

Lexical Notes on St Gregory Nazianzen

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THE PRESENT study¹ 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).² 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

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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. Μόνης Καρακάλλου 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. LAWR 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*,³ 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. ΚΟΝΤΩΔΗΣ

753 Ἄρης, ἄφωνον 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,⁴ 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.⁵ Although preserved in a single manuscript of the twelfth century,⁶ they were transmitted independently of the text and show no sign of contamination but rather preserve a genuinely ancient tradition. The variant reading *κητώδες* 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. *Tox.* 55 and Arr. *Tact.* 43.2, and further supported by the compounds *κοντοφόρος*, *κοντροκυνηγέσιον* in LS⁸. See also *κοντεύω* 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.* 9.510.⁷

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 *Il.* 5.594,

Ἄρης δ' ἐν παλάμησι πελώριον ἔγχος ἐνώμα

³ G. W. H. Lampe, *Lexicon of Patristic Greek*, fascs. 1-4 (Oxford 1961-65), cited hereafter as LAMPE.

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

⁵ On the scholiast see Lefherz, *Studien zu Gregor von Nazianz* (Bonn 1958) 157-60 and Cummings, *Diss.* 15-17.

⁶ Vat. Gr. 1260 s. xii.

⁷ See the Conington-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 *κοντῶδες τέρας* may be translated in context simply as 'an armed monster'.

2. *σιτών*

1267 . . . οἱ δὲ λευκοὶ πρὸς θέρος·
 ἄλως τιν' εἶχεν, τοὺς δὲ θημῶν τις φίλος·
 οἱ δ' ἐκρίνοντο, οἱ δὲ σιτώνων ἔσω,
 οἱ δ' ἦσαν 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 *σίτων*, meaningless in context. The word *σιτών* is extremely rare. The only other recorded instances are *Plut. Mor.* 524A and *Mél. 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 *χαραδρεών*, 'a place of *χαράδραι*', and *Ep.* 4.6 *χαραδρεών* and *ἀκανθεών*, 'torrent-ridden terrain' and 'bramble-ridden terrain'.⁹

3. *ἀντεπίσκοπος*

455 οὐδ' ἦν ἀναιμωτί γε τοῦ θρόνου κρατεῖν·
 μεταίχμιον γὰρ ἄντ' ἐπισκόπων δύο
 τοῦτ' ἦν, . . .

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 *ἀντ' ἐπισκόπων*, 'facing toward'. Whether *ἀντ'* (*ἀντί*) is the correct form or *ἄντ'* (*ἄντα*)

⁸ See Stephanus-Dindorf, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (Paris 1831–65). Cited hereafter as STEPHANUS.

⁹ For *Epistles* 1–100 see the new Budé edition, *St. Grégoire de Nazianze, Lettres* (Paris 1964) by P. Gailly. 'Wheatfield' is the preferable meaning in the Plutarch passage.

¹⁰ Lampe, Stephanus, Sophocles' *Lexicon of Byzantine Greek*, and Liddell & Scott⁸. Patristic words and meanings were excised from *LSJ* in anticipation of the publication of Lampe.

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* (*ἀνθ'*), and Demetrius *ὁ γονύπεσος*, Herodian Grammaticus and Eustathius supporting *ἄντ'* (*ἄνθ'*). The consensus of modern Homeric scholarship from the time of Spitzner (*Excursus xvii*) has recognized *ἄντ'* (*ἄνθ'*) 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 *ἄντ'*, while at the same time admitting the very strong possibility that Gregory may have approved the reading of Aristarchus and himself written *ἀντ'*.

4. μιγάς

302 Ὅρων γὰρ οὓς μὲν πρακτικὸς τέρπει βίος,
 ἄλλοις μὲν ὄντας χρησίμους τῶν ἐν μέσῳ,
 αὐτοῖς δ' ἀχρήστους καὶ κακοῖς στροβουμένους
 ἐξ ὧν τὸ λεῖον ἦθος ἐκκυμαίνεται·
 τοὺς δ' ἐκτὸς ὄντας εὐσταθεῖς μὲν πως πλέον,
 καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν βλέποντας ἡσύχῳ νοῦ,
 αὐτοῖς μόνοις δὲ χρησίμους φίλτρῳ στενωῶ,
 καὶ ζῶντας ἕξαλλόν τε καὶ τραχὺν βίον,
 μέσην τιν' ἦλθον ἐρημικῶν καὶ μιγάδων . . .

The passage must be compared with *Or.* 43.62:¹² *Τοῦ τοίνυν ἐρημικοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ μιγάδος μαχομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ διῆσταμένων, καὶ οὐδετέρου πάντως ἢ τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ φαῦλον ἀνεπίμικτον ἔχοντος· ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἡσυχίου μὲν ὄντος μᾶλλον καὶ καθεστηκότος καὶ Θεῷ συνάγοντος, οὐκ ἀτύφου δὲ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀβασάνιστον καὶ ἀσύγκριτον· τοῦ δὲ πρακτικωτέρου μὲν μᾶλλον καὶ χρησιμότερου, τὸ δὲ θορυβῶδες οὐ φεύγοντος, καὶ τούτους ἄριστα κατήλλαξεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνεκέρασεν· ἀσκητήρια καὶ μοναστήρια δειμάμενος μὲν, οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῶν κοινωνικῶν καὶ μιγάδων, οὐδὲ ὥσπερ τειχίῳ τινὶ μέσῳ ταῦτα διαλαβὼν καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων χωρίσας, ἀλλὰ πλησίον συνάψας καὶ διαζεύξας· ἵνα μήτε τὸ φιλόσοφον ἀκοινωνητον ἢ μήτε τὸ πρακτικὸν ἀφιλόσοφον· ὥσπερ δὲ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἀλλήλοις ἀντιτιδόντες, εἰς μίαν δόξαν Θεοῦ συντρέχωσι.*

¹¹ In *Homeri Ilias* I.iii (Gotha & Erfurt 1835) pp. lxi-lxvi.

¹² Cited from the edition by F. Boulenger, *Les Orations Funèbres* (Paris 1908).

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 *ἐρημικοί* 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 μεμιγμένοι ζῶντες, ἤτοι τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀδιορίστως ἄθροισμα.* The *Etymologicum Magnum*¹⁴ reads: *τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν ἄθροισμα.* 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 *ἀσκητήρια* 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 “*ἀσκηταὶ* 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 πάντη μοναδικὸν τε καὶ ἄμικτον διαθλοῦντες βίον, ἑαυτοῖς μόνοις προσλαλοῦντες καὶ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον κόσμον εἰδότες, ὅσον ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ γνωρίζουσιν· οἱ δὲ νόμον ἀγάπης τῇ κοινωνίᾳ στέργοντες, ἐρημικοὶ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μιγάδες, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τεθνηκότες ἀνθρώποις καὶ πράγμασιν . . . ἀλλήλοις δὲ κόσμος ὄντες, καὶ τῇ παραθέσει τὴν ἀρετὴν θήγοντες. Τούτοις ὁμιλήσας ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος, ὡσπερ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων μεσίτης καὶ διαλλακτῆς ἦν, τὸν εἰρηνοποιήσαντα τῷ αἵματι τὰ διεστῶτα μιμούμενος· οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἐρημικὸν βίον τῷ κοινωνικῷ καταλλάττει.*

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

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 ἐπιμιξίας. Compare also *Or.* 43.81: τοὺς τῆς ἐπιμιξίας, τοὺς τῆς ἐρημίας.

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

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

138 Πλήρες δ' ὑπερτειχοῦντος ὕδατος σκάφος . . .

The manuscript evidence is not as strong as could be desired. The reading is supported by only B and O. (The Syriac would support ὑπερτοιχοῦντος.) 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 ὑπερτειχοῦντος, 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.* ὑπερζυγέω 401, ὑπερκτυπέω 168, ὁμόστεγος 477, μονόθρονος 1586). A verb *τοιχέω* (-όω) is nowhere attested, although *τοιχόομαι* is found. The form *τειχέω* is, however, found in Herodotus for Attic *τειχίζω*. Definition: ‘to build a rampart above’.

6. παντεξουσία

1881 Καὶ γὰρ τιν', εἶπον, ὦ Βασιλεῦ, αἰτῶ χάριν
τὴν σὴν μεγαλόδωρον τὰ πάντ' ἐξουσίαν.

Not listed in Lampe, this form should be deleted from the other lexica.¹⁷ All of the manuscripts except δ support the reading given above. To τὰ πάντ' ἐξουσίαν supply *δοῦναι*: ‘your munificent ability to bestow all things’, or understand as an accusative of respect.

7. ἀμφίδοξος

1708 τῶν ἀμφιδόξων ἀθλίως θολουμένην,
οἱ ταῦτα δοξάζουσιν, οἷς χαίρει κράτος,

¹⁷ Also from the list of honorary titles given in Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz* (Bonn 1960).

μέσοι μὲν ὄντες, ἀσμενιστὸν δ' εἰ μέσοι,
καὶ μὴ προδήλως κλήσεως ἐναντίας, . . .

Not found in Lampe; the *LS*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;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 δὸς τῆς πνοῆς τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμῖν καὶ Θεῶ.
Ναὸς γενέσθω σοῦ βίου 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*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 Ἐνουθέτησ' ἑμαυτὸν, ὡς οὐδὲν βλάβος,
ἕως καθέδρας, πατρὸς ἐκπλήσαι πόθον.
Οὐ γὰρ καθέξει τοῦτ', ἔφην, ἄκουτά με,
ὄν 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 Ἐκκλησίαν καταλιπεῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ὡς γράφεις, ποίαν; εἰ μὲν τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ γὰρ φημι καὶ ὀρθῶς λέγεται· εἰ δὲ τὴν μηδὲν προσήκουσαν μηδ' ἐπικηρυχθεῖσαν ἡμῖν, ἀνεύθυνοι.*

The contemporary canons extant make no reference to either practice.

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 τοσούτων χρημάτων θρυλουμένων
 1479 οὐδ' ὄντιν' λογισμὸν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν
 εὐρόντα τῶν πρὶν προστατῶν Ἐκκλησίας,
 οὐτ' ἐν ταμίαις νέοις, ἐν οἷς τὰ πράγματα,
 στέρξαι, ξένον τε μηδόλως λαβεῖν τινα,
 ὃ μοι παρήνουν καὶ παρώξυνόν τινες,
 τούτων λογιστὴν εἰς ὕβριν μυστηρίου. . . .

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 iudicibus 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 ταμίαι. It may therefore be inferred that the office of *oeconomus* 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 iudicare.*

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. ἡλιόφρων

- 1803 Τοῖς δ' ἀντεπήγει δῆμος ἡλιοφρόνων . . .

Dindorf conjectured ἡλεοφρόνων 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 *oeconomus* see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire II* (Norman 1964) 902 and 1376 n.74.

ἡλιοφρων, which he brackets in his revision of Stephanus. The Mss are unanimous in reading ἡλιοφρόνων.²¹

13. ἀλεκτόριον

1926 Κοκκύζετ' ἀλεκτόριον, ὡς νικηφόροι . . .

Diminutive of ἀλέκτωρ.

14. Χριστέμπορος

1756 τὸν συρφετὸν δὲ τὸν πολὺν Χριστεμπόρων . . .

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

15. λόγων κράτος

256 ὡς δὴ λόγων δώσοντες ἐκ ψήφου κράτος . . .

The phrase is equivalent to λόγων βασιλεύς (Emperor of Letters).²³ See entry *l. s. v.* βασιλεύς in Lampe; cf. further L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV (1956) 95–96. See also *Er.* 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 ὄλων).

17. σύστημα

28 ἡμῶν τὸ σύστημ' ἐκπλυτον, θρηνηῶν λέγω . . .

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

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²¹ The Scholiast reads ἡλιοφρόνων, which he manfully attempts to interpret.

²² Compare Χριστοφόντης at v.1545.

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