity to lambast the Greeks for their religious beliefs.

<sup>52</sup> εἴπερ ἄρτος ἀγγέλων λόγος, ᾧ ψυχὰι τρέφονται καὶ ποτίζονται Θεὸν πεινώσαι, καὶ ζητοῦσαι τροφήν οὐ ρέουσαν, οὐδ' ἀπιούσαν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ μένουσαν· ἥς σιτοδότης ἦν ἐκεῖνος, xviii 36.

<sup>53</sup> *Menaeon*, Jan. 1, 11, col. 1; Jan. 1, 10, col. 2.

<sup>54</sup> *Menaeon*, Jan. 1, 10, col. 2.

Gregory returns to the treatment of food in xliii 72, for purposes of contrast, using again terms such as σιτοδότης...σωματικῶς...καὶ πνευματικῶς to paint Basil as a grain distributor in a physical as well as spiritual sense, therefore superior to Joseph. In the same discourse Gregory quotes from St. Paul, who in turn is relying on David, εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξελθεῖν τὸν φθόγγον αὐτοῦ (66) which, with a slight modification, became the beginning of St. Basil's dismissal hymn (apolytikion).<sup>55</sup> In xliii 13, Gregory compares Basil to the diligent bee,

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἰκανῶς τῆς ἐνταῦθα παιδεύσεως, ἔδει δ' αὐτὸν μηδὲν τῶν καλῶν διαφυγεῖν, μηδὲ τῷ φιλοπόνῳ τῆς μελίσης ἀπολειφθῆναι, συλλεγούσης ἐκ παντὸς ἄνθους τὰ χησιμώτατα

The first hymn of the aposticha composed by Byzantios describes Basil as a bee, ὦ θεία καὶ ἱερὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας μέλισσα.<sup>56</sup> The same subject is treated in stanza three of the Sixth Ode, ὦ Ἡθροισας τῷ τῆς μελίσης, Βασίλειε φιλοπόνῳ, ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης τὸ ἄνθος.<sup>57</sup>

Finally, the doxasticon of the stichera is nothing but a summary of Basil's virtues as explained by Gregory.<sup>58</sup> Though the doxasticon does not use verbatim Gregory's language, it might not be off target to state here that its author borrowed the ideas from Gregory, since we know from other instances that Anatolios, who is the author of the hymn, was familiar with Gregory's writings and had used them as a source.

## IX

One of the lesser saints in the hagiology of the Orthodox Church is Cyprian, for whom Gregory delivered Discourse xxiv.<sup>59</sup> Gregory's discourse is a lovely and attractive encomium in which Gregory compares Cyprian to Paul and Matthew, the apostles, since Cyprian started out as a pagan sorcerer, an enemy of Christ. Cyprian is described as being in love with a Christian virgin who rejected Cyprian's love for the love of Christ. Because of his own burning love, Cyprian is at the end converted and becomes like Paul and Matthew an enthusiastic preacher of Him whom he earlier persecuted. The story of Cyprian is another way of glorifying Christ who can work miracles by changing people from their former mistaken beliefs and their path of evil (*kakia*) to goodness (*zelou metatheseos*, xxiv 8). Gregory's subject is picked up by the hymnographer who in Ode Three, stanza one says,

ὦς Παῦλος πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν, τὴν ψυχῆς μεταβαλὼν ἔφεσιν, Κυπριανὲ πάνσοφε, τοῦτου μαθητῆς ἐχρημάτισας.<sup>60</sup>

Gregory's description of Cyprian's earlier *kakia* is reflected in the first and second stanza of Ode Six where the hymnographer states,

Κακίας, τὸν πυθμένα τὸν κάτω κατείληφας· τῆς ἀκροτάτης δὲ πάλιν ἀρετῆς ἀνήλθες Πάτερ εἰς ὕψος...<sup>61</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *Menaion*, Jan. 1, 7, col. 2.

<sup>56</sup> *Menaion*, Jan. 1, 7, col. 1.

<sup>57</sup> *Menaion*, Jan. 1, 11, col. 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Menaion*, Jan. 1, 5, col. 2.

<sup>59</sup> There is a confusion in this discourse by Gregory between Cyprian the Syrian bishop and the more famous bishop of Carthage. Unfortunately, I failed to find a holiday in the *Menaion* for the Carthaginian bishop to make a comparison between the two for the purpose of clarification.

<sup>60</sup> *Menaion*, Oct. 2, 11, col. 1.

<sup>61</sup> *Menaion*, Oct. 2, 11, col. 2.

In xxiv 9, Gregory explains that the maiden [Justina] became responsible for Cyprian's conversion as,

Νύμφη Χριστοῦ γνησία, κάλλος ἀπόθετον, ἀγαλμα ἔμψυχον, ἀνάθημα ἄσυλον

The hymnographer treats the same topic in almost the same words in the second stanza of the Fifth Ode,

Τὸ ἔμψυχον θεοῦ, καὶ τερπνότατον ἀγαλμα, τιμήσωμεν Ἰουστίναν, τὸ ἀπόθετον κάλλος, τὸ ἄσυλον ἀνάθημα.<sup>62</sup>

Gregory further describes Cyprian (xxiv 15) as ἀλείπτῃς ὑπερόριος γίνεται, τοὺς προτρεπτικούς συγγράφων, ... καὶ πλείους ἐκεῖνος σχεδὸν ἐξ ἐπιστολῶν ποιεῖται μάρτυρας, ... Ode Three, stanza three, of the canon speaks of Cyprian as ἀλείπτῃς ἀσκητικός, ... μάρτυς ἀληθείας γεγένησαι,<sup>63</sup> while Ode Six, stanza three, completes Gregory's description with the πολλοὺς σύ, τῷ Δεσπότη προσήγαγες μάρτυρας.<sup>64</sup> In xxiv 18, Gregory points out that even Cyprian's remains perform miracles. They purge demons, cure illnesses, lead believers to prophecy, ἅ πάντα δύναται Κυπριανοῦ ἢ κόνις μετὰ τῆς πίστεως. (Everything ἅ πάντα, [should it perhaps be ἅπαντα;] can be done by Cyprian's remains for those who have faith.)

This idea is handled in the second stanza of the Ninth Ode where the key word is κόνις, (ρεῖθρον ἰαμάτων δαυιλῶς ἢ κόνις σου τοῖς ποθοῦσιν ἀναδέδεικται.<sup>65</sup> In the concluding paragraph (xxiv 19) Gregory says that Cyprian watches over us (Σὺ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐποπτεύεις ἄνωθεν ἰλεως) which is re-echoed in the hymnographer's Ἄνωθεν ἡμᾶς τοὺς εὐσεβῶς ὑμνοῦντας σε, ἐποπτεύων θεῖα χάριτι (Ode Nine, stanza 1).<sup>66</sup>

## X

It is very possible that the inspiration for several other hymns of the Orthodox Church was also provided by Gregory's writings, though here we are less certain than in the cases already given. It might not be purely speculative to say that the writer of the katabasiae of the Presentation of Christ, Febr. 2, has been inspired by Gregory. Discourse ix was dedicated to Gregory's father and to his friend Basil and begins with an interesting reference to Isaiah,

Ἡσαΐας, πρὶν μὲν ἰδεῖν τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου, καὶ τὸν θρόνον τὸν ὑψηλὸν τε καὶ ἐπρημένον, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν σεραφίμ. ... Ὡ τάλας, φησὶν, ἐγώ.<sup>67</sup>

Two points support the view that the hymnographer borrowed his idea from Gregory's speech. First, the writer of the katabasiae for the Presentation is none other than Cosmas of Maiouma who was familiar with Gregory's writings; secondly, we know that Cosmas as the writer of the katabasiae for Christmas had used Gregory's texts for the composition of the Christmas katabasiae. The Fifth Heirmos of the katabasiae for the Presentation seems to follow the language of Gregory and reads thus:

<sup>62</sup> *Menaion*, Oct. 2, 11, col. 1.

<sup>63</sup> *Menaion*, Oct. 2, 12, col. 1.

<sup>64</sup> *Menaion*, Oct. 2, 12, col. 1.

<sup>65</sup> *Menaion*, Oct. 2, 13, col. 1.

<sup>66</sup> *Menaion*, Oct. 2, 13, col. 1.

<sup>67</sup> For Gregory's reliance on the biblical text here see Isa. 6.1 ff.; Judg. 13. 22 ff., Luke 5.8 ff.

Ὡς εἶδεν Ἡσαΐας συμβολικῶς, ἐν θρόνῳ ἐπηρμένῳ Θεόν, ὑπ' ἀγγέλων δόξης δορυφορούμενον, ὦ τάλας! ἐβόα ἐγώ.<sup>68</sup>

The participle ἐπηρμένος appears in all three texts: the Bible, Gregory, and the katabasia. The same is true of the adjective ὑψηλός, and the noun θρόνος, while Gregory's φησὶν ἐγὼ becomes ἐβόα ἐγὼ in the katabasia and fits beautifully into the melody.

## XI

Beyond the above 'major' similarities which betray some sort of direct borrowing, there are some other references scattered throughout the Byzantine hymnology which remind us of Gregorian phrasings. Speaking, for instance, of Lazarus xxix, 20, Gregory says about Christ,

Ἐρωτᾷ ποῦ τέθειται Λάζαρος, ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἦν· ἀλλ' ἐγείρει Λάζαρον· Θεὸς γὰρ ἦν.

In the idiomela of the Lauds for the holiday of Lazarus, celebrated on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, we find in the hymnology the following statement,

Ὡς μὲν γὰρ βροτὸς ἐπηρώτας ποῦ τέθαιπται, ὡς δὲ Θεὸς ἀνέστησας, ...τὸν τετραήμερον<sup>69</sup>

In the same way, Gregory in xl 46, writes,

Μεθ' ἧς ἀπαντήσομεν τῷ νυμφίῳ φαιδραὶ καὶ παρθένοι, ψυχαί, φαιδραῖς ταῖς λαμπάσι τῆς πίστεως, μήτε καθεύδουσαι διὰ ῥαθυμίαν

Though even without relying on Gregory's text a hymnographer could have been inspired from the gospel story (Matt. 25.1-3; 7 ff.) for his hymns, nonetheless we cannot ignore the 'devil theory' of borrowing, especially whenever there appear close linguistic similarities. Thus, the second stanza of the Eighth Ode sung during the Orthros of Holy Tuesday, written by Cosmas may even constitute an improvement on Gregory's text, if Cosmas has drawn his inspiration from that text, as indeed seems probable,

Ῥαθυμίαν ἄπωθεν ἡμῶν βαλώμεθα καὶ φαιδραῖς ταῖς λαμπάσιν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ νυμφίῳ Χριστῷ ὕμνοις συναντήσωμεν.<sup>70</sup>

Lastly, the spirit of Disc. xxx 14,

Διὰ ταῦτα ὑπολαμβάνεις χεῖρονα, ὅτι λεντίῳ διαζώννυται καὶ νίπτει τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ δείκνυσιν ἀρίστην ὁδὸν ὑψώσεως τὴν ταπεινώσειν;

points to the third stanza of the Fifth Ode of the canon for Holy (Maundy) Thursday,

Μαθηταῖς ὑποδεικνύει ταπεινώσεως ὁ Δεσπότης τύπον...ζώννυται λέντιον καὶ κάμπτει γόνυ, δούλων ἐκπλύνει πόδας<sup>71</sup>

There remains another example of the complexities of this intriguing theory of borrowing from Gregory's texts, or from any other text for that matter. In the Discourse to himself and about the Arians (xxxiii, 15) Gregory calls the martyrs of the Church 'live sacrifices, rational holocausts, perfect victims', (ἱερεῖα ἔμψυχα, ὀλοκαυτώματα λογικά, θύματα τέλεια) and he continues, στενή μοι ἢ μάνδρα, πλὴν λύκοις ἀνεπίβατος. The same idea and words are

<sup>68</sup> *Menaion*, Febr. 2, Heirmos Fifth, 17, col. 2.

<sup>69</sup> The composer's name is not given, *Triodion*, 362, col. 2, hymn one of the Lauds.

<sup>70</sup> *Triodion* 384, cols. 1-2.

<sup>71</sup> *Triodion* 412, col. 2.

contained in the martyricon hymn of the aposticha of Wednesday of the Fourth Mode,

Ἱερεῖα ἔμψυχα, ὀλοκαυτώματα λογικά, θύματα τέλεια Θεοῦ, ... πρόβατα ὧν ἡ μάνδρα, λύκοις ἀνεπίβατος.<sup>72</sup>

Although Gregory's extensive poetical production failed to serve as a source for the writing of hymns in the Byzantine times, even here borrowings are not completely lacking. Very early in Byzantine history the greatest of all Byzantine hymnographers, Romanos Melodos, drew his inspiration for the Kontakion, which today serves as Oikos for the Orthros of Holy Thursday, from Gregory's *Passion of Christ*.<sup>73</sup>

## XII

In summary, the often repeated but inadequately researched view that Gregory has served as a source for Byzantine hymnographers, on closer investigation turns out to be correct. The custom of borrowing seems to have begun very early, going back to the latter part of the Roman Empire. The greatest of all Byzantine hymnographers, Romanos, whose floruit lies in the first half of the sixth century A.D, is reputed to have borrowed heavily at one point from the Syrian Ephraim, who died in 378 A.D. But then it is a well-known fact that borrowing was an accepted custom. What seems to have importance was what one did with the material he borrowed and how well he used it. Earlier epochs were not concerned as much as we are today about the process of borrowing. People in different periods of history have had different ideas about what we characterize as originality in the literary works.

Early hymnographers who used Gregory's works as a source for the hymns they composed are John Monachos, and possibly Byzas, if as some people maintain he is different from Byzantios—not a very likely proposition, though in view of the poverty of our information an insoluble case. More systematic borrowing begins with the main era of the canon writers in the latter part of the seventh century and throughout the eighth and ninth century. Prominent among these writers are Andrew of Crete, John Damascene, Cosmas, Kassiane, and the monks of the monastery of Stoudion. Besides the canon writers, composers of stichera idiomela relied heavily on Gregory as a source of inspiration. In the case of the canon writers, we notice that they imitated not only the language of Gregory, but also in their odes the themes of his discourses.

<sup>72</sup> *Paraclitike* 225, col. 1; Trembelas 185.

<sup>73</sup> *Triodion*, 412, col. 2; Mitsakis 334; A. Tuilier (ed.) *La passion du Christ* (Paris 1969) esp. the introduction and 11. 454-60 in the series SC ad. loc. Gregory's text reads as follows:

Πῆ πῆ πορεύη Τέκνον; ὡς ἀπαλώμην·  
ἔκητι τίνοσ τὸν ταχὺν τελεῖς δρόμον;  
μὴ γάμος αὐθις ἐν Κανῶ κάκεῖ τρέχεις,  
ἴν' ἐξ ὕδατος οἰνοποιήσεις ξένως;  
ἐφῆσμοι σοι, Τέκνον, ἢ μενῶ σ' ἔτι;  
Δὸς δὸς λόγον μοι, τοῦ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγε,  
μὴ δὴ παρέλθῃς σίγα δούλην μητέρα

Romanos' Oikos is as follows:

Ποῦ πορεύει τέκνον; τίνοσ χάριν τὸν  
ταχὺν δρόμον τελεῖς; μὴ ἕτεροσ γάμοσ  
πάλιν ἐστὶν ἐν Κανῶ; κάκεῖ νῦν σπεύδεις,  
ἴνα ἐξ ὕδατοσ αὐτοῖσ οἶνον ποιήσεις,  
συνέλθω σοι, τέκνον, ἢ μείνω σοι μάλλον;  
δὸσ μοι λόγον, Λόγε, μὴ σιγῶν παρέλθῃσ με  
ὁ ἀγνήν τηρήσασ με.

The attribution of this work to Gregory is disputed, see for example J. Diggle *CR* xxi (1971) 19-21. M. L. West in his Teubner edition of Aeschylus (xxi) brackets the author of the *Chr. Pat.* with the latest witnesses in his *index testimoniorum*. I assume with Mitsakis 419-435 that *Chr. Pat.* is earlier than Romanos' hymn, though, admittedly, there is no easy solution to this complex problem.

The process does not seem to have stopped until the eleventh century. At that time the heortologion of the church was set, and the hymns of the holidays forever fixed. With the coming of the end of the great era of hymnography, the hymnographers and canon writers of the saints of a later time do not seem to be as eager to borrow from the works of the early Fathers. An example or two of this change in attitude is related to the holiday in honor of Athanasios the Great, on January 18, and the holiday of the Three Hierarchs. Gregory had written an encomiastic speech for Athanasios, and one would have expected that the hymnographers of the stichera troparia and the canon would have borrowed from Gregory ideas or expressions for the hymns of the holiday. Perhaps the early composers did so, but the early membrane for Athanasios has been lost. This loss seems to have necessitated the writing of a new hymnography for Athanasios by his namesake Athanasios III, Patriarch of Jerusalem in the fourteenth century A.D.<sup>74</sup> His hymns contain no references to Gregory's writings. Also lacking in such references is the hymnography about the three hierarchs, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom.<sup>75</sup> Their holiday was the by-product of an eleventh century compromise whose purpose was to pacify the fanatic followers of each of these hierarchs, with each claiming primacy for his own 'beloved' hierarch. To put an end to this foolish controversy, one of many in the Byzantine era, the Church decided on a common holiday for all three, on January 30. The composer of the hymnography for the new holiday was John Mavropous. One would expect him to have followed the pattern of some of his predecessors and to have borrowed from the works of Gregory for the composition of part at least of his hymnography. Such is not the case, however, as far as can be ascertained.

Another fact emerges from the study of the works of Gregory. In spite of the reliance of Romanos on Gregory's *Passion of Christ* for the composition of his kontakion of Holy Thursday, it was the speeches of Gregory, not his poetry, which provided the inspiration for the great majority of the Byzantine hymnographers. Among Gregory's discourses, his panegyric and theological works constitute the greatest attraction for the hymnographers. His often short, rhythmic sentences, separated by cola, are employed almost verbatim by the hymnographers, while his long iambic or half-iambic poetry evidently failed to strike their fancy. At any rate, there is little iambic poetry in Byzantine hymnography. The themes of Gregory's poetry were frequently too specialized, too personal, and generally too moralizing to become the topics of holiday hymn writing. No wonder then that the Byzantine hymnographers limited themselves to Gregory's encomiastic and theological speeches for their hymnography.

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<sup>74</sup> See note in the *Menaion* January 18, 151, col. 2.

<sup>75</sup> *Menaion*, Jan. 30, 235-48.