



**DICCIONARIO
GRIEGO-ESPAÑOL**



IV/V d.C. **Chrysostomus, Iohannes** scriptor ecclesiasticus et **Pseudo Chrysostomus**
(Chrys.)

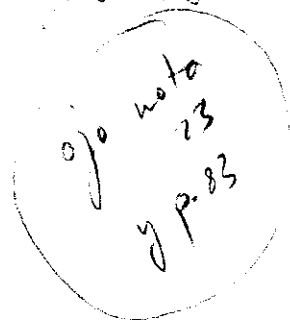
Datema, C. y Allen, P., «Leontius, presbyter of Constantinople, and an unpublished homily of Ps. Chrysostom on Christmas», *JÖB* 39, 1989, pp.66-84,
Nat.Christ. = in natiuitatem Christi.

Datema - Allen 1989.pdf



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10.



Chrys. Nat. Christ.

CORNELIS DATEMA / AMSTERDAM - PAULINE ALLEN / BRISBANE

LEONTIUS, PRESBYTER OF CONSTANTINOPLE,
AND AN UNPUBLISHED HOMILY OF PS. CHRYSOSTOM
ON CHRISTMAS (BHG^a 1914i/1914k)

INTRODUCTION

In Greek homiletic literature we encounter various examples of texts with the same *incipit*. Sometimes it is a case of the first sentence only, but there are also examples where the first paragraph of both texts is identical. In such cases it is often difficult to determine whether a later homilist has plagiarised – a common occurrence, also in homiletic literature, but one which is not to be regarded *per se* negatively – or whether a redactor is responsible, someone who took over one existing homily the introductory paragraph of another, or who perhaps replaces an existing introduction by another. For an example of an introductory paragraph taken over in its entirety from one homily to another the reader is referred to a homily of ps. Chrysostom on Easter, published several years ago by us in this journal. There the homilist, or a later redactor, borrows the first 16 lines from another Easter sermon of ps. Chrysostom (CPG 4996), which in its turn is dependent on an Easter homily of Leontius, presbyter of Constantinople¹.

In this article we intend to deal with a further example of homilies which have the same introductory paragraph. The homilies in question are BHG^a 1914m (CPG 4753) on the one hand, and BHG^a 1914i (CPG 5008) and BHG 1914k on the other, all three treating the feast of Christmas and being attributed to (ps.) Chrysostom (although in some MSS BHG 1914k is attributed to Severian of Gabala). BHG^a 1914m must, however, be regarded as a homily of Leontius, presbyter of Constantinople. It was edited by Combefis², who believed it was a composition of Proclus of Constantinople, and has been republished by us in our edition of the homilies of Leontius in

¹ Cf. C. DATEMA-P. ALLEN, Text and Tradition of Two Easter Homilies of Ps. Chrysostom. *JÖB* 30 (1981) 87-102.

² F. COMBEFIS, Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi de educandis liberis liber aureus. Eiusdem Tractatus alii quinque qua festivi. qua paracnetici. Severiani ... Ex vetustis Eminentissimi Cardinalis Mazarini Graecis Codicibus nova prodeunt ... Parisiis 1656, 104-117.



P 60.666

the Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca³. The remaining two texts, BHG^a 1914i and 1914k, are unedited: they are, however, basically the same text, differing substantially only in their concluding paragraph.

We give here firstly the *editio princeps* of BHG^a 1914i/1914k, together with a translation, in order to be able to examine more closely the relationship of this text to BHG^a 1914m.

Editio princeps of BHG^a 1914i/1914k

For the constitution of the text of BHG^a 1914i we have used the following MSS:

1. *A* Atheniensis 282 (ff. 136-139)
chart. s. XVI ff. 552 30,5 × 21 1/25
post-metaphrastic collection
Ehrhard III, 855-856⁴; Halkin 29-30⁵.
2. *C* Atheniensis 327 (ff. 205^v-209)
chart. s. XVI ff. 540 32 × 21 1/25
late panegyricon, independent of the Metaphrast
Ehrhard III, 467-468; Halkin 38-39.
3. *P* Athous Panteleimon 58 (ff. 398^v-400)
membr. s. XIII ff. 431 28 × 22 1/36
homiliarium
Lambros II, 287⁶; Aubineau, AB 92 (1974) 92-94.
4. *N* Neapolitanus gr. 19 (olim Vindobonensis Suppl. gr. 49) (ff. 1-2^v)
chart. s. XVII ff. III + 334 + I 26,5 × 19,2 1/27
homiliarium
Carter, CCG V (Pars Prior) 138-139⁷.
5. *B* Vaticanus Barberinianus gr. 583 (pp. 879-880)
chart. s. XVI pp. 1026 38 × 26,9 2/46

³ Leontii presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae quarum editionem curaverunt C. DATEMA et P. ALLEN. (CCSG 17). Turnhout-Leuven 1987, 381-387.

⁴ A. EHRLHARD, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts. Erster Teil: Die Überlieferung, I-III (TU 50-52). Leipzig-Berlin 1937-1952.

⁵ P. HALKIN, Catalogue des manuscrits hagiographiques de la Bibliothèque nationale d'Athènes (*Subsidia hagiographica* 66). Bruxelles 1983.

⁶ Sp. P. LAMBROS, Catalogue of the greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos, I-II. Cambridge 1895-1900.

⁷ Codices Chrysostomici Graeci, V: Codicum Italiae partem priorem descripsit R. E. CARTER (*Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Sciences*). Paris 1983.

late panegyricon, independent of the Metaphrast
Ehrhard III, 476–477.

6. *R* Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 264 (ff. 272–274^v)
chart. s. XV–XVI ff. 284 32,5 × 21,6 1/29
various homilies
Feron-Battaglini 148–149⁸.

For the constitution of the text of BHG^a 1914k we have used⁹:

1. *M* Mosquensis gr. 215 (284) (ff. 99–101^v)
membr. s. IX–X ff. 406 26,6 × 17,2 1/30
panegyricon for the whole year (type A)
Ehrhard II, 6–9.
2. *O* Oxoniensis Bodl. Baroccianus gr. 147 (ff. 252^v–254)
chart. s. XV ff. 309 28,5 × 21 1/28
ff. 128–309: non-menological postmetaphrastic collection
Ehrhard III, 589; 619; 849; Aubineau, CCG I, 175–176¹⁰.
3. *H* Oxoniensis Bodl. Holkhamensis gr. 22 (ff. 358–361)
chart. s. XV–XVI ff. II + 473 21,5 × 14,5 1/22
collection of homilies
Aubineau, CCG I, 220–223.
4. *V* Vaticanus gr. 1192 (ff. 58^v–61)
ff. 9–111^v: chart. s. XV 21,5 × 13 1/27
late panegyricon, independent of the Metaphrast
Ehrhard III, 769.
5. *K* Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 85 (f. 1^r–1^v; inc. μάγοι οἱ μάγοι 73)
membr. s. IX ff. 234 30,3 × 21,5 2/34
panegyricon for the whole year (type A)
Ehrhard II, 13–17.

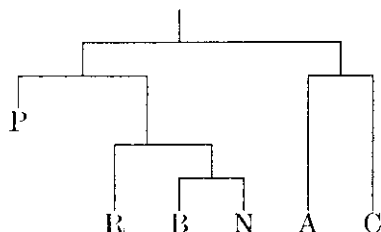
Concerning the relationship between the MSS in BHG^a 1914i and BHG^a 1914k, we are in a position to make only a few observations, based on common variants. In BHG^a 1914i we find a clear relationship between the two Athenienses (*A* and *C*), which without a doubt derive from the same

⁸ E. FERON et F. BATTAGLINI, *Codices manuscripti Graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices manuscripti recensiti)*. Romae 1893.

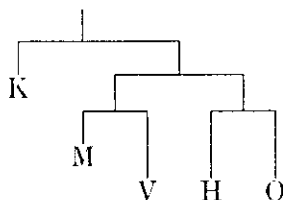
⁹ After having finished the text of this article we received a microfilm of Atheniensis 1000, s. XIV, ff. 138^v–141. This MS appears to belong to group MV and is closely related to V.

¹⁰ *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, I: *Codices Britanniae et Hiberniae descripsit M. AUBINEAU (Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes 13)*. Paris 1968.

model¹¹. Among the other MSS we note agreement between Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr.264 (*R*), Vaticanus Barberinianus gr.583 (*B*) and Neapolitanus gr.19 (*N*)¹². Although the evidence is scarce, we have arrived with due caution at a stemma, given the agreement between Athous Panteleimon 58 (*P*) and *R* over against *BN*¹³:



In BHG^a 1914k the close relationship between the two Oxonienses (*H* and *O*) is immediately obvious¹⁴. On the basis of the attribution of this homily to Severian of Gabala in *M* and *V*, we assume that these MSS are related – an assumption that is given weight by a number of common variants¹⁵. It is unfortunate that Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr.85 (*K*) transmits the text only from line 73 onwards, for in a number of passages this MS appears to have preserved the correct reading, against *MVHO*¹⁶. This evidence leads us, again with due caution, to the following stemma:



On the strength of the available evidence it has not been possible to define the precise relationship between the MSS of BHG^a 1914i and BHG^a 1914k in the part of the text which they have in common¹⁷.

¹¹ Cf. 13, 28/29, 39, 40, 47, 74, 88, 93, 100.

¹² Cf. 16, 24, 32.

¹³ Cf. 66, 68, 83, 88.

¹⁴ E.g. 17, 19(bis), 32/33, 50/51, 54, 58, 59, 74, 84, 89, 93/94, 98/99.

¹⁵ Cf. 34, 50/54, 64/65, 96, 102.

¹⁶ See 81(bis), 82, 92, 106.

¹⁷ The common variants in representatives of BHG^a 1914i and BHG^a 1914k are either too inconsequential for us to be able to draw conclusions from them, or else they can have arisen independently.

Conspectus Siglorum

- A* Atheniensis 282 chart. s. XVI ff. 136–139
B Vaticanus Barberinianus gr. 583 chart. s. XVI pp. 879–880
C Atheniensis 327 chart. s. XVI ff. 205^v–209
H Oxoniensis Bodl. Holkhamensis gr. 22 chart. s. XV–XVI ff. 358–361
K Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 85 membr. s. IX f. 1^{r-v}
M Mosquensis gr. 215 membr. s. IX–X ff. 99–101^v
N Neapolitanus gr. 19 chart. s. XVII ff. 1–2^v
O Oxoniensis Bodl. Baroccianus gr. 147 chart. s. XV ff. 252^v–254
P Athous Panteleimon 58 membr. s. XIII ff. 398^v–400
R Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 264 chart. s. XV–XVI ff. 272–274^v
V Vaticanus gr. 1192 chart. s. XV ff. 58^v–61

α consensus codicum HMOV
β consensus codicum ABCNPR

[Σεβεριανού ἐπισκόπου Γαβάλων]

Λόγος εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ γένναν

1. Πολλαὶ μὲν αἱ δωρεαὶ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ. Τί δὲ τῆς παρούσης σήμερον δωρεᾶς ἀγαθότερον, ὅτι ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἀνεγεννήθη; Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ Ἀδάμ ἀνεκλήθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἡ Εὐα τῆς λύπης ἐλυτρώθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ δράκων ἠφανίσθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ πρᾶδδεις ἀνεκκινίσθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ διάβολος κατεκρίθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ ἄδης ἠλλοιώθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἡ γῆ ἀνεκκινίσθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ ἄηρ ἐκαθάρθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἠρῳφάνθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ Ἰουδαϊσμὸς ἐμειώθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς ἐπυκνώθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς ἐκακινίσθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία εὐωδιάσθη· ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ τὸ φῶς προσετέθη.

2. Σήμερον καὶ φωτὸς ἡμερίου αὐξήσῃς καὶ φωτὸς πνευματικοῦ ἐκ παρθενικῶν θαλάμων φανερώσῃς. Τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης Χριστοῦ ἐκ παρθενικῆς ἀδιαφθάρτου παστάδος ἀνατείλαντος τὸ σκότος τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀπηλλάχθη καὶ τὸ φέγγος τῆς εὐσεβείας διεδόθη, ὁ παγετὸς τῆς βλασφημίας διελύθη καὶ ὁ καρπὸς τῆς θεογονίας ἐπιάνθη, ὁ ἀστὴρ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰς πάντας ἀνέτειλεν καὶ ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐφώτισεν. "Ὅθεν τοῦτο τὸ φῶς θεωρήσαντες οἱ προφῆται ἐκ πολλῶν τῶν χρόνων ἐβόων πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγοντες· Ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς. Τί ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς; Ἐν σοί, φησὶν, τὸν πατέρα κατανοήσομεν· φῶς γὰρ εἰ φωτὸς μηνυτικόν.

3. Ἦκουες δὲ ἀρτίως τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ματθαίου λέγοντος· Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν. Μητρεοθεΐσης γὰρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῷ Ἰωσήφ, πρὶν

13 Cf. Mat. 3,30 16 Ibid. 18/19 Ps. 35,9 21/24 Matth. 1,18-19

Tit. Σεβεριανὸς – Γαβάλων] τοῦ ἐν ἐγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου (add. καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ μεγάλου φωστῆρος AC) HOB(-N), τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ χρυσοστόμου N Γαβάλων] *μετρ.* πόλεως V τὴν Χριστοῦ γένναν] τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γέννησιν V, τὴν (add. κατὰ σάρκα O, add. πάνσεπτον β) γέννησιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν (add. καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος β) ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ HOB

1 τοῦ δεσπότου τῆς χάριτος MH O τοῦ δεσπότου] om. V τί] ὅση V, om. H δὲ] om. H παρρουσίας H 2 σήμερον] om. N δωρεᾶς ἀγαθότερον] ἀγαθότητος δωρεᾶ V ὅτι ὁ δεσπότης] om. N Χριστὸς] om. V 3 ἀνεγεννήθη] ἀνεκκινίσθη VHO ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη] om. N ἀνεκλήθη] ἀνεγεννήθη N 3/4 δ² – ἐλυτρώθη] om. P 4/5 δ¹ – ἀνεκκινίσθη] om. N 4 ἠφανίσθη V 5 ἀνεκκινίσθη] ἀνεκλήθη V 5/6 δ² κατεκρίθη] om. V 6 ἄδης] διάβολος O ἠλλοιώθη] ἐσκυλεύθη

[Severian, bishop of Gabala,]
A homily on the birth of Christ

1. Many are the gifts of grace of Christ, the Master. But what is more full of goodness than the present gift of today, when Christ the Master has been born and the whole world has been reborn? Christ has been born and Adam has been recalled; Christ has been born and Eve has been ransomed from grief; Christ has been born and the snake has disappeared; Christ has been born and paradise has been renewed; Christ has been born and the devil has been condemned; Christ has been born and hell has been changed; Christ has been born and the earth has been renewed; Christ has been born and the air has been purified; Christ has been born and heaven has been gladdened; Christ has been born and Judaism has decreased; Christ has been born and Christianity has been made firm; Christ has been born and paganism has been befogged; Christ has been born and the church has been perfumed; Christ has been born and light has been added.

2. Today there is both an increase of daylight and the appearance of spiritual light from the bridal chamber of the Virgin. For since Christ the sun of justice has appeared from the undefiled bridal chamber of the Virgin, the darkness of impiety has been expelled and the radiance of piety has been spread about, the frost of blasphemy has melted and the fruit of the knowledge of God has become plump, the star of truth has risen for all, and the sun of justice has illuminated the world. This is why, when the prophets observed this light many years ago, they cried out to him with the words: *"In your light we shall see light."* What is the meaning of *"in your light we shall see light"*? In you, it means, we shall perceive the Father. For you are the light that contains information on the light.

3. You have just heard the evangelist Matthew saying: *"The birth of Jesus Christ took place in this way. When his mother Mary had been betrothed to*

V 7 ἀνεκτίσθη PRBN δ' - καὶ] om. C δ' - ἐκαθάρθη] om. A ἐκαθαρίσθη VHPBN εὐφράνθη HO ἐζημιώθη H 9 ἐπυκνώθη] ἐπληθύνθη M 9/10 δ' - εὐωδιάσθη] om. V δ' - ἐκαπνίσθη] om. O 9 Ἑλληνισμός] Ἰουδαϊσμός MH 11 προετέθη α 12 Σήμερον] praepr. σήμερον καὶ τὸ φῶς προετέθη H Σήμερον καὶ φωτός] om. O φωτός¹] τὸ φῶς H φωτός²] praepr. τοῦ H 13 Χριστοῦ] om. N παρθενικῆς] praepr. τῆς VHO, add. καὶ N διαφθόρου V, ἀφθάρτου AC 14 ἀπελάσθη HAC, ἀπελάσθη O, ἀπέλασεν V τὸ] om. β 15 ἐπιάνθη] ἐπάνθη V, ἐμπιάσθη N, add. ἡ νύξ τῆς πλάνης συνεστάλη (συνεστάλλει AC) PAC δ'] praepr. καὶ P 16 εἰς - ἀνέτειλεν] ἐπανέτειλεν εἰς τὰ πέρατα πάντα β καὶ] praepr. (καὶ N) ἡ νύξ τῆς πλάνης συνεστάλη RBN 17 τῶν] om. HO ἐβόουν α 18/19 Τί - φῶς¹] om. aNA 19 πατέρα N κατενόησαμεν HO φῶς²] ὡς H φωτὸς μηχαντικόν] ζωτισμῶν νικητικῶν HO μινιτικοῦ V 20 ἤκουσας MVO, ἀκούσας H δὲ] γὰρ O Ματθαίου] om. β δὲ²] om. HO 21 μητρός αὐτοῦ] om. O

ἡ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εὐρίσκει ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ἰωσήφ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν παρωδεγματοῖσαι, ἠβουλήθη λάθρα ἀπολῶσαι αὐτήν. Εἶδες πῶς ἠγγνόησεν ὁ Ἰωσήφ τὸ μυστήριον; Διὸ καὶ λάθρα ἐβούλετο ἀπολῶσαι τὴν πεπαρρησιασμένην.

Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν· οὐ κατὰ τύχην ἢ εἰμαρμένην ἀνυχκαστικήν, καθὼς Ἑλλήνων παῖδες περιβομβοῦσιν. Γέννησιν δὲ διὰ τὴν γενεαλογίαν προσαγορεύει, ὥς ἐκ τῆς ρίζης Ἰεσσαὶ καταγόμενον κατὰ τὸν σαρκικὸν τῆς οἰκονομίας λόγον.

4. Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν. Οὕτως πῶς; Ὡς αὐτὸς ἠθέλησε καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος ἠγάγκασεν. Καὶ τίς τούτου μάρτυς; Παῦλος βοῶν· Ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγρὸν ἠγάγατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλος ἠγάγκασεν.

Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν. Οὕτως πῶς; Ὡς ὑετὸς ἐπὶ πόκον κατελθὼν, ἵνα λάθῃ τὸν λύκον καὶ ἐπάρῃ σώσας τὸ αὐτοῦ πρόβατον.

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν. Οὕτως πῶς; Ὡς λίθος ἄνευ χειρῶν ἐξ ὄρους τρηθείς ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῆς συναγωγῆς καὶ ἀνορθώσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας· λίθον γὰρ φησιν ὃν ἀπεδοκίμησαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. Λίθος ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός, ὁ βασιτάζων τὴν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίαν, ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων μὲν ἀποδοκιμασθεῖς, ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν δὲ ἐπιλεχθεῖς. Διὸ καὶ ἐγγώνιος λίθος κέκληται, ὥς δύο τοίχους βασιτάζων, τὴν παλαιὰν καὶ νέαν διαθήκην.

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν. Οὕτως πῶς; Ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἡδόκησε καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἠθέλησε καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐσφράγισεν. Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Γαβριὴλ ἐμφαίνων τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τῶν τριῶν ὑποστάσεων ἔλεγεν· *Ἡνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι*. Ὑψίστος ὁ πατήρ, δύναμις ὑψίστου ὁ υἱός· διὸ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι ὕψιστος· σὺ μόνος ὕψιστος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ· *Χριστός θεοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεοῦ σοφία*.

26 Matth. 1,18 30 Matth. 1,18 31/32 Phil. 2,6 34 Matth. 1,18 34/35 Cf. Iud. 6,37 36 Matth. 1,18 Cf. Dan. 2,34 37/38 Ps. 117,22 42 Matth. 1,18 44/45 Luc. 2,35 46 Ibid. Ps. 82,19 46/47 1 Cor. 1,24

22 ἡ συνελθεῖν] ἡσέλθην *H* ἡρέθη *M* 23 ἐβουλήθη *HOPRBN* 24 Εἶδες – ἀπολῶσαι] *om.* *V* ἠγγνόσεν *O* ἠβούλετο *ACP*, ἐβουλήθη *RBN* ἀπολῶσαι] *praep.* αὐτὴν *N* 25 τὴν πεπαρρησιασμένην] αὐτὴν τὴν τε παρρησιασμένην *H* 26/35 Τοῦ – πρόβατον] *om.* *V* 26 δὲ] *om.* *HO* 26/30 οὐ – Οὕτως] *om.* *H* 26 ἦ] καὶ *MO*, οὐδὲ καθ' *N* 27 περιβοῶσιν *O* γέννησις *O* διὰ] *om.* *N* 28/29 τὸν – λόγον] τὸ σαρκικόν *PRBN*, τὸ σαρκίον *AC* 30 Τοῦ δὲ] *om.* *PRBA* δὲ Ἰησοῦ] *om.* *O* ἦν. Οὕτως] *om.* *O* 31 οὐκ ἄλλος] οὐκ ἄλλος *H* ἠνέγκασεν *HO* Παῦλος] *praep.* ὤθεν καὶ *H* 32 ἴσα] *om.* *H* 32/33 ὅτι – ἠγάγκασεν] συνετὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν *H*, σύνες τὸ ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν *O* 32 ἔτι] *om.* *RBN* 34 Τοῦ] *om.* β δὲ] *om.* *HOβ* Ἰησοῦ] *om.* *O* Οὕτως] *om.* *H* ἐπετὸς *H* 35 ἐπάρῃ – αὐτοῦ] τὸ αὐτοῦ σώσας *N* ἐαυτοῦ *O* 36 Ἰησοῦ] τοῦ Ἰησοῦ *H*, τοῦ *O* πῶς] *om.* *H* ἐξ ὄρους

Joseph, before they came together she was found to be with child by the Holy Spirit, and her husband Joseph, being a just man and unwilling to put her to shame, resolved to divorce her quietly." Have you seen how Joseph did not know about the mystery? It was on this account that he was resolved to divorce the woman who had had intimate relations.

The birth of Jesus Christ took place in this way, not according to chance or to the compulsion of fate, as the children of the pagans bruit abroad. He [sc. Matthew] greets the birth by means of the genealogy, because he [sc. Christ] was descended from the root of Jesse according to the incarnate word of the divine plan.

4. *The birth of Jesus Christ took place in this way.* In which way? As he himself willed and not as another forced him. And who is witness to this? Paul, with the cry: "*Who, although he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself*", meaning that another did not force him.

The birth of Jesus Christ took place in this way. In which way? As rain descends on fleece, so that he eludes the wolf and brings his sheep to safety.

The birth of Jesus Christ took place in this way. In which way? As a stone is cut without hands from a mountain for the demolition of the synagogue and the raising up of the church. For, it says, *the stone which the builders rejected has become the corner-stone.* The stone is Christ the Master, who bears the church of the nations, who was rejected by the Jews but chosen by the nations. On this account he is called corner-stone, because he bears two walls, the Old and the New Testament.

The birth of Jesus Christ took place in this way. In which way? As the Father saw fit and the Son willed and the Holy Spirit set his seal on it. This is why Gabriel, in disclosing the explanation of the three hypostaseis, said: "*The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you.*" The Most High is the Father, the power of the Most High is the Son. On this account it is said concerning the Father that he is the Most High: *You alone are the Most High over all the earth.* Concerning the Son: *Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God.*

ἐνευ χειρῶν M 37 ἀνορθώσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας] τῆς ἐκκλησίας διορθώσει N, ἀνορθῶν V λίθον γάρ
 φησὶ γὰρ λίθον V 38 ἐγενήθη MVOPRBAC 39 ἐξ ἐθνῶν] om. HOAC 40 ὑπὸ] ἐπὶ
 HOAC ἐλσχεῖς HO ἐγγώνιος] ἐκγόνιος N, ἐν γόροις HO κέκληται] κράτιτε V τείχους VR^{a.c.}
 41/42 τὴν - τῇ] in marg. add. P 41 νέαν] praep. τὴν V 42 Ἰησοῦ] τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ N, τοῦ Ἰησοῦ
 H, τοῦ O δ' om. R δ' om. R 43 ἀνεσφράγισεν O καὶ] om. MHO δ' om. V β τὴν ἐρμηνείαν]
 om. V 44 ὀψίστου] praep. τοῦ β 45/46 διδ - ὀψιστος] om. H δτι ὀψιστος] om. N 45 δτι]
 ὁ MHOP 46 ὀψιστος] om. V μόνος] add. διδ - μόνος (45-46) H ὀψιστος²] ὀψει · εἰ H, ὀψι
 O 47 θεοῦ] om. AC σοφίης H

5. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γεννηθεὶς οὐτως ἦν. Οὕτως πῶς; Ὡς διελάλησεν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ματθαῖος· *Μνηστευθεὶς γὰρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῇ Ἰωσήφ, πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐγένεθ' ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου. Μνηστευθείσης, οὐ μολυνθείσης· κατεργασθείσης, οὐκ ἀνυμνήθεισης· μνήστρον τελεσιθέντων, γάμων μὴ παρακολουθησάντων.*

Μνηστευθείσης γὰρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῇ Ἰωσήφ, πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐγένεθ' ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου. Καλῶς ὁ Ἰωσήφ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐσυλήθη, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐζημιώθη καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἠλευθερώθη.

Μνηστευθείσης γὰρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῇ Ἰωσήφ, πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐγένεθ' ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου. Καλῶς τὸ ἐγένεθ' ὡς μόνη γὰρ αὕτη ἐγένεθ' ἁγία τῆς χάριτος μυροθήκη, οὐρανοῦ τάξιν λαχούσα, ἄσηπτος κιβωτὸς εὐρεθείσα, ἡ τὸν ἀχώρητον ἀφράστω λόγῳ χωρήσασα, ἡ καὶ τὰς πλάκας τῶν εὐαγγελίων δεξαμένη καὶ τὴν σταυροῦ βλαστήριον τὴν ἀμυγδαλίνην μὴ μόνον ἀνθήσασα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ληστὴν καρποφορήσασα.

6. Ἦκουες καὶ τῶν μάγων ἀρτίως ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπερωτηματικῶς βοῶντων· *Ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; Εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ. Ἀστέρα οὐχ ἓνα τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνα καὶ ποιητὴν πολλῶν· ἀστέρα λογικόν, δεσποτικόν· ὀδηγόν μυστικόν, πνευματικόν. Διὸ φημί, ὁ ἐν φάτνῃ καίμενος δεσπότης ἐν ἀνθρωπομορφῷ παιδικῇ μορφῇ, ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ παιδίον, ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀστὴρ διὰ τὴν ὀδηγίαν, ἥλιος διὰ τὴν ἱαματουργίαν· ἀνατελεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν, ὥς φησιν Ἡσαΐας, ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἡσυχίας ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ποίαν ἴασιν ἔργαζεν ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ; Ποίαν; Ἦν ἀνέτειλε τῇ αἰμορροούσῃ. Ἦλιος οὖν διὰ τὴν ἱαματουργίαν, υἱὸς διὰ τὴν ὁμοτιμίαν, θεὸς διὰ τὴν πανταρχίαν.*

48 Matth. 1,18 49/50 Matth. 1,18 53/54 Ibid. 56/57 Ibid. 60 Cf. Eccles. 12,5
61 Cf. Luc. 23,33-43 62/64 Matth. 2,2 65 Cf. Luc. 2,12;16 67/69 Mal. 3,20

48 Ἰησοῦ] τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ Ν. τοῦ ΝΟ 49/50 πρὶν - ἁγίου] om. V 49 ἢ συνελθεῖν] ἥσελθεῖν H, ἢ εἰσελθεῖν O 50 ἐγένεθ' M 50/54 Μνηστευθείσης - ἁγίου] om. HOβ 50 οὐ] οὐν, μὴ V 51 οὐκ] add. ὅν V μνήστρον] μνήστορ V 53 πρὶν - αὐτοῦς] post ἁγίου (54) transp. V 54 εὐρέθη V ὅ] om. MHO πνεύματος] add. τοῦ ἁγίου HO 55 ἐσυλήθη] ἐκλήθη V καὶ - ἐζημιώθη] om. H αὐτὸς - καὶ] om. β ἠλευθερώθη HOβ 56/57 πρὶν - αὐτοῦς] om. N 56 ἢ συνελθεῖν] ἥσελθεῖν H, ἢ εἰσελθεῖν O 57 εὐρέθη V HOβ ἠρέθη²] εὐρέθη V HONAC 57/58 μόνη - ἠρέθη] om. V 58 ἠρέθη] εὐρέθη HOβ ἁγία] add. γὰρ V μυροθήκη τῆς χάριτος V τῆς χάριτος] τοῦ πνεύματος HO μυροθήκη] add. θεοῦ M λαχούσα V λαθούσα O κιβωτὸς] om. HO 59 ἀχώρητον] add. λόγον V, add. θεὸν H ἀφράστῳ] ἀσυστάτῳ α χωρέσασα HO ἡ] om. V τὰς πλάκας] τὰ σπλάγχνα O τὸ εὐαγγέλιον H 60 καὶ] κατὰ C ἀμυγδαλὴν M, μγδαλὴν V, ἀμυγδαλὴν HO, ἀμυγδαλὴν N

5. *The birth of Jesus Christ took place in this way.* In which way? As the evangelist Matthew described: "*When his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together she was found to be with child by the Holy Spirit.*" *Betrothed*, not defiled. Pledged, not summoned. When the betrothal was finalised, not when the marriage had followed it.

When his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together she was found to be with child by the Holy Spirit. It was good that Joseph was robbed by the Spirit, and he did not suffer loss, and the world was freed.

When his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together she was found to be with child by the Holy Spirit. The words *was found* are well said, for she alone *was found* to be a worthy vase for the perfume of grace, receiving a rank in heaven, being found to be an incorruptible ark, she who in an ineffable manner came to contain the uncontainable, she who received the Gospel tablets and not only caused the almond stick, the root of the cross, to bloom but also made the robber bear fruit.

6. You have heard the Magi just shouting the question in Jerusalem: "*Where is he who has been born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East and have come to worship him.*" The star was not one of many, but the leader and creator of many. The star was spiritual, masterly, the guide mystic, heavenly. On this account I say that the Master who is lying in a manger in human form, in the form of a child, is at the same time a child and a star by reason of his guidance, sun by reason of his healing power. For the *sun of justice* rises for us, as Isaiah says, *and in his wings there is healing.* And what kind of healing did the *sun of justice* bear in his wings? What kind? The kind he made rise for the woman with the haemorrhage. He is sun, therefore, by reason of his healing-power, Son by reason of equal honour, God by reason of his sovereignty over all.

ἀνθήσασαν VN 61 καρποφορίσασαν V 62 ἐπερωτημαντικῶς HO, ἐπερωματικῶς N 63 αὐτοῦ] om. V 64 αὐτόν VOβ οὐχ] οὐκ MVHO 64/65 ἀλλ' - πολλῶν] om. MV 65 δεσποτικόν] om. H ὁδηγόν - πνευματικόν] om. V 66 ὁ] om. HO φάτνη] praep. τῇ VHPAC ἀνθρωπομόρφω - μορφῇ] ἀνθρώπω μορφῇ V καὶ] om. H 67 ἥλιος] praep. ὁ HO 67/70 ἀνατελεῖ - λαμαουργίαν] om. O 67 ἀνατέλλει V 68 Ἡσαίας] μαλαχίας N ἱσας] add. ἔσται β ταῖς] τοῖς N, om. PRAC 68/69 Καὶ - αὐτοῦ] om. β 69 ἱασιν ἤνεγκεν] εἰσήνεγκεν V ἐν - Πολίαν] om. V Πολίαν] praep. καὶ H, om. β Ἡν] om. H ἀνέτειλε] ἔτειλεν M, ἔστηλεν V 69/70 ἡ αἰμοροοῦσα MH, τῇ αἰμοροοῦσα V ὁμοτιμίαν - τὴν] om. O θεός] praep. ὁ V

7. Τοῦτο τὸ προφητευθὲν οὐρανοδόξον ἄστρον πρώτως οἱ ἀνατολῆς μάγοι κατανοήσαντες, οὐκέτι μάγοι οἱ μάγοι, οὐκέτι ἔθνηκοι οἱ ἔθνηκοι, ἀλλ' οἱ ἔθνηκοι ἀπόστολοι, οἱ μάγοι ἄγγελοι, οἱ βοῶντες ειδωλοκνίσους σχολάζοντες δῶρα πρόσφορα τῷ κυρίῳ προσφέρουσιν, ἡμεῖς καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεικοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπιτάφιον ἰδίωμα γνωρίζοντες. Διὰ τοῦτο σμύρναν προσήνεγκαν ὡς ἐπιτάφιον, διὰ τοῦτο λίβανον ὡς θεῶ, διὰ τοῦτο χρυσὸν ὡς βασιλεῖ. Οὐκ ἐσκανδάλισε τοὺς ἀποστολικοὺς μάγους, οὐ τῆς φάτνης ἡ πτωχεία, οὐ τῶν σπαργάνων ἡ εὐτέλεια, οὐ τοῦ σπηλικοῦ οἰκίσκου τὸ αἶσχος.

8. Οὐδὲν τῶν ταπεινῶν τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς τῇ πίστει εἰς ταπεινώσιν ἀπιστίας κατήγαγεν· ὡς οὐρανοχάλαστοι δορυφόροι ἀνευδοκίᾳς τῷ βασιλεῖ προσῆλθον, ἀπεριέργως θησαυροὺς τῷ σωτῆρι προσήνεγκαν. Μόνον εἶδον καὶ συνεῖδον καὶ συνιδόντες προσήνεγκαν καὶ προσεκύνησαν καὶ ἐκήρυξαν, ῥακκοπερίβλητον βρέφος κατανοήσαντες καὶ βασιλεὺς παντάρχην σαλπίσσαντες. Οὐκ εἶδον ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτου παιδίου κλίνην χρυσοκόλλητον, οὐ πορφυρόστρωτον θρόνον, οὐ μαρμαρόστρωτον οἶκον, οὐχ ἡμίονους ἐξάσπρους, οὐχ ἵππων γαυρότητα, οὐκ ἀγέλας δορυφόρων, οὐκ ἐκ λίθων τιμίων συνυφασμένῃν ἁλουργίδα, οὐδὲν τῶν βασιλικῶν πέπλων φαντασιοκοπούμενον· τοὐναντίον δὲ εἶδον φάτνην χορτοφόρον, σκάρην ἄστροντον, σπήλαιον ἄστεγον.

9. Καὶ οἱ τοσαύτης πτωχείας αὐτόπται γεγονότες μάγοι, τοὺς σωματικοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς συνεβέβησαντες καὶ τοὺς ψυχικοὺς ἀναβέξαντες, ἐξ ὧν εἶδον προσεκύνησαν. Εἶδον γάρ, εἶδον τοὺς ψυχικοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀναρχθέντας καὶ πᾶσιν τὴν ἐπουράνιον ταξιαρχίαν ἐν φωτὶ τὸ σπήλαιον περιτειχίσασαν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς φάτνης τὴν

72 Cf. Num. 24.17

72 τὸ] *om.* HO φητευθὲν O πρώτως] πρῶτον ἄστρον V, πρώτος H, πρῶτον β οἱ ἀνατολῆς] ἡ ἀνατολή H ἀνατολῆς] ἀνατολικὸς O 72/73 κατανοήσαντες] *om.* HO 73 μάγοι¹ – οὐκέτι²] *om.* C οἱ μάγοι μάγοι R ἀλλὰ MPRN 74 βοῶντες R^{u.c.} AC, μῶμοις O ειδωλοκνίσους] ειδωλοκνίσεις AC, ειδῶλων κνίσας V ειδωλοκνήσεις H σχολάζοντες O δῶρα] *praep.* ὡς AC πρόσφορα] *om.* O τῷ κυρίῳ] *om.* HO 75 καὶ¹] *om.* V τὸ βασιλικόν καὶ τὸ θεϊκόν N καὶ²] *om.* M ἰδίωμα] διὸ H ἐγνωρίζοντες V 76 σμύρναν τοῦτο³] *om.* V σμύρναν] *praep.* γνωρίζοντες H ἐπιτάφιον M θεῶ] *add.* σμύρναν προσήνεγκαν ὡς ἐπιτάφιον V 77 ἀποστολικούς] *om.* β οὐ τῆς φάτνης] *om.* V φάτνης] *φάσεως* C ἡ] *om.* O 78 σπηλικοῦ β οἰκίστου HO τὸ] *om.* M αἶσχος H 79 οὐδὲ H πίστει] *πείσει* H ταπεινώσιν] *add.* ὡσιν H ἀπιστίας M 80 οὐρανοχάλαστοι V, οὐρανῷ χαράττει H, οὐρανοχάρακτοι O δορυφόροι K, δῶροι V τῷ] τῇ V προσῆλθον V^{u.c.}, προσῆλθον V^{p.c.} ἀπεριέργους KV, ἀπερίεργος H 81 θησαυροὺς M, θησαυρὸς H σωτῆρι] πατρὶ M VHO 81/82 Μόνον – προσήνεγκαν] *om.* Vβ 81 καὶ¹] *om.* M VHO 81/82 συνιδόντες – ῥακκοπερίβλητον] συνεβέβηντο O 81 συνιδόντες] συνεβιδότες H 82 καὶ προσεκύνησαν] *om.* H ἐκήρυξαν] ἐδόξασαν β(-C), ἐδόσαν

7. It was this star which had been prophesied and which traversed the heavens, that the Magi from the East were the first to observe. The Magi were no longer Magi, the nations no longer nations, but the nations were apostles, the Magi were angels, those who devote themselves to the altars of idols filled with the steam of fat bring gifts of offering to the Lord, recognising at the same time the funeral property of the royal and the divine. For this reason they brought myrrh as to a funeral, for this reason frankincense as to a god, for this reason gold as to a king. Neither the poverty of the manger, nor the shabbiness of the swaddling-clothes, nor the ugliness of the room in the cave scandalised the apostlelike Magi.

8. None of these poor objects brought the lofty of belief to poverty of disbelief. Like a heavenly festoon of bodyguards they came without hesitation to the king; in their simplicity they offered treasures to the Saviour. They had only to see and they knew, and knowing they made offerings and worshipped and proclaimed, perceiving an infant wrapped in rags and announcing a king, sovereign of all. In the cave they did not see about the incomprehensible child a bed inlaid with gold, nor a throne adorned with purple, nor a house adorned with marble, nor bright white mules, nor the prancing of horses, nor bands of bodyguards, nor a purple garment woven with precious stones, nothing of royal robes which delude by their appearance. On the contrary, they saw a manger with fodder in it, a trough without a bed, a cave without a roof.

9. And the Magi, having become eyewitnesses of this great poverty, closing their bodily eyes and opening their spiritual eyes they worshipped on the basis of what they saw. For they saw, they saw with spiritual eyes that the heavens had opened and that every heavenly rank walled the cave around with light; (they saw) that the worship of the cherubim with six wings

C ῥάκκοπερίβλητον] ῥάκκον περίβλητον M. ῥάκη περιβέβλητον V. ῥάκκον περιβέβλητο H 83 βασιλείαν V παντέρχη M. πάνταρχον N Οὐκ] οὐχ VHO ἐπὶ τοῦ σπηλαίου PRAC ἐπὶ] om. N 84 ποροφυρόστρωτον A, πυρόστρωτον C θρόνον - μαρμαρόστρωτον] om. HO οὐ² - οἶκον] om. V μαρμαρόστρων K 85 οὐχ¹] οὐχὶ V γαυρίωτητα M, γαβρώτητα V 86 ἀλουργίδα] οὐκαλουρνίδαν H οὐδὲ V φαντασιοσκοπούμενον MHAC, φαντασιωκονπουμένων V 87 δὲ] om. O εἶδον] συνείδον VHOβ φάνη V ἄστρωτον] ἄστρον V 87/88 σπήλαιον - πτωχείας] om. H 88 πτωχείας] φιλοσοφίας PRAC μάγοι] praep. οἱ H τοῦ σωματικοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ H 89 συνρεύσαντες HO, κλείσαντες N καὶ - ἀνεψζαντες] om. HO καὶ τοὺς] τοὺς δὲ N ὧν εἶδον] ὁδῶν V προσεκύνησαν - εἶδον³] om. HO 90 ψυχικοῖς] σωματικοῖς V οὐρανούς] om. M ἀνεωχθέντας] om. VN 91 φωτὶ] praep. τῷ N τῷ σπηλαίῳ HO σπηλαίῳ V περιτηχίσασα V, περιπατήσασαν HO 91/92 τὴν ἐξαπτερυγον] τὴν ἐξαπτερίγων V, add. δοξολογίαν HO

ἐξαπτερόντων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν λειτουργίαν ἐπισκιάσασαν. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ τούτων καὶ τῶν περιπλήσειον πληροφάνων ἐδέξαντο, οὐκ ἂν γόνυ κλίνοντες δουλικῶ σχήματι τῷ ἐν σχήματι ἀσχηματίστοι οἰκησάντι προσεκύνησαν.

- 5 10. Ὡς τῆς γαληνοτρόφου τῶν μάγων κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἐπιστασίας. Τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐθάμβησαν, τὸν Ἡρώδην κατέπληξαν, τὸν διάβολον ἐδρέμυξαν, τοὺς πιστοὺς ἐστοιχείωσαν, τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μυθολογίαν ὡς ἀράχνην διέσπασαν. Τίς μὴ λαλήσει, τίς μὴ θαυμάσει τὸ ἄρρητον τῆς οἰκονομίας μυστήριον; Ὁ Κύριος ἐν φάτνῃ· ἀναγκαίως ἐν φάτνῃ, ἐπεὶ δὴ τροφὴ πάντων ἐγένετο, βοῦν καὶ ὄνων διατρέφων, τοὺς δύο λαοὺς, τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν καὶ τὸν ἔθνηκον, κατὰ τὸ φάσκον θεῖον ῥητόν· Ἐγὼ βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τῇ φάτνῃ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω.

11. Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν λόγον διὰ τὸν ὄχλον σφραγίσαι καλόν, τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπισκόπου ἁγίων μνήμην φέροντες. Τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἡλίθιος καὶ πάντῃ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀπασχυνισμένος, ἵνα μὴ φέρῃ διόλου τῇ καρδιοφόρῳ μνήμῃ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν, τὸν σκιοφόρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἐλαφροφόρῳ περιβολῇ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐφάμιλλον. Τίς ἐν πνευματικοῖς πατρᾷσιν ὡς ὁ μακάριος οὗτος ἀφιλάργυρος, ἀκένδοτος, ἀνυπόκριτος, φιλάδελφος, φιλόπτωχος, φιλόχριστος, ἐλεόριζος, ἐν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος φυτευθεὶς, ἔγκαρπος ἐλαία, ἀκήρατος καρποφορία, ὡς δύνασθαι ψάλλειν καὶ αὐτὸν γεγηθῆτα· Ἐγὼ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐλαία κατάκαρπος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ; Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. [Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν λόγον διὰ τὸν ὄχλον σφραγίσαι καλόν, καὶ τῷ νοῦ πρὸς τὸν νηπιόφανῶς ὁραθέντα προσεγγίσωμεν, δοξάζοντες θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν εὐδοκήσαντα σαρκωθῆναι δι' ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν· ἀνυμνοῦτες δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀειπάρθενον καὶ θεοτόκον Μαρίαν, τὴν πρεσβεύουσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης· ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.]

100/101 Is. 1,3 109/110 Ps. 51,10

92 λειτουργίαν] *praep.* εἰς *ΜΕΓΗΟΡΑC* ἐπισκιάσαν *M*, ἐπισκιάζουσιν *K*, ἐπισκιάζων *V*, ἐπισκιάσασα *H* 93 περιπλήσειον *V* ἐδέξαντο *V* γόνυ] *praep.* τὸ *AC* σχήματι] *praep.* τῷ *C* 93/94 τῷ ... οἰκήσαντι] τὸν ... οἰκήσαντα *HO*, *om.* β τῷ ἐν σχήματι] *om.* *V* 94 οἰκήσαντι *F* 95 γαληνοτρόφου β ἐκεῖνος *VHO* καιρῷ *H* ἐπιστασία *N* 96 κατέπληξαν *MV* ἐδρέμυξαν *O*, ἐτρέμαξαν *H* 97 μυθολογίαν] θεολογίαν *N* ὡς] *om.* *H* ἀράχνην] ἀρχὴν *V* διέσπασαν *O*, διέλυσαν *β* 98 ἐν φάτνῃ] ἐφάνη *V* 98/99 ἀναγκαίως ἐν φάτνῃ] *om.* *HO* 98 ἀναγκαίως] καλῶς τὸ *N* 99 ἐπεὶ δὴ τροφὴ] *om.* *K* ἐπεὶ δὲ] *add.* γὰρ *A* ἐγένετο *O* 99/100 τὸν - ἔθνηκον] τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν καὶ τὸν ἔθνηκον *H*, τὸν ἔθνηκον καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν *RN* 100 καὶ] *om.* *AC* ἔθνηκον] ἐξ ἔθνων *V* τὸ] τὸν *O* θεῖον ῥητόν] *om.* *H* θεῶν] *om.* *OAC* 101 τοῦ] *iteravit* *M* ἔγνω] *add.* καὶ ὁ λαὸς *PRC*,

overshadowed the manger on both sides. For if they had not received an assurance from these circumstances, they would not have worshipped the one who had come to live in a formless guise, genuflecting (to him) in his guise of a slave.

10. O peace-nourishing authority of the Magi at that moment! They amazed Judea, they astounded Herod, they exasperated the devil, they instructed the faithful, they tore pagan mythology apart as if it were a spider's web. Who will not speak of, who will not wonder at the unspeakable mystery of the divine plan? The Lord in a manger. Of necessity he was in a manger, because he became food for all, nourishing ox and ass, the two peoples, Jewish and Gentile, in accordance with the divine saying that was pronounced: "*The ox knows its owner, and the ass its lord's manger, but Israel does not know me.*"

11. But here it is good to set the seal on our homily because of the crowd by preserving the unforgettable memory of our holy father and bishop. For who is so foolish and so totally excluded from piety that he does not hear fully in his heart the memory of our holy father, the man bearing shadows, and the one who with the easily worn cloak of his body rivals the angels. Who among the spiritual fathers is like this blessed man free from greed, free from vain glory, free from dissimulation, a friend of his brother, a friend of the poor, a friend of Christ, rooted in mercy, planted by the Holy Spirit in the divine church, a fruitful olive-tree bearing uncontaminated fruit, as he himself can sing with joy: "*I am like a fruitful olive-tree in the house of God.*" To him be the glory and the power, now and always and forever and ever. Amen.

[But here it is good to set the seal on our homily because of the crowd, and to approach in our mind the one who has been seen in the appearance of a child, while we glorify God the Father, the ruler of all, and Jesus Christ our Lord, who saw fit to become flesh for us, and the Holy Spirit, Lord and Lifegiver. Let us sing too in praise of Mary, the evervirgin Mother of God, who intercedes on behalf of the universe. To him belong glory, honour and adoration forever and ever. Amen.]

add. καὶ ὁ λαὸς (add. με N, add. μου V) οὐ συνῆκεν VNA 102 ἐνταῦτα VHO διὰ τὸν ὄχλον] om. MV καλὴν H 103 καὶ] om. MVH ἄληστον – φέροντες] om. V ἄληστον] ἄλης, τὴν M, ἄληπτον HO, add. διόλου K φέροντες] φέρειν HO οὕτως] οὗτος VH ἡλίθιος] ὀλίθως H 104 εὐσεβείας] ἀληθείας K φέρειν HO καρδιοφύρω μνήμῃ] καρδιά, οὐ φέρω μνήμην H 105 πατέραν H τῇ] τὴν V 105/106 περιβολῇ τῶν ἀγγέλων] περιβόητον ἄγγελον V 106 Τίς ἐν] τοῖς MVH, τοῖς ἐν O 107/108 ναὶ τῷ θεῷ V 108 ὑπὸ] om. HO φιτευθέν V εὐκαρπος V 109 ψάλλον H ὥσει] ὡς ἡ KV 110 Αὐτῷ] ὧ MVHO νῦν – καὶ] om. VO 110/111 τοὺς – Ἀμήν] om. H τῶν – Ἀμήν] om. V 113 δι' ἡμῶν σαρκαωθέναι εὐδοκῆσαντα N 114 καὶ] τὸ N 115 πρεσβεύσαν A

The relationship between BHG^a 1914i/k and BHG^a 1914m

If we compare now BHG^a 1914i,k with BHG^a 1914m, we see that for the first 19 lines BHG^a 1914i/k runs parallel to BHG^a 1914m, and after that goes its own way. The homily proper begins in line 20 with a reference to the biblical pericope that had just been read out, which probably ran from Matth. 1,18 to 2,12. In lines 20-61 the homilist treats Matth. 1,18-19, where in introducing a new thought he repeats each time a section of the gospel verse on which he is commenting. Next the homilist preaches on the story of the Magi, devoting some words first to the appearance of the star and to Christ as sun of justice (62-74), before praising the faith of the Magi, who were not put off by the poverty which they saw, but with their spiritual eyes saw the heavens opened (88-94). The homily proper is rounded off with an encomium on the Magi and the mystery of the incarnation (95-101). The epilogue (102-111) we shall discuss in detail below.

The question is now to which homily lines 1-19 originally belonged. Our answer cannot be other than BHG^a 1914m. Only there do we find a logical connection with what follows: *Πῶς οὖν πανηγυρίζομεν σήμερον, τοῦ αὐτοῦ φωτὸς Χριστοῦ αὐτῶς παρακύψαντος ἐκ τῆς ἀτοιχωρῶντος παρθενικῆς πηγῆς*,¹⁸. In BHG^a 1914i/k, on the other hand, lines 1-19 precede the homily proper, which begins in line 20, as a kind of Fremdkörper. If we accept the priority of BHG^a 1914m, then the question is whether the homilist of BHG^a 1914i/k himself drew on Leontius, or whether the introductory lines were added to BHG^a 1914i/k by a later redactor. A definitive answer to this question cannot be given, but it seems nonetheless reasonable to assume that the homilist of BHG^a 1914i/k himself took over the beginning of his homily from Leontius, on whom he drew again in the course of his homily (see below). If the homilist of BHG^a 1914i/k himself did the plagiarising, then we can place his homily later than the mid-sixth century, the period in which we situate Leontius' activity¹⁹. In order to determine whether this can be reconciled with clues concerning dating offered by BHG^a 1914i/k itself, we shall have to examine first of all the epilogue. In this we have to contend with the complication that we have two versions of the epilogue, one in BHG^a 1914i and another in BHG^a 1914k. In the version in BHG^a 1914k the homilist says that it is well to conclude his homily because of the large congregation present, while he preserves the unforgettable memory of the deceased bishop (*τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπισκόπου ἀληστον μνήμην φέροντες*), whom he eulogises with epithets such as *ἀφιλάργυρος, ἀκενόδοξος, ἀνυπόκριτος, φιλάδελφος*,

¹⁸ Cf. Leontius, Homily XII, 29-31, ed. DATEMA-ALLEN 382.

¹⁹ See our edition (cf. note 3) 37.



φιλόπτωχος, φιλόχριστος and ἐλεόριζος (106–107). BHG^a 1914i, on the other hand, concludes with a general epilogue, in which the faithful are urged to approach in their thoughts Him who appeared as a child, thereby glorifying the Father, the Sun and the Holy Spirit, and – something striking – ἀνυμνοῦντες δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀειπάρθενον καὶ θεοτόκον Μαρίαν, τὴν πρεσβεύουσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης (114–115).

Which epilogue is the original one? The answer is almost certainly that in BHG^a 1911k, since it is hard to imagine that a general epilogue such as that in BHG^a 1914i would have been supplanted at a later stage by one which refers clearly to a specific situation, as the epilogue of BHG^a 1914k does. The opposite is, on the other hand, quite easy to imagine. It remains to see now whether we can track down the specific situation in the epilogue to BHG^a 1914k. Jugie simply assumed that the deceased bishop was John Chrysostom, taking for granted that BHG^a 1914k must in actual fact be attributed to Severian of Gabala²⁰. However, not only the language and the style of BHG^a 1914k²¹ argue against the attribution to Severian, but also the dependence on Leontius' homily makes the attribution to Severian impossible. As *terminus post quem* for BHG^a 1914k we must accept the middle of the sixth century. Keeping this conclusion in mind we have tried to find the historical setting of the epilogue, albeit without success. On the one hand it is possible to envisage a bishop who died not long before the feast of Christmas for which BHG^a 1914k is intended; on the other hand, though this is less likely, one can think of a bishop who died quite some time previously, whose anniversary is being commemorated. The feastdays of saints in December offer no data to support either of these possibilities, nor have our investigations in other directions resulted in a solution to the problem.

It is therefore solely with the help of the internal evidence of BHG^a 1914i/k that we shall have to try and localise this homily. This is a tall order, in that we have to base our enquiry exclusively on the contents, vocabulary and style of a highly rhetorical homily. Five times, for instance, the homilist introduces his exegesis of the words Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν from Matth. 1,18 with the expression Οὕτως πῶς; Ὡς . . . (30; 34; 36; 42; 48). In

²⁰ M. JUGIE, La mort et l'Assomption de la sainte Vierge dans la tradition des cinq premiers siècles. *EO* 29 (1926) 134.

²¹ Cf. H. D. ALTENDORF, Untersuchungen zu Severian von Gabala. Inaugural-Diss. Tübingen 1957, 9–10; M. AUBINEAU, Un traité inédit de christologie de Sévérien de Gabala, In centurionem et contra Manichaeos et Apollinaristas (*Cahiers d'Orientalisme* 5). Genève, 1983, 49–52; S. J. VOICU, Nuove restituzioni a Severiano di Gabala. *RSBN* N.S. 20–21 (XXX–XXXI) (1983–1984) 7–11.

(49-56) we find the sequel to Matth. 1,18 cited three times, the homilist elucidating on each occasion another aspect of the pericope, while striving for rhetorical effect. Striking turns of phrase are: καὶ τίς τούτου μάρτυς (31), κατὰ τὸ φάσκον θεῖον ῥήγνεν (100), "Ηκουες . . . ἀρετίως . . . λέγοντος (20), "Ηκουες . . . ἀρετίως . . . βουόντων (62), Ἑλλήνων παῖδες (27), ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός (38-39). These are expressions which are likewise characteristic of the homilies of Leontius, but ones which we nevertheless do not find so typical that on this basis we would be prepared to regard Leontius as author of this homily as well²². Where we are, in fact, reminded of Leontius is in the description of the faith of the Magi:

BHG^a 1914i/k

Leontius, Homily XII

77/78	Οὐκ ἐσκαυδάλισε τοὺς ἀποστολικούς μάχους, οὐ τῆς φάνης ἢ πτωχείας, οὐ τῶν σπαργάνων ἢ εὐτέλεις, οὐ τοῦ σπηλικοῦ οἰκίσκου τὸ αἶσχος.	146/151	Ἐπειθε γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἡ πτωχότης τοῦ σπηλαίου, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ ἀστέρος πλουσιότης· οὐκ ἤγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀπιστίαν ἢ εὐτελὲς τοῦ κυρίου τῆς ὁράσεως θεά, ἀλλ' ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἡ περιεστράπτουσα αὐτὸν τῆς θεότητος αἴγλη.
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Other similarities between BHG^a 1914i/k and Leontius are:

65	ἀστέρα λογικόν	177	λογικὸς ὁ ἀστήρ
82	ῥακκοπερίβλητον βρέφος	132	ῥάκκος περιβέβληται
84	κλίνην χρυσοκόλλητον	132/133	χρυσοστρώτου κλίνης
85	ἀγέλας δορυφόρων	134	δορυφόρων τὸ πλῆθος
86	οὐδὲν τῶν βασιλικῶν πέπλων	138	οὐδὲν βασιλικόν
99	τροφὴ πάντων ἐγένετο	86	τροφὴ πάντων γίνεται

In short, the influence of Leontius' homily is to our mind palpably present.

This brings us to the relationship between BHG^a 1914i/k and (i) the homily of ps. Chrysostom on Easter. Πάντοτε μὲν χαίρειν B, recently published in this present journal, concerning which we have suggested "that it was perhaps delivered in Constantinople by a preacher from the same circle as

²² Cf. our edition 40-44 and C. DATEMA-P. ALLEN, Leontius, Presbyter of Constantinople, the Author of Ps. Chrysostom. In Psalmum 92 (CPG 4548)? *Vig. Christ.* 40 (1986) 170 (and note 6).

that to which Leontius, presbyter of Constantinople, belonged"²³, and (ii) the homily of ps. Chrysostom on the beheading of John the Baptist (BHG 843m, CPG 4862), which is related to Πάντοτε μὲν χαίρειν B²⁴. These two compositions are similar to BHG^a 1914i/k in that they too borrow an exordium from an existing homily. After this borrowed introduction the homily proper in BHG 843n begins with the words "Ἰησοῦς γὰρ ἀρτίως τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ λέγοντος, just as BHG^a 1914i/k, after the lines borrowed from Leontius, begins with "Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἀρτίως τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ματθαίου λέγοντος (20). There are similarities between the contents of BHG^a 1914i/k and those of Πάντοτε μὲν χαίρειν B:

BHG^a 1914i/k

- 34/35 Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ ἡ γέννησις 29/30
οὕτως ἦν. Οὕτως πῶς; Ὡς
ὑετός ἐπὶ πόκον κατελθὼν ...
108/110 ... ἔγκαρπος ἐλαία, ἀκήρατος 36/38
καρποφορία, ὥς δύνασθαι
ψάλλειν καὶ αὐτὸν γεγηθότα.
'Εγὼ δὲ ὡσεὶ ἐλαία κατάκαρ-
πος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ...

Πάντοτε μὲν χαίρειν B

- διὰ τὸ φέρειν τὸν νοητὸν ὑετὸν
τὸν κατελθόντα ἐπὶ τὸν νοητὸν
πόκον.
'Αλλ' ἡ ἔρημος γέγονεν ἔγκαρ-
πος οὐ φυσικῶς προκόψασα,
ἀλλὰ θεϊκῶς καρποφορήσασα,
ὥς δύνασθαι λέγειν: 'Εγὼ δὲ
ἐλαία κατάκαρπος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ
τοῦ θεοῦ.

Turns of phrase which BHG^a 1914i/k shares with one or other homily are: καὶ τίς τούτου μάρτυς (31; Πάντοτε B 25–26,88); ἦκουες... ἀρτίως (20; 62; Πάντοτε B 71–72; BHG 843n, f. 31 bis^v); κατὰ τὸ φάσκον (θεῖον) ῥητόν (100; BHG 843n, f. 33). Unusual words, possibly including neologisms, are to be found in all three homilies: in BHG^a 1914i/k we note λαματουργία (67; 70), εἰδωλόκνισος (74), οὐρανοχάλαστος (80) and γαληνότροφος (95); in Πάντοτε μὲν χαίρειν B we have drawn attention to ἀγενεσιούργητος, ἀστρολαμψία, δεξιοδεκτέω, ποικιλόγλωττος and χριστόγευστος²⁵; in BHG 843n we find ἐμβρουπαγής (f. 32^v), διδυμόφωνος (f. 32^v) and νελοφόρος (f. 33^v).

Conclusion

Let us sum up as follows. Having noted in BHG^a 1914i/k the exordium borrowed from Leontius and further similarities with his homily on Christmas (BHG^a 1914m), and, in addition, having taken into account the

²³ Cf. C. DATEMA-P. ALLEN, Text and Tradition of Two Easter Homilies of Ps. Chrysostom. *JÖB* 30 (1981) 90.

²⁴ Art. cit. 89.

²⁵ Art. cit. 89.

L = Chrys. Res. ... D.-A.

relationship between BHG^a 1914i/k, ps. Chrysostom *Πάντοτε μὲν χαίρειν* B and ps. Chrysostom *In decollationem Ioannis Baptistae* (BHG 843n; CPG 4862), we could be inclined to think of the circle of homilists to which Leontius also belonged. At present, however, the historical setting of the epilogue is not compatible with this, since the deceased bishop mentioned there, as far as we have been able to ascertain, is not one of the bishops of Constantinople in the second half of the sixth century. Until new or supplementary information comes to light we can do no more than conclude that in BHG^a 1914i/k we have encountered a homily on Christmas which is influenced by Leontius, presbyter of Constantinople, and possibly dates from the sixth or seventh century.

