Lexical Notes on St Gregory Nazianzen

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The present study has grown out of a new critical edition of the Carmen de vita sua of St Gregory (Carm. 2.1.11; PG 37.1029–1166), based on a study of fifteen Greek manuscripts and the readings of the scholiast (Cosmas of Jerusalem). The words to be discussed all occur in this poem; citations are drawn from my revised text, which departs from that printed in Migne in some 300 instances. The order of discussion will be that of relative importance of the words under consideration.

1 Originally presented as a communication to the 13th International Congress of Byzantine Studies at Oxford University, September 1966. I am grateful to Professor P. De Lacy for his suggestions for revising the paper for publication.

2 Doctoral Diss. Princeton University 1966; Univ. Microfilms (Ann Arbor) 66-13, 302. An earlier study, “A Manuscript Study of St. Gregory Nazianzen,” appeared in Studia Patristica 7 (Berlin 1966) 52–59. These are cited hereafter as Cummings, Diss. and Cummings, SP. The manuscripts studied are:

C Oxon. Clark. 12 s. x (f. 9)
L Laur. plut. 7, 10 s. xi (f. 135)
A Paris. Gr. 1277 s. xiii (f. 202)
B Paris. Gr. 2875 s. xiii (f. 307)
S Oxon. Barocci. 96 s. xiv (f. 134b)
T Oxon. Barocci. 96 s. xiv (f. 150) frag.
D Paris. Gr. Cois. 56 s. xiv/xv (f. 169)
K Bibl. Μόνας Καρακάλου 74 s. xiv (f. 399)
O Lavra 170 s. xiv (f. 64)
G Laur. plut. 7, 2 s. xv (f. 1)
E Ambros. Z 78 sup. s. xv (f. 99)
P Pav. 80 (Aldini) s. xv (f. 49)
N Neapol. II, A 24 s. xv (f. 212)
W Vindob. Theol. Gr. 43 (olim 101) s. xvi (f. 1)
M Monac. Gr. 582 s. xvi (f. 188)
R Monac. Gr. 582 s. xvi (f. 188) [a marg. recension]
F Vat. Gr. 480 s. xvi med. (f. 95)

The manuscripts are divided into two families. LA WR constitute the superior family Ψ. The other manuscripts form the inferior family Ω. Within Ω a closely related group δ is formed by PMEF. This group δ is highly mendacious. Unfortunately its readings predominate in the Benedictine text printed in Migne. A fragmentary Syriac version is preserved in Brit. Mus. Add. 18821. I am indebted to Dr Andreas Spira of the U. of Mainz for comparison of the Greek and Syriac text for the readings discussed in this article. For a fuller discussion of the manuscripts see Cummings, SP and Diss. pp.1–25. The edition of the Greek text along with an English translation and notes is to be published shortly by Dumbarton Oaks.
consideration. If in the course of the discussion I have frequent occasion to refer to Lampe’s *Lexicon*, it is with no intent of criticising that painstaking work of scholarship, which I have found invaluable, but only of supplementing or improving it in a small way.

1. κοντώδης

753 Ἀρης, ἀφωνον πῆμα, κοντώδες τέρας ...

The word is a *hapax*. It does not occur in the printed editions nor consequently in the lexica. The reading at this point is certain. It is attested by L, the best manuscript of the superior family, and by the lemma of the scholiast. The evidence of the lemmata of the scholiast is particularly important, since the scholia were composed in the first half of the eighth century and thus antedate the extant Greek manuscripts. Although preserved in a single manuscript of the twelfth century, they were transmitted independently of the text and show no sign of contamination but rather preserve a genuinely ancient tradition. The variant reading *κιτωδές* given in the margin of L and found in all the other manuscripts is definitely a *lectio facilior* (‘whale-like’, ‘monstrous’).

The word is to be interpreted as ‘pertaining to or connected with the κοντός’. κοντός here is clearly being used in its second meaning of a ‘pike’, rather than in its primary meaning ‘boat pole’. The meaning is evidenced by Luc. Τοξ. 55 and Arr. Τακτ. 43.2, and further supported by the compounds κοντοφόρος, κοντροκυνηγέσιον in *LS*®. See also κοντέω in Lampe. We may further adduce the evidence of the loan word *contus* in Latin, which has the same meaning of ‘pike’ in Tac. *Ann.* 6.35 and *Hist.* 1.44 and 79, and is the more probable meaning in Verg. *Aen.* 9.510.

Cosmas in his scholion contents himself with interpreting the word simply as indicative of the warlike character (τὸ πολεμικόν) of Ares, although his attendant citation of *ll.* 5.594,

"Ἀρης δ’ ἐν παλάμησι πελώριον ἐγχος ἐνώμα"

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4 Manuscripts are cited throughout by their sigla given above in n.2.


8 Var. Gr. 1260 s. xi.

7 See the Connington-Nettleship commentary in *P. Vergili Maronis Opera III* (London 1881) p.207. Lewis and Short assign the passage without more ado to the second meaning ‘pike’.
may indicate that he thinks it a spear, a meaning carried by the diminutive κοντάριον and its compounds.

The phrase κοντώδες τέρας may be translated in context simply as ‘an armed monster’.

2. σιτών

1267 . . . οἱ δὲ λευκοὶ πρὸς θέρος:

αἷος τιν' εἶχεν, τοὺς δὲ θημών τις φίλος:
οἷς δ’ ἔχρινντο, οἱ δὲ σιτώνων ἔσω,
οἷς δ’ ἰσαν ἄρτος, τῆς γεωργίας πέρας . . .

The reading again is certain. It is attested by all the manuscripts except the four manuscripts of group δ, which have corrupted it to σῖτων, meaningless in context. The word σιτών is extremely rare. The only other recorded instances are Plut. Mor. 524a and Mêl. Navarre 375 (Cyrenaica), where it is defined as a ‘wheat field’, and Anna Comnena, where it means a ‘granary’.8 The meaning ‘granary’ is clearly that required in our passage, both in connection with ἔσω and in terms of the logical progression of the entire metaphor. Consequently ‘granary’ must now be regarded as at least a good fourth-century meaning of the word and not restricted to the Byzantine period.

Comparison of the form should also be made with v.27 χαραδρεύων, ‘a place of χαράδρας’, and Ep. 4.6 χαραδρεύων and ἀκανθεύων, ‘torrent-ridden terrain’ and ‘bramble-ridden terrain’.9

3. ἀντεπίσκοπος

455 οὐδ' ἢν ἀναιμιτὶ γε τοῦ θρόνου κρατεῖν

μεταίχισιον γὰρ ἄντ' ἐπισκόποιν δύο

τοῦτ' ἤν, . . .

The word ἀντεπίσκοπος listed in the lexica10 on the basis of the printed texts as a hapax should be deleted. It is supported by only three manuscripts (A D E) and the Syriac; the others read ἄντ' ἐπισκόποιν, ‘facing toward’. Whether ἄντ' (ἀντ') is the correct form or ἄντ' (ἀντα)
is a difficult question. ἀντί is attested as a preposition involving place with the genitive by Xen. An. 4.7.6, Hero Mech. Belopoeica 97.5, Leg. Gort. 1.40, Eudoxus Astr. Ars Astron. 18. The construction is, however, basically Homeric-epic. Here too opinion was already divided in antiquity, with Aristarchus maintaining the correctness of ἀντ (ἀντ'), and Demetrius ἐ γονύπεσος, Herodian Grammaticus and Eustathius supporting ἀντ' (ἀντ'). The consensus of modern Homeric scholarship from the time of Spitzner (Excursus xvn) has recognized ἀντ' (ἀντ') as the correct form.11 Since it is more likely that Gregory here, as in so many other instances, has been influenced by an Homeric-epic model, I have accordingly emended the text to ἀντ', while at the same time admitting the very strong possibility that Gregory may have approved the reading of Aristarchus and himself written ἀντ'.

4. μηγάς

302 ὁρῶν γὰρ οὐς μὲν πρακτικὸς τέρπει βίος,
ἀλλοις μὲν ὄντας χρησίμως τῶν ἐν μέσῳ,
αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐχρήστως καὶ κακοῖς στροβουμένους
ἐξ ὁν τὸ λειτόν ἦδος ἐκκυμάντεται·
τοὺς δὲ ἐκτὸς ὄντας εὐσταθεῖς μὲν πῶς πλέον,
cαὶ πρὸς Θεόν βλέποντας ἡσύχω νοῦς,
αὐτοῖς μόνοις δὲ χρησίμους φιλτρῳ στενῷ,
cαὶ γιόντας ἱεράλλον τε καὶ τραχὺν βίον,
μέσην τινὶ ἥλθον ἐρημικῶν καὶ μυγάδων . . .

The passage must be compared with Or. 43.62.12 Τοῦ τοῦν ἐρημικοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ μυγάδος μαχομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ διώστα-
μένων, καὶ οὐδετέρου πάντως ὡς τὸ καλὸν ὡς τὸ φαιλὸν ἀνεπίμικτον ἔχοντος·
ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἱσουχίω μὲν ὄντος μᾶλλον καὶ καθεστηκότος καὶ Θεῷ
συνάγοντος, οὐκ ἀτύφου δὲ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀβασανίστον καὶ ἀσύγκριτον,
tοῦ δὲ πρακτικοτέρου μὲν μᾶλλον καὶ χρησιμότερου, τὸ δὲ θορυβώδες οὐ
φεύγοντος, καὶ τούτους ἄριστα κατηλάβειν ἀλλήλους καὶ συνεκέρασιν·
ἀσκητῆρα καὶ μοναστῆρα δειμάμενος μὲν, οὐ πάρρῳ δὲ τῶν κοινωνικῶν
καὶ μυγάδων, οὐδὲ ὁσπερ τεῖχῷ των μέσῳ ταῦτα διαλαβῶν καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων χωρίσας,
ἀλλὰ πλησίον συνάφως καὶ διαξεῖς· ἵνα μήτε τὸ ϕιλόσοφον ἀκούσων μὲ τὸ πρακτικὸν ἀφιλόσοφον· ὁσπερ δὲ γῆ
καὶ θάλασσα τὰ παρ' ἐαυτῶν ἀλλήλους ἀντιδιδόντες, εἰς μίαν δόξαν Θεοῦ
συντρέχωσι.

11 In Homeri Ilias Lm (Gotha & Erfurt 1835) pp. Ixi–lxvi.
Lampe defines μιγάς as 'mixed', hence 'in the world'; then, citing the above passage from Or. 43, 'opposite to monastic'. Yet the true gist of both passages is not 'opposite to monastic' but rather 'opposite to eremitical' and the opposite to 'eremetical' here is 'cenobitic'. Thus ἐρημικοὶ are hermits and μιγάδες are cenobites. Or more precisely they are pre-Basilian cenobites, for Or. 43.62 makes clear that the precise aim of the Rule of St Basil was to reconcile the best features of both, thereby producing a new type of monasticism.

The meaning 'cenobitic' is attested by DuCange's Glossarium:13 μιγάς, coenobia; μιγάδες, coenobitae; μιγάς, τὸ κοινόβιον, τὸ μοναστήριον. καὶ μιγάδες, οἱ ἐν κοινοβίοις μεμιμημένοι ζωτες, ἢτοι τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀδο­­ριστὸς ἀθροισμα. The Etymologicum Magnum14 reads: τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀθροισμα. X. Hürth in his study, "De Gregorii Nazianzeni orationibus funebribus," writes:15 "opponuntur enim μιγάδες et μοναστοί. Sunt μιγάδες ii, qui in coenobiis vitam degunt."

Confusion over the word seems principally due to F. Boulenger, who in his edition and French translation of Or. 43 failed to see that ἁσκητήρια is synonymous with μοναστήρια, and μιγάδων with κοινωνικῶν (in the pleonastic fashion characteristic of Gregory's style). Boulenger therefore posits three groups: hermits, cenobites and "les migades." He then defines the last as "ἁσκηταῖ vivant dans le monde pour donner au monde l'exemple de la vertu."16

The very passage which Boulenger cites in support of his view (Or. 21.19) actually militates against it: οἱ μὲν τὸν πάντῃ μοναδικῶν τε καὶ ἀμικτων διαθλοῦντες βιον, ἐσαντοὶ μόνους προσαλοῦντες καὶ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τούτω μόνον κόσμῳ εἰδότες, ὡσον εἰ τῇ ἐρημίᾳ γνωρίζουσιν. οἱ δὲ νόμον ἀγάπης τῇ κοινωνίᾳ στέργουσεν, ἐρημικοὶ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μιγάδες, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τεθνηκότες ἀνθρώποις καὶ πράγμασιν... ἄλλης δὲ κόσμου δόντες, καὶ τῇ παραθέσει τὴν ἄρετὴν θηγοντες. Τούτως ὁμολόγοις ο μέγας Ἀθανάσιος, ὃς περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων μεσίτης καὶ διαλλακτής ἦν, τὸν εἰρημοποιοῦσαντα τῷ αἰματι τὰ διεστῶτα μιμούμενος: ὡστω καὶ τὸν ἐρημικόν βιὸν τῷ κοινωνικῷ καταλάττει.

We are not dealing here with three categories but two: οἱ μὲν... οἱ δὲ: τὸν ἐρημικὸν βιὸν τῷ κοινωνικῷ, and the cenobites are described in an oxymoron as "at one and the same time living apart and living

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13 vol. II, Addenda p.132 (Lyon 1688).
14 Cited from the Teubner text by A. Adler (Lex. Graec. I, pt. i-v). The entry is missing from the edition by Gaisford.
15 Dissertationes Argentoratenses selectae t. XII (Strassburg 1907) 140.
16 op.cit. (supra n.12) p. cvi.
together," i.e. apart from the world and with each other. So too in § 10 of the same oration we have οἱ μοναδικοὶ καὶ μιγάδες balanced by οἱ τῆς ἐρημίας . . . οἱ τῆς ἐπιμελίας. Compare also Or. 43.81: τοὺς τῆς ἐπιμελίας, τοὺς τῆς ἐρημίας.

Finally we may adduce the evidence of μιγάδος defined in Lampe as 'cenobitic'. Hence μιγάς in Gregory means 'mixed', i.e. living together, 'cenobitic'; (as subs.) 'cenobite'.

5. ὑπερτείχεω (-όω) for ὑπερτοιχέω (-όω)

The manuscript evidence is not as strong as could be desired. The reading is supported by only B and O. (The Syriac would support ὑπερτοιχοῦτος.) Both manuscripts belong to the inferior family, but O is one of its better representatives. The reading was already known to the seventeenth-century French Dominican scholar of patristics Combesis, as is reported by the Benedictines, who used his hand-annotated text of Billius' edition in preparing their own: "Combes. legit ὑπερτείχοῦτος, et vertit: Aqua altiore muro obcingente navim et obvolvente."

The reading would also be more consonant with Gregory’s practice of coining a new word by simply adding a suffix to an already existing word (e.g. ὑπερτείχεω 401, ὑπερτοιχέω 168, ὑμόστεγος 477, μονόθρων 1586). A verb τοιχέω (-όω) is nowhere attested, although τοιχόμαι is found. The form τείχεω is, however, found in Herodotus for Attic τείχξω. Definition: 'to build a rampart above'.

6. παντεξουσία

Not listed in Lampe, this form should be deleted from the other lexica. All of the manuscripts except δ support the reading given above. To τὰ πάντ᾽ ἔξουσιαν supply δοῦναι: 'your munificent ability to bestow all things', or understand as an accusative of respect.

7. ἀμφιδόξος

Also from the list of honorary titles given in Hauser-Meury, Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz (Bonn 1960).
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μέσοι μὲν ὄντες, ἀσμενιστῶν δ᾽ εἰ μέσοι,
καὶ μὴ προδήλως κλήσεως ἐναντίας, ...

Not found in Lampe; the LS\textsuperscript{8} definition ‘of doubtful or dubious opinions’ will not suffice here. As 1710–11 make clear, Gregory is here referring to a compromise party at the Council of 381;\textsuperscript{18} the word is being employed with irony and should be rendered ‘adherents of both beliefs or opinions’, i.e. ‘fence-straddlers’.

8. πεμπτήριος

1794 δός τῆς πνοῆς τὸ λοίπον ἡμῖν καὶ Θεῷ.
Ναός γενέσθω σοῦ βίον πεμπτήριος.

The passage in question is not listed in Lampe and the definition there found, ‘in dismissal, hence as parting gift’, will not suffice here. Unsatisfactory also is the rendering ‘conductor’ offered in LS\textsuperscript{8}. The passage is listed in Soph. Lex., where it is defined as ‘pertaining to sending away or parting’. I would render the sentence “Let this church be the site of your dismissal from this life.” The formation of the word has undoubtedly been influenced by the liturgy for the dead and dying. So too in the Roman rite today runs the prayer “Proficiscere Anima Christiana” for the commendation of a departing soul.

9. κήρυγμα and ὑπόσχεσις

521 ’Ενούθετη’ ἐμαυτῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν βλάβος,
ἐως καθέδρας, πατρὸς ἐκπλήσσαι πόθον.
Οὐ γὰρ καθέξει τοῦτ’, ἐφ’ ὡς, ἀκοντά με,
ὅν οὔτε κήρυγμ’, οὔθ’ ὑπόσχεσις κρατεῖ.

The words are used here in their usual sense of ‘proclamation’ and ‘solemn pledge’. Their particular interest lies in their technical sense, a sense clear from the passage, namely that these are prerequisites for a canonical occupation of a see. The same position is set forth in Ep. 87.5: Εἰ δὲ τὴν ’Εκκλησίαν καταλιπεῖν ἐπικινδύνου, ὡς γράφεις, ποιαν; εἰ μὲν τὴν ἡμετέραν, κἀγὼ φημι καὶ ὁρθῶς λέγεται. Εἰ δὲ τὴν μηδὲν προσήκουσαν μηδ’ ἐπικηρυχθεῖσαν ἡμῖν, ἀνεύθυνοι.

The contemporary canons extant make no reference to either practice.

\textsuperscript{18} Intent here on reconciling the Nicaeans and the adherents of the Macedonian Heresy. See Adolf-Martin Ritter, Das Konzil von Konstantinopel (Göttingen 1965) 253–70 and Cummings, Diss. 157–62.
10. ξένος

1475 τὸ δ’ ἐκ τοσοῦτων χρημάτων θρυλομένων
1479 οὐδ’ ἄντιν’ λογισμὸν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν
εὐφόρων τῶν πρὶν προστατῶν Ἐκκλησίας,
οὗτ’ ἐν ταμιάσι νέοις, ἐν οἷς τὰ πράγματα,
στερεζαί, ξένοι τε μηδόλωσ λαβεῖν τινα,
δ’ μοι παρῆναι και παρώξινὸν τίνες,
tούτων λογιστὴν εἰς ὑβριν μυστηρίῳ.

Billius¹⁹ comments on the line: “Negat enim Gregorius se animum
inducere potuisse, ut externum aliquem, qui exigendis huiusmodi
rationibus operam daret, adhiberet.” The Benedictines observe:
“Possis intelligere de saecularibus judicibus ad quorum tribunal reos
de rationibus reddendis traducere noluit Gregorius, ut quidam
suadebant.”

We are dealing here with what is essentially a financial matter.
Yet Gregory mentions as the responsible persons only himself (the
bishop) and the παρεία. It may therefore be inferred that the office of
οἰκονόμος did not at this time exist at Constantinople. I would further
suggest that the proposal in question was the establishment of such
an office with a layman as its incumbent. That laymen did frequently
hold the position can be seen from Canon IX Hispalense:²⁰ Indecorum
est enim laicum vicarium esse episcopi et saeculares in ecclesia judicare.

The word should then be defined here as: ‘extern’, i.e. ‘laic’.

11. δῆθε (813)

The point at issue here is the form. It is the reading of L and is to be
preferred for metrical reasons (avoidance of two longs in the fourth
foot). The form itself was at one time excised from LS on the basis of
Elmsley’s emendation of Eur. Electra 268, but has been restored in
LSJ, where it is supported by the Euripides passage and a conjecture
in Eupolis. We may now add the evidence from Gregory in its favor.

12. ἡλιοφρῶν

1803 Τοῖς δ’ ἀντεπῆει δῆμος ἡλιοφρῶν . . .

Dindorf conjectured ἡλιοφρῶν and proceeded to substitute it for

¹⁹ S. Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera Omnia II (Paris 1611) col. 1336 n.108.
²⁰ Bruns, Canones Apostolorum et Conciliorum saec. IV–VII, II (Berlin 1839) p.72. On the
οἰκονόμος see A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire II (Norman 1964) 902 and 1376 n.74.
The Mss are unanimous in reading ἡμιοφρόνων.\textsuperscript{21}

13. ἀλεκτόριον

1926 Κοκκύζετ' ἀλεκτόριον, ὡς νικηφόροι . . .

Diminutive of ἀλέκτωρ.

14. Χριστέμπορος

1756 τὸν συρφετὸν δὲ τὸν πολὺν Χριστεμπόρων . . .

'Christ-monger'.\textsuperscript{22} The word is rare. The only other instance I know of is in the Didache § 12.

15. λόγων κράτος

256 ὦς δὴ λόγων δῶσοντες ἐκ ψήφου κράτος . . .

The phrase is equivalent to λόγων βασιλεὺς (Emperor of Letters).\textsuperscript{23} See entry l. s.v. βασιλεὺς in Lampe; cf. further L. Robert, Hellenica IV (1956) 95–96. See also Ep. 24.

16. πρόεδρος

Presiding official or position. Used at 30, 1510, 1546, 1586 of bishops; at 1514 of the president of the Council of 381 (Meletius); at 571 of the See of Rome (πρόεδρος τῶν ὀλων).

17. σύστημα

28 ἡμῶν τὸ σύστημα ἐκπλυτον, θρηνῶν λέγω . . .

'Collegium nostrum', not 'ordo noster' as rendered by Billius and the Benedictines. It is a reference to episcopal collegiality.

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\textit{March, 1968}

\textsuperscript{21} The Scholiast reads Ὑμιοφρόνων, which he manfully attempts to interpret.

\textsuperscript{22} Compare Χριστεμπάτης at v.1545.

\textsuperscript{23} The phrase is not dead. André Gide has termed Henry de Montherlant a "seigneur des lettres."