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Nederlandse vertaling:

Receptie van Johannes Klimax in Byzantijnse boekepigrammen: editie, vertaling en commentaar op twee gedichtencycli

Front image: codex *Mosquensis Synodalis gr. 229* f. 320v (detail of the *pinax*).

The Afterlife of John Klimax in Byzantine Book Epigrams

Edition, Translation and Commentary
of Two Poetic Cycles

Renaat Meesters

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de graad van Doctor in de taal- en letterkunde

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Acknowledgements

Εἶπε γέρων ὅτι· Χρυσὸν ἐάν τις ἀπολέσῃ ἢ ἄργυρον
δύναται ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εὐρεῖν, καιρὸν δὲ ὁ ἀπόλλων οὐκέτι
εὕρισκει αὐτόν.¹

Accidentally or not, to write a PhD-thesis has some ground in common with monastic life. First of all, one has to renounce the world and to be obedient to a superior. After a long time of study and asceticism, interrupted by periods of ὑπερηφανία and ἀκηδία, one has to face a final judgement. Fortunately, the hour of trial is not entirely unknown to a PhD-student; the outcome, however, is. As an encouragement, may he remember the words of Stephen: ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ἐστὶν ἔλεος (PG 88.812, l. 42).

During my two years as a heuristic collaborator of the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (DBBE), at Ghent University, I was honoured with the opportunity to get acquainted with the enormous corpus of Byzantine book epigrams, and to experience the life of a scribe (November 2011 - September 2013). Thereafter, I got the chance to start working on a PhD-thesis myself, under the supervision of Kristoffel Demoen and co-supervision of Peter Van Nuffelen (September 2013 - June 2016). After a long period of ἀκηδία, I came across the *Ladder*, by which I was encouraged to continue my work. From that moment onwards, I decided to devote my research to book epigrams on John Klimax. Together with my colleague Rachele Ricceri, to whom I am greatly indebted, I tried to set up the first steps of this study. After several helpful, and necessary, interventions of Kristoffel, I was able to finish this thesis. It would indeed not be exaggerated to grant Kristoffel the title of 'wise architect'. He has laid the foundation of this dissertation, by hiring me five years ago as a collaborator of DBBE, and he has completed it, by meticulously (re)reading my drafts and by preventing me of making countless mistakes.

¹ *Apophthegmata patrum (collectio systematica)* 11.92 (ed. Guy 2003).

Of course, a PhD-thesis is always a result of interaction with other people, and I am deeply indebted to several persons: Sien De Groot, for attentively ploughing through my long commentary on the 12th-c. cycle and for her excellent suggestions; Julie Boeten, for her metrical assistance; Marc De Groote, for his remarks on the stemma and other suggestions; Peter Van Nuffelen, for his good advice, his trust, and his financial support; the anonymous reviewers of my papers, for their astute observations; Klaas Bentein, for his helpful remarks on periphrastic constructions; Erich Trapp, for his help with the *hapax legomena*; Maria Tomadaki, for her kindness and numerous telephone calls to Greek monasteries; Andreas Sousanis, also for numerous telephone calls to Greek monasteries; Dimitrios Skrekas, for his advice and his connections in the Orthodox world; Marc Lauxtermann, for his metrical advice; Natalia Zhukova, for providing me several electronic copies of manuscripts from Moscow; Sofie Abé, for increasing the readability of old microfilms; Yanick Maes, for the opportunity to give a lecture for the KZM; Floris Bernard, for his assistance during my early years at DBBE, and for getting me acquainted with academia and with mankind in general; Maxim Venetskov, for communicating the existence of an occurrence of Poem 3 of the 12th-c. cycle in *Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 120*; Marcel Pirard, Grégoire Verbeke, Dominique Verbeke, and Metropolitan Athenagoras Peckstadt, for their assistance in preparation of the expedition to Mt. Athos and for their contacts within the Orthodox world; Father Theologos of Iveron, for the access to the library of the monastery; Raf Praet, for his numerous suggestions, for his companionship on our expedition to Mt. Athos, and for his inspiring ambition; Nina Sietis, for her palaeographical assistance; Tine Scheijnen for reading my papers and defending my territory; Thierry Oppeneer, for scanning several articles; Sofieke Nilis, for her knowledge of Sanskrit; Michael Mietz and Chris Maervoet, for their knowledge of English; Gitte Callaert, for her technical assistance and for the design of the cover; Els De Loor, for her friendly presence in the Greek library and for scanning some voluminous books; Alexander Roose, my compatriot, for his encouragements; Dinah Wouters, for her enthusiastic Bible reading sessions; Ilse De Vos, for managing the atmosphere at the DBBE-headquarters; Mark Janse, for his metrical assistance, for encouraging me to start a PhD, and for being a Zappa maniac; Jonas Joos, a great scholar, for his optimism during the last years in which we both tried to finish our PhD; my numerous colleagues at Ghent University, for their inspiration; my family, for their patience; my friends, for their support; my colleagues at the College of Essen, for their kind assistance during my final months as a PhD-student and my first months as a teacher of Latin and Greek.

I also thank the members of my doctoral guidance committee, Marc De Groote, Floris Bernard and Andreas Rhoby, for their advice and inspiring lectures.

*Hoboken,
April 2017*

Preface

His yoke is easy, His burden is light

As may be clear from the title, the core of this dissertation consists of the *editio princeps*, translation and commentary of two cycles of book epigrams on John Klimax. The first cycle, dated to the 12th c., includes four poems: a spiritual comparison between Klimax' *Ladder* and a garden, a long metrical summary of the *Ladder*, a laudatory colophon, and finally an extensive prayer to the Trinity. The second (shorter) poetic cycle is preserved anonymously in *Bodleian Baroccianus* 141, dated to the 14th c. Whereas each of the four poems of the 12th-c. cycle fulfils a specific role, the four of the second cycle pursue one similar goal: describing the mystery of the *Ladder* and encouraging the reader in his ascent.

Both cycles were until now only known from short references in manuscript catalogues and did not yet receive a scholarly treatment on their own. In the early stages of manuscript studies, secondary texts, like the ones presented in this dissertation, were primarily investigated in function of the manuscript, as they often provide a date or information on the scribe or patron. Only recently, secondary texts have started to receive the scholarly attention they deserve: projects such as the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams¹ or ParaTexBib² testify to this evolution. They are studied nowadays as texts with a proper literary value that offer first hand testimonies of the reception and transmission of the main texts they accompany. Accordingly, this dissertation aims at discussing these secondary texts with the same depth and respect as one would expect when dealing with a main text – ἔσσονται ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι.

Indeed, with a total amount of 481 verses, the 12th-c. cycle is an exceptionally long composition that allows for an extensive literary analysis. Being conceived as a

¹ Project directed by Kristoffel Demoen at Ghent University (Belgium). Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be.

² Project located at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich, directed by Martin Wallraff and Patrick Andrist. Cf. <http://paratexbib.eu/project.html>.

coherent whole, it was clearly composed by a well-read poet. His composition abounds with intertextual references that are often necessary to understand the poems themselves. When confronting the text with its sources, we can, in some cases, observe how the poet tried to transform into dodecasyllables several passages of Klimax, of Gregory of Nazianzos, and of others. Although I will not claim to be editing the verses of a new Gregory here, the composition bears clear signs of literary aspiration. It is interesting in its own respect, offering a 12th-c. reading of Klimax.

The first part of this dissertation serves as an introduction to Byzantine book epigrams and consists of a single chapter. Chapter 1 provides a theoretical discussion of the terminology and classification of book epigrams. It was published in Dutch as “Byzantijnse boekepigrammen / metrische parateksten: terminologie en classificatie” (Meesters 2016a) and is the result of a lecture I gave for the Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis (KZM) on 28 November 2015 in Leuven. In this dissertation, I provide an English translation.

The second part focuses on the two cycles on Klimax. Chapter 2 is a brief introduction to John Klimax and to the ladder concept in his works. Since a full study of John Klimax is beyond the scope of this dissertation, the chapter only provides what is essential for the discussion of the two cycles.

Chapter 3, by far the longest, offers the *editio princeps*, translation and commentary of the 12th-c. cycle on the *Ladder*. The chapter includes, amongst others, a metrical analysis, a discussion of the authorship, a stemma, and a long list of *loci paralleli*. The main goal of the extensive verse by verse commentary (chapter 3.4) is to clarify the structure of the poems and to reveal their meaning by providing a detailed analysis of the many intertextual references present in the cycle. Moreover, it focuses on syntactical peculiarities and on the *variae lectiones* of the manuscripts. The translation of the poems in prose reflects our interpretation of the cycle. It has no literary ambition, but rather serves as a support to the present day reader.

This 3rd chapter finds its origin in a close collaboration with Rachele Ricceri, my colleague at Ghent University. In the early stages of my PhD-study, I still had the idea of submitting a PhD-thesis as a collection of articles (which is possible at Ghent University), instead of a PhD in the form of a monograph. Kristoffel had advised us to work together on the edition of the 12th-c. cycle, which would then have resulted in a first publication in a series of articles, some co-authored, most single-authored. However, the complexity and the richness of the poems justified a more profound analysis, which eventually resulted in the 3rd and central chapter of this PhD-thesis. In any case, when I first started to read the manuscripts, my first objective was to establish a (good) critical edition of the text. Such an edition would obviously benefit from the collaboration with Rachele, a colleague at the DBBE-project and an experienced paleographer. She has indeed been almost a second co-promotor to me.

In the beginning, Rachele and I divided the work. We both transcribed half of the manuscripts, and we checked, corrected and discussed each other's transcriptions, in order to establish a critical text. Together we drew the stemma, which by then did not yet include manuscript V. I added this manuscript only later on, after Maxim Venetskov made me aware of an occurrence of Poem 3 in it. Together with Rachele, the stemma was re-evaluated. Hence, chapter 3.1.7 *Stemma codicum* is a genuine result of teamwork. Although the other parts of the introduction to the edition (3.1) were written by myself, Rachele, as she was familiar with the manuscripts, closely observed the composition process of these paragraphs. However, the sections *Pinakes* (3.1.4), Authorship (3.1.5), Metrical Analysis (3.1.6) and Corrections in N (3.1.8), have been elaborated by myself.

After having established together a first version of the edition, Rachele and I started working on the translations. This exercise made us realise that the edition was still unsatisfactory and we had to admit that there were several passages of which we felt that we did not grasp the true meaning. Indeed, the cycle is often obscure and hard to interpret – even today, I have to admit that I am unable of revealing all of its implications. By consequence, the first version of the translations was, unfortunately, unsatisfactory as well. Challenged by the complexity of the poems, I decided to make this cycle the core of my PhD-dissertation.

During our editing process, Rachele and I had become aware of some intertextual references to the *Ladder* in its verse summary in Poem 2, which is, of course, not a big surprise. Another discovery, however, did come as a surprise, when Rachele noticed the close resemblance between vv. 30-45 of Poem 4 and the corresponding passage in Paraphrase 1 of Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carmen* II,1,50, vv. 107-112. Since Rachele is one of the few people on this planet who is familiar with this particular paraphrase, which she edited in her PhD-thesis (Ricceri 2013), I can only conclude that our collaboration was the result of divine providence.

Round the turn of the year (2015-2016), I realised that the best chance to improve our understanding of the poems, was to search intensively for more literary sources and intertextual references that are omnipresent in large parts of the poems. For this, I obviously made use of the TLG (while, of course, being aware of the lacunae in the corpus, and of the fact that some references might not be traceable any more). This resulted in the list of *loci paralleli* (chapter 3.3) and the extensive commentary (chapter 3.4). Indeed, many intertextual parallels are indispensable for a correct understanding of the cycle. During this search, I paid special attention to parallels with Klimax' and Gregory's works. Therefore, I read the works of the first, in order not to depend on TLG only. The many parallels found with the works of the latter, resulted in the discussion of the Theologian's influence on the cycle as a whole (chapter 3.5).

Helped by the results of the 'excavations' that exposed the intertextual foundations of the text, I started working on the translations again. Step by step, several passages of the poems became clearer and the first versions of the edition and of the

translation were improved. Concerning the translation, it is almost no exaggeration to state that not a single verse survived this reworking process. During this process, Kristoffel Demoen's remarks and suggestions were of great importance for the improvement of the edition, translation and commentary.

Chapter 3.6 offers a synopsis of the long commentary, only mentioning its essence, which, I hope, some readers will appreciate.

Two articles drawn from this chapter were submitted for the volume edited by Andreas Rhoby and Nikos Zagklas, *Middle and Late Byzantine Poetry: Text and Context* to be published by Brepols (Turnhout). The first one would be co-authored (Meesters – Ricceri), including the introduction to the edition, the edition itself and the translation. The second would include a brief analysis of the poems and a discussion of Gregory of Nazianos' influence on the cycle, and is single-authored (Meesters). The contributions, however, still have to bear the test of peer evaluation.

Chapter 4 serves as an encore to the commentary on Poem 2 of the 12th-c. cycle, which is a long metrical summary of the *Ladder* (cf. 3.4.2). This chapter discusses all other metrical summaries of the *Ladder* of which I am aware.

Finally, chapter 5 provides the *editio princeps*, translation and literary commentary of the cycle preserved in *Barocc. 141*. This chapter is basically adopted from my article "Ascending the Ladder. *Editio princeps* of Four Poems on the Ladder of John Klimakos (*Bodleian Baroccianus 141*)" (Meesters 2016b). The article was finished in April 2016 and served as a good preparation for the edition, translation and commentary of the long 12th-c. cycle. I opted not to retain the article's short introduction "John Klimakos and the *Ladder*" as it would cause unnecessary repetition of chapter 2.

Note to the Reader

The transcription of Ancient and Byzantine personal names follows the ODB. Since TLG was used as a primordial tool in this thesis, primary sources are referred to by their Latin title. When citing from the works of Klimax, I use the Greek text of PG. English translations are taken from Moore (2012⁴). All quotations from the New Testament are taken from the 28th version of the edition by Nestle – Aland (Aland et al. 2012). Quotations from the Septuagint are taken from Rahlfs (1935⁹). Accordingly, the reader should be aware of some differences with the titles of the books in Hebrew, which are more familiar in the Western world (Palmer et al. 1984: 14):

Titles of Books	
<i>Hebrew</i>	<i>Septuagint</i>
1 Samuel	1 Kingdoms
2 Samuel	2 Kingdoms
1 Kings	3 Kingdoms
2 Kings	4 Kingdoms

Also the numbering of the Psalms follows that of the Septuagint (Palmer et al. 1984: 13):

Numbering of Psalms	
<i>Hebrew</i>	<i>Septuagint</i>
1-8	1-8
9 and 10	9
11-113	Subtract one from the number of each Psalm in the Hebrew
114 and 115	113
116:1-9	114
116:10-16	115
117-146	Subtract one from the number of each Psalm in the Hebrew
147:1-11	146
147:12-20	147
148-150	148-150

List of Abbreviations

Bibliographical Abbreviations

BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.

CPG = Geerard, M. – Noret, J. – Glorie, F. (1974-2003) *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. Turnhout.

DBBE = Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams: www.dbbe.ugent.be.

DOP = Dumbarton Oaks Papers.

GRBS = Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies.

JÖB = Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik.

LBG = Trapp, E. (ed.) *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*:
<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg>.

LSJ = Liddell, H. G. – Scott, R. – Jones, H. S. – McKenzie, R. (1968) *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford.

Montanari = Montanari, F. (2015) *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*. Edited by M. Goh – C. Schroeder. Leiden / Boston.

NE = Νέος Ελληνομνήμων.

ODB = Kazhdan, A. P. (ed.) (1991) *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. 3 vols. New York / Oxford.

OLD = Glare, P. G. W. (1968) *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford.

PG = Migne, J.-P. (ed.) (1857-1868) *Patrologia cursus completus, series Graeca*. Paris.

PGL = Lampe, G. W. H. (1961) *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford.

RE = Wissowa, G. – Kroll, W. – Mittelhaus, R. (eds.) (1892-1980) *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart / Munich.

RGG⁴ = Betz, H. D. – Browning, D. S. – Janowski, B – Jüngel, E. (2003⁴) *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Bd. 6. Tübingen.

RGK I = Gamillscheg, E. – Harlfinger, D. – Hunger, H. (1981) *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800 - 1600*. Vol. 1: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens. Vienna.

RGK II = Gamillscheg, E. – Harlfinger, D. – Hunger, H. (1989) Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600. Vol. 2: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens. Vienna.

SC = Sources chrétiennes.

Sophr. = Sophronios (1970) Κλίμαξ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Σιναΐτου. Athens.

TLG = Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: www.tlg.uci.edu.

VGH = Vogel, M. – Gardthausen, V. (1909) Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Leipzig.

Biblical Abbreviations

Gen. = *Genesis*

Ex. = *Exodus*

Lev. = *Leviticus*

Num. = *Numeri*

Deut. = *Deuteronomy*

Jos. = *Joshua*

Jud. = *Judges*

1 Regn. = *1 Kingdoms*

1 Chron. = *1 Chronicles*

2 Macc. = *2 Maccabees*

Ps. = *Psalms*

Prov. = *Proverbs*

Eccl. = *Ecclesiastes*

Cant. = *Song of Solomon*

Sap. = *Wisdom of Solomon*

Ecclus. = *Ecclesiasticus (Sirach)*

Os. = *Hosea*

Is. = *Isaiah*

Jer. = *Jeremiah*

Ez. = *Ezekiel*

Mt. = *Matthew*

Mc. = *Mark*

Lc. = *Luke*

Joh. = *John*

Act. = *Acts*

Rom. = *Romans*
1 Cor. = *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. = *2 Corinthians*
Eph. = *Ephesians*
Phil. = *Philippians*
Col. = *Colossians*
1 Tim. = *1 Timothy*
2 Tim. = *2 Timothy*
Hebr. = *Hebrews*
Jc. = *James*
1 Pt. = *1 Peter*
1 Joh. = *1 John*
Rev. = *Revelation*

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(Photograph: M. Sasso, via http://www.romaperilgiubileo.gov.it/portale-giubileo-resources/cms/images/SITO__Scala_Santa_e_Sanctorum_d0.JPG)

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(Digital reproduction via

http://archiv.onb.ac.at:1801/view/action/nmets.do?DOCCHOICE=3112996.xml&dvs=1493044036270~352&locale=nl&search_terms=&adjacency=&VIEWER_URL=/view/action/nmets.do?&DELIVERY_RULE_ID=1&divType=&usePid1=true&usePid2=true)

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Selen wi Gods ghesmaken,
Wi moeten al de werelt laten,
Ende met Gode minnen ende haten.

Jan van Ruusbroeck, *Van seven trappen in den graed der gheesteleker minnen*
(ed. van der Heijden 1973: 265)

Ἄρχῆν ποιήσας Χριστὸν καὶ θερμὴν πίστιν
οὕτως ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου
Βάδιζε φεύγων συγγενεῖς τε καὶ φίλους
τοῦτο γὰρ ὠφέλιμον τοῖς ἀρχαρίοις
Γυμνὸς πρόσελθε τῶν ὑλῶν τῷ ἀύλῳ
οὐδὲν μείζον εὐρήσεις εἰς συμμαχίαν

Symeon the New Theologian, *Hymn 5*, vv. 1-6
(ed. Kambylis 1976)

Part 1

Byzantine Book Epigrams:

A Theoretical Introduction



1. creation of Adam (Monreale)

Chapter 1

Byzantine Book Epigrams / Metrical Paratexts: Terminology and Classification*

This chapter presents some theoretical reflexions on book epigrams, which are also referred to as metrical paratexts. The chapter focuses on terminology and the classification of book epigrams. Two different ways of classification are compared: classification according to function (e.g. colophon verse, laudatory and dedicatory epigram) and classification according to preservation (traditional, editorial and post-editorial paratexts). Some of these categories, however, overlap, as will be shown by both Byzantine and modern examples.

1.1 Book Epigrams

In one of his reading reports, Photios, a Byzantine bibliophile from the 9th c. quotes a poem he found accompanying (and concerning) the works of Lucian (Henry 1959: 103). He refers to it as τὸ τῆς βίβλου ἐπίγραμμα, which literally means ‘book epigram’ (Bernard – Demoen *forthcoming*). This is a rare passage in Byzantine literature where such poems are explicitly mentioned. The first theoretical reflection on Byzantine book epigrams only appears since the sixties. Without already using the specific term ‘book epigram’, Kominis (1966: 38) describes what he calls ‘epigrams in and on books’. This

* This chapter is an English translation of Meesters (2016a). It is published in an interdisciplinary journal which explains the fact that some basic knowledge on Byzantine literature is included. Some additions and updates are given in square brackets.

description touches the essence. Just as there are metrical inscriptions on mosaics, icons or stones (Rhoby 2009; 2010; 2014), there are also ‘inscriptions’ in books. Not accidentally, the Latin *inscriptio* is the equivalent of the Greek *ἐπίγραμμα*. In Byzantium, ‘epigram’ was understood in a broad sense. The *Suda*, a *lexicon* from the 10th c., gives the following definition: Ἐπίγραμμα: πάντα τὰ ἐπιγραφόμενά τισι, κἄν μὴ ἐν μέτροις εἰρημένα, ἐπιγράμματα λέγεται (ed. Adler 1928: ε, lem. 2270). The relation between the text and the object on which it is written is thus essential when defining the term ‘book epigram’. Byzantine manuscripts also preserve epigrams that were meant as inscriptions on other objects. Such epigrams are no book epigrams. A well-known example is found in the *Anthologia Palatina* I, 10. This epigram was originally inscribed on the 6th-c. church of St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople (Beckby 1965^{2a}: 126-130). When such an epigram is copied in a manuscript, it is taken from its original context, it becomes part of a literary collection, and is almost exposed as an animal from a strange biotope.

As a technical term, ‘book epigram’ was introduced by Cameron (1993: 289, 333). A first systematic discussion is found in Lauxtermann (2003: 197), who described book epigrams as follows: “Book epigrams are poems that are intimately related to the production of literary texts and manuscripts”. This implies that book epigrams are often copied and changed throughout the centuries. The vast majority of book epigrams are preserved anonymously and the date of their original composition is hard to reveal.¹

An estimated 10% of the (preserved) Byzantine manuscripts contains one or more book epigrams (Bernard – Demoen 2012a). In order to unveil this enormous corpus, the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (DBBE) was launched at Ghent University (Belgium). Since September 2015, the collected corpus is freely consultable via www.dbbe.ugent.be. DBBE consists of three sections: *manuscripts*, *occurrences*, and *types*. The section *manuscripts* provides concise information on manuscripts that preserve book epigrams. Since book epigrams are often copied and adapted, there is a distinction between *occurrence* and *type*. A book epigram as it is found in a specific manuscript is called *occurrence*. DBBE displays these epigrams with all their (orthographical) defects and peculiarities. *Occurrences* of a similar text are linked to a *type*. This improves navigating the database. Ideally, a *type* provides a critical edition of a book epigram. At the moment (May 2016), DBBE records more than 3670 manuscripts, almost 7600 occurrences and around 3900 different types.²

¹ Lauxtermann (2003: 198-2000), Bernard – Demoen (*forthcoming*).

² [Currently (9 April 2017), DBBE records 3805 manuscripts, 8466 occurrences and 4168 types.]

1.2 Metrical Paratexts

The term 'metrical paratext' is used as an alternative for 'book epigram' (Bernard – Demoen *forthcoming*). The term 'paratext' is borrowed from Genette (1987: 7-10). In his vision, paratexts function as 'thresholds' or as 'vestibules' of a text. They accompany a main text, functioning as an introduction or epilogue. Furthermore, they can influence the reader's interpretation of the main text. Precisely because of this, book epigrams are mostly found at hinge points in manuscripts: i.e. at the front page, at the last page, or at the beginning or end of a new (sub)text (Bernard – Demoen *forthcoming*).

Genette (1987: 11) discerns two categories of paratexts, applying the formula 'paratext = peritext + epitext'. He uses 'peritexts' to refer to texts that are written 'around' the main text in the same volume, such as (sub)titles and prefaces. Epitexts, by contrast, are texts that – at least originally – are situated outside of the book. Of this second category, Genette gives the example of interviews and personal letters of the author. Concerning the Byzantine period, we could, according to Bernard and Demoen (*forthcoming*), consider, amongst others, commentaries, glosses and *scholia* as belonging to this category. Book epigrams, by contrast, would rather belong to the category of peritexts. This last point of view has to be nuanced slightly. Genette's formula indicates that his study explicitly considered printed books. In manuscripts, there is an increased interaction between main text and paratext, and between paratexts themselves. What originally circulated separately from the main text, can become part of the main text's transmission. On the other hand, parts of a text can get lost. Some sections are adapted or even omitted in the copying process. Although such an interaction also appears in printed books, the frequency is much higher in the case of manuscripts. In the print era, all copies of the same edition are identical. Adaptions only occur when a new edition appears. In the case of manuscripts, however, adaptions of the model are a rule. For each handwritten copy, the scribe bears the responsibility for the lay-out and the graphic design of the text. It is precisely this unicity of a manuscript which leads to context related poetry such as book epigrams.

Since the frequency of adaptions in manuscripts is high, it is hard to decide whether book epigrams had their origin outside of the book / manuscript. The point of distinguishing between peri- and epitext for texts that were transmitted in manuscripts is mainly that it allows for a terminological boundary between paratexts that are transmitted together with the main text to which they refer and paratexts that are transmitted separately from the main text to which they refer. Therefore, I suggest to keep the definition of peritexts as given by Genette (*in casu*: paratexts that are transmitted together with their main text). Similarly, I suggest not to define epitexts according to their origin, but according to their actual function (*in casu*: all paratexts that are not transmitted together with their main text). Theoretically, this category can

include texts that, from the beginning, circulated separately from the main text (i.e. epitexts in the definition of Genette), but also peritexts that were taken out of their context and became independent epitexts. As an illustration of this last phenomenon, I refer to the example of *Baroccianus 194* (15th c.) which preserves eight book epigrams on the Psalms (f. 48r-48v).³ Four of these poems appear frequently in Byzantine Psalteria. The other four poems are new compositions by a certain Makarios. In *Barocc. 194*, these eight book epigrams are accompanied by several commentaries on the Psalms. However, the Psalms themselves are not included. The four poems that appear frequently as peritexts to the Psalms, were taken out of their context and transmitted together with commentaries. Hence, they gained the status of epitext.

In a strict sense, the definitions of book epigrams by Kominis and Lauxtermann imply that book epigrams are peritexts. When book epigrams are taken out of their context (and thus become epitexts), they lose their function as ‘inscription’ on the book. As the example above of the interaction between epi- and peritext indicates, the same texts can appear in different contexts. When studying the entire transmission of a book epigram, it is important to take all occurrences of a same type into account, regardless of its context.

A book epigram that is preserved *in situ* – I suggest – can be referred to as a ‘peritextual book epigram’. By contrast, a book epigram that is taken out of its context, and is not found *in situ* any more, remains a book epigram, *in casu* an ‘epitextual book epigram’. Both peritextual and epitextual book epigrams, however, function as paratexts.

The term ‘paratext’ allows discussing the relation between book epigrams, i.e. metrical paratexts, and paratexts in prose. In the manuscripts, they frequently appear together, and, in most cases, they are visually represented in the same way (Meesters *in print*). Also regarding their content, there is a common ground between paratexts in verse and in prose. An interesting example, although certainly no exception, is found in a manuscript from Milan, the codex *Ambrosianus C 97 sup.* (Martini – Bassi 1906: 214). At the end of Ammonios’ commentary on Aristotle’s *Categories* (f. 48r) there is a paratext in prose, incipit Ἐτελειώθη ἡ παροῦσα δέλτος, τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους, immediately followed by a book epigram: Εἴληφε τέρμα δέλτος Ἀριστοτέλους.⁴ It consists of one dodecasyllable. After this book epigram follows a short note in prose: Θεοῦ χάριτι ἀμήν. In some cases,

³ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/3449, www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/7486, www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/7492, www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/7495, www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/7497, www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/7499, www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/7500, www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/7501, ed. Meesters – Praet et al. (2016). For a digital reproduction see <http://bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/digitized-items-greek-manuscripts> (9 January 2016).

⁴ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/4566.

paratexts in prose and in verse are clearly each other's equivalent, only distinguishable from each other by their form. In some cases, however, also this distinction is vague. In the codex *Escorialensis* *Φ.III.16*, for example, there is a book epigram on f. 289v reading: Τέλος σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ Ἀσπίδος Ἡσιόδου.⁵ It is written in *politikos stichos*. A paratext in prose with the same beginning is found in *Ambros. C 32 sup.*: Τέλος σὺν Θεῷ τῶν Ἀράτου φαινομένων (Martini – Bassi 1906: 186). When considering such brief paratexts, it is often hard to decide whether a scribe deliberately tried to write a verse, or if he simply adapted a known formula to the context, sometimes resulting in a verse, and sometimes not.

Near the beginning of this paragraph on metrical paratexts, it was mentioned that paratexts accompany a main text. Besides, it is also possible that a paratext functions as a paratext towards another paratext. This phenomenon I call 'paraparatexts'. Regarding book epigrams, most cases are titles in prose. In some rare cases also the paraparatext is metrical. Then we have a meta-book epigram. An example is found in a manuscript from Jerusalem: *Hagiou Saba* 96 (f. 244v). A book epigram on a text of Basil of Caesarea is accompanied by another book epigram that is quite polemical towards the previous one.⁶

1.3 Classification According to Function

As already mentioned above, book epigrams have a strong affinity with the production of literary texts and manuscripts. In this process, some functional roles can be distinguished: the scribe, the patron, and the author. Accordingly, Lauxtermann (2003: 197-198) proposes the following three classes: 1) In 'colophon verses' the scribe concludes his labour.⁷ In most cases, he praises the Lord, mentions his own name, or requests the reader to pray for him. These book epigrams often have a formulaic character.⁸ 2) In 'dedicatory book epigrams' the book is dedicated to the patron or, if it is a gift, to the receiver.⁹ 3) In 'laudatory book epigrams' the author of the main text, or

⁵ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/7268; cf. de Andrés (1965: 72).

⁶ For the book epigram on Basil, see www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/4301. For the meta-book epigram, see www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/4302.

⁷ Examples are the epigrams mentioned above: Τέλος σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ Ἀσπίδος Ἡσιόδου and Τέλος σὺν Θεῷ τῶν Ἀράτου φαινομένων.

⁸ See for example: Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ Ἀκακίου πόνοσ. Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/3266.

⁹ See for example: Εὐδοκίας ἡ δέλτος Αὐγούστησ πέλει. Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/411.

the work itself, is praised.¹⁰ In some rare cases, the author, mostly a pagan or a heretic, is taunted. Lauxtermann rightly observes that colophon verses and dedicatory book epigrams, more than laudatory book epigrams, are closely related to the manuscript production. Precisely because of this tight connection to a specific moment in time, he writes that “they hardly ever manage to break away from their original contexts and gain recognition as purely literary texts” (Lauxtermann 2003: 198). When applying Genette’s terminology, we can state that colophon verses and dedicatory book epigrams, in most cases, function as peritexts that were added to the main text in a later stage. Concerning laudatory book epigrams, Lauxtermann notes that they are taken out of their context more easily and are also collected in anthologies.¹¹ The example of the *Barocc.* 194 (mentioned above), where book epigrams on the Psalms evolved from peritexts to epitexts, did not accidentally concern laudatory book epigrams.

The classification that is used in DBBE is based on Lauxtermann’s classification according to function.¹² DBBE distinguishes six functions, instead of three: 1) scribe-related, 2) patron-related, 3) author-related, 4) reader-related, 5) text-related, and 6) image-related. Categories 1) and 2) coincide, respectively, with colophon verses and dedicatory book epigrams. Category 3) contains laudatory book epigrams. Subgroups 4), 5), and 6) refer to functions which Lauxtermann did not explicitly make into a category.

‘Reader-related epigrams’ refer to book epigrams that specifically deal with the act of reading and, for example, give advice to the reader. Bentein and Demoen (2012: 70) even proposed a separate subcategory for such poems, the ‘recommendatory epigrams’. As they already indicate, these advising book epigrams are closely related to laudatory epigrams. Epigrams which give advice to the reader often praise the value of the book or of the respective author.

Also ‘text-related’ and ‘image related book epigrams’ are based on two categories proposed by Bentein and Demoen (2012: 70), respectively ‘title-epigrams’ and ‘miniature epigrams’. DBBE applies ‘text-related epigrams’ to a broad group of epigrams that is not confined to titles only. There are also epigrams that indicate the end of a text. An

¹⁰ See, for example, a book epigram on John Klimax’ *Ladder*, inc. Κλίμαξ πέφυκα τῆς ἀνωτάτης πύλης. Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/2802.

¹¹ An interesting parallel is found in the epigrams on philosophers from Diogenes Laertius’ biographies. Several of these epigrams are included in the *Anthologia Palatina*. In some manuscripts, Diogenes’ epigrams are even used as real book epigrams, accompanying the works of the respective philosopher. For example, an epigram of four verses on Plato, inc. Φοῖβος ἔφυσε βροτοῖς Ἄσκληπιὸν ἠδὲ Πλάτωνα, is transmitted both in the work of Diogenes, *Plato* 3.45 (ed. Marcovich 1999: 220), and in the *Anthologia Palatina* 7.109 (Beckby 1965^{2b}: 72). In a manuscript from Venice, *Bibliotheca Nazionale Marciana gr. Z 193*, f. 140v, Plato’s *Timaeus* is followed by the first two verses of this poem. Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/6022.

¹² This classification is found via www.dbbe.ugent.be, see 3 *Classification* under the heading *Help* (10 January 2016).

example is the verse from *Ambros. C 97 sup.*, quoted above. Often it concerns epigrams consisting of a single verse, with a formulaic character. However, also extensive metrical summaries of texts are part of this category.¹³ In fact, the epigrams which DBBE includes in this category of text-related epigrams are perhaps better understood as ‘structuring book epigrams’. These are epigrams that offer the reader a structure by providing information on what will follow or on what is written before. A risk of the term ‘text-related epigrams’ is that it is easily confused with laudatory book epigrams. There are indeed laudatory epigrams that concern the main text itself without, however, displaying a structuring function.

Finally, ‘image related epigrams’ function as paratexts to miniatures, rather than to main texts. Since miniatures themselves often function as paratexts to the main text,¹⁴ miniature epigrams are in fact book epigrams in the second degree. A clear example is found in an evangelary from the British Library, *Egerton 2783* (f. 166v).¹⁵ On the page that precedes the Gospel of Luke, there is an image of his symbol, the bull, accompanied by an epigram: Ἐνταῦθα μόσχος ἱερουργίας τύπον / ἐξεικονίζει καὶ καλῶς παρεισάγει.

In the theoretical discussion of the classification of book epigrams, on the website of DBBE, it is rightly stated that book epigrams often belong to different categories. One can easily think of an epigram in which the author is praised (laudatory / author-related book epigram), while the scribe asks the reader to pray for him (colophon / scribe-related book epigram) and also dedicates his work to the patron (dedicatory / patron-related book epigram). An example is a colophon, counting 19 verses in the original version, accompanying John Klimax’ *Ladder*.¹⁶ The first verse opens in a conventional way: Τέλος κλίμακος οὐρανοδρόμου βίβλου. After extolling Klimax’ *Ladder*, John the writer requests Klimax to assist both his patron, John Komnenos, and himself. This colophon epigram includes features of text-related, scribe-related, patron-related and author-related book epigrams.

¹³ See, for example, a metrical summary of 92 verses of John Klimax’ *Ladder*, inc. Πίναξ ὅδ’ ἐστὶ τῆς παρουσίας πυκτίδος, ed. Antonopoulou (2014). [For a discussion see chapter 4.2 *Paris. Coisl. 87.*]

¹⁴ According to Wallraff and Andrist (2015: 239), also miniatures can be considered paratexts.

¹⁵ See www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/7614. For a digital reproduction, see www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=egerton_ms_2783_f166bv (10 January 2016).

¹⁶ [See Poem 3 of the 12th-c. cycle on Klimax, edited, translated and discussed in this dissertation (chapter 3.2 and 3.4.3).]

1.4 Classification According to Preservation

ParaTexBib, a project that has started a couple of years ago, aims at setting up a database of all paratexts that accompany the Bible in Greek manuscripts, except for paratexts in *lectionaria* and *catenae*.¹⁷ In their theoretical explanation of the project, Wallraff and Andrist (2015: 240), very briefly and without further reflection, propose to distinguish three categories of paratexts. Contrary to Lauxtermann's classification, theirs is not based on functional roles in paratexts, but on their way of preservation. For such a classification, the moment at which paratexts became part of the transmission of the main text is crucial. The three categories are: 1) traditional, 2) editorial, and 3) post-editorial paratexts. With the term 'traditional paratexts' they refer to paratexts which the scribe copies from his model. 'Editorial paratexts' are paratexts that are added by the scribe, corrector, or editor of a specific manuscript during the production process of the manuscript itself. These paratexts are thus absent in the model. 'Post-editorial paratexts', finally, are paratexts that were added by a later hand.

Of course, this classification can also be applied more specifically to book epigrams. Moreover, it can be refined. Firstly, it is possible to distinguish at least two subtypes of traditional paratexts: 1) traditional paratexts that are composed by the author of the main text; 2) traditional paratexts composed by a later author. Note that traditional paratexts that belong to subtype 1) dwell in the grey zone between paratext and main text. Traditional paratexts of subtype 2) are added to the main text in a later stage, but have become part of the manuscript tradition of the main text.

It has to be noted that editorial paratexts were not necessarily composed for the specific manuscript in which they are preserved. There is indeed a lot of recycling when it comes to such book epigrams. In the codex *Parisinus gr. 311* (f. 382v) there is a verse: Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον, καὶ Χαρίτωνος πόνος.¹⁸ A similar verse is found in *Barocc. 146* (f. 408r): Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ Ἰωάννου πόνος.¹⁹ This formula appears frequently in DBBE (more than 160 occurrences). However, once there must have been a scribe who was the first to commit this verse, containing his own name, to parchment. One could call this version of the epigram the 'primal editorial version'. Later on, each scribe adapted the verse to his own name. Since each version is adapted to the specific context of each

¹⁷ The project runs from 2015 until 2019. Cf. <http://paratexbib.eu/project.html>; Wallraff – Andrist (2015: 241).

¹⁸ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1984.

¹⁹ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/3537.

manuscript, each of these versions is an editorial book epigram.²⁰ Some other cases, however, are not that clear. The formula Τῶ συντελεστῇ τῶν καλῶν Θεῶ χάρις appears in different versions and is preserved in countless manuscripts:²¹ DBBE records over 230 occurrences. Once it was written for the first time by a scribe, editor or corrector (editorial or perhaps even post-editorial paratext). When, later on, it was copied together with the main text, it became a traditional book epigram. From that point, it is not an editorial question any more, but a case of copying the model.

In the next paragraphs, I will further refine and illustrate the classification of paratexts into traditional, editorial, and post-editorial paratexts. Also, I will demonstrate the interaction between these three categories by providing several examples. In order to indicate that this classification, just as Genette's terminology, is relevant both for Byzantine manuscripts and for printed books, I will provide each time a Byzantine example together with a corresponding modern example.

1.4.1 Traditional Paratexts

Traditional paratexts are transmitted together with the main text to which they have a tight connection. Three subgroups of traditional paratexts can be distinguished: 1a) traditional paratexts that are placed next to the main text by the author of the main text himself, and composed by the same author; 1b) traditional paratexts that are placed next to the main text by the author of the main text himself, without, however, being composed by the same author; 1c) traditional paratexts that are neither placed next to the main text by the author of the main text himself nor composed by the author of the main text. In most cases, examples of category 1c) are poems of a later date that from a certain moment in time were copied along with the main text.

1.4.1.1 Traditional Paratexts of Type 1a

Byzantium: An example of a traditional paratext of type 1a in Byzantine literature is found in the *Synopsis artis rhetoricae* by Joseph Rhakendytes (13th - 14th c.). The main text is preceded by two summaries that are composed by the author himself; one in prose, inc. Ἐμοὶ δ' ἄρα καὶ λίαν ἐπέραστος ἔδοξεν ὁ κατὰ θεωρίαν βίος, and one in verses, inc. Ὅρων, θεατὰ, βίβλον ἠὺτελισμένην.²² Another example is found in the *Breviarium*

²⁰ In some cases, the name of the scribe does not fit the metre, which results in a paratext in prose. An example is found in *Ambros. A 59 sup.*, f. 76r: Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον ὁ δὲ πόνος ταπεινοῦ Πέτρου (Martini – Bassi 1906: 10). This is again an indication that the boundary between metrical paratexts and paratexts in prose is sometimes vague.

²¹ Regarding the content, this formula seems to be inspired by a passage from Jc. 1:17.

²² www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/4004; Treu (1899: 34, 39).

Chronicum by Constantine Manasses (1130-1187) which is preceded by nine hexameters, inc. Δέχνυσο τοῖον δῶρον ἀφ' ἡμετέροιο πόνοιο.²³ In this poem, Irene Sebastokratorissa (ca. 1110/1112 - ca. 1152/1153) is honoured as a sponsor (patron related / dedicatory epigram) (Jeffreys 2012). In the first manuscript in which this epigram appeared, it could be interpreted as an editorial epigram, since it was composed for that specific original codex (cf. the primal editorial version). However, since the epigram is composed by the author of the main text and since it is transmitted together with the main text, I would regard it as a traditional book epigram type 1a.

Modern: Some beautiful examples of modern book epigrams type 1a are found at the beginning of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. A series of ten poems, mostly sonnets, appear under the heading 'Al libro de Don Quixote de la Mancha'. The poems are composed by Cervantes himself, but presented under the name of several fictitious characters; for example, Amadis de Gaula, the famous knight and idol of Don Quixote.

1.4.1.2 Traditional Paratexts of Type 1b

Byzantium: Paratexts belonging to this subtype are extremely rare in Byzantium. I am aware of only a single example: a manuscript from the Vatican, *Chigi gr. R. V. 33 (gr. 27)* (a. 1265/1266), contains, amongst others, a *florilegium* and three sermons by a certain monk Mark. From the epilogue (f. 347v), written by the hand of the author, it seems that he was too old to write the entire work with his own hand. The text that is preserved in the codex was dictated by the author himself (Roelli 2009: XXXII-XXXIII). Near the beginning of the *florilegium* (f. 307r), an epigram appears: Πηγὴν νάουσας ἠθικῶν δρόσον λόγων / ἔνταῦθ' ἐφευρεῖς, εἰ μετέλθης γνησίως. These verses are not composed by Mark himself, but are taken from Elias Ekdikos' *Anthologium gnomicum* (ca. 1100), where they function as opening verses.²⁴ This case is indeed an example of a traditional book epigram type 1b. It is not composed by the author of the main text, though he deliberately commanded to add it to his main text.

Modern: In modern literature, this type of traditional paratexts does appear frequently. Genette (1987: 147-163) refers to it as 'épigraphe'. Interesting examples are found accompanying several stories by Tolstoy. For example, both *What Men Live By* and *Two Old Men* open with a quotation from the Gospel of John. The author deliberately selected

²³ www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2042; Lampsides (1996: 4).

²⁴ Cf. Roelli (2009: XXV); De Ridder (2015: 203). Vassis (2011: 252) mentions that the epigram is probably incorrectly ascribed to Matthew, bishop of Ephesus.

these quotations and composed the stories with the respective Biblical passage in mind. In the case of *Two Old Men*, Joh. 4:19-23 is quoted:

The woman said to Him, “Sir, I perceive that You are a prophet. Our fathers worshiped on this mountain, and you *Jews* say that in Jerusalem is the place where one ought to worship.” Jesus said to her, “Woman, believe Me, the hour is coming when you will neither on this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, worship the Father. You worship what you do not know; we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour is coming, and now is, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth; for the Father is seeking such to worship Him.”²⁵

The main text itself relates the story of two old men who go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Only one of them, Efim, will eventually reach Jerusalem. The other one, Elijah, stays in a starving country village and helps the inhabitants to overcome the famine. At the end of the story, when the two old men meet again, Efim understands “that in this world God has commanded everyone, until death, to work off his debt of duty by means of love and good works”.²⁶ In line with the quotation from *John*, Elijah’s good deeds are a better condition to come closer to God than Efim’s pilgrimage.

1.4.1.3 Traditional Paratexts of Type 1c

Byzantine: An example of a book epigram that frequently appears in Psalters is inc. Ἄκουε Δαυὶδ τοῦ παρ’ ἡμῶν Ὁρφέως.²⁷ This poem, consisting of five dodecasyllables, dates from a far later period than the (Septuagint version of the) Psalms.

Modern: At the beginning of the First Folio, the first edition of the works of Shakespeare, edited by Heminges and Condell (1623), several paratexts are included: a.o. a preface, a table of contents, a list of actors, and several book epigrams.²⁸ The most eye-catching epigram accompanies Shakespeare’s portrait. The author of this poem is Ben Jonson, a contemporary colleague of Shakespeare. As a real miniature epigram, with a paraenetic flavour, it mentions that the graver was capable of drawing Shakespeare’s face, but not his wit. Therefore, the reader is invited not to look at his picture, but at his book. This paratext is obviously not composed by the author of the main text, nor did the author himself place this epigram next to his own works. Because of the close

²⁵ Translation quoted from The New King James Bible (1979).

²⁶ Translation quoted from Rhys (1911: 171).

²⁷ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1488; Parpulov (2014: 216); Meesters – Praet et al. (2016).

²⁸ Online reproduction via dl.wdl.org/11290/service/11290.pdf (13 January 2015).

relation, however, between paratext and main text, it was preserved in later editions of Shakespeare's works.²⁹

1.4.2 Editorial Paratexts

Editorial paratexts are manuscript oriented. Because they have a tight connection to one specific codex, they are, in most cases, not copied in other manuscripts, and therefore do not become part of the manuscript tradition. It is, however, possible that editorial book epigrams are adapted to a new context, for example, by replacing the name of the sponsor of the model by the name of the sponsor of the new manuscript.

Byzantium: In *Parisinus gr. 922* (f. 5v), a dedicatory epigram on the empress Eudokia Makrembolitissa flanks the portrait of the imperial family on the next folio.³⁰ An acrostic runs: Εὐδοκίας ἡ δέλτος Αὐγούστης πέλει. Since the manuscript is contemporary to the 11th-c. empress, it seems that this manuscript was indeed the imperial codex. The epigram was composed for this particular manuscript and is only preserved here. It did not become part of the manuscript tradition of the main text.

Modern: When discussing modern editorial paratexts, one should, of course, be aware of the fact that such paratexts are meant for a particular edition. Since the age of printing, the number of *codices unici*, quite logically, decreases. An example of a modern editorial book epigram is found in Allard's preface from 1870 to an edition of the works of Joost van den Vondel (1587 - 1679) (Bogaerts 1870). In his preface, Allard especially praises the author's Catholic values:

All Dutchmen, especially all Dutch Roman Catholics, should, for obvious reasons, be familiar with and cherish the greatest of our poets, the purest glory of our nation, the Catholic *Joost van den Vondel*.³¹

Allard continues in the same key by quoting the fourth and the fifth stanza of the poem *Vondel*, composed by Herman Schaepman in 1868.³² Not accidentally the Catholic leading

²⁹ For example Blackwell (1947).

³⁰ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/165.

³¹ Translation by R. Meesters. Original text: "Aan alle Nederlanders, maar inzonderheid aan Neêrlands Katholieken moet, om genoegzaam bekende redenen, de grootste onzer Dichters, de reinste glorie van ons vaderland, de katholieke *Joost van den Vondel* bekend en dierbaar zijn" (Bogaerts 1870: 1).

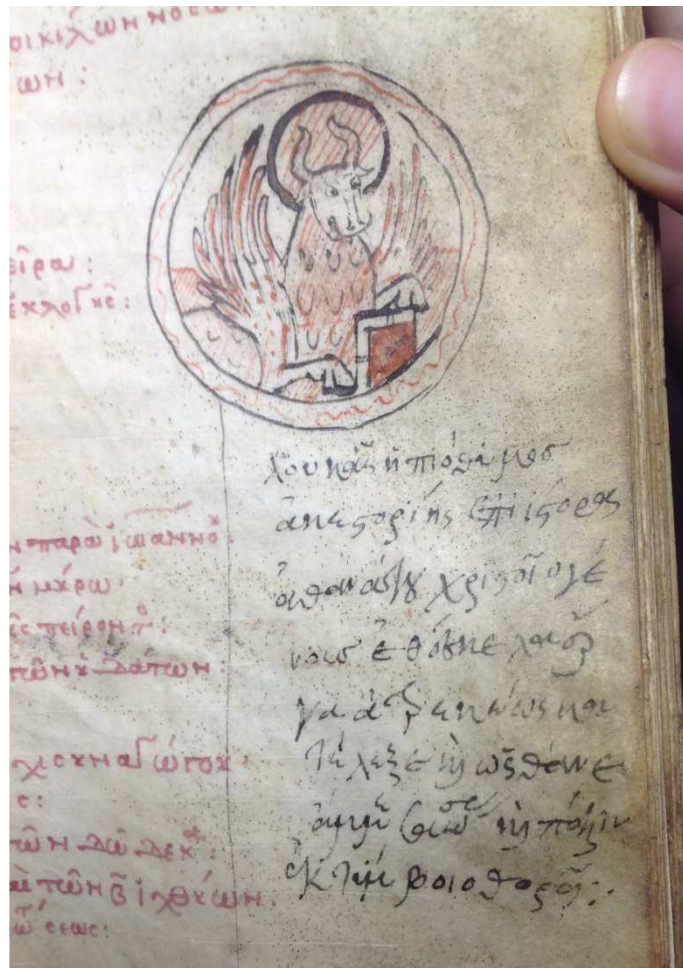
³² For a complete edition of the poem, see Schaepman (1869: 15-28).

man Schaeppman, who was elected as a member of the Dutch Lower Chamber, appears in Allard's preface. His ode to Vondel is written from a similar Catholic perspective.

1.4.3 Post-editorial Paratexts

A post-editorial paratext is a paratext that was added later to the book. It is a paratext that is not part of the original production process of the book.

Byzantium: In a manuscript from Mt. Athos, *Iveron 66* (12th c.), there are four epigrams, added by a later hand, on each evangelist at the beginning of the respective Gospel.³³ The epigrams form a cycle that frequently appears in the manuscripts.



2. epigram on Luke, *Iveron 66 f. 79r* (detail)

³³ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1525 (Matthew); www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1526 (Mark); www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1527 (Luke); www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1528 (John).

Modern: When a printed book is damaged, the missing text is sometimes restored by the pen. An example is found in a copy of the First Folio, preserved in the Bodleian Library, *Arch. G c. 7*.³⁴ The page on which the aforementioned poem by Ben Jonson was printed got lost. However, it is added again to the book in a beautiful handwriting.

1.4.4 Interaction between Traditional and Editorial Paratexts

The colophon epigram inc. Τέλος κλίμακος οὐρανοδρόμου βίβλου, that was already mentioned above as an example of the interaction between text-related, scribe-related, patron-related, and author-related book epigrams, can also serve as an example of the interaction between traditional and editorial paratexts. In three manuscripts, *Mosquensis Synodalis gr. 229* (12th c.), *Mosq. Synod. gr. 480* (12th c.), and in a codex from Mt. Athos, *Megistes Lavras B 102* (14th c.), the same version of the colophon is preserved. The names of both the patron, John Komnenos, and of the scribe, also named John, are preserved in these three manuscripts.³⁵ These versions can thus be considered as traditional book epigrams. The colophon, however, is also transmitted in three other manuscripts: in a codex from Manchester, *Rylands Gaster 1574* (13th c.), in *Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 120* (a. 1322/1323), and in *Parisinus Coislinianus 264* (14th c.). In these manuscripts, the names in the colophon are updated. The manuscript from Manchester, for instance, mentions only the name of the patron, a certain Ἰάκωβος. Again, the Vatican manuscript has the names of a certain Simon and Symeon, whose function in the production process is, unfortunately, not explained. In the *Parisinus*, Nikander and Kyprian replace, respectively, John the scribe and John Komnenos.

Actually, it is only natural that a colophon is adapted to its new context. The exception is found in those three manuscripts that preserve the names of their model. It is in any case impossible – if only because of the chronological distance between the two manuscripts from Moscow and the one from Mt. Athos – that the two Johns were responsible for all three manuscripts. An explanation is found in three other, longer, metrical paratexts that are part of the same metrical cycle as the colophon. In these poems, the name of John Komnenos appears again, indicating that the two Johns were

³⁴ Online reproduction via <http://firstfolio.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/download/pdfs/F-fm.pdf> (13 January 2015).

³⁵ [For a further discussion of the roles of both Johns in the production process of the poem, see chapter 3.1.5 Authorship.]

involved in the production process of the original cycle of epigrams. Because of this close connection to the cycle, three manuscripts preserve their names.³⁶

1.5 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I pointed to the fact that boundaries between categories are often vague: the boundary between paratexts in prose and paratexts in verses; between colophon verses, laudatory and dedicatory epigrams; and between traditional and editorial paratexts. It was no accident that Adam was not only the first man on earth, but also the first to assign names to reality and to distinguish categories (Gen. 2:19-20). Therefore, all categories are made by men. As a result, they are, by definition, defective and incomplete, just as man.

³⁶ [Besides, it is worth mentioning that two out of three manuscripts that do adapt the names, preserve only the colophon epigram of the cycle, and not the three other poems of the cycle. For a further discussion, see the commentary on Poem 3 (chapter 3.4.3).]

Part 2

Two Poetic Cycles on John Klimax



3. *Scala Santa in Rome*

Chapter 2

A Brief Introduction to John Klimax

This introduction by no means aims at a complete introduction to John Klimax and his works.¹ However, since he is the subject of the two cycles of book epigrams that are central in this dissertation, a brief introduction is provided.

2.1 John Klimax, Editions and Surrounding Texts

John Klimax lived as a monk on Mount Sinai from his teenage years. He was advanced in age, and probably already installed as abbot of the Saint Catherine monastery, when he wrote the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, dated to the end of the 6th c. or the first half of the 7th c.² It is one of the most wide-spread and copied works in the Byzantine millennium and represents a bright example of refined monastic literature. This ascetic guide describes how to ascend to God in thirty steps (λόγοι). Although it was written in a monastic context, it was also popular among laymen.³ It was translated into Latin, Syriac,

¹ For an extensive overview of primary sources on Klimax, see Pierre et al. (2015: 215 -276). For an overview of secondary literature on John Klimax, see Johnsén (2007: 17-25) and Zecher (2015: 10-12).

² For a discussion see Zecher (2015: 31-33); Chryssavgis (2004: 42-44); Duffy (1999: 2 n. 5); Pierre et al. (2015: 212); Völker (1968: 1).

³ Chryssavgis (2004: 20-23); Duffy (1999: 2); Pierre et al. (2015: 277, 287); Rigo (2002: 203). See for example also vv. 1-3 of the metrical summary of the *Ladder* preserved in *Par. Coisl.* 87, f. 1r-v (14th c.) (ed. Antonopoulou 2014: 23): Πίναξ ὄδ' ἐστὶ τῆς παρούσης πυκτίδος, / ἢ γῆθεν ὑποῖ τοὺς μοναστὰς εἰς πόλον, / καὶ τοὺς μιγάδας εἰς Ἐδέμ φέρει τόπους.

Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Ethiopic and Slavonic.⁴ More than 700 Greek manuscripts containing the works of John Klimax have been preserved.⁵

As is often the case with wide-spread works, the immense popularity of John Klimax paradoxically accounts for the absence of a critical edition. There are only three editions of the *Ladder*: by Rader (1633, reissued by Migne in 1864 and Trevisan in 1941), Sophronios (1883, reprinted in 1970) and Archimandrite Ignatios (1987, reprinted in 1994).⁶

In each of these mentioned editions, as well as in the manuscripts, the *Ladder* is accompanied by three texts. Before the *Ladder*, there are usually two letters. The first one is written by John, abbot of Raithou, to John Klimax with the request to write a new spiritual guide. The second one is a reply in which the request is humbly accepted. The end of the *Ladder* is followed by a short treatise *To the Shepherd*, written by Klimax. These texts are part of the same compositional process.⁷ Other texts were added later, like the *Life* of Klimax by Daniel of Raithou⁸ and different short prologues to the *Ladder*. Although there are differences between manuscripts, these texts frequently occur together in the manuscript tradition.⁹

In some manuscripts, there are also metrical paratexts that accompany the works of John Klimax.¹⁰ In April 2017, DBBE records 76 poems of variable length on Klimax.

⁴ Pierre et al. (2015: 255-262); Johnsén (2007: 6); Chryssavgis (2004: 235-237); CPG 7853.

⁵ Some of these codices, however, only preserve fragments of Klimax' works. Especially steps 27 and 28 were frequently excerpted (Rigo 2002: 201). Cf. Pierre et al. (2015: 213-214); Johnsén (2007: 10); Ševčenko (2009: 39). See also the Pinakes-database for further information on the manuscripts: www.pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr. On the manuscript tradition of Klimax' works see Bogdanovic (1968).

⁶ Johnsén (2007: 12-14); Chryssavgis (2004: 234); Ševčenko (2009: 39 n. 1); Pierre et al. (2015: 227, 254); Zecher (2015: 9-10).

⁷ Duffy (1999: 3); Johnsén (2007: 7).

⁸ It is uncertain when Daniel lived. He might have been a contemporary of Klimax. For a discussion see Chryssavgis (2004: 15); Pierre et al. (2015: 233); Pierre (2009: 32-37). However, Daniel's work certainly is the oldest preserved biography of Klimax, and a source of inspiration for later biographers (Rigo 2002: 196).

⁹ Johnsén (2007: 7, 10); Moore (2005: 49).

¹⁰ Some of them have already been edited. See for example Antonopoulou (2014); Corrigan – Ševčenko (2011); Magnelli (2010: 117-122); Bentein et al. (2009).

2.2 The Ladder Concept in Klimax*

In his letter, John of Raithou mentions two Biblical examples as a guideline for the composition of the requested spiritual work: the tablets of Moses and Jacob's ladder (PG 88.624-625). Both motifs are present in the work of Klimax. The reference to Moses is an obvious one. Klimax resided on the same mountain on which Moses received the tablets from God (Ex. 31:18). Moreover, the monastery of Saint Catherine was built around the site of the burning bush. Egypt became the symbol of the material world and a new spiritual exodus was required. Secondly, Jacob's ladder refers to Jacob, who, as mentioned in Gen. 28:12, "had a dream: a stairway was set on the ground, with its top reaching to the sky; and angels of God were going up and down on it".¹¹ Klimax was asked to describe such a ladder in order to enable those wishing to follow Christ to ascend to the gates of heaven. These two biblical references are reflected in the different titles used for the spiritual guide of Klimax in the manuscripts: Πλάκες πνευματικάι and Κλίμαξ θείας ἀνόδου.¹² Although Πλάκες πνευματικάι was perhaps the original title, since it is attested in the oldest manuscripts, the title referring to the work as a ladder has become the most popular one.¹³ The image of the ladder dominates its reception, to the extent that Κλίμακος even became part of John's name.¹⁴

Although Klimax does not mention the ladder motif in his letter of reply, he clearly refers to it in his spiritual work. In some passages, it seems to be specifically applied to the steps concerning virtues. For example, in the first line of step 9, the virtues are compared to the ladder of Jacob, and the vices to the chains that fell from Peter.¹⁵ Klimax indeed expands on virtues in steps 4-7 (fundamental virtues) and in 24-

* Compare also with the literary comments on the cycle of *Barocc. 141* for a further discussion of the ladder concept (chapter 5.6). See also the commentary on the title of the first step in the metrical summary of Poem 2 in chapter 3.4.2.

¹¹ Transl. Speiser (1962: 217). Chryssavgis (2004: 27 n. 81) notes that "Origen was first among Christian authors to use this image as a symbol of spiritual progress." Cf. Origen, *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* 19.6 (ed. Blanc 2006). Chryssavgis refers also to Gregory of Nazianzos' *Oratio* 43.71 (PG 36.529D), John Chrysostom's *In Joannem homiliae* 83.5 (PG 59.454-455), and Theodoret of Cyrillus' *Historia religiosa (= Philotheus)* (PG 82.1484C). Other relevant passages are Gregory of Nyssa, *In sanctum Ephraim* (PG 46.828, l. 56); Ephraim, bishop of Cherson, *De miraculo Clementis Romani* (PG 2.636, ll. 5-8). See also Martin (1954: 7).

¹² A third title found in the manuscripts is Λόγος ἀσκητικός (Duffy 1999: 5).

¹³ Duffy (1999: 5-6), Chryssavgis (2004: 21), Pierre et al. (2015: 276). For an opposite perspective see Johnsen (2007: 15).

¹⁴ Völker (1968: 1); Papaioannou (2014: 23).

¹⁵ PG 88.840-841. Cf. Gen. 28:12, Act. 12:7. In his commentary on the *Ladder*, Nikephoros mentions respectively *Genesis* and *Acts* as sources of inspiration for this passage. Contrary to Elias, who only refers to *Genesis*, Nikephoros does not quote the relevant passage (Antonopoulou 2007: 157).

30 (higher virtues), whereas he deals with vices in steps 8-23 (Chryssavgis 2004: 28-29). In step 28 (PG 88.1132, l. 27), he clearly refers to the ladder as “the whole ladder of the virtues”. In step 27 Klimax mentions that he, “as an unskilled architect”, has constructed a ladder of ascent.¹⁶ He continues that everyone has to be aware of which step he is standing on. Thereafter he gives some examples of possible steps. Interestingly, he does not only give examples of steps concerning virtues, but also of those dealing with vices. This indicates that Klimax did not always restrict the ladder motif to the steps concerning virtues.

Although several biblical themes, such as Moses and the chain of vices, operate next to the ladder motif (Duffy 1999: 17), the entire work has the shape of a ladder. The ascent to heaven is divided into thirty steps. The ascent should progress step by step. Klimax says it would be a sign of childish mentality to believe oneself able to “go up the whole ladder in one stride”.¹⁷ As a ladder stands on the ground, the first step, logically, involves leaving the earthly world of Egypt. The last step consists of the three supreme Christian virtues: faith, hope and love (Johnsén 2007: 8). The brief exhortation at the end explains that the number of thirty steps of the *Ladder* refers to the thirty years Christ lived on earth before he was baptized (PG 88.1160-1161). In these years he “fulfilled the thirtieth step in the spiritual ladder”.

At the end of each step, a short encouragement is offered to the reader. Many of these encouragements refer to the act of ascending the ladder. At the end of the second step, for instance, it reads Δευτέρα ἀνάβασις ὁ τρέχων μὴ τὴν σύζυγον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἄωτ μιμούμενος φεύγη (PG 88.657); at the end of the fourth Ἰσάριθμος εὐαγγελιστῶν βαθμός (PG 88.728).

At the end of the treatise *To the Shepherd*, which directly follows the *Ladder* and which is sometimes taken as the thirty-first step (Sophr. 1970: 171), Klimax refers to the ladder concept one last time (PG 88.1205-1208). He rhetorically praises John of Raithou as if he was the architect of the ladder of virtues, who laid its foundations and who even completed it. In this way, Klimax compares the whole work to a ladder.

The ladder motif was also used in different prologues to the *Ladder*. In the prologue with the incipit Τοῖς ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς, the book is compared to Jacob’s ladder “leading from things earthly to the Holy of Holies”.¹⁸ Another prologue, inc. Ἐσκόπησεν ὄντως ἀρίστως (PG 88.629), and its variant, inc. Ὁ τὴν ἰσάριθμον ἡμῶν

¹⁶ Step 27 (PG 88.1105, l. 24). Cf. 1 Cor. 3:10. Also Larchet (2000: 281-282) interprets this passage from step 27 as referring to the *Ladder* as a whole. See also Duffy (1999: 4-5). Johnsén (2007: 20), by contrast, disagrees with Larchet and states that the passage only refers to the previous passage of the *Ladder*. See also near the end of chapter 3.1.5 Authorship.

¹⁷ Step 14 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.865, l. 19). See also step 25 (PG 88.997, l. 49).

¹⁸ PG 88.628, Sophr. (1970: 11).

(Sophr. 1970: 6), again refer to the thirty steps of the *Ladder* as the thirty years lived by Christ according to the flesh. Also in the iconography, the work of Klimax was clearly associated with a ladder. For example, in many manuscripts, the *pinax* is accompanied by an image of a ladder.¹⁹ In some cases, for example in *Iveron 415 f. 193r*, the image is accompanied by a quotation from Mt. 20:16: ἔσονται οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι, in order to stress the dialectical character of the *Ladder*.²⁰

¹⁹ See for example *Iveron 415 f. 193r*, *Iveron 739 f. 86r*, *Mosq. Synod. gr. 229 f. 320v*. A better known example is *Princeton, Garrett MS. 16 f. 4r, 194r*. Cf. Martin (1954: fig. 31, 66), Ćurčić (2009: 28-33). Compare also with *Sinai gr. 417 f. 13v* (Corrigan – Ševčenko 2011: 102, 107-110).

²⁰ On dialectics in Klimax see Chryssavgis (2004: 12); Zecher (2013: 133).

Chapter 3

Editio princeps of a 12th-c. Cycle of Four Poems on John Klimax

ἀγαθοὶ οἱ δύο ὑπὲρ τὸν ἕνα, οἷς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς μισθὸς ἀγαθὸς
ἐν μόχθῳ αὐτῶν· ὅτι ἐὰν πέσωσιν, ὁ εἷς ἐγερεῖ τὸν
μέτοχον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐαὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἐνί, ὅταν πέσῃ καὶ μὴ ᾗ
δεύτερος τοῦ ἐγειραῖ αὐτόν.⁶⁰

3.1 Introduction to the Edition

This chapter deals with a 12th-c. cycle of four unedited metrical paratexts on John Klimax in dodecasyllables, preserved in seven manuscripts. We provide a general introduction, an overview of the manuscripts and of the poems, and the *editio princeps*.

The case consists of four metrical paratexts: Poem 1 (102 vv.), inc. Ἐχουσιν οἱ λειμῶνες ἄνθη ποικίλα, a spiritual comparison between the *Ladder* and a garden; Poem 2 (226 vv.), inc. Ψήγματα χρυσᾶ τοῖς Λυδοῖς αἰρεῖ λόγος, a praise of Klimax and a summary of the *Ladder* articulated in six verses for each step; Poem 3 (19, 16 or 14 vv.), inc. Τέλος κλίμακος οὐρανοδρόμου βίβλου, a laudatory colophon; Poem 4 (134 vv.), inc. Τοῦτων ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν, καλῶν δότα,⁶¹ accompanying the treatise *To the Shepherd*, is a *laudatio* of the Trinity, ending as a prayer.

⁶⁰ Eccl. 4: 9-10.

⁶¹ This first verse was not seen by the cataloguer who quotes the beginning of the second verse as incipit. Cf. Vladimir – Grichine (1995: 239).

Counting more than 470 verses, this cycle is exceptionally long. In particular, Poem 2 is the longest metrical paratext in Byzantine literature known so far.

3.1.1 The Manuscripts

To the best of our knowledge, the poems have been preserved in seven manuscripts. These extant witnesses have been fully collated and will be mentioned below with the following *sigla*:

M *Mosquensis Synodalis gr. 229 (Vlad. 192) (12th c.)*⁶²

N *Mosquensis Synodalis gr. 480 (Vlad. 193) (12th c.)*⁶³

R *Manchester Rylands Gaster 1574 (a. 1282)*⁶⁴

L *Athos Megistes Lavras B 102 (11th/14th c.)*⁶⁵

P *Parisinus Coislinianus 264 (14th c.)*⁶⁶

I *Athos Iveron 418 (14th c., second half)*⁶⁷

V *Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 120 (a. 1322-1323)*⁶⁸

M (329 folios) was written on parchment in the 12th c. and measures 319 x 220 mm. The text is written in two columns. Initials and notes are written in red. **M** contains an introductory prayer to Poem 1 (f. 1r); Poem 1 (f. 1r-1v); Poem 2 (ff. 1v-2v); a prologue,⁶⁹ a table of contents of the *Ladder* and a note on the *Ladder*⁷⁰ (f. 3r); the *Life* of John Klimax by Daniel of Raithou (ff. 3r-5r);⁷¹ the *Letters* of both Johns, with a partial commentary (ff. 5v-6v); the *Ladder*, accompanied by the unedited commentary of Elias of Crete (ff. 7r-320r); an epigram (diplomatically transcribed): Τριανταριθμος ού(ρα)νόδρομος κλίμαξ· |

⁶² Vladimir – Grichine (1995: 236-238); Pierre et al. (2015: 214, 248).

⁶³ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁴ Turyn (1980: 30-31); Euangelatou-Notara (1984: 116-117; 2000: 182); RGK I 207 bis.

⁶⁵ Miscellaneous manuscript. Cf. Eustratiades (1917: 153; 1925: 27); O'Meara (1989: VIII); Moore (2005: 713); and <http://doaks.org/library-archives/library/mmdb/manuscripts/1070> (consulted 30 November 2015).

⁶⁶ Devreesse (1945: 242-244). Montfaucon (1715: 306) however, dated the manuscript to the 12th or 13th c.

⁶⁷ Lambros (1900: 145); Manafis (2011); autopsy of the manuscript by Renaat Meesters (October 2015).

⁶⁸ Turyn (1964: 131-132); Stevenson (1885: 57); <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/65852/> (accessed 16 November 2016).

⁶⁹ Inc. Τοῖς ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς (PG 88.628).

⁷⁰ Inc. Ἐσκόπησεν ὄντως ἀρίστως μάλα. In the right margin a red title is written vertically: ἐπίλογος εἰς τὸν Κλίμακα.

⁷¹ Inc. Τὸ μὲν τίς ἢ ἐνεγκαμένη (PG 88.596-605).

εἰς οὐ(ρα)νοὺς φέρουσα τοὺς βροτοὺς βᾶσις;⁷² accompanied by a table of contents, which is presented as an image of the *Scala Paradisi*, followed by a repetition of the prologue of f. 3r (f. 320v); *Poem 3* (f. 321r); *To the Shepherd* with a commentary (ff. 321r-328r);⁷³ *Poem 4* (f. 329r). Concerning the provenance of the manuscript, the note τῶν Ἰβήρων, written at the top of f. 1r by a later hand, might be relevant. Also at the bottom of f. 328v there is a note referring to Iveron, written by another hand, dated to the 17th c., inc. Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἀφιερῶθη ἐν τῇ πανσεβάστῳ μονῇ τῶν Ἰβήρων παρ' ἐμοῦ Θεοδούλου μοναχοῦ καὶ δομεστίκου τῆς Κυρίας ἡμῶν τῆς Πορτιατίσσης (Vladimir – Grichine 1995: 238). The manuscript was taken to Moscow in 1655 by Arseny Sukhanov.⁷⁴

N (421 folios) was written on parchment in the 12th c. and measures 192 x 143 mm. The manuscript is carefully written, with titles, initials and notes in red. **N** contains the same introductory prayer as in **M** (f. 1v); *Poem 1* (ff. 2r-4r); *Poem 2* (ff. 4r-8v); a prologue (f. 9r);⁷⁵ a table of contents of the *Ladder* (ff. 9v-10r); the *Life* (ff. 10v-14v); the two *Letters* (ff. 14v-17r); some *scholia* on the *Life* and on the *Letters* (ff. 17r-21r); the *Ladder*, with *scholia* at the end of every step, citing patristic sources (ff. 21r-389r); *Poem 3* (f. 389r); *To the Shepherd* (ff. 390r-407r); the same commentary on *To the Shepherd* as in **M** (ff. 408v-417r); *Poem 4* (ff. 417r-420r); a contemporaneous scribal note, not mentioning any name, accompanied by diverse notes from more recent periods (f. 420v). On f. 421r a note from a 17th-c. hand is preserved: ἐτούτ(ο) τὸ βιβλίον ὑπάρχει τοῦ πάπ(α) παχωμίου | κ(αὶ) τὸ ἀφηῆροσ(εν) εἰς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ δοχειαρίου· | μὲ ἕτερα λ' βιβλία· κ(αὶ) εἴθης ἀποξενώσοι | ἀπ' αὐτὰ να ἔνε. ἀφορισμένως.⁷⁶ A note on f. 1r by a later hand mentions the name of a certain Arseny (αρσέ νή, repeated as αρσενη). This indicates that also this manuscript was brought from Mt. Athos to Moscow by Arseny Sukhanov.

R (377 folios) was written on parchment in 1282 and measures only 92 x 65 mm. Titles and initials are written in red. The black ink on the first folios is slightly worn and the red colour faded away. The manuscript contains the same prologue as **M** (f. 1r-1v); a table of contents of the *Ladder* (f. 2r-2v); the *Letters* followed by the *Ladder* (ff. 3r-345r); *Poem 3* (f. 345v); *To the Shepherd* (ff. 346r-376v). The last verse of *Poem 3* mentions a certain Ἰάκωβος. He is mentioned again on the damaged f. 376v in a colophon in prose, written in red, indicating that he was the patron of the manuscript. The colophon can

⁷² See also www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/171 for occurrences that have a three-line version of this epigram. See also the commentary on *Poem 3*, v. 1 (chapter 3.4.3).

⁷³ Inc. Ὅταν ἀκούσης, ὅτι ἔσονται οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι (PG 88.1165).

⁷⁴ On Arseny Sukhanov see Thomas – Chesworth (2016: 893-894).

⁷⁵ Inc. Ὁ τὴν ἰσάριθμον ἡμῖν, entitled Προθεωρία τῆς ἀγίας κλίμακος. Cf. Sophr. (1970: 6).

⁷⁶ Diplomatic transcription by R. Meesters. Compare with Fonkic – Poljakov (1993: 73).

be reconstructed thanks to a manuscript from Oxford, *Christ Church 63*, f. 362r.⁷⁷ Next to Ἰάκωβος also the scribe Ἰωάσαφ is mentioned in the colophon on f. 376v, stating that he finished his work on 11 November 1282.⁷⁸ Turyn (1980: 80) suggests that this scribe has also written Poem 3.

L (272 folios) is a miscellaneous manuscript and measures 290 x 210 mm. The oldest part of the manuscript, ff. 16r-169v, was written on parchment in the 11th c. The rest of the manuscript, ff. 1r-15v and 170r-272v, is written on paper and is dated to the 14th c. (Moore 2005: 713). The poems are preserved in this more recent part. The manuscript contains the *Catechesis ascetica* of Markianos of Bethlehem (ff. 1r-15r);⁷⁹ a short part of the *Letters* of Isidore of Pelusium (f. 15r);⁸⁰ a short treatise of Psellos *περὶ ψυχῆς* (f. 15r-15v);⁸¹ a fragment of John Chortasmenos' *Prolegomena in logica Aristotelis*, entitled *Περὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν δυνάμεων* (f. 15v).⁸² The 11th-c. part of the manuscript starts with the letter of John of Raithou (f. 16r-16v), without the usual reply; the same prologue as in **M** and **R** (ff. 16v-17r); a table of contents of the *Ladder* (f. 17r); the *Ladder* and *To the Shepherd* (ff. 17v-168v); a short text inc. *Τρία εἰσὶν τὰ ἔργα τῆς ἡσυχίας* (ff. 168v-169r); scribal notes from different periods (f. 169v).⁸³ Thereafter, the 14th-c. part continues with *Poem 2* (ff. 170r-172v); the same prologue as **N** (f. 172v); *scholia* on the *Life* and the *Letters*, the *Ladder* and *To the Shepherd*, accompanied by *scholia* on the *Ladder* (ff. 173r-266v); *Poem 3* (ff. 266v-267r); the same commentary on *To the Shepherd* as in **M** and **N** (ff. 267r-272r); *Poem 4* (f. 272r-272v).

P (275 folios) was written on parchment in the 14th c. and measures 210 x 155 mm. It is carefully written, with titles and notes in red. **P** contains *Poem 1* (ff. 1r-2v); *Poem 2* (ff. 3r-6v); the same prologue as **N** and **L** (f. 6v); a table of contents of the *Ladder* (f. 7r); the *Life* (ff. 7v-10r); the *Letters* (ff. 10r-12r); *scholia* on the *Life* and on the *Letters* (ff. 12r-14r); the *Ladder* (ff. 14v-254v); the same prologue as in **M**, **R** and **L** (f. 254v); *scholia* on the *Ladder* (ff. 255r-256v); *Poem 3* (ff. 256v-257r); *To the Shepherd* (ff. 257r-269r); the same commentary as in **M**, **N** and **L**, accompanied by other *scholia* (ff. 269v-274v). The scribe of

⁷⁷ See for the text Turyn (1980: 30).

⁷⁸ RGK I.207bis. Besides Ἰωάσαφ, there are also three anonymous scribes in **R**. See for more information Turyn (1980: 30-31). Cf. Euangelatou-Notara (1984: 116-117; 2000: 182). Géhin – Kouroupou (2008: 217) mention that Ἰωάσαφ also wrote *Paris. Sainte-Geneviève 3398* (a. 1283), and suggest that he was responsible for *Patriarchike Bibliothek, Panaghia 66* (13th c.). Cf. Canart (2010: 334 n. 46).

⁷⁹ Inc. Ὀλύμερης [sic] καὶ πολύτροπος πρόκειται (CPG 5541).

⁸⁰ Inc. Πυθαγόρας μὲν καὶ Πλάτων (CPG 5557).

⁸¹ Inc. Στραφεῖσα ψυχὴ πρὸς ἑαυτήν. Cf. Moore (2005: 273 PHI.69).

⁸² Inc. Ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ διττὰς ἔχει δυνάμεις.

⁸³ It is likely that f. 169 was the last folio of the original 11th-c. manuscript.

the manuscript is possibly mentioned in verse 15 of Poem 3, a certain Nikander, wearer of rags. The Kyprian of verse 16, therefore, would be the patron of the manuscript. As far as we know, both are unknown from other sources. The book once belonged to a certain Theocharis (f. 133v). Another possessory note on f. 275v, βήβληων μετεῶν, possibly points to Meteora (Devreesse 1945: 244).

I (142 folios) was written on paper in the 14th c. and measures 294 x 218 mm. The text is written in two columns, with initials, titles and notes in red. I contains Poem 1 (f. 1r-1v); Poem 2 (ff. 2r-4r); the same prologue as in N, L and P (f. 4r); a table of contents (f. 4r-4v); the *Life* (ff. 5r-7r); the *Letters* (ff. 7r-8r); the *Ladder* (ff. 8r-114r); another table of contents of the *Ladder*, represented as a ladder (f. 114v); *To the Shepherd* (ff. 115r-124v); John Chrysostom's Λόγος ἰδ' ἀπὸ τὴν πρὸς Ἐφρεσίους ἐπιστολήν (ff. 126r-130v);⁸⁴ *scholia* on Klimax (ff. 131r-141v).⁸⁵ Accompanying the text of the *Ladder*, the word στάσις appears every few folios in the middle of a circle in red, written by a different hand.⁸⁶ It indicates the pause of a monastic reading session.⁸⁷ On f. 125r, which is blank, a watermark can clearly be seen. It closely resembles Briquet nr. 5369. This enables us to date the manuscript to the second half of the 14th c.

V (184 folios) was written on parchment and measures 212 x 147 mm. The manuscript contains a prologue to the *Ladder* (f. 1r); the *Life* and the *Letters* (ff. 1r-7r); the *Ladder* and a brief exhortation to the reader⁸⁸ (ff. 7v-170v); a table of contents of the *Ladder*, represented as a ladder (f. 171r-171v); Poem 3 (f. 172r-172v); *To the Shepherd* and a scribal colophon (ff. 172v-184v). The main part of the text is written by two scribes. The first one, who remains anonymous, was responsible for ff. 1r-45v. The second one wrote ff. 46r-184v and signs a colophon on f. 184v. It mentions his name, Stephanos the priest, and a date, which allowed Turyn (1964: 131) to date the manuscript, or at least ff. 46r-184v, to 1322/1323.⁸⁹ Turyn admits that this date can only be applied with certainty to the second part of the manuscript. He states, however, that the first part was written by a contemporaneous scribe. In fact, there is also a third scribe involved who wrote only f. 82v, l. 5 - f. 83r, l. 3. Poem 3, the only poem of the cycle preserved in this manuscript, is

⁸⁴ PG 62.99-105; CPG 4431.

⁸⁵ Inc. Αἴσθησις πνευματικὴ ἔστιν.

⁸⁶ E.g. on ff. 53r, 54r, 56v, 57v and 58v.

⁸⁷ The *Ladder* is indeed even today read out loud during Lent in Orthodox monasteries. Cf. Chryssavgis (2004: 233), Zecher (2015: 10).

⁸⁸ Inc. Ἀναβαίνετε ἀναβαίνετε (PG 88.1160D).

⁸⁹ The colophon runs, as quoted by Turyn (1964: 131): † ἔγραφε διὰ χειρὸς(ς) ἔμοῦ Στε|φανου ἱερεως; | † ἔτο(ς) ςωλα ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ς´ +. See also Stevenson (1885: 57).

part of the folios written by Stephanos. The handwriting in which it is written is clearly identified as Stephanos',⁹⁰ which is an example of the *Fettaugen-Mode*.⁹¹

In the version of **V**, two names are mentioned in Poem 3, and neither of them is Stephanos. The first one is Simon the monk and the second one is Symeon the priest. Neither of them is mentioned by Turyn (1964: 131-132), nor by Stevenson (1885: 57). It might be that they are the first and the third scribe who are anonymously mentioned in Turyn's description of the manuscript. Another possibility is that they are the patrons of the manuscript – and if not both, maybe one of them. In any case, their role in the production process of this manuscript is unclear. It could even be that these names were copied from an older manuscript.

3.1.2 Order and Preservation of the Poems

As shown in the description of the manuscripts, the poems have a fixed order. Poem 1 starts on one of the first folios of the manuscripts, directly followed by Poem 2. After the prefaces, the *Letters*, the *Life* and the *Ladder* itself, Poem 3 follows. In its turn, Poem 3 is followed by the treatise *To the Shepherd*, which is concluded by Poem 4. This order already shows the function of the poems. Poem 1 functions as a spiritual preparation to the *Ladder*. Poem 2, as a summary, offers the reader a more content-based preparation for the main text. Poem 3 is a colophon after the *Ladder*, indicating that *To the Shepherd* was seen as an encore. Poem 4, as an invocation of the Trinity and a final prayer, concludes the works of and on Klimax.

Poem 1 is preserved in **M** (f. 1r-1v), **N** (ff. 2r-4r), **P** (ff. 1r-2v) and **I** (f. 1r-1v). A marginal note at the end in **M** and **N** mentions that the poem contains 102 verses. Remarkably, **M** has 101 verses, since it omits v. 14. Furthermore, on f. 1r of **N**, a later hand added vv. 1-3 as a *probatio pennae*. Thanks to the note at the end of Poem 2, we know that **L** also originally had Poem 1, but the folios on which it was written are lost.

Poem 2 is preserved in **M** (ff. 1v-2v), **N** (ff. 4r-8v), **L** (ff. 170r-172v), **P** (ff. 3r-6v) and **I** (ff. 2r-4r). The poem has 226 verses in all manuscripts. The scribe of **L** forgot v. 47, but added it in the upper margin. **P**, just as **M** and **N**, has each verse on a new line, except for vv. 182 and 183. Contrary to the actual number of verses in the manuscripts, a note in prose at the end of the poem, preserved in all five manuscripts, mentions that the poem consists of 222 verses. As the central section of the poem (vv. 34-213) is articulated in six

⁹⁰ Cf. Table 101 and 102 in Turyn (1964).

⁹¹ The term *Fettaugen-Mode* was introduced by Hunger (1972). See also Hunger (1997: 38).

lines per step, if four verses were indeed added, they should be either part of the praise of Klimax at the beginning (vv. 1-33), or of the epilogue at the end (vv. 214-226).

Poem 3, the colophon, is preserved in **M** (f. 321r), **N** (f. 389r), **R** (f. 345v), **L** (ff. 266v-267r), **P** (ff. 256v-257r) and **V** (ff. 172r-172v). All manuscripts preserve the same first 13 verses. Moreover, **M**, **N** and **L** have the same 19 verses. **P** has a different text from v. 14. In the last six verses, the names of the scribe and the patron are mentioned and **P** gives different details from **M**, **N**, and **L**. Poem 3 is the only poem of the cycle preserved in **R**. In this manuscript it has only 14 verses, contrary to its marginal note $\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota\ \iota\zeta$; in the last verse, the name of the patron is mentioned; the first verse of Poem 3, omitting its last word, is written by a later hand in a sloppy way on the last folio, f. 377r. Also **V** has only Poem 3. After the common 13 verses, it has another three verses mentioning two names which remained unmentioned in the secondary literature on this manuscript. The number of verses preserved in **V** corresponds thus to the number $\iota\zeta$ in **R**. This observation is a first indication of the close relation between **R** and **V** in the stemma, as will be discussed later on.

Poem 4 is preserved in **M** (f. 329r), **N** (ff. 417r-420r) and **L** (f. 272r-272v). Only in **N** is the poem complete. But again, there is a discrepancy between the actual number of 134 verses preserved in the manuscript and a note at the end of the poem mentioning 135 verses. **M** has only the last 10 verses followed by the first final note, the same as in **N**. The preceding folios are lost. However, it is probable that **M** originally had the complete poem. Also in **L** the text has not been entirely preserved and the order of the verses is mixed up. However, neither the order of **N** nor the one of **L** seems to be correct. The text edited in this article is a reconstruction of the original order of **N**, which improves the structure and understanding of the text.

Indeed, it seems that f. 418 of **N** is bound wrongly. The recto of that folio is in fact the verso. This can be proved when looking to the *scholia* on f. 418. In **N**, the *scholia* are systematically written in the outer margin. Only on f. 418 are the *scholia* written in what is now the inner margin. Moreover, the *scholia* are not preserved entirely, since some letters are missing at the inner side of the binding and on the outer margin of the folios. This clearly points to a process of rebinding and restoration. A decisive proof is that there is an imprint on f. 418v of the red initial of Τριὰς (v. 2), which is written on f. 417v. This mirror image can only be explained by the fact that, at the time when the ink was still wet, f. 418v was actually f. 418r.

If we apply this reconstruction to **N**, the following order can be presented: v. 1 on f. 417r, vv. 2-25 on f. 417v, vv. 50-72 on f. 418r, vv. 26-49 on f. 418v, vv. 73-96 on f. 419r, vv. 97-120 on f. 419v and vv. 121-134 on f. 420r. When applied to **L**, having lost some folia at the end of the poem, the following order of verses appears: vv. 1-25; 73-120; 26-31. Remarkably, the gap in **L** from v. 26 to v. 72 matches f. 418 in **N** exactly. This suggests

that **L** is a copy of **N** or of one of its apographs. The text of **L** corresponds to the following folios of **N**: f. 417r, f. 417v, f. 419r, f. 419v, f. 418v, after which the poem breaks off. Since f. 420r clearly has the end of the poem, f. 418r should have been the penultimate page. This means that the scribe of **L** first copied the text contained in f. 418v of **N**, which further proves our hypothesis. How this transposition can be explained remains unclear. One possibility is that when **N** was copied, a scribe opened the binding of **N** to ease his work, mixed up the order of f. 418 and f. 419 in his to-do-pile, and subsequently placed the wrong side of f. 418 of **N** up.

3.1.3 ParaparateXts

In the previous paragraphs, we spoke of the existence of notes in prose mentioning the number of verses of the poems. They occur as titles or as concluding remarks. As they accompany the poems, which are metrical parateXts on Klimax, they can be called paraparateXts. These paraparateXts are shared in the manuscript tradition and will thus be edited next to the poems.

Another remarkable paraparateXt is the quite long prayer at the beginning of Poem 1 preserved in **M** and **N**. Unfortunately the upper margin of f. 2r was cut when **N** was restored. It is not clear if this has caused any loss of text. In any case, the version of **M** is longer and provides more detailed information. Regrettably, the first lines are also hardly readable. **P** and **I** have only a one-line title that seems to be derived from the prayer in **M** and **N**.⁹²

In **M** and **N**, some words are written in the margin of Poem 1 as reading guides, mentioning the topics of the subsections of the text. **N** also has 3 real *scholia* accompanying Poem 1. In Poem 2, the summary of each step has a subtitle, referring to the content of the step. These titles occur in the margin of **M**, **N**, **L** and **P**. The scribes of **N**, **L** and **P** added marginal *scholia* to Poem 2 as well. **N** has more *scholia* than the other two manuscripts. Some of these marginal notes were included in the text of **L**. This is an extra element to prove the dependence of **L** on **N**. In the margin of **M**, next to the first verses of Poem 2, a later hand added a short poem by Christophoros Mitylenaios on Klimax, inc. ἐπὶ κλίμαξι Κλίμακος πυκνῶς, Πάτερ (Vassis 2005: 247).

Not only are these brief texts useful for the establishment of the stemma, but they also prove that the cycle was seen as a whole. The paraparateXt concluding Poem 4, preserved in **M** and **N**, gives an arithmetical proof. It counts all verses of the four poems together to give the total number of 478 verses. This is a correct sum if the numbers of

⁹² In **IP** the title runs: στίχοι εἰς τὸ (τὸ om. **P**) παρὸν βιβλίον τῆς κλίμακος κῆπον νοητὸν δεικνύοντες αὐτό.

verses are counted up as they are given in the notes, which means, for **M** and **N**, 102 vv. (Poem 1) + 222 vv. (Poem 2) + 19 vv. (Poem 3) + 135 vv. (Poem 4) = 478 vv.

3.1.4 *Pinakes*

The edition preserved in PG does not agree with that of Sophr. on the structure of the *Ladder*. In both editions, the *Ladder* consists of thirty steps. Their subdivision, however, is different. In Sophr., step 16 concerns φιλαργυρία; step 17 discusses άναισθησία. Also in PG, step 16 concerns φιλαργυρία, but step 17 is on άκτημοσύνη, which in Sophr. is a part of the step on φιλαργυρία. By consequence, in PG, άναισθησία is the topic of step 18. This inequality is resolved because PG combines steps 22 (on ύπερηφανεία) and 23 (on βλασφημία) of Sophr. into one step on ύπερηφανεία, which is the 23rd step in PG.

Since Poem 2 contains a metrical summary of the *Ladder*, its structure can be compared to that of Sophr. and PG. If the *lemmata* in the margin are taken as a *pinax* of Poem 2, we see that the structure of the poem coincides with the structure of the *Ladder* as presented in the edition of Sophr., and not with the one of PG:⁹³

Sophr.	PG
1-15	1-15
16	16-17
17	18
18	19
19	20
20	21
21	22
22-23	23
24-30	24-30

It is of course not only relevant to compare the *pinax* of Poem 2 with that of the editions, but also with the *pinakes* of the manuscripts in which the cycle is preserved.

M has two *pinakes*, a first one on f. 3r and a second one on f. 320v. The one on f. 3r, written in red, has the same structure as PG. Its wording is almost identical to the *pinax* provided in PG (88.629). The second *pinax*, also written in red, is accompanied by an image of a ladder. It has to be read in the same direction as you climb a ladder, which means that step 1 stands at the bottom of the ladder, and step 30 at the top. Περί, the

⁹³ Table taken from Pierre et al. (2015: 254).

typical beginning of a title, is only mentioned once. It only appears at the top, accompanying the title of step 30.⁹⁴ Also this *pinax* has the same structure as PG. Its wording, however, is very different and has no direct similarities with the wording of the *pinax* preserved in PG (88.629) nor with that of Sophr. (1970: 185). It is in any case quite remarkable that there is a clear discrepancy between the structure of the *pinakes* in **M** and the structure of Poem 2. Next to the omission of v. 14 of Poem 1, the *pinakes* are yet another indication that **M** cannot be the original manuscript preserving the cycle.

A comparable case is found in *Par. Coisl. 87* (14th c.) f. 1r-v, which preserves an anonymous metrical summary of the *Ladder*. Interestingly, the title of step 16 in the *Ladder* itself in this manuscript (f. 177v) is similar to that in Sophr., including both φιλαργυρία and ἀκτημοσύνη. By contrast, the metrical summary preserved in the same manuscript has the same structure as PG.⁹⁵

The *pinax* in **N** (ff. 9v-10r), has the same structure, and a very similar wording, as the *pinax* of Sophr. (1970: 185). Both *pinakes*, contrary to the *pinakes* of **M** and of PG (88.629), do mention the treatise *To the Shepherd* after the *Ladder*.

Concerning the *manuscripti recentiores*, the following can be noted:⁹⁶

In **R**, the red ink in which the *pinax* (f. 2r-v) was written is heavenly worn on some lines. The text is, however, readable enough to conclude that it has the same structure as the *pinax* of Sophr. and **N**.

In **V**, the *pinax* (f. 171r-171v) closely resembles the second *pinax* of **M** (f. 320v) and corresponds thus with the order of the steps as given in PG. There are some minor variants towards **M**, and several orthographical and scribal mistakes.⁹⁷ The abbreviations of περί and the numbers of the steps are written in black ink, but were overwritten in red. The titles of the steps are written in black.

L does not preserve any *pinax* contemporary to the cycle. The old 11th c.-part of **L** provides a *pinax* on f. 17r which is a peculiar mix of the *pinakes* found in PG and in Sophr. This mix, as I will explain, resulted in a *pinax* mentioning only 28 steps and *To the Shepherd* at the end. Since there are, contrary to the other *pinakes* already discussed, no accompanying numbers in the margin, this defect is not immediately visible. A first explanation for the lack of two steps is the omission of the step concerning πορνεία and

⁹⁴ When quoting the titles of this second *pinax* in **M**, περί is added for reasons of clarity.

⁹⁵ The poem has a separate step on φιλαργυρία (step 16 = vv. 46-47) and on ἀκτημοσύνη (step 17 = vv. 48-50). The parts on ὑπερηφανία and βλασφημία are united into one step (step 23, as it is in PG). Cf. Antonopoulou (2014: 22). See also chapter 4.2 *Paris. Coisl. 87*.

⁹⁶ I did not manage to check the *pinax* of **P**.

⁹⁷ The title of step 9, for instance, runs (diplomatically): πε(ρι) τῆς τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν λυτικ(ῆς) μνησικακίας. Certainly, one would expect ἀμνησικακίας here, just as in **M** (f. 320v). Transcription by Sien De Groot. The entire description of the *pinax* in **V** is based on her consultation of the manuscript. Personal communication with Sien de Groot (20 June 2017).

ἀγνεΐα, step 15 in PG and Sophr. This is probably to be understood as a simple scribal mistake. Furthermore, the *pinax* of **L** follows Sophr. in combining PG's steps 16 and 17 into one step (= step 16 in Sophr., but step 15 in **L**, due to the omission of the step on ἀγνεΐα). By contrast, the *pinax* of **L** follows PG in combining Sophronios' step 22 and 23 into one step (= step 23 in PG, but step 21 in **L**). As the manuscript tradition of the *Ladder* still deserves a thorough study, this quite old manuscript might be an interesting case. Concerning the cycle, however, it is only of a minor importance. It seems that **L** preserves parts of two manuscripts (remember the omission of Poem 1 in **L** due to an unfortunate manuscript transmission): one of the 11th and one of the 14th c. At first sight, these parts have only in common that they preserve the works of Klimax.

Also manuscript **I**, although being from a more recent date, is a peculiar example. Just as **M**, it provides two *pinakes*.⁹⁸ The first one (f. 4r-v) has the same structure as the *pinax* of Sophr. The second one (f. 114v) agrees with PG. Besides, it can be noted that the first *pinax* also mentions the *Life* and the *Letters*, separately the request and the response. The second *pinax* of **I** closely resembles the second *pinax* of **M** (f. 320v). It is not only accompanied by the image of a ladder, also its wordings are very close to the second *pinax* of **M** and to the one of **V**. This clear link between **M**, **V** and **I** might be surprising if we look at their positions in the stemma of the cycle. In any case, we have to keep in mind that the stemma of the cycle, although it might be helpful for reconstructing the stemma of Klimax' works, is of course only a small part of a bigger reality. Contrary to the second *pinax* in **M**, the second *pinax* in **I** does not preserve the epigram inc. Τριαντάριθμος οὐρανοδρόμος κλίμαξ. It does preserve, however, another text in prose, written vertically next to the image of the ladder, from bottom to top. I provide a diplomatic transcription: Ειδεν ἰακῶβ ὁ περνηστὴς τῶν παθῶν κλίμακα, ἐν ἧ ἔπεστήρικτο ἡ ἀγάπη ἢ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς, ὁ τῆ ὄρωμ(έν)η ἡλικία τριακονταέτης.

These preliminary observations seem to point out that the manuscript tradition cannot be divided into two clearly separated groups, one that agrees with PG and another one that corresponds to Sophr. There are clearly several redactions, of which those edited in PG and in Sophr. are just two examples. Moreover, it seems that a metrical summary of one type of redaction of the *Ladder* could easily accompany a manuscript preserving a different redaction.

⁹⁸ Another famous example of a manuscript with two *pinakes*, one before and one after the *Ladder*, is *Princeton, Garret MS. 16*. The *pinakes* are preserved on f. 4r and f. 194r. They are both accompanied by an image of the *Ladder*. Cf. Martin for a discussion and images (1954: 45; fig. 31, 66).

3.1.5 Authorship

The question of the authorship of this cycle is not straightforward. Two contemporary names appear in the original cycle: John the writer and John Komnenos. They are not known from other sources. The latter is a member of the famous Komnenian family.⁹⁹ This is an important hint to roughly date the poems to the Komnenian period. Moreover, this implies that the two oldest manuscripts, **M** and **N** (12th c.), are likely quite close to the moment of composition.¹⁰⁰ The two Johns play an important role in the investigation of the question of the authorship.

Three passages of the cycle are relevant to investigate the authorship: 1) the prose introduction to Poem 1; 2) Poem 3, the metrical colophon; 3) the end of Poem 4. We can be sure of two things: a) John the writer is the author of Poem 3; b) The prose introduction to Poem 1 and the colophon in prose that follows on Poem 4 are written by John the writer. Below, I will discuss these passages, starting by substantiating the last two statements.

a) Poem 3, as is typical for a colophon, is written from the perspective of the scribe. In its version preserved in **M**, **N** and **L**, John Klimax is asked to grant ‘his Johns’ to ascend (v. 14). In the next verses, it is explained who these Johns are. The first John is the low-born writer (γραφεύς v. 15).¹⁰¹ The second one is John Komnenos who was, contrary to the writer, of noble descent (v. 16). He is also presented as a monk (v. 17). Remarkably, John the writer is described in a most humble way (δυσγενής and κακότροπος v. 15). This fits the humbleness of the *Schreibermönch*, and might indicate that the first John was also a monk. Considering the humbleness of John the writer and the laudatory way in which Komnenos is described, it is clear that John the writer was the author, and that John Komnenos is honoured as a patron. The aristocratic name of Komnenos would, of course, fit the role of *Maecenas* well.¹⁰² Moreover, the title of Poem 3 in **N**, **R** and **L** mentions that the poem was written by the scribe.¹⁰³ In **M**, the title states that the poem was composed by a monk, who is

⁹⁹ There is a certain poet of anacreontic verses, John Komnenos of Sozopolis, whose work is edited by J. Boissonade (1831: 456-460). In a 12th-c. epigram a certain John Komnenos, a son of an emperor, is mentioned as the founder of a monastery. Cf. Lambros (1911: 19-20 nr. 50, 51); Barzos (1984 vol. 1: 143 n. 41, 43); ODB s.v. *Komnenos* 1144. Also known is John Komnenos Synadenos (monkname Ioakeim), dated to the end of the 13th c. He was the patron of at least four manuscripts: *Paris. suppl. gr. 1262*, *Paris. Coisl. 89*, *Petropol. RNB gr. 321*, *Vat. gr. 456*. Cf. RGK II.311; VGH 241.A; Cavallo (2006: 86); Devreesse (1945: 78); Treu (1966: 146).

¹⁰⁰ However, neither **M** nor **N** can be the original manuscript (see chapter 3.1.7 *Stemma codicum*).

¹⁰¹ The term γραφεύς is ambiguous, as it can refer both to a scribe and to a writer (author). Cf. LSJ s.v. γραφεύς, Montanari s.v. γραφεύς.

¹⁰² I thank Panagiotis Agapitos for the opportunity I had to discuss this passage with him.

¹⁰³ The title in **N** runs: Στίχοι τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον περὶ τῶν ἀναβαινόντων ταύτην τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν κλίμακα. For a discussion of the title of Poem 3 see chapter 3.4.3.

specified in the margin as John. Remarkably, the family name is not specified. Since vv. 14-18 of Poem 3 indicate that John the writer was the author of the poem, the monk referred to in this title must be John the writer.

- b) In the first line of the introductory prayer to Poem 1 in **M**, Komnenos is mentioned. Unfortunately, there are some stains on the first four lines of the prayer, which are an obstacle to reading and interpreting the text precisely.¹⁰⁴ Komnenos is mentioned as a monk.¹⁰⁵ In this introductory note, the reader is asked to pray both for the *weaver* (εὐχέσθω τῷ τούτων πλοκεῖ) and for the scribe (Χριστέ μου σῶσον τὸν γράψαντα). It seems tempting to interpret John Komnenos as the *weaver* (πλοκεῖ) and the other John as the scribe (τὸν γράψαντα). The evidence for this interpretation may be hidden behind the stain in **M** after Γεγραφότος πρὸ αὐτοῦ. I think that after these words the name of John the writer was written.

In the request to pray for the scribe, the narrator shows an increased personal involvement (μου and verbs in the first person: Ἐρωτῶ, παρακαλῶ, γουνοῦμαι and ζητῶ). Hence, we can conclude that this introductory prayer to Poem 1 was written by John the writer. Moreover, he was also responsible for the second note after Poem 4. **Ναὶ ἀδελφέ μου** from the intro to Poem 1 corresponds to **Ἄδελφέ μου** at the end of the cycle. Moreover, both prose texts include quotations from the New Testament. These features are an indication that they have the same author.

Concerning the authorship of the entire cycle, I think there are two options: A) John Komnenos is the author of Poem 1, 2 and 4; and John the writer is the author of Poem 3; B) John the writer is the author of the entire cycle. Of course, this last interpretation does not have to rule out the likely option that John the writer also was the scribe of the original manuscript ordered by John Komnenos. In any case, the interpretation of the expression **παρὰ πνεύματος** and of **πλοκεῖ** and **γράψαντα** from the introduction to Poem 1 is crucial. One could interpret that by **παρὰ πνεύματος** Komnenos is designated as the poet. One might think of the possibility of Komnenos being the intellectual author (of Poems 1, 2 and 4) and the other John the physical scribe. By contrast, if **παρὰ πνεύματος** would just mean that Komnenos ordered the poems, John the writer can be considered as the author of the entire cycle. Πλοκεύς could mean *author*,¹⁰⁶ but perhaps it could, more generally, refer to *he who came up with the concept of the text*; so not to the author, but to the one who came up with the idea of composing a cycle of four poems on the *Ladder*.

¹⁰⁴ Regrettably, in **N**, the upper margin of the folio, having a similar introductory prayer, was cut off. However, it is not clear if this also caused a loss of text.

¹⁰⁵ The first line of the prayer in **M** runs: [±8] τεθέντες παρὰ πνεύματος Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ καὶ γεγονότος μοναχοῦ.

¹⁰⁶ Compare for example with σχεδοπλόκος, *Verfasser von σχέδη* (LBG) and σχεδογράφος, *Schedograph* (LBG).

Also the occurrence of Komnenos in the last verses of Poem 4 can be interpreted in two ways. He is described again as a monk, but appears in the first person. Interestingly, compared to Poem 3, his famous descent is described in a more down-to-earth fashion. This means either that Komnenos, speaking in the first person, is the author of this poem, or that John the writer writes in the name of his patron. This way he could honour him one last time, concluding the cycle with a prayer in his name. So this occurrence could still fit in with the interpretation of John the writer as the author of the entire cycle.

These observations do not allow for hasty conclusions. The cycle is clearly presented as a whole. Firstly, all poems have many intertextual references, mostly to the Bible, Gregory of Nazianzos, John Klimax and John Chrysostom. Secondly, the four poems have similar metrical features. Overall, the verses aim at prosodic correctness and deviations are equally spread out over the poems. The anomalies are too limited in number to use them for postulating a different authorship.¹⁰⁷ A third argument for the unity of the cycle are the parapatexts counting up the number of verses of all poems. These notes, at the beginning and the end of the poems, have been part of the manuscript tradition since the oldest testimonies.

Whether these observations allow to postulate also a single author is not entirely certain. However, as we have seen above, Poem 3 provides the easiest key for identifying the author. If John the writer has to be considered as the author of the entire cycle, which, I think, is indeed the easiest solution, then we have to explain the somehow contradictory passages from Poem 3 and from the introduction to Poem 1. Although this is not an easy case, I think that a possible solution might be found again in the humbleness of John the writer towards his patron. I would consider it an option that John the writer, being the author of the entire cycle, praises his patron John Komnenos by referring to him as the one who came up with the concept of the poems (πλοκεῖ), whereas he identifies himself with the role of the scribe (τὸν γράψαντα). Of course, such a hypothesis is hard to prove, but I think it is defensible. We might even take his namesake John Klimax as an example. At the end of his treatise *To the Shepherd*, John Klimax addresses John of Raithou, on whose commission the *Ladder* was written, as follows (PG 88.1205, ll. 39-52):

ἑώρακας τὴν προβεβλημένην καὶ ἐστηριγμένην τῶν ἀρετῶν κλίμακα· ἥσπερ κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν σοι, ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον τέθεικας¹⁰⁸ μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πλήρωμα· εἰ καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς εὐήθεις ἐκ ταπεινοφροσύνης

¹⁰⁷ See chapter 3.1.6 Metrical Analysis.

¹⁰⁸ 1 Cor. 3:10.

βαλλόμενος τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν τὸ ῥυπαρῶδές σοι πρὸς τὸν σὸν λαὸν κιχρᾶν τετυράννηκας. Καὶ οὐ θαῦμα· εἴθισται γὰρ καὶ Μωυσῆ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἱστορίας τύπον, ἰσχνόφωνον ἑαυτὸν ἀποκαλεῖν καὶ βραδύγλωσσον· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν Ἀρῶν ἀρίστου ἐπέτυχε καὶ λογοδότου καὶ λεξιδρόμου.¹⁰⁹ Σὺ δέ, ὦ μύστα, οὐκ οἶδ' ὀπόθεν τὴν ἄφιξιν ἐπὶ τοῦτο πεποίηκας πρὸς πηγὴν ἄνυδρον καὶ ὄλην Αἰγυπτίων βατράχων, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνθράκων πεπληρωμένην.¹¹⁰

The architect-metaphor can be applied to the production process of the *Ladder* itself.¹¹¹ One could say that John Klimax regards himself as merely the constructor of the *Ladder*, whereas he grants John of Raithou the title of architect. The relation between Moses and Aron is the same as the one between John of Raithou and Klimax, although the latter considers himself inferior to Aron. These two metaphors mean that Klimax considers himself only as a humble executer of a given task,¹¹² whereas the plan / the concept was provided by John of Raithou.

Possibly, the relation between John of Raithou and John Klimax (respectively patron and author of the *Ladder*) was comparable to that of John Komnenos and John the writer (again, respectively patron and author). One could easily imagine that, just as John of Raithou requested Klimax to write a new spiritual guide, John Komnenos requested John the writer to compose a cycle on the *Ladder*. Perhaps Komnenos even gave instructions to John the writer. Maybe *he* came up with the idea of comparing the *Ladder* to a garden in Poem 1. Maybe *he* insisted on composing a metrical summary of the *Ladder*, which resulted in Poem 2. Maybe *he* wanted the book to conclude with a prayer to the Trinity, mentioning his name at the end. If this was indeed the case, one might indeed interpret that John the writer considered John Komnenos as the 'architect' of the cycle and maybe that is the true meaning of **παρὰ πνεύματος** in the prose introduction to Poem 1. John the writer, out of humility, accepted the task to write the cycle and granted his patron, John Komnenos, the honourable title of **πλοκεύς**, comparable to **ἀρχιτέκτων** in *To the Shepherd*.

¹⁰⁹ Ex. 4:10-16.

¹¹⁰ Ex. 7:27 - 8:7.

¹¹¹ See chapter 2.2 The Ladder Concept in Klimax.

¹¹² Compare with the *Letter* of Klimax to John of Raithou which is full of references to the duty of obedience.

3.1.6 Metrical Analysis

Overall, the author aims at prosodic correctness. Of course, as is typical for Byzantine verses, there are some deviations concerning the so-called *dichrona*. When comparing the position of the *Binnenschlüsse* and accent positions, we get the following results:

	Poem 1 (102 vv.)		Poem 2 (226 vv.)		Poem 3 (19 vv.) LMN		Poem 4 (134 vv.)	
Binnenschlüsse after the 5th syllable								
stress on the 3 rd syllable	9 vv.	8,82%	22 vv.	9,73%	2 vv.	10,53%	21 vv.	15,67%
stress on the 4 th syllable	39 vv.	38,24%	93 vv. ¹¹³	41,15%	5 vv.	26,31%	46 vv. ¹¹⁴	34,33%
stress on the 5 th syllable	31 vv.	30,39%	49 vv.	21,68%	4 vv.	21,05%	35 vv.	26,12%
total	79 vv.	77,45%	164 vv.	72,56%	11 vv.	57,89%	101 vv.	76,12%
Binnenschlüsse after the 7th syllable								
stress on the 5 th syllable	19 vv.	18,63%	51 vv.	22,57%	6 vv.	31,58%	25 vv.	18,65%
stress on the 6 th syllable	4 vv.	3,92%	7 vv.	3,10%	2 vv.	10,53%	5 vv.	3,73%
total	23 vv.	22,55%	58 vv.	25,67%	8 vv.	42,11%	30 vv.	22,38%
Verses without Binnen- schluß								
	0 v.	0%	4 vv.	1,77%	0 v.	0%	2 vv.	1,5%

There are 6 verses without *Binnenschluß*. Four of them (Poem 2, vv. 222-224; Poem 4, v. 119), because they exist of long compounds, have no pause at all.¹¹⁵ The last verse of Poem 2 has a *Binnenschluß* after the 6th syllable and a stress on the 6th, caused by a triple repetition of ἀμήν, by which the poem is concluded.¹¹⁶ V. 43 of Poem 4 can be

¹¹³ In the manuscripts **κεράστιν** is written as **κεραστήν** (see commentary on Poem 2, v. 207 in chapter 3.4.2). So in the manuscripts there are in fact only 92 verses of this group.

¹¹⁴ V. 69 has only 11 syllables. The first half of this verse, however, is impeccable and has a *Binnenschluß* after the 5th syllable and a stress on the 4th.

¹¹⁵ For a similar case see e.g. Leo Choïrosphaktes (9th-10th c.), *Chiliostichos theologia* 32, l. 28 (ed. Vassis 2002a): τῶν ψευδοτεχνοκαπνοβορβοροστόμων. Eustathios of Thessalonike (12th c.) in his *exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem* 206, ll. 10-15 (ed. Cesaretti – Ronchey 2014: 224) disapproves such verses, because they break the rhythmical pattern.

¹¹⁶ A B6-verse is very rare in Byzantine poetry (Lauxtermann *forthcoming*). A poem of 26 dodecasyllables, preserved in a manuscript from Athos, *Vatopedi* 107 (12th c.) f. 107v, however, has several B6-verses (ed. Rhoby *forthcoming*). See already its incipit: Χειμάζων γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ κλύδων τοῦ βίου. Vv. 16-17 run: ψυχὰι παρίστησι θρόνῳ τοῦ Δεσπότη / τραχηλιόγυμναι δακρύφοβαί τρόμῳ.

interpreted as a B4²-verse. It has two verse pauses, one after the 4th syllable and one after the 8th.¹¹⁷

As is common in Byzantine poetry, proper names are treated with more freedom regarding prosody throughout the cycle.¹¹⁸ See Poem 2, v. 3 (Κροῖσος); Poem 3 (LMN), v. 11 (Ἰωάννη); Poem 3 (P), v. 15 (Νικάνδρω); Poem 3 (V), v. 15 (Συμέω); in fact also Poem 4, v. 76 (κλυτοτέχνης); Poem 4, v. 133 (Ἰωάννης); and Poem 4, v. 134 (Κομνηνῆς).

3.1.6.1 Poem 1

As was most common for verses in Byzantine dodecasyllabe, also Poem 1 has clearly more instances of B5-verses. The number of verses with a rare accent position is rather limited. In absolute numbers, there are more verses with an accent on the 3rd syllable before B5 than with an accent on the 6th before B7. However, if we translate this absolute number into a percentage regarding their relation towards, respectively, the number of verses with B5 or with B7, we see that 10,13% of the B5-verses have a stress on the 3rd syllable, whereas 17,38% of the B7-verses has a stress on the 6th syllable.

Metrical deviations Poem 1

1-2: The metrical deviations in vv. 1-2 are connected with the reference to the passage from John Chrysostom (PG 60.707):

Poem 1, vv. 1-2	John Chrysostom's <i>De eleemosyna</i> (PG 60.707, l. 1)
Ἔχουσιν οἱ λειμῶνες ἄνθη ποικίλα καὶ παντοδαπά, πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα	Οἱ λειμῶνες ἔχουσι ποικίλα καὶ διάφορα ἄνθη

In Poem 1, the order of the first three words from Chrysostom is changed. The first three words in their original order, as found in Chrysostom, do form a heptasyllabic colon, with a stress on the 5th syllable. Concerning prosody, however, there are two problems: 1) the 3rd syllable (λειμῶνες) is heavy (whereas it should be light), 2) the 4th syllable (λεῖμῶνες) is light (whereas it should be heavy). The author of Poem 1 clearly was aware of the prosodic rules, certainly because it would concern a prosodic error

¹¹⁷ Although v. 42 of Poem 1 was counted in the statistics as a B7-verse with a stress on the 5th syllable, it is perhaps better to interpret it as a B4²-verse, which results in three logically separated *cola*. For similar cases see Leo VI (9th-10th c.), *Homilia* 26, vv. 67, 126, 521. V. 67, for example, runs: τὸ δ' ἔνδοθεν τῷ μάρτυρι στερέμνιον (ed. Antonopoulou 2008). Cf. Lauxtermann (*forthcoming*). Again the poem from *Vatopedi* 107 f. 107v provides some interesting parallels, containing several B4²-verses. For example, v. 23 runs (ed. Rhoby *forthcoming*): πάντας σῶζεις εἰς Κύριον τὸν υἱόν σου. V. 26 reads: ὦ δέσποινα ἐλέου σου ἡμᾶς σῶσον.

¹¹⁸ Compare, for example, with Theodosios Diakonos (10th c.), *De Creta capta*, v. 37 (ed. Criscuolo 1979): Αἶας, Ἀχιλλεύς, Ὀδυσσεύς, Διομήδης. Cf. Lauxtermann (*forthcoming*).

involving an omega and an epsilon, which, of course, are no *dichrona*. Therefore, the poet changed the order of the words. This results in a prosodically correct heptasyllable, but having a more rare stress on the 6th syllable (λειμῶνες).

In v. 2, **διάφορα** does not fit, since it has an accent on the 10th syllable, instead of on the 11th. As will be explained in the commentary on Poem 1 (see commentary on v. 2), the preservation of Chrysostom's words was important for the poet, even when this implied metrical anomalies.

26: γάγγραιναν εἶπε τοῦτο τίς μυστηπόλος: In this B5-verse, **τοῦτο** refers anaphorically to the whole previous verse (v. 25) and is the object of **εἶπε. τίς**, although having an accent, is used indefinitely, accompanying **μυστηπόλος**. Interestingly, De Groote (2012a: 137 n. 9) mentions that, in the manuscripts preserving the *Versus varii* of Christophoros Mitylenaios, the monosyllabic forms of the indefinite pronoun τίς are almost always written as τίς with *acutus* (only one exception is found). This practice in the manuscripts of the *Versus varii* coincides with the way of accentuation in **M** and **N**.¹¹⁹

μυστηπόλος is written in **M** and **N** as a paroxytone word as it is required in the dodecasyllable. In PGL and in Montanari, however, it is written μυστήπολος, which of course does not fit the meter. A lemma-search in TLG of μυστήπολος only results in plural forms from which it is not possible to derive the accent position of the singular form (μυστηπόλους (1 occ.), μυστηπόλω (1 occ.), μυστηπόλων (7 occ.)). TLG, however, also allows to enter μυστηπόλος as a lemma, which results in 5 occurrences of the singular forms μυστηπόλον (2 occ.) and μυστηπόλος (3 occ.).¹²⁰ It seems thus that μυστηπόλος was in fact the most common form. μυστήπολος in PGL and Montanari might be influenced by another lemma: μυστίπολος, ον (*solemnizing mysteries, performing a mystic rite* LSJ). In LSJ, this word is presented as an adjective.¹²¹ PGL and Montanari, however, have μυστιπόλος (*solemnizing mysteries* as an adjective or *worshipper* as a substantive (PGL)). It is quite remarkable that a lemma-search on TLG of μυστίπολος, just as the lemma-search of μυστήπολος, only results in forms from which it is not possible to derive the accent position of the nominative singular form (μυστιπόλοιο (4 occ.), μυστιπόλοις (9 occ.), μυστιπόλοισιν (4 occ.), μυστιπόλου (2 occ.), μυστιπόλους (8 occ.), μυστιπόλω (8 occ.), μυστιπόλων (10 occ.)). Again, just as is the case for μυστήπολος, TLG also allows to enter the alternatively accentuated μυστιπόλος as a

¹¹⁹ Besides, also **P** has τοῦτο τίς. Manuscript **I**, by contrast, reads τοῦτο τις.

¹²⁰ For μυστηπόλος see Herodian' and Pseudo-Herodian' *Partitiones* [Sp.?] (ed. Boissonade 1819: 187, l. 7); the *Etymologicum Symeonis* (ed. Lasserre – Livadaras 1976: 160, l. 18); a hymn for the 7th of August, canon 7, ode 7, l. 13 (ed. Proiou – Schirò 1980). For μυστηπόλον see the acts of the Vatopedi monastery (ed. Bompaire – Giros et al. 2001: 153, l. 35) and a monastic *typikon* (ed. Gedeon 1939: 273, l. 8).

¹²¹ Note that the lemma μυστίπολος appears in full in the online edition of LSJ (via <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ljsj>), but is abbreviated as -ος in the printed edition (LSJ s.v. μυστιπόλευτος).

lemma, which results in: μυστιπόλος (16 occ.), μυστιπόλε (8 occ.), μυστιπόλοι (10 occ.) and μυστιπόλον (2 occ.). The accentuation of μυστήπολος and μυστίπολος seems not to be found in TLG. In any case, the accentuation as it is found in the manuscripts is the correct one. μυστηπόλος has an active meaning which suits Paul, whereas the passive μυστήπολος would not.

3.1.6.2 Poem 2

When we compare the metrical statistics of this poem to those of Poem 1, there are no great differences. B5-verses with a stress on the 5th syllable are a bit less popular. However, the main tendencies are similar. When we compare the percentage of rare stress positions to the group of verses having their *Binnenschluß* after the same syllable number, just as we did for Poem 1, we get the following results: 13,33% of the B5-verses has a rare stress on the 3rd syllable, whereas 10,35% of the B7-verses has rare stress on the 6th syllable. Compared to Poem 1, one thus could say that the B7-verses of Poem 2 have a slightly lower percentage of verses with a rare stress position. Besides, the three verses without a *Binnenschluß* (vv. 222-224) are not a consequence of the poet's incapability, but rather of his creativity. The only verse with a *Binnenschluß* after the 6th syllable is v. 226, the final verse of this poem.

Metrical deviations Poem 2

14: Ἀγάλλεταί τις ὄρνισιν, ἄλλος φυτοῖς: Quite uncommonly the 12th syllable is stressed. It seems to be no coincidence that this verse belongs to the passage that refers to Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* II,2,1. **φυτοῖς** is the de-Homerised form of φυτοῖσιν (*Carm.* II,2,1 v. 269).¹²² This form also appears in the paraphrase of *Barocc.* 96 f. 116r, but that might as well be a coincidence. Clearly, the author did not succeed this time to transform Gregory's elegiacs into impeccable dodecasyllables.

163: πηγὴ θυμοῦ καὶ ρίζα τῆς βλασφημίας: If this verse were interpreted as a B5-verse, than the pause would not be placed very elegantly after **καὶ**. Therefore it is better to take it as a B7-verse.

170: Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω κρατύνει τοὺς δαίμονας: Very uncommonly the 10th syllable, instead of the 11th, is stressed. Perhaps it is again not a coincidence that the author drew his inspiration for this verse from another text, in this case a passage from step 23 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.976, ll. 45-48).

¹²² In TLG, however, there are three occurrences of φύτοις to be found. Cf. Meletios (7th / 9th c.?), *De natura hominis* (ed. Cramer 1836: 10, l. 8); Manuel Straboromanos (11th-12th c.), *Consolatio ad Irenem imperatricem* (ed. Gautier 1965: 200, l. 12); Constantine Harmenopoulos (14th c.), *Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos*, part 2, tit. 4, sect. 138, l. 4 (ed. Heimbach 1851).

207: ὄφιν κεράστην, βασιλίσκον, ἀσπίδα: In the manuscripts **κεράστην** is written as **κεραστήν** (see also commentary on Poem 2, v. 207). Metrically this intervention has no consequences.

3.1.6.3 Poem 3

In the statistical overview of the metrical structure of Poem 3, the statistics of the original version of **LMN** is given. Some metrical features of the other versions will be discussed below. Since Poem 3 has only 19 vv., it is harder to draw some clear conclusions based on statistics. Compared to Poem 1 and 2, it seems that there is a tendency to have more B7-verses. Also the number of B5-verses with a stress on the 3rd syllable and especially that of B7-verses with a stress on the 6th syllable is quite high. But as already said, the limited number of verses of Poem 3 warns us to be cautious with statistics here.

Metrical deviations Poem 3

P

Verses 14-19 that uniquely appear in **P**, do not have any metrical deviations, except for some prosodic deviations involving *dichrona*. From these 6 verses, there are 5 verses with their *Binnenschluß* after the 5th syllable (2 verses with a stress on the 4th syllable and 3 verses with a stress on the 5th syllable). Verse 18 is the only B7-verse of these 6 alternative verses.

V

Verses 13-16 appear only in this manuscript. Of these 3 verses there are two B5-verses, each having a stress on the 4th syllable, and one B7-verse with a stress on the 5th syllable.

14: μοναχὸν Σίμον ἀναβαίνειν ὡς γράφεις: This verse has a prosodic error that is not due to a *dichronon*. The 3rd syllable is heavy whereas it should be light.

R

Verse 14 in the version of **R** has 14 syllables. The verse can be explained as a combination of two heptasyllabic cola.¹²³ The second half of this verse is clearly borrowed from v. 14 in the version of **LMN**. Again it seems to be no coincidence that this verse, which is two syllables too long, contains a personal name.

3.1.6.4 Poem 4

When comparing the percentages of B5- and B7-verses with those of Poem 1 and 2 we see that these poems have more or less the same percentage of each. Within the group

¹²³ Personal communication with Julie Boeten and Mark Janse (28 January 2016).

of B7-verses, a similar percentage of verses with a deviating accent position on the 6th syllable is found as in Poems 1 and 2. Only the percentage of B5-verses with a stress on the 3rd syllable is slightly higher. Poem 4 has also two verses of only 11 syllables: v. 26 and v. 69. Both are the result of a defective text transmission.

Metrical deviations Poem 4

22: ἀδάκρυτον, ἄλυπον, ἀπενθὲς πάθος: The 4th syllable has a prosodic error which is not due to a *dichronon*. Here it is light, whereas it should be heavy.

26: οἶων κελεύεις ἴαν δ' ἐκτέρων, μέγα.†: Something went wrong in the second half of this verse (**ἐκτέρων**). It consists of only 11 syllables (see commentary Poem 2, v. 26).

29: καιρὸν κάκείνων πρόσφορον δώσεις πότε: In **N** (and **L**), **πότε** is written as ποτέ. As a result, there would be an accent on the 12th syllable. However, on this position in the verse, it cannot be meant as an interrogative. As an indefinite adverb, it “is enclitic if connected with the preceding word;¹²⁴ it is not, when it relates to the following word”¹²⁵ (De Groote 2012a: 138). Here, **πότε** is clearly used as an enclitic connected with the preceding word. This means thus that ποτέ of the manuscripts is correct regarding the orthographical rules. In order to respect the rhythm of the dodecasyllable, we changed the accent of ποτέ in the edition.

43: ἐπιφορὰς μιμούμεναι τῶν κυμάτων: Verse 43 of Poem 4 has two verse pauses, one after the 4th syllable and one after the 8th.

48: ἀντρανύχιον, ἀδρανῆ δεδειγμένον: In this B5-verse with a stress on the 3rd syllable, **ἀντρανύχιον** is a *harax* and alternative for ἀντρονύχιος (*wie eine finstere Höhle* LBG). ἀντρονύχιος would not fit the verse, because it would imply an overt prosodic error as the 2nd syllable of a dodecasyllable is supposed to be heavy.

69: οἶ καὶ ποθοῦντες τὴν πρὸς ζωῆς χάριν: This verse, as it appears in **N**, has only 11 syllables. We opted to reconstruct the verse in the following way: οἶ καὶ ποθοῦντες τὴν πρὸς <ῆς> ζωῆς χάριν (see commentary on Poem 4, v. 69 in chapter 3.4.4).

92: νύξ· ὡς σκοτεινὸς ἡμέρας ἀντίθετος: The 10th syllable, instead of the 11th is stressed. This is an overt error.

3.1.6.5 Conclusion

When we look at the cycle as a whole, taking into account the limited number of verses in Poem 3, there are more metrical arguments in favour of the unity of the cycle than against it. The respective percentages of B5- and B7-verses is similar. Also percentage of

¹²⁴ De Groote (2012a: 138) gives as an example Mitylenaios, *Versus varii* 19, v. 16: εἰ δὲ θάνης καὶ μοῖραν ἀνατλήσεις ποτέ π<ικράν> (ed. De Groote 2012b).

¹²⁵ De Groote (2012a: 138) gives as an example Mitylenaios, *Versus varii* 57, v. 29: ἐξ ἀρετῶν πασάων ἔμψυχον ἄγαλμα πότε εἶχες.

B7-verses with a stress on the 6th syllable is quite stable throughout the poems. Only the number of B5-verses with a stress on the 3rd syllable increases slightly throughout the cycle.

3.1.7 *Stemma codicum*

The manuscript tradition of the poems, as discussed above, is homogeneous, since the paraparate texts to our poems and the non-metrical texts accompanying the *Ladder* are often the same. Moreover, the lack of one or more poems from some of the witnesses (**L** and **M**) can be explained by physical damage to the manuscripts. It seems reasonable to hypothesize a common origin of the poems, all going back to one single archetype ω , in which there possibly were some errors: Poem 1, v. 27 ἀπάσης **MN** is likely to be changed into ἀπάτης; Poem 2, v. 8 ἦδε **ILNP**, ἦδε **M** is likely to be changed into εἶδε.

Neither **M** nor **N** can be interpreted as the archetype. **M** omits v. 14 of Poem 1. In **N**, the opening of the prayer before Poem 1 is a simplification of the prayer in **M**. Moreover, Poem 4 has only 134 vv. in **N**, whereas the note at the end mentions 135 vv. Possibly, **N** omits the first verse of the poem. Besides, **N** has several corrections of the same hand, indicating that it was a copy.

As none of the poems are preserved in all manuscripts, it is virtually impossible to give account of the whole manuscript tradition, and the overview here presented is regrettably partial. The first and clearest result of the collation is that **M** is separated from the remaining manuscripts. This is proved by the presence of several errors, e.g.: Poem 1: v. 18 ὡς **M**, ἥς **INP**; v. 23 ἰσχυρολεπτοβραχείας **M**, ἰσχυρολεπτοβραχέας **INP**; v. 46 λαμπραῖς, φαιδρομορφοπανστόλοις **M**, φαιδραῖς λαμπρομορφοπανστόλοις **INP**; v. 53 προσφόρος **M**, προσφόρως **INP**; v. 73 ἡ **M**, ῶ **INP**; v. 78 μετρίας **M**, μετρίους **INP**;¹²⁶ v. 81 ἐκτρέφε **M**, ἐκτρέφων **INP**; Poem 2: v. 3 ἀφ' **M**, ὑφ' **ILNP**; ὄγκωτο **M**, ὠγκωτο **ILNP**; v. 12 ὀρίων **M**, ὠρίων **ILNP**; v. 20 ὄν **M**, ὦν **ILNP**; v. 22 καρτερωτάτη **M**, καθαρώτατη **ILNP**; v. 39 παθῶν συγκαταθέσεις **M**, παθοσυγκαταθέσεις **ILNP**; v. 153 εὐχῆς **M**, ψυχῆς **ILNP**; v. 180 συσυμαθήτω **M**, εὐσυμαθήτω **ILNP**; v. 205 μηχανοπανουργίας **M**, μηχανοπλανουργίας **ILNP**; Poem 3: v. 14 τοῖς **M**, σοῖς **LN**; Poem 4: v. 125 ἀμβληχρός **M**, ἀβληχρός **N**. Moreover, we can exclude the possibility that any of the extant witnesses is a copy of **M**, since the scribe of **M** omits Poem 1, v. 14.

The branch of the manuscript tradition to which **I**, **L**, **N**, **P** and **R** belong is of course more complex. The oldest manuscript in this group, and the most accurate one, is **N**. However, it contains some errors that affect its descendants: Poem 2, v. 8 ἦδε **ILNP**; *recte* εἶδε; Poem 2, v. 86 λευκέροισι **IP** | γλευκεροῖσι **L** | γλευκέροισι **N**; γλυκέροισι **M**.

¹²⁶ Corrected to **μετρίους**, based on a suggestion of Kristoffel Demoen.

Concerning Poem 1, the following common errors can be listed, although **L** is not a witness to this poem: v. 43 παριθμίων **INP**; παρισθμίων **M**; v. 73 θάλαττα **INP**; θάλασσα **M**.

I, **L** and **P** share significant common errors: Poem 2, tit. ἕτεροι om. **ILP**; Poem 2, v. 67 πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν **ILP**; πρὸς τὸν τάφον **MN** | Γράφεται· πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν add. in mg. **N**. Furthermore, **I** and **P** have common readings. At the end of Poem 2, στίχοι τοῦ Κλίμακος σκβ **IP**. As far as Poem 1 is concerned: tit. στίχοι εἰς τὸ (τὸ om. **P**) παρὸν βιβλίον τῆς κλίμακος κῆπον νοητὸν δεικνύοντες αὐτό **IP**; v. 86 γενναΐζων **IP**; γενναΐζεις **MN**; **I** and **P** invert vv. 87 and 88; Nota in fine om. **IP**. These errors allow us to suppose the existence of a common forefather α , which derives from **N**.

A further distinction can be identified between **P** and **IL**. **P** presents an error in Poem 1, v. 63: λαμβάνον; λαμβάνει **IMN**. **I** and **L**, on the other hand, represent a different branch in the descent from **N** and share *errores coniunctivi*.¹²⁷ Poem 2, v. 91 μερίδα Κυρίου **I** | μερίδα τοῦ Κυρίου **L**; μερίδα τοῦ Λόγου **MNP**; Γράφεται· Κυρίου add. in mg. **NP**; Poem 2, v. 94 πλέκον **IL**; πλέκων **MNP**; Poem 2, v. 99 οὐκ ἀποκλίνει **IL**; οὐ παρακύπτει **MNP**; Γράφεται· οὐκ ἀποκλίνει add. in mg. **NP**. Considering this list, we can draw the conclusion that **P** is not a copy of **L** and that **I** and **L** descend from the same exemplar β , copy of α .

R is difficult to accommodate in our stemma, since it actually preserves only thirteen verses of the entire cycle. However, it can be situated among the descendants of α , as it presents a title of Poem 3 which is very similar to the one of **I**, **L**, **N**, and **P**.¹²⁸ Furthermore, **R** shares two errors with **L**: Poem 3, v. 5 ἀναβαίνουσι; ἀναβαίνουσιν **MNP**; Poem 3, v. 10 καινοί; καὶ νοῖ **MNP**.

V, just as **R**, is not easily placed into a stemma as it only preserves Poem 3. However, it can be situated among the descendants of α , as it presents the same title of Poem 3 as **N** and **L**, but with some iotacistic errors.¹²⁹ **V** has one common reading with **R** and **L**: Poem 3, v. 10 καινοί; καὶ νοῖ **MNP**. Moreover, **R** and **V** share some common errors as well: Poem 3, v. 7 ἀπὸ ξύσαντες; ἀποξύσαντες **LMNP**; Poem 3, v. 9 φανέντες καὶ κενοί;¹³⁰ φανέντες ὡς κενοί **LMNP**; Poem 3, v. 11 δίδου σαῖς; δίδου σὺ σαῖς **LMNP**. The option that **V** would be a copy of **R** can be ruled out by looking at the titles of Poem 3 in these manuscripts. Whereas **R** omits **ταύτην** in the title of Poem 3, **V** omits **τὴν** after **ταύτην**. From the common errors between **R** and **V**, and from the observation that **V** is

¹²⁷ For the status of **L** as a descendant of **N** according to the data provided by Poem 4, see chapter 3.1.2 (Order and Preservation of the Poems: Poem 4).

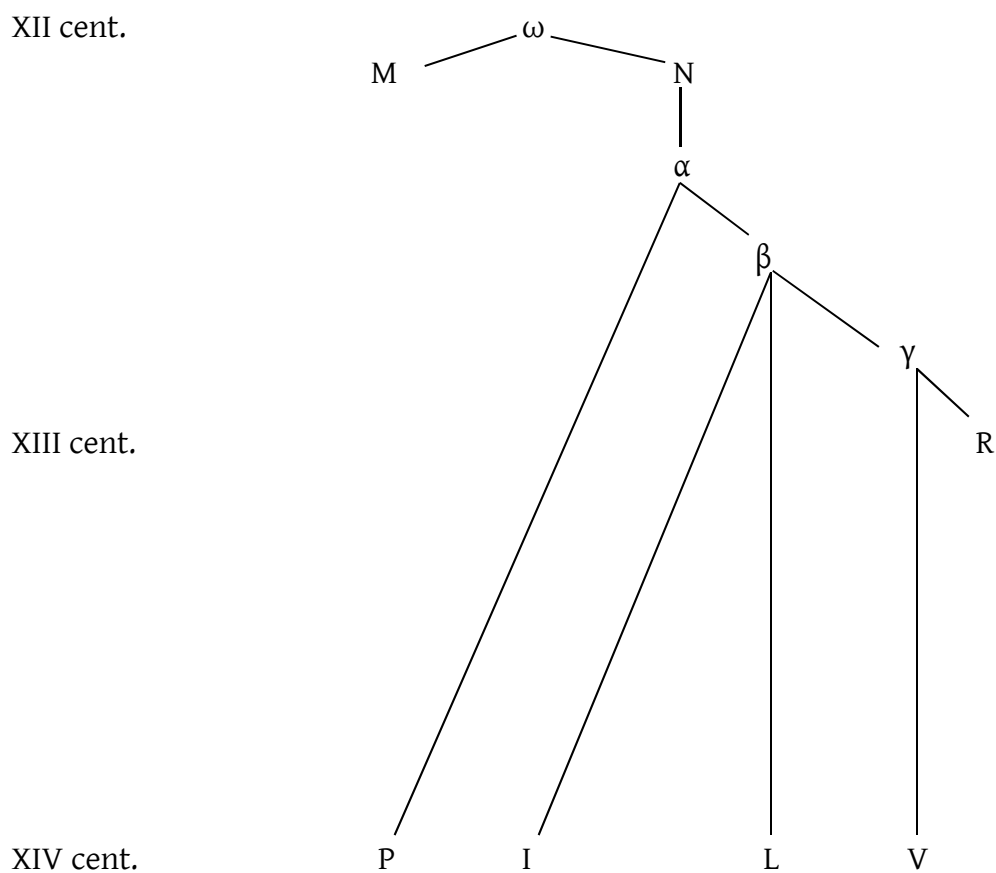
¹²⁸ See the commentary on the title of Poem 3 for an edition of the titles of **I**, **L**, and **P** (chapter 3.4.3).

¹²⁹ See the commentary on the title of Poem 3 for an edition of the title of **V** (chapter 3.4.3).

¹³⁰ Poem 3, v. 10 in a diplomatic transcription runs: καινοί φανέντες (καὶ) κενοί κενοῦ βίου (**R**); καινοί φαν(έν)τ(ε)ς κεκαινοῦ κενοῖ βίου (**V**). κε- in κεκαινοῦ in **V** is the result of iotacistic reading of καί.

not likely to be a copy of **R**, we could suppose the existence of a common forefather γ that descends from β . The two known descendants of γ are then **R** and **V**. Of course, as already said, this group is only based on the tradition of Poem 3 and should therefore be handled with care. However, the marginal note, namely: ις, next to the title of Poem 3 in **R**, could provide a further argument in favour of the existence of γ . This note likely refers to the number of verses. **R**, however, has only 14 verses. The only known version of Poem 3 that has 16 verses is **V**. Possibly, the version of **R** is an adaptation that goes back to a model that had, just as **V**, 16 verses. In **R**, the note is written next to the title. It might be that this was also the case in **R**'s model. We could suppose that the scribe of **R** adapted the end of the poem, resulting in a composition of 14 vv. and forgot to change the number in the note above. The names of Simon and Symeon might even come from the apograph of **V**. This would explain why they do not appear elsewhere in **V** and why their role remains undefined.

The analysis of the *errores coniunctivi* and *separativi* of the manuscripts allows us to draw the following *stemma codicum*:



As **I**, **L**, **P**, **R** and **V** can be considered as *codices delendi*, for the *constitutio textus* we rely on **M** and **N** only. For the edition of Poem 3 we use also **P**, **R** and **V** because they provide different closings.

3.1.8 Corrections in N

Below, I provide a list of corrections in **N**, executed by its scribe.

1) Poem 1, v. 6: τρέφουσι, γλυκαίνουσιν MN^{pc} ; γλυκαίνουσιν τρέφουσι N^{ac}	correction above the line indicated by α, β and γ
2) Poem 1, v. 18: γλυκυδερκές MN^{pc} ; γλυδερκές N^{ac}	υκ is added above the line in red ink. A red stroke under the word stresses the correction.
3) Poem 1, v. 24: σκῶλον οὐκ ἔχουσα τι MN^{pc} ; οὐκ ἔχουσα τι σκῶλον N^{ac}	correction above the line indicated by α, β and γ
4) Poem 1, v. 41: εἰρημένης N^{pc} ; εἰρημένοι MN^{ac}	ης is added above the line. οι is not crossed out.
5) Poem 2, v. 57: ἀδήλως M^{ac}N^{pc} ; ἀδείλως M^{pc}N^{ac}	In N , ή is added above the line. In M , ει is added above the line. In both manuscripts nothing is crossed out.
6) Poem 2, v. 186: μόνα MN^{ac} ; μόνους N^{pc}	The correction -ους is written above the line. μόνα appears in the main text itself and is not crossed out.
7) Poem 2, v. 220 Χριστοπατράσιν MN^{pc} ; Χρηστοπατράσιν N^{ac}	ι is added above the line. η is not crossed out.
8) Poem 4, v. 72 παραπλήσιον N^{pc} ; παραπλήσιος N^{ac}	ον is added as an abbreviation (like a long gravis) above the line. ος is not crossed out.
9) Poem 4, v. 73 παρόμοιον N^{pc} ; παρόμοιος N^{ac}	ον is added as an abbreviation (like a gravis) above the line. ος is not crossed out.
10) Poem 4, v. 91 διόλου N^{pc} ; δι' ὄλου N^{ac}	The apostrophe, <i>spiritus</i> and acute are crossed out by one long acute.
11) Poem 4, v. 114 συγκεκρυμμένον N^{pc} ; συγκεκραμένον N^{ac}	υ and a μ are added above the line. Nothing is crossed out.

A first observation is that several corrections are rather represented as a variant reading. In cases 4)-9) and 11) the reading *post correctionem* appears above the line, whereas the reading *ante correctionem*, in the main text, is not crossed out. Only in two cases, cases 2) and 10), the scribe of **N** ruled out the possibility of a variant reading and clearly made a correction. In case 2), the red ink seems to indicate that it is a correction. In case 10), the wrong reading is crossed out. Two other corrections, cases 1) and 3), concern word order.

Secondly, it is important to determine if these corrections make sense.¹³¹ In four out of seven cases where we can compare **N** with **M**, the reading of **N^{pc}** corresponds to that of **M** (cases 1), 2), 3), and 7). These cases are rather straightforward. Cases 1)-3) are indeed right corrections. Case 7) concerns the correction of iotacism, and although this word is a *hapax*, this correction is certainly correct.

The corrections of **N** in Poem 4 cannot be compared to **M**, simply because Poem 4 was not completely preserved in **M**. However, we can say that cases 8) and 9) are clearly right corrections. Also the corrections of cases 10) and 11) seem to be correct.

In case 5), the reading of **N^{ac}** corresponds to that of **M^{pc}**, and **N^{pc}** corresponds to **M^{ac}**. As was already mentioned in the commentary on v. 57, it is not easy to decide which reading is likely to be the original one. One could even consider the option that, since nothing is crossed out in the manuscripts, **M** and **N** present here variant readings rather than corrections. However, I tried to argue in favour of ἀδήλως, and thus in favour of **N^{pc}**.

In cases 4) and 6) the correction is executed in a similar way, and the reading of **N^{pc}** does not correspond with that of **M**. Concerning case 4), both readings make sense. However, from the parallel with Ps. 140:2, we concluded that the reading εἰρημένης of **N^{pc}** is to be preferred. In case 6), however, the reading of **M** seems preferable.

¹³¹ For a further discussion of these corrections see the commentary on the respective verses (chapter 3.4).

3.2 Critical Edition and Translation

Poem 1

[±8] τεθέντες παρὰ πνεύματος Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ καὶ γεγονότος μοναχοῦ. Γεγραφότος πρὸ αὐτοῦ τ[±7] στίχοι εἰς τὸν Κλίμακα κῆπον νοητὸν δεικνύοντες τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον· οὓς ὁ ἀναγινώσκων, εὐχέσθω τῷ τούτων πλοκεῖ· ὃς καὶ ἀντιχαρίζεται σοι τῷ ταύτην αὐτοῦ ἐκπληροῦντι τὴν αἴτησιν τὴν παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ εὐχὴν, ἥτις ἐστὶ τὸ μετὰ Χριστοῦ γενέσθαι διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ συνεῖναί σοι καὶ συναγάλλεσθαι ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων ἀμήν.

Ναὶ ἀδελφέ μου ὁ ταύτη προσομιλῶν τῇ βίβλῳ, οὕτω ποίει διὰ τὸν εἰπόντα· “εὐχέσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων”. Ἐρωτῶ σε, παρακαλῶ σε, γουνοῦμαι σε. Τί γάρ σοι φορτικὸν ἢ ἔγκοπον ἢ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναπτύξαντι τὴν βίβλον ταύτην καὶ κλείσαντι εὐθέως εἰπεῖν· “Χριστέ μου σῶσον τὸν γράψαντα”; Πλὴν τούτου ἕτερόν τι οὐ ζητῶ, ἂν γοῦν πολλάκις διὰ λήθην οὐκ εἴπῃς οὕτως, ὁ Θεὸς συγχωρήσει σοι.

Ἔχουσιν οἱ λειμῶνες ἄνθη ποικίλα
καὶ παντοδαπά, πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα·
τούτων τὰ μὲν τέρπουσι τὴν θεωρίαν,
εὐωδιάζει τὰ δὲ τὴν ῥίνα μόνην,
5 ἄλλα δὲ τὸν φάρυγγα καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν
τρέφουσι, γλυκαίνουσιν οὐκ ἄθροιστάως.
Οὗτος δ’ ὁ κῆπος, ἐξ Ἰωάννου φέρων
καρπούς πεπείρους, δαψιλεῖς τὰς ἰκμάδας,
ἀνχεῖ χορηγεῖν καὶ πρέμνων εὐμορφίας
10 φύλλων ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐχλοοῦντων ἐνδρόσων,
ἐξ ὧν τὸ θάλλον ὠραῖζει τὴν χάριν.

Codd. MN **Tit.** sec. MN: [±8] τεθέντες παρὰ πνεύματος Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ καὶ γεγονότος μοναχοῦ. Γεγραφότος πρὸ αὐτοῦ τ[±7] στίχοι εἰς τὸν Κλίμακα M: Στίχοι τοῦ γεγραφότος τὸν Κλίμακα τοῦτον N | οὓς ὁ mutil. M | ἥτις emendavimus: ητις M; ἢ τις N | συνεῖναι σι M; σοι sigma s.l. N | οὕτω M; οὕτως N | εὐχέσθε ὑπὲρ N: εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ M | Ἐρωτῶ mutil. M | πλὴν M: πλέον N | ἕτερόν τι om. N 1 λειμῶν[(ες)] N 6 γλυκαίνουσιν τρέφουσι N^{ac}

Poem 1

[±8 composed] by the spirit of John Komnenos, who has also become a monk. Written on behalf of him [±8] Verses on the Ladder, showing this book as a spiritual garden. You, reader of these verses, pray for their composer. When you complete this request from him, he will gratefully offer you his own prayer, which is to unify with Christ, through Christ and to be together with you and to rejoice at His coming glory forever and ever, amen.

Yes, my brother, you who come into contact with this book, do so, because of him who said: “Pray for one another”. I beg you, I entreat you, I implore you. For why would it be difficult or wearied or hurtful for you, when you open this book and when you close it, to say immediately: “My Christ, save the scribe”? Except for that, I don’t seek for anything else. But if by forgetfulness you do not say so, may God forgive you.

The meadows have various flowers
from different origin, many and diverse.
Some of them are joyful to look at,
some have only a pleasant perfume,
5 others feed and sweeten divinely
the throat and the stomach.
This garden, bearing fruit from John,
ripe and full of juice,
is proud to provide also well-shaped trees
10 with green leaves covered with dew,
whose blossoming beautifies the grace.

	Ποῶν τε πλήρης ἔστι τῶν μυριπνῶων καὶ ῥοῦς διέρπων ὑδάτων ἐξ ὀμβρίων τῆς ὑγρότητος ἐμφορεῖ γλυκασμάτων.	
15	Σκοπητέον δὲ τίνα ταῦτα τυγχάνει. Γῆ παραδείσου, βιβλίου τούτου λέγω, ἢ πᾶσα γραφή· τὴν ὕλην γραφῆς νόει, ἧς γλυκυδερκὲς εἶδος ὠραῖσμένον. Δένδρα καλὰ, μέγιστα διδασκαλαίαι,	γῆ τοῦ κήπου
20	δένδρων ῥάδαμοι καὶ κλάδοι τούτων λόγοι· ὥς ἢ μία γὰρ ἀρετὴ πολλὰς φύει, οὕτως ὁ μιᾶς εἷς λόγος πολλοὺς λόγους, μικροὺς, μερικοὺς, ἰσχυρολεπτοβραχεάς. Ἵν φύλλα πίστις σκῶλον οὐκ ἔχουσα τι,	δένδρα κλάδοι
25	ὑπαντιάζον φθέγμα θείοις πατράσι· γάγγραιναν εἶπε τοῦτο τίς μυστηπόλος, βάθρον κακίας καὶ θέμεθλον ἀπάτης. Καὶ καρπὸς ἔστι τῶν λόγων τὰ πρακτέα.	[κ]αρπός
30	Ἐν ᾧ πετηνῶν ἵπταται πολὺ γένος κάκειθεν ἔνθεν ἐμπολεῦον εἰς ἔλος καὶ πρὸς μονὰς καθεῦδον ἠωρημένας. Ἐν ᾧ μοναστῶν ὀρνέων ὑποπτέρων, κούφων, ἐλαφρῶν, ἀμερίμνων, ἀβίων, ἐνιζάνει, γέγηθε, τέρπεται γένος	πετηνά ἔλος πετηνά
35	ἐμφιλοχωροῦν τῷ νοημάτων δάσει καὶ καταλαβεῖν ἀκριβῶς οὐκ ἰσχύον· στάσις γὰρ ἄλλη καὶ λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων. Ἄνθη προσέρπει θαυμάσια κοιλάσιν ἠδιστον ἐκπνέοντα τὴν εὐοσμίαν.	ἄνθη
40	Οἱ τῆς προσευχῆς εἰσιν, ὡς οἶμαι, λόγοι ὡς θυμίαμα τῷ Δαυίδ εἰρημένης· τὰ γὰρ Θεοῦ τέρπουσι νοῦν ἄνθη πέρι,	

13 ἐξομβρίων M 14 om. M 16 ἢ γῆ τοῦ [κήπου] add. in mg. N 18 ὥς M | γλυκυδερκὲς N^{ac} 23 ἰσχυρολεπτοβραχεαίας M 24 οὐκ ἔχουσα τι σκῶλον N^{ac} 27 ἀπάσης codd. 28 καρπός in mg. om. M 29 πετεινῶν N | πετεινά in mg. M^{ac}; [π]ετηνά in mg. N 30 ἔλος in mg. om. M; ἔλος add. in mg. ad v. 35 N 32 πετεινά in mg. M^{ac} 35 τῶν M 37 στάσις M | scholion ad ἄλλη: Ἦγουν ἀλλαχοῦ add. in mg. N 38 κοιλάσιν M | ἄνθη add. in mg. ad v. 40 N 41 εἰρημένοι MN^{ac}

It is full of grasslands with a sweet smell
and a stream of rainwater running through it
fills the garden with the sweetness of humidity.

15 Let us look what this means.

The ground of the garden, I mean of this book,
is the whole writing: consider the material of this writing,
whose shape is sweet to behold and beautifully adorned.

ground of the garden

20 The beautiful, large trees are the lessons,
the branches of the trees and their twigs are the words:
just as one virtue develops many virtues,
so one word on one lesson develops many words,
small, partial, subtle, refined, brief words.

trees

twigs

25 Their leaves are faith, which does not have any prickle,
any saying in contradiction with the divine fathers.

One initiate called this gangrene,
the basis of evil and the foundation of deceit.

The fruit of the words are the deeds.

fruits

30 In the garden flies a large group of winged creatures,
from here and there they migrate to the marsh-meadow
and they sleep in abodes that are hung up high.

birds

marsh-meadow

In the garden, a group of winged solitary birds,
lightened, relieved, unconcerned, without livelihood,
sits down and is glad and rejoices

birds

35 dwelling in the thickness of thoughts
while not being capable to understand everything precisely,
since the condition of words and deeds is different.

The birds approach, in the valleys, wonderful flowers,
which breath out the sweetest scent.

flowers

40 These are, as I think, the words of the prayer
which David has called incense;
these please the mind of God more than (real) flowers,

ὡς ἀσιτίας τοὺς παρισθμίων τόπους,
 ὡς γλῶτταν, ὡς λάρυγγα τῆς ψαλμωδίας.
 45 Τούτῳ μὲν εὐθύς ἥλιος προσηρμένος ἥλιος
 ἀκτίσι φαιδραῖς λαμπρομορφοπανστόλοις
 ἕωον ὄψιν ἐμφανίζει τηλόθεν
 καὶ πυρσοειδεῖς ἐκτελῶν ἀνακλάσεις·
 καὶ τῷδε βάλλων δραστικὰς λαμπηδόνας,
 50 οὐ θερμοποιεῖ τῇ μεταρσίῳ τάσει
 αὐτῶν τὰ δένδρα ταῖς βολαῖς ταῖς πυρφόροις,
 ἀλλὰ πεπαίνει καὶ φυλάττει καὶ τρέφει
 τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν συμπνέοντος προσφόρου
 τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος, καθὼς θέλει,
 55 τῷ ταυτοτίμῳ πανσθενεστάτῳ Λόγῳ. Πνεῦμα
 Κρῆναι διασχίζουσι τὸν κῆπον μέσον, κρῆναι
 ἡδεῖς πρὸς αὐραν, δαψιλεῖς ἐκ ναμάτων·
 αἱ τῶν δακρύων ραθάμιγγες, ρανίδες
 ὡς ἂν τὰ δένδρα ταῖς ῥοαῖς ἐπαυξάνοι·
 60 ὅτι τὸ πένθος αὐτὸ διδάσκει μόνον
 τὴν γνῶσιν αὐξὸν τοῦ καλοῦ καινοτρόπως,
 ὅπερ δίδωσι γνώσεως ἐκλαμβάνον
 λαβὸν παρέσχε καὶ παρασχὸν λαμβάνει
 καὶ κύκλον αὐτὸ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου γράφει·
 65 ἔνθεν τελεσφοροῦσι τὴν παγκαρπίαν·
 εὐωδιάζει καὶ σκέπει φυτοσκάφους,
 καὶ ψυχαγωγὰ γίνεται καθ' ἡμέραν.
 Τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν κῆπος ὠραῖσμένος
 ἔστι, τέθηλε, βλαστάνει, θάλλει, βρύει
 70 χάριν μεγίστην, τρισσοφεγγῆ, πλουσίαν,
 καὶ τρισμέγιστον καὶ κατηγλαῖσμένην·
 ἡ βίβλος αὕτη, τοῦτό σου τὸ πυξίον·
 ὧ σωστικὴ θάλασσα τῆς ἐμῆς σκάφης,
 ὧ κοσμικὴν θάλασσαν ἐκφυγῶν πάλαι,
 75 ὧ τοῦ γένους σου κόσμε, κόσμιε τρόποις,

43 παρισθμίων N **46** ἀκτίσι λαμπραῖς, φαιδρομορφοπανστόλοις M **48** scholion ad ἐκτελῶν:
 Γράφεται· ...ι.ιαξ N **53** προσφόρος M **54** Πνεῦμα add. in mg. ad v. 53 N **56** κρῆναι add. in mg.
 ad v. 58 N **61** αὐξῶν M **64** αὐτὸν fort. Demoen **69** τέθηλλε M **73** ἡ σωστικὴ M | θάλαττα N

as the throat of one who is fasting,
as the tongue, as the voice of one who sings psalms.

45 On the one hand the sun, rising straight, sun
with shining bright all penetrating rays,
manifests the morning view from afar,
also making a fiery red refraction.

On the other hand throwing powerful sparkles,
50 it does not heat up with a high intensity
so as to burn the trees with fire-bearing rays,
but it ripens and protects and feeds
the fruit of the trees, while, conveniently, the holy Spirit, Spirit
as he likes, breathes together with
55 the equally honourable and powerful Word.

Springs divide the garden in the middle, springs
pleasant along with a breeze, abundant from the wells.
(They are) the drops, the drips of the tears,
so that the trees might grow with the flow.

60 Because only mourning teaches this,
increasing the understanding of good in a peculiar way,
it gives knowledge taking from knowledge,
it gives after having taken and it takes after having given:
and it draws this as a circle through the Word.

65 From there they ripen all kinds of fruits,
smell good and protect the gardeners,
and every day they are a guide of the souls.

Such is for us the beautiful garden.

It blossoms, shoots, flourishes and ripens
70 the greatest, triple shining, abundant,
thrice-greatest and splendidly adorned grace.

This is the book, this is the codex of yours:

o you, sea, saviour of my ship,
o you who renounced the earthly sea a long time ago,
75 o ornament of your lineage, ornamented by your behaviour,

ὦ τῶν πενήτων εὐπρόθυμε προστάτα,
 ὦ ψυχαγωγὲ καὶ ξένων εὐεργέτα,
 ὦ μετριάζων χρηστότητι μετρίους·
 ἐξ ἧς τρυφῶν, φίλτατε, τὴν εὐζωΐαν
 80 τῷ δημιουργῷ νουνεχῶς εὐγνωμόνει
 καὶ πίστιν ἔνθεν εὐφοροῦσαν ἐκτρέφων
 δρέψη νοητὸν ἄνθος εὐετηρίας,
 γνώρισμα χρηστότητος εὐκλεῆς φέρων.
 Τί δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο, σὺ νοήσεις, ἂν θέλῃς,
 85 ὁξὺν γὰρ ἔσχες ἐκ Θεοῦ προμηθεά
 ὦ γενναΐζεις πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς λόγοις,
 ὁξὺν ἐν ἀκρότητι τῶν βουλευμάτων,
 ἠδὺν ἐν ἀβρότητι τῶν προβλημάτων,
 ταχὺν ἐν ἀδρότητι τῶν νοημάτων.
 90 Αὕτη παρ' ἡμῶν σοὶ φιλοῦντι τοὺς λόγους
 ἀφωσίσωται δεξιῶσις ἐκ λόγων·
 αὕτη πρόμαρτυς καὶ φερέγγυος πόθου,
 ἀνθ' ὧν ἐν ἡμῖν ἠγγυήσω τὸν πόθον
 καὶ δεξιὰν προὔτεινας ἐκτενεστάτην
 95 οὐχὶ δὶς, οὐ τρίς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυριάκις
 εἰς οἶκτον ἐξάκουστον· αὕτη ζωγράφος
 τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης, ἦνπερ ὡς πρόγραμμα τι
 ἡμῖν τεθεικῶς, ἐντυποῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ
 μνήμην ἀναλλοίωτον αὐτῆς εἰκότως.
 100 Ταύτην ὁ μέλλων λήψεται σύμπας χρόνος
 ἀεὶ βοῶσαν τὴν φιλάνθρωπον χάριν
 τῶν σῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐμενῶν ἐνδειγμάτων.

στίχοι τοῦ κήπου ρβ'

78 μετρίους Demoen: μετρίας M; μετρίοις N **81** ἐκτρέφε M **84** add. in mg. M **85** add. in mg. M |
 scholion ad προμηθεά: Ἦγουν νοῦν add. in mg. N **88** ἠδὺν ἐν ἀβρότητι τῶν βουλευμάτων M
89 ἀδρότητι M | add. in mg. N **93** ἐγγυήσω M

o benevolent patron of the poor,
o guide of the soul and benefactor of strangers,
o mediator with kindness of the moderates.
When living well because of this book, dear friend,
80 be sensibly grateful toward its creator for this good life,
and if you grow the fruitful faith,
you will pick the spiritual flower of prosperity,
bearing the honourable sign of kindness.
What it is, you will apprehend, if you want,
85 because you have a sharp consideration, received from God
which enables you to be frequently noble in words,
sharp in the height of decisions,
pleasant in the wealth of questions,
fast in the vigour of thoughts.
90 This (poem) is for you, who love the words,
dedicated by us as an offering of words.
This (poem) is a witness and a warrant of our desire,
in exchange because you gave the desire in us as a pledge,
and you have offered your assiduous right hand,
95 not twice, not thrice, but numberless times
in response to the lament heard. This (poem) is a painter of
your love, which you have placed as a kind of program for us,
and which you carve suitably in our heart,
an unchangeable memory of your love.
100 The entire future will receive this (poem),
which will for ever celebrate the merciful grace
of the proof of your benevolence towards us.

verses of the garden: 102

Poem 2

Ἐτεροι στίχοι εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κλίμακος, ἐν σχήματι ἐγκωμίου, παραίνεσιν παρεισάγοντες καὶ κλίμακα παριστῶντες ἑτέραν, ἧς μία ἐκάστη ἀνάβασις δι' ἕξ στίχων συνίσταται.

Προίμιον τῆς διὰ στίχων κλίμακος

Ψήγματα χρυσᾶ τοῖς Λυδοῖς αἰρεῖ λόγος
Πακτωλὸν ἐκρεῖν, ὄντα τοῦ Τιμόλου κάτω·
ὕφ' ὧν Κροῖσος ὄγκωτο πεπλανημένος,
βλακάς, ἄνους ὧν, ψαφαροῖς ἠρεισμένος·
5 ὡς τοῦδε ρεῦσις, ὕστερον παρεφθάρη.
Καὶ τὴν γενειάδα δὲ Περσῶν ὁ κράτωρ
ἔχων χρυσεῖων ἐκ πετάλων χρυσίνην,
ἔχειν ἑαυτὸν δόξαν εἶδε μακάρων.
Μύρμηκες ἐπλούτιζον, ἀπὸ βαθέων
10 ψάμμων, μελανῶν Ἰνδικῶν βροτῶν γένος.
Ἐπιρρέων ὁ Νεῖλος ὄριος τόποις
Αἰγυπτιακοῖς πλοῦτον ἐκ τῶν ὠρίων
πολὺν ἐποίει Φαραωνίτας ἔχειν.
Ἀγάλλεται τις ὄρνισιν, ἄλλος φυτοῖς,
15 λίθοις τιμίοις ἄλλος, ἄλλος μαργάροις·
σοὶ δ' οὐ φθιτόν τι καὶ διαρρέον χρόνῳ
περιφιλεῖται, στέργεται, πεπνυμένε,
ἀλλ' ἄφθιτον καὶ κρεῖττον ὧν ἂν τις φράσοι.
“Ὅποῖον;” ἴσως ἀγνοῶν ἔροιστό τις.
20 λόγος· τὸ μείζον ὧν παρέσχε σοι Λόγος·
ὄν νοῦς βρότειος, καὶ πολὺς ἰδρώς, πόνος
καὶ πίστις ἐκράτυνε καθαρωτάτη·
τὸ τῶν παθῶν ἴαμα τῶν ἐκατέρων,
τὸ φῶς τὸ φαῖνον, φῶς ὑπέρτατον λίαν
25 φωτίζον ἅπαν ἀμέσως φῶς ἐμμέσως·
δι' οὗ τὸ δισσὸν ἔργον ἔγνωσ τοῦ φάους·

Codd. MN **Tit.** παριστῶντες: παριστῶν M **3** ἀφ' M; ὄγκωτο M **8** ἦδε M | ἦδε N **12** ὀρίων M **20**
ὄν M **22** καρτερωτάτη M **26** Ἦγουν τοῦ Λόγου add. in mg. N

Poem 2

Other verses on the opening of the same Ladder, in the form of an eulogy, introducing an exhortation and presenting another ladder, of which each single step consists of six verses.

Preface to the ladder in verses

The story goes that gold dust flowed for the Lydians
out of the Paktolos, the river lying at the base of Mount Tmolos.
Misled by the gold, Kroisos was puffed up with pride,
being foolish and stupid, leaning upon the sandy ground.
5 As the flux of the Paktolos, he perished later on.
The ruler of the Persians, having even a golden beard,
made of gold leaf,
felt that he had the honour of the blessed ones.
Ants enriched the race of the black mortal Indians
10 from the sand from deep under the ground.
The Nile, flowing seasonally over
the Egyptian lands, made sure that the Pharaonic people
had a large richness from the granaries.
One exults in birds, another one in plants,
15 in precious stones another one, another one in pearls.
But you, wise man, do not love nor cherish
anything perishable or anything fleeting with time,
but something incorruptible and greater than anyone could put into words.
'What?', an ignorant might ask.
20 The word: the greatest thing of those things which the Word granted you,
which was strengthened by the mortal mind,
by a lot of sweat, toil and by the purest faith.
The cure for both passions:
the shining light, the very highest light,
25 the light that enlightens everything, immediately and mediately.
Through the Word you know the double result of the light:

κόσμον παραρρέοντα καὶ παρηγμένον,
κόσμον διαμένοντα καὶ πεπηγμένον·
τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν, ποῖα τὰ τούτων τέλη
30 ἢ, μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, τέκμαρ, ἀρχὴν τῶν δύο·
δι' οὗ τὰ συμφέροντα ταῖς εὐπραξίαις
ἐν ὀρθότητι τῶν νοδῶν κινήματων
ἔμαθες, ἠγάπησας αὐτὰ προκρίνων.

Ἀρχὴ τῆς διὰ στίχων κλίμακος

35 Αἴγυπτον ἐξέφυγες ἐσκοτισμένην,
ἠδὲν πάθειαν, ἀνάπαυσιν σαρκίου
καὶ Φαραῶ, τύραννον αὐτῆς τὸν μέγαν,
τὸ σαρκικὸν φρόνημα, τὸν κενὸν βίον
ἐπιστάτας τε τοὺς βαρεῖς ἔργων δότας,
λογισμορέκτας, παθοσυγκαταθέσεις.
40 Οὐ πρὶν μισήσας, ὕστερον μεταμέλη,
ὡς Λῶτ γύναιον· κἂν γὰρ ἐν μέσοις στρέφη,
ἄκραν ἀπροσπάθειαν ἐν μέσοις ἔχεις.
Ἐγκάρδιον λείψανον οὐκ ἔστι λύπης
ἐπὶ στερήσει πραγμάτων μοχθηρίας
45 καὶ τὰ προσόντα παρέχεις χωρὶς βίας.
Ἄλλοτριοῖς πῶς σαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων,
ἀποξενοῖς πῶς σαυτὸν ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων
ὅπως ξενισθῆς ἐν ξένοις, ξένος γίνῃ
ἀποξενούντων τοὺς ξένους σφῶν ἐκ ξένων
50 ἄγνωστον, ἀπόκρυφον εὖ βιοῦς βίον,
δυσδιάκριτον, λανθάνοντα μυρίους.
Μάρπτεις, διώκεις τὴν ἀνυποταξίαν,
καθυποτάττων σάρκα τῷ πνεύματί σου.
Ἔχεις ἔλεγχον τὴν συνείδησιν μόνην·
55 πρὸ τοῦ βαδίσει τήνδε τὴν ὀρωμένην
ὑπακοήν, ἔφθασας εἰς νοουμένην.
Τρέχεις ἀδήλως· ἔσταως ἄνω τρέχεις.

α περὶ ἀποταγῆς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως οὐ τοπικῆς

β περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας

γ περὶ ξενιτείας προαιρετικῆς

δ περὶ ὑποταγῆς νοητῆς

30 ἀρχὴ M; Ἦγουν τοῦ ἐνός add. in mg. N Tit. om. N 39 παθῶν συγκαταθέσεις M 41 ἐμμέσοις
ut videtur N 46 πῶς MN 47 πῶς MN 50 βιοῦς M^{ac} 57 ἀδείλως M^{pc}N^{ac}

the world which flows by and which passes away,
the world which remains and which is fixed,
their nature, their end

30 or rather, the goal, the origin of both.

Through the Word you have learned what is useful for good conduct
having a right attitude of mind,
you have learned and loved them, preferring those things.

Beginning of the ladder in verses

35 You escaped from darkened Egypt, 1 On non-spatial renunciation and withdrawal
the luxurious life, the laziness of the flesh
and from the pharaoh, the great tyrant of Egypt,
the carnal mind, the vain life,
from the commanders, the brutal dispatchers of tasks,
those who arouse evil thoughts, those who assent to passions.

40 You do not first hate (the world), and then change your mind, 2 On dispassion
as Lot's wife, because even when you turn back along the way,
you have, along your way, the highest dispassion.

There are no remains of sorrow in your heart
because of the deprivation of matters of depravity
45 and you offer your belongings voluntarily.

You alienate yourself from what is yours; 3 On voluntary exile
you estrange yourself from what is extraneous;
in order to become a stranger amongst strangers, you become a stranger
to those who estrange strangers from their own strangers.

50 You live an unknown, hidden life in a good way,
a life difficult to discern, which escapes from the notice of numberless people.

You catch and banish disobedience, 4 On mental submission
subjugating the flesh to your spirit.

You have only your consciousness as control.

55 Even before you walk the road of visible obedience,
you have reached that of mental obedience.

You run secretly, you climb firmly.

	Ἐπιγινώσκεις τῶν παθῶν τὰς αἰτίας, καταγινώσκεις Ναυάτου φλυαρίας, 60 καταισχύνεις ἐκεῖνον ἐν ταῖς αἰσχύναις καὶ ταύτας αὐτὰς αἰσχύνεις ἐν αἰσχύνη, διαδιδράσκων τὴν μένουσαν αἰσχύνην ἢ πᾶσι πάντα φαίνεται κεκρυμμένα. Τέγγεις, ὑγραίνεις, τὰς παρεϊάς σου βρέχεις, 65 μνήμη θανάτου καὶ τελευταία κρίσει, καὶ τονθορύζεις ἡρέμα σαυτῶ, λέγων· “νῦν εὐτρεπίζου πάντοτε πρὸς τὸν τάφον· καὶ γὰρ προπέμπων τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἔτι οὐκ οἶδας εἰ σπάσειας ἄλλην συρμάδα”.	ε̅ περι̅ μετανοίας μεμεριμνημένης
70	Στένεις βύθιον, ἀνατυποῖς κραδίη χάος καταχθόνιον, ἄποσον βάθος, ἄσβεστον, ἀφώτιστον, ἄπλετον φλόγα καὶ καταδύσεις ὑπογείων σχισμάτων, οἰκτρὰς, σκοτεινάς, χαλεπάς, τεθλιμμένας 75 πασῶν βασάνων εἰκόνας αἰωνίων. Ἵξυχολίας καὶ θυμοῦ δι’ ὧν φλόγα καταπραῦνεις καὶ μαραίνεις, σβεννύεις. Ἐν οἷς ἀκούεις, οὐ θυμαλγεῖς ὡς Νάβαλ· ἐν οἷς σὺ λαλεῖς, ὡς Ἀβιγαία λέγεις. 80 Οὐδέν τι δυσάντητον, ἐστυγημένον λαλεῖς καχλάζων, εἰσορᾶς ἀναζέων. Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ κρύπτεις ὡς κάμηλος κακίαν, ἐν κωδίῳ τὸν λύκον, ἐν κόλποις ὄφιν, ξύλῳ σαθρῶ σκώληκα, τὴν μῆνιν πράω· 85 κεύθων μὲν ἄλλα καρδίας ἐν τῷ βάθει, ἄλλα δὲ βάζων γλυκέροισι χειλέοις, ἐν ἠδύτητι πικρίας ἀμαρτάνων. Λαλεῖς δὲ λοιπὸν ὡς ἔχεις ἐν κρυφίῳ, κἂν μικρὸν ἐκστῆς, συντόμως ἐπανάγη, 90 οὐκ ἐκδαπανῶν ἐν νόθοις ἡσυχίοις τὴν ἀγκαλίδα, τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Λόγου,	ς̅ περι̅ μνήμης θανάτου ζ̅ περι̅ πένθους η̅ περι̅ ἀοργησίας θ̅ περι̅ ἀμνησικακίας ι̅ περι̅ καταλαλιᾶς

66 τονθορύζεις ἡρέμα M 67 scholion ad τάφον: Γράφεται· πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν add. in mg. N 71 scholion ad ἄποσον: Γράφεται· ἄμετρον add. in mg. N 80 scholion ad δυσάντητον: Γράφεται· δυσάκουστον add. in mg. N 86 γλυκέροισι N 91 scholion ad Λόγου: Γράφεται· Κυρίου add. in mg. N

You recognise the causes of the passions,
 you condemn Novatian's foolery,
 60 you put him to shame, into deep shame
 and you put his foolery to shame by shame,
 while you escape from the persistent shame,
 because of which all hidden things are disclosed to all.
 You wet, moisten and soak your cheeks, 5 On painstaking repentance
 65 because of the remembrance of death and the last judgment,
 and you mumble softly to yourself, saying:
 "Now be prepared at any moment for the grave,
 because even though you are still breathing,
 you do not know if you might take another breath".
 70 You moan deeply, you picture in your heart 6 On remembrance of death
 the subterranean chaos, the unquantifiable depth,
 the inextinguishable, unilluminated, boundless flame,
 the descent into the underground fissures
 the pitiable, obscure, painful and tormented
 75 images of all the eternal tortures. 7 On mourning
 By these (moans) you appease, quench and extinguish 8 On freedom from anger
 the flame of irascibility and anger.
 When you give ear, you do not rage as Nabal,
 when you talk, you speak like Abigail.
 80 Nothing unpleasant, nothing resentful
 you say when you seethe, you put in your gaze when you boil.
 Neither do you keep inside, like a camel, evil, 9 On the forgetting of wrongs
 which is a wolf in sheep's clothing, a snake at your breast,
 a worm in rotten wood, resentment in a mild person,
 85 concealing something in the depth of the heart,
 saying something else with sweet lips,
 sinning in the sweetness of bitterness.
 So, what you say corresponds with what you have inside, 10 On slander
 and if you slip a little bit, you get it right immediately,
 90 not wasting in false silence
 the bundle, the part of the Word,

	εἴτ' αὖ̃ μιαίνων ἀγάπης ὑποκρίσει καὶ τῇ μελήσει τοῦ καταλαλουμένου.	
95	Εὐτράπελόν τι, λαμυρόν πλέκων ἔπος, λαρόν, προσηνές, ἠδὺ καὶ μεμιγμένον, αὐτὸ πλατύνων κρασπέδοις τοῖς ἐκ λίνου, εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἔξω νοῦς γένηται τῆς ἔδρας παρεκτροπὰς ἐάσας ἰδίας βλέπειν, ἄλλως ἐς ἄλλων οὐ παρακύπτει κρίσιν.	ια περὶ πολυλογίας
100	Τὸ ψεῦδος ἐξ ὧν λαμβάνει παρρησίαν, ὃ τὴν ἀγάπην ἀποκόπτει ριζόθεν· ἐγκρίς, γλύκασμα, δόρπος, ἀπάτη, βέλος. Ὁ γοῦν ἀγάπην καὶ κατάνυξιν ἔχων ψεῦδος τὸ κακὸν ὑπαλύξειν ἰσχύει,	ιβ περὶ ψεύδους
105	ἐν οἷς ὅτε χρή πρὸς Ῥαὰβ ἀποβλέπων. Ἔντεῦθεν εἰπέ χρήσομαι πῶς τῷ λόγῳ εἰς ἐξέτασιν τῆς ἀκηδίας φθάσας. Πενθεῖς σὺ σαυτόν, ὡς ἔφην ἀνωτέρω. Πενθικὸν ἦτορ οἶδε τὴν ἀκηδίαν,	ιγ περὶ ἀκηδίας
110	μνήμη παλαῖον κρίσεως τῆς ἐσχάτης; Ἕκιστα συμφήσειε πᾶς μνημημόρος. Χαῦνον, πλαδαρόν, ὑγρόν, ἐκλελυμένον βίον διώκεις, ἀπελαύνεις μακρόθεν καὶ τὸν σκοτεινὸν ἐκτελοῦντα τὸν νόα	ιδ περὶ ἐγκρατείας
115	δειλὸν τε δυσκίνητον ἐξ ἀσιτίας, στυγνόν, κατηφῆ, δεινόν, ἄφιλον λόγοις. Ἄπερ γινώσκων τὴν μέσην στείβεις στίβον. Δηλοῖ δὲ ταύτην τὴν μεσόρροπον τρίβον ἢ σωφροσύνη, σαρκίου καθαρότης,	ιε περὶ σωφροσύνης
120	ρύψις τελεία σαρκικῶν μiasμάτων, ἀφθαρτοσωμάτωσις, ἀγνείας κράτος ἢ θλαδίαν δείκνυσι σιδήρου δίχα· τὸ Λευϊτικὸν ἀξίωμα Κυρίου.	
125	Ἄρ' οὖν νικήσας τὴν φύσιν ὑπὲρ φύσιν, τὸν φυσικὸν κίνδυνον ὑπαλυσκάσας φιλαργυρίας ἀγχόνη καταπνίγη;	ις περὶ φιλαργυρίας

97 ἔδρας M 99 scholion ad οὐ παρακύπτει: Γράφεται· οὐκ ἀποκλίνει add. in mg. N 102
γλύκυσμα N 121 ἀφθαρτοσωματώσεις M 122 Γράφεται· δέδειχε add. in mg. N

- nor staining it by the simulation of love
or by the care for the person whom you slander.
- Weaving a jesting, wanton,** **11 On talkativeness**
95 delightful, pleasant, sweet and varied word,
you do not broaden it with fringes of linen.
Unless your mind is removed from its seat,
permitting to see one's own deviations,
it is not inclined to judge others.
- 100 **From talkativeness the lie receives boldness in speech,** **12 On falsehood**
which destroys love from the roots.
It is a honey cake, sweets, dinner: deceit and arrow.
The one who has love and compunction
is able to avoid the bad lie;
- 105 while, if need be, looking at Rahab.
Now, tell me how I shall use the word, **13 On despondency**
now that I come to the examination of despondency.
You mourn for yourself, as I said before.
Does the mournful heart know despondency,
- 110 as it wrestles with the remembrance of the last judgment?
Anyone who remembers death would firmly deny this.
You banish the languid, flabby, flaccid, relaxed **14 On abstinence**
life and far away you chase
also the life which makes your mind dark,
- 115 cowardly and grumpy because of fasting,
gloomy, depressed, terrifying, hostile towards words.
Knowing these things, you walk the middle path.
This well-balanced road is revealed **15 On chastity**
by chastity, by the purity of the flesh,
- 120 by the perfect purification of carnal pollutions,
by the incorruptibility of the body, by the strength of purity,
which demonstrates the eunuch even without the sword:
the Levitical dignity of the Lord.
- Well then, after having prevailed, supernaturally, over nature,** **16 On avarice**
125 after having escaped from the physical danger,
you are not suffocated by the strangling of avarice, are you?

	<p>Οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν· μάρτυρές μοι μυρίοι καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς τῆς ἀφιλαργυρίας, κῆρυξ μέγιστος δωρεῶν ὑπερπόσων.</p>	
130	<p>Οὐκ ἠγνόησα σὸν μακάριον πάθος, φυλοκρινῶ σου φιλοτιμοδωρίας· διδουὺς γέγηθας· μὴ διδουὺς ἀλγεῖς σφόδρα. Πολλῶν ἐρᾶς, οὐχ' ἴν' ἀποκλείσης ἔσω, ἀλλ' ἵνα πολλοῖς πολλὰ πολλὰ σκορπίσης·</p>	ιζ περὶ αἰσθήσεως τῶν γινομένων
135	<p>καὶ τοῦτο πολλῶν διολισθαίνει φρένας. Ὡσπερ τὸ χαίρειν ἐν καλαῖς μελωδίαις, ψάλλειν, ἀνυμνεῖν, εὐλογεῖν τὸν δεσπότην ἐν ἑσπεριναῖς, ἡμεριναῖς, ἐννύχοις εὐχαῖς λιταῖς τε, παραστάσεσι ξέναις,</p>	ιη περὶ ψαλμωδίας
140	<p>ὡς κορδακισμὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐν σοὶ τόπον, ἀλλὰ μελισμὸν ἐν μελισμῶ Κυρίου. Ἦγνισε νοῦν ἄγρυπνον ὄμμα καὶ φρένας καὶ σάρκα δυσκάθεκτον εἶξε τῷ Λόγῳ, λειτουργὸν εἰργάσατο καθηγνισμένον,</p>	ιθ περὶ ἀγρυπνίας
145	<p>θεοῦ τραπέζης δεξιὸν παραστάτην ἄλλοις μεταδιδόντα τῶν μυστηρίων, πολλοῖς σὲ μυστήριον εὖ δεδειγμένον. Διὰ τελείας πίστεως, ὀρθοῦ λόγου, δι' εὐσεβείας ὑγιοῦς ἠδρασμένης·</p>	κ περὶ ἀνδρείας
150	<p>δι' ἧς δεδίττεις κοσμοκράτορας σκότους, ἐχθρούς, ἀπίστους, δυσμενεῖς, ἀντιθέους, τὸ νηπιῶδες ἦθος ἐν γηραλέῳ ψυχῆς ἀναστήματι μὴ δεδεγμένος. Ἄπερ κυΐσκει τοὺς ἐχιδνώδεις τόκους·</p>	κα περὶ κενοδοξίας
155	<p>τὴν τῶν κακῶν θάλασσαν ἢ τὴν πλημμύραν, τὴν τοῦ Σατᾶν δίαιταν ἢ τὴν ἐστίαν, τὸ ναυάγιον, τὸν κλύδωνα, τὸν στρόφον, τὴν ἀπατουργὸν τῶν καλῶν ἀναιρέτιν, τὴν ᾧ καλεῖται δεικνύουσαν τὴν φύσιν.</p>	
160	<p>Ἐξ ἧς θεοῦ ἄρνησις, ἀνθρώπων φθόνος, ἐξουδένωσις κρειττόνων, οὐ κρειττόνων</p>	κβ περὶ ὑπερηφανίας

131 φιλοκρινῶ M 134 πολλὰ add. s.l. N 140 ὡς codd. 147 Γράφεται· εἰργασμένον add. in mg.
N 149 ἠδρασμένης M 153 εὐχῆς ἀναστήματι M

It is possible to deny. I have many witnesses,
in particular that forerunner of freedom from avarice,
the great proclaimer of numberless gifts.

130 I have come to know well your blessed passion, **17** On the understanding of what
I classify your forms of generosity: [happens
when you give, you rejoice; when you do not give, you suffer deeply.
You are fond of many goods, not to lock them up inside,
but to scatter many goods among many people.

135 And this escapes the mind of many.
Likewise you enjoy beautiful chant, **18** On psalmody
to sing psalms, to chant hymns, to praise the Lord,
in evening-, day- and nocturnal
prayers and supplications, in extraordinary standings,

140 so a licentious dance does not have place in you,
but a song sung for the Lord.

The wakeful eye purified the mind and the heart **19** On vigil
and subjugates the indomitable flesh to the Word,
makes it (i.e. the body) into a pure servant,

145 a dextrous attendant of God's table,
who shares the mysteries with others,
rightly showing to many people that you are a mystery.

By perfect faith and the orthodox dogma, **20** On courage
by the established sound devotion;

150 hereby you frighten the earthly rulers of darkness,
who are hostile, unfaithful, malevolent, opposed to God,
while you do not accept childish behaviour
in an old soul.

These things conceive a viper-like offspring: **21** On vainglory
155 the sea or the flood of evil,
the abode or the dwelling of Satan,
the shipwreck, the billow, the vortex,
the deceiving destroyer of virtues,
which shows its nature by its name.

160 From which derives the denial of God and the envy of men, **22** On pride
the contempt for stronger beings and for beings that are not stronger,

- ἐκστάσεώς τε πρόδρομος καὶ μανίας,
 πηγὴ θυμοῦ καὶ ρίζα τῆς βλασφημίας,
 πικρὸς δικαστής, ὑποκρίσεως θύρα,
 165 στήριγμα, πύργος, λαβύρινθος δαιμόνων.
 Ῥίζης κακῆς ἤκουσας ὄρηκας ἴσους,
 καρποὺς ἀχρήστους καὶ σαπροὺς καὶ παγκάκους
 τῆς ὑπερηφανίας· ἡ βλασφημία,
 κρύψις ἀμαρτήματος, ἀπρεπεῖς λόγοι.
 170 Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω κρατύνει τοὺς δαίμονας
 καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὡς τὸ λαθραίους ἔχειν.
 Ἐντεῦθεν ὄντως τὴν πονηρίαν ἔγνω
 ἰσχύν, δύναμιν λαμβάνουσαν καὶ κράτος,
 ἀσημοσύνην δαιμονιώδη, δόλον,
 175 πένθους μακρυσμόν, πρόξενον συμπτωμάτων,
 ἰδιογνωμόρυθμον, ἄφρονα τρόπον·
 ἥτις ἄφαντος γίνεται ποίῳ τρόπῳ;
 Πράῳ, ταπεινῷ, μετρίῳ τῇ καρδίᾳ
 καὶ μισοθύμῳ καὶ μισοργιλοφθόνῳ,
 180 εὐσυμπαθήτῳ καὶ κατανευυγμένῳ,
 φαιδρῷ, γαληνῷ καὶ καθιλαρευμένῳ,
 εὐηνίῳ, χαίροντι, μὴ ζοφουμένῳ,
 περιμερίμνῳ σφαλμάτων τῶν ἰδίων.
 Οὗτος λόγος σοι πνευμάτων, ὅρος, νόμος,
 185 ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ σωμάτων πληρουμένων·
 τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀνακρίνειν καὶ μόνα,
 ποιεῖν τὸ χρηστὸν εὐδιακρίτῳ κρίσει,
 εὐρεῖν τὸ κακὸν καὶ μισεῖν ἐκ καρδίας,
 ἀποστρέφεσθαι τὴν ἀνυποταξίαν.
 190 Ἐπιστρέφεσθαι τῆς λόγων ἡσυχίας,
 κλείειν θύραν φθέγματος ἢ γλώττης ὅλης,
 ἔνδον πύλην πνεύματος ἢ ψυχῆς ὅλης·
 αὕτη γὰρ ἡσυχία, ταῦτα κυρίως·
 δι' ἧς ὁ Παῦλος εἰς πόλεις διατρίβων
 195 ἄτριπτον, ἀβάδιστον ἔτριψε τρίβον.

κγ περὶ βλασφημίας

κδ περὶ πονηρίας

κε περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης

κς περὶ διακρίσεως

κζ περὶ ἡσυχίας ψυχῆς

165 πύργος M 180 συσυμπαθήτῳ M 185 scholion ad πληρουμένων: Ἦγουν· τελειουμένων
 add. in mg. N 186 μόνους N^{pc} 190 tit. κζ περὶ ἡσυχίας M; Γράφεται· χειλέων add. in mg. N

the precursor of foulness and madness,
 the source of anger and the root of blasphemy,
 the bitter judge, the door of hypocrisy,
 165 the buttress, tower and labyrinth of demons.
You have heard that an evil root brings forth similar shoots, **23 On blasphemy**
 useless, putrid and utterly evil fruits
 of pride: blasphemy,
 concealment of sin, indecent words.
 170 Indeed, nothing strengthens the demons
 and bad thoughts so much as having them in secret.
I realized that wickedness really took from there **24 On wickedness**
 its strength, power, and force;
 demoniac deformity, cunning,
 175 estrangement from mourning, agent of falls,
 a self-opinionated, foolish way of life.
How does this wickedness disappear?
By being meek, humble and moderate at heart, **25 On humility**
 hating anger and hating irascible envy,
 180 being compassionate and possessing compunction,
 being bright, gentle and rejoicing,
 docile, delighted and not darkened,
 being very attentive towards your own faults.
This is for you a rule, a standard, a law for souls **26 On discernment**
 185 and for those piously aiming at perfection of their bodies:
 to judge those things which pertain to yourself, and only those things,
 to do what is necessary with a well-considered judgement,
 to find evil and to hate it with all your heart,
 to turn yourself away from disobedience.
 190 **To turn to the stillness of words,** **27 On stillness of the soul**
 to close the door to speech or to the tongue entirely,
 to close the gate within to the spirit or to the soul entirely:
 That is stillness; precisely these things.
 By this stillness Paul, travelling to several cities,
 195 tread the untraveled, untrodden road.

Ἦν τριάς ἀπλή καὶ δυὰς συνιστάνει·
 στάσις ἀκλινῆς σώματος κατακρίτου,
 στεναγμὸς ἀλάλητος, εἷς βραχὺς λόγος,
 νοὸς φυλακὴ, συνοχὴ τε καρδίας.
 200 Ταύτην γὰρ οἶδα πνεύματος κραυγὴν μόνην,
 οὐ τὴν διὰ στόματος, οὐ τῶν χειλέων.
 Οὕτω σὺ ποιῶν εἰς ἀπάθειαν φθάσεις·
 βαίης γὰρ ἐγκάρδιον ἐς νοὸς πόλον,
 ἀθύρματα, παίγνια τὰς τῶν δαιμόνων
 205 καλῶς νομίσεις μηχανοπλανουργίας,
 καταπατήσεις λῖν, δράκοντα τὸν μέγαν,
 ὄφιν κεράστην, βασιλίσκον, ἀσπίδα.
 Θεῶ σχολάσεις καὶ παρεδρεύσεις μόνω,
 Θεὸν κατίδοις ἐν σχολῇ τῇ βελτέρα,
 210 Θεῶ προσάψεις τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα·
 τὸν νοῦν, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ παναχράντου Λόγου
 οὐχὶ μερίσεις τῷ Θεῶ καὶ τῷ πλάνω,
 τῇ δὲ Τριάδι τριάδα συναγάγοις.

κη περὶ προσευχῆς

κθ περὶ ἀπαθείας

λ περὶ ἐνώσεως Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων

Ἦ σήμερόν σοι κατὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον
 215 ἴλαος ὀπτάνοιτο συμπαθεστάτη
 πταίσμασι τριτάτοισι τριμεροῦς χρόνου,
 κατευοδοῦσα τὰ διαβουλίᾳ σου,
 κατευθύνουσα τὰ διαβήματά σου,
 διεκτελοῦσα τὰ προσαιτήματά σου
 220 κάκεῖ συνεντάττουσα Χριστοπατράσιν
 εὐχαῖς πατρός μου τοῦ πανηγιασμένου,
 τοῦ λαμπροπυρσομορφογλωττοεργάτου
 καὶ πυρσολαμπρομορφορηματοτρόπου
 καὶ χρυσολιθομαργαροστεφοπλόκου
 225 νοῖ, λόγῳ, πνεύματι κατεστεμμένου.
 Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν, γένοιτο καὶ πάλιν.

Ἐπίλογος μετ' εὐχῆς

Στίχοι τοῦ Κλίμακος, διακόσιοι εἴκοσι καὶ δύο· τοῦ δὲ κήπου, ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο· ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέροι
 τριακόσιοι εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες.

197 στᾶσις M 201 αὐτὴν διὰ M 205 μηχανοπανουργίας M 207 κεραστήν codd. 208 Γράφεται·
 παρεδρεύσεις add. in mg. N 212 Ἦγουν· τῷ κόσμῳ add. in mg. N 213 συναγάγεις M 220
 Χριστοπατράσιν N^{ac} 222 λαμπροπυρσομορφογλωττοεριάτου M In fine [τέσσαρες] M

This stillness is established by a single trinity and a pair: 28 On prayer
 an unshakeable standing of a condemned body,
 an unutterable groaning, one short word,
 a guard of the mind and anguish of the heart.
 200 This is the only crying of the spirit I know,
 not the one through the mouth, not the one through the lips.
When you act like this, you will attain dispassion: 29 On dispassion
 you may reach a heaven of the mind within the heart,
 you will correctly consider the wiles of the demons
 205 as pranks, as trifles;
 you will trample underfoot the lion, the big dragon,
 the horned snake, the basilisk, the asp.
To God alone you will devote your time and you will be close. 30 On the union of
 You will see God in the better devotion [God and men
 210 and to God you will attach the image of God.
 The mind, the spirit of the immaculate Word
 you will not divide between God and the deceiver
 but, with the Trinity you will join your trinity.

May the Trinity, today, in this life, *Epilogue with prayer*
 215 appear to be benevolent and utterly compassionate to you
 towards the threefold sins of the tripartite time,
 bringing prosperity to your plans,
 guiding your steps,
 accomplishing your beggings
 220 and uniting (you) in the world to come with Christ's forefathers
 thanks to the prayers of my very holy father,
 who is a practitioner of a radiant and fiery shaped tongue
 and who has a fiery, radiant way of speaking,
 and who is a plaiter of a golden crown with precious stones and pearls,
 225 who is adorned with the mind, the word and the spirit.
 Amen, amen, amen, may it happen again and again.

Verses of the Ladder: two hundred twenty-two; those of the garden: one hundred and two; total amount: three hundred twenty-four.

Poem 3

Στίχοι συγγραφέντες παρὰ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἰωάννου περὶ τῶν ἀναβαινόντων ταύτην τὴν κλίμακα

Τέλος κλίμακος οὐρανοδρόμου βίβλου,
ἀφ' ἧς ἀποτρέχουσιν οἱ ψυχοκτόνοι,
ἐφ' ἣν ἐπιτρέχουσιν οἱ σαρκοκτόνοι,
ἀφ' ἧς καταβαίνουσιν οἱ νοοκτόνοι,
5 ἐφ' ἣν ἀναβαίνουσιν οἱ παθοκτόνοι.
Βροτοὶ μὲν οὗτοι· τὸ πλεόν δὲ καὶ νόες
ἀποξύσαντες τῆς λεβηρίδος πάχος
ὀπῆς στενῆς ἔσωθεν ὡς γῆρας ὄφιος,
καινοὶ φανέντες ὡς κENOὶ κENOῦ βίου,
10 καὶ νοῖ κατασταθέντες ὡς ἐπηρμένοι.
Ἦνπερ δίδου σὺ σαῖς λιταῖς, Ἰωάννη,
ὁ τήνδ' ἐγείρας ὡς λίθοις στερροῖς λόγοις,
ὁ τήνδε πήξας ἄγαν εὐτεχνεστάτως,
LMN: σοῖς Ἰωάνναις ἀναβαίνειν ὡς γράφεις·
15 τῷ τῆσδε γραφεῖ, δυσγενεῖ κακοτρόπῳ,
τῷ τ' εὐγενεῖ τὸν βίον, ὡς δὲ καὶ γένος,
γένους Κομνηνοῦ, σχήματος μονοτρόπου
καὶ κλήσεως δὲ τῆς γε χαριτωνύμου·
ἄλλως γὰρ ἀμήχανον ἔστιν ὡς λέγεις.

στίχοι ιθ

P: ἀνεμποδίστως ἀναβαίνειν ὡς γράφεις
15 τῷ τῆσδε γραφεῖ, ῥακενδύτῃ Νικάνδρῳ
καὶ Κυπριανῷ τῷ Θεοῦ θυηπόλῳ,
τῷ τήνδε πολλῷ τῷ πόθῳ κτησαμένῳ
θησαυρὸν ὡς ἄσυλον, ὡς Θεοῦ χάριν,
ὡς πρόξενόν γε ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας.

Codd. MN P (vv. 14-19) V (vv. 14-16) R (v. 14) **Tit.:** μοναχοῦ s.l. M | Ἰωάννου add. in mg. M |
Στίχοι τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον περὶ τῶν ἀναβαινόντων ταύτην τὴν τῶν
ἀρετῶν κλίμακα N 14 τοῖς M 15 τῶνδε M 19 ἐστὶν M **Nota in fine** om. M

Poem 3

Verses composed by John the monk, about those who ascend this ladder

End of the book of the ladder which runs to heaven,
from which those who kill their soul run away,
towards which those who kill their flesh run,
from which those who kill their mind descend,
5 upon which those who kill their passions ascend.
The latter are mortal; but even more so they are minds
which slough off the thickness of the outer skin,
from the inside of a small hole, as a snake does with its old skin.
They appear new, free from the vain life

10 and they have been established as minds, as they have been lifted up.
You, John, allow through your prayers
– you who erected the ladder with words solid as stones,
you who set it up in the most skilful way –

LMN: your Johns to ascend it, according to your writings:

15 on the one hand, the low-born and sinner scribe of this book,
and on the other hand, the noble one, as for his life and his descent,
being from the family of the Komnenoi, being a monk,
and of a name that is full of grace.
Because otherwise it is impossible to ascend according to your statements.

19 verses

P: to ascend it unhindered, according to your writings,
15 the scribe of this book, Nikander wearer of rags
and Kyprian, the priest of God,
who has acquired this book with much desire
as an inviolable treasure, as the grace of God,
as an agent of the salvation of the soul.

- V:** μοναχὸν Σίμον ἀναβαίνειν ὡς γράφεις
15 καὶ σῶ Συμέω, ἱερεὶ ἀναξίω·
ἄλλως γὰρ ἀμήχανον ἔστιν ὡς λέγεις.
- 14 **R:** μοναχὸν Ἰάκωβον ἀναβαίνειν ὡς γράφεις.
- 15 **(V):** ἀναξίως cod.

V: Simon the monk to ascend it, according to your writings –
15 and also your Symeon, unworthy priest.
Because otherwise it is impossible to ascend according to your statements.

14 **R:** James the monk to ascend it, according to your writings.

Poem 4

Ἀρχὴ τῶν στίχων τοῦ τέλους

- Τούτων ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν, καλῶν δότα,
Τριάς παναλκῆς, πανσθενέστατον κράτος,
μονὰς ἐναρίθμητε καὶ φύσις μία,
ἄτμητε, τρισάριθμε, δύναμις μία,
5 μία κίνησις, ἓν νόημα καὶ κλέος·
ὦ Πάτερ, ἀγέννητε καὶ παντοκράτορ,
ὦ φῶς πατρικόν, Υἱέ, δεξιὰ, σθένος,
ὦ Πνεῦμα θεῖον ἐκ Πατρὸς προηγμένον,
ἦλιε καὶ φῶς, ἀκτίς ἀθολωτάτη·
10 Τριάς μονάδος καὶ μονὰς ἐκ Τριάδος,
ἄκτιστε, ταυτόβουλε, σύμπνοια μία·
τὴν ἐργασίαν, τὴν φυλακὴν, τὴν στάσιν
δίδου, συνέργει καὶ βοήθει σὼ λάτρη,
δρᾶν γάρ τις οὐδὲν ἰσχύει χωρὶς σέθεν.
15 Τὸ τριμερές μου Τριάδι τῇ τριπλόκῳ
δέσμευσον, ἀσφάλισον, ὡς θεωρίας
τῆς σῆς σχολάζῃ καὶ μόνη λειτουργίᾳ.
Μνήμην θανάτου πάρες οὐ ζοφουμένην,
τῆς κηδαρικῆς μακρᾶς ἀποδημίας
20 ἐκδημίας τε τῆς ταβερναλιγκίου·
ἀβλεψίαν, πώρωσιν, ἀναισθησίαν,
ἀδάκρυτον, ἄλυπον, ἀπενθές πάθος
ἀντιτοροῦσα τῷ δόρατι τοῦ τέλους
καὶ ταῖς βολαῖς βάλλουσα ταῖς ἐναντίαις·
25 καὶ τοῦ φέρειν δύναμιν ἀβούλων βάρους
οἴων κελεύεις ἴαν δ' ἐκτέρων, μέγα.†
Τολμῶν λαλήσω τῶν ἀκουσίων τέως·
μὴ γὰρ ποταμῶν ῥοῦν βιάσης ἀρτίως,
καιρὸν κάκείνων πρόσφορον δώσεις πότε.
30 Μὴ δὴ με πάμπαν ἀτιμώρητον φέροις,
μήτ' αὖ πολυστένακτον ἠκανθωμένον,

Codd. N (vv. 1-25; 50-72; 26-49; 73-134), M (vv. 125-134) **Tit.** sec. L; τοῦ def. N **8** προϊγμένον N **20** τὲ N **26** ἐκτέρων N: ἐκατέρων con. Meesters **28** ποταμοῦν N

Poem 4

Beginning of the verses of the end

Giver of good things, of all these good things,
almighty Trinity, totally powerful strength,
countable unity and one nature,
indivisible, three in number, one might,
5 one activity, one thought and glory,
oh Father, ungenerated and ruler over everything,
oh Light from the Father, Son, right hand, power,
oh divine Spirit, coming forth from the Father,
sun and light, most unsullied beam.
10 Trinity out of a unity and unity out of a Trinity,
uncreated, having the same will, breathing together as one,
give action, protection and stability,
assist and help Your worshipper,
because no one can do anything without You.
15 Bind my tripartite being together with the triple Trinity,
put it safe, in order that my tripartite being devotes itself
to the only service of the contemplation of You.
Give a remembrance of death that never fades away,
the memory of the long journey of Kedar
20 and of the exile of the tabernacle,
while boring the spear of death right through
blindness, obtuseness and insensitivity,
right through passion without tears, without pain, without grief,
while hitting those things with hostile bolts;
25 and give the might to bear the weight of undesirable things
such as You command † ... †
I will speak, with courage, even of involuntarily acts,
because one should not force the stream of the rivers completely,
one should give at the right time an account even of those things.
30 May you neither bear me entirely unpunished,
nor again full of groaning when I am pierced with thorns,

- μήτ' οὖν ἀχαλίνωτον ὡς ἵππον μ' ἔχοις,
 μήτ' αὖ ταλαιπωροῦντα πάθεισι πλέον.
 Κέντρῳ με νύσσε, μικρᾶ παιδείᾳ λέγω.
- 35 Μὴ πλήττε τῷ δόρατι, μὴ βάλλοις βέλει.
 Τοὺς σοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀθύμους, Τριάς, θέλω.
 Ἦ τοῦ βίου θάλασσα τοῦ μελαμπούρου
 πάντῃ φέροι με, μήτε κούφην ὀλκάδα,
 μήθ' ὑπεραλγῆ τῶν ἀγωγίμων βάρει.
- 40 Κακὸν καταφρόνησις, ὑβριστῆς κόρος·
 ἄπερ καλὸς πλοῦς, ναῦς ἐλαφρὰ προσφέρει·
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καλὸν συμφοραὶ νυκτιφόροι
 ἐπιφορὰς μιμούμεναι τῶν κυμάτων.
 Ἐντιπαράθοις ἀσθένειαν ἦν ἔχω,
- 45 ἀντιταλαντόσταθμον ἐξάγοις τίσιν.
 Σπήλαιον ὄντα νοῦν ἐμὸν νυκτιλόχων,
 ναὸν σὸν αὐτὸν δεῖξον ὠραϊσμένον·
 ἀντρανύχιον, ἀδρανῆ δεδειγμένον,
 φωτεινόμορφον ἔργασαι κατοικίαν.
- 50 Ἴνα μόνην σε τὴν βασίλισσαν ἔχω,
 αὐλον ἔνδον ἴδρυμα τῆς καρδίας·
 ὡς ἂν ἵχνη, θήρατρα, παγίδας, λόχους
 θηρὸς κακούργου, δυσμενοῦς, ὀλεθρίου
 βολαῖς καθαραῖς ἀστραπηβόλου φάους
- 55 ὀρῶν, ἐρευνῶν, καταθρῶν, σκοπῶν, βλέπων,
 τὰς κακότητος τριβόλας ἐκφυγγάνω,
 ἃς ὁ σκολιὸς καθυποσπεύρων ὄφεις,
 λυσσῶν καθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βίου
 οὐ παύεται μάλιστα, παύλαν οὐκ ἔχων.
- 60 Ὅστις πανούργως ὑποχωρῶν πολλάκις
 δοκῶν τε φεύγειν, κέντρῳ ρίπτει θανάτου,
 κλέπτῃς ἐναργῆς, ψυχόθηρ ὧν ὁ πλάνος,
 εἶδει καλῶ δοκοῦντι κρύπτει τὸν δόλον·
 πλουτῶν τὰ φαῦλα πανταχοῦ τῶν σκεμμάτων,

39 scholion ad ὑπεραλγῆ: Γράφεται· μήτε βρ[...] add. in mg. N 54 scholion ad φάους: Γράφεται· [...]ίας add. in mg. N 56 τριβόλ (λ supra lineam) N 57 καθυποσπεύρων corr. Demoen: καθυποσπεύρ(ειν) N

nor then have me as an unbridled horse,
nor moreover fully distressed because of passions.
Prick me with a spur, I mean with a bit of education,
35 do not strike me with a spear, do not hit me with an arrow.
O Trinity, I want your reproofs without anger.
 May the sea of dark life
transport me in every way, neither as a light ship,
nor exceedingly grievous because of the weight of the loads.
40 Disdain is evil, satiety is insolent:
such things are the consequence of a smooth sailing, of a light ship.
But nothing good are also the misfortunes that bring darkness,
imitating the vehemence of waves.
May You compensate the weakness that I have,
45 may You carry out the well-counterbalanced punishment.
 Show that my mind, which is a cavern for who is lying in wait at night,
is Your beautified church itself.
Transform (my mind), which is shown to be dark as a cave and weak,
into an abode shaped with light.
50 In order that I have only You as a queen,
an immaterial foundation inside of the heart,
so that, when, because of clear bolts of the light of hurling lightings,
I see, investigate, observe, examine and look at
traces, snares, traps, ambushes
55 of a malicious, hostile, destructive wild beast,
I escape from the thistles of wickedness.
The sly snake, knowing no rest, does not stop at all
sowing secretly all around these thistles
and raging against us with the necessities of life.
60 Cunningly, he retires frequently
and pretends to flee, but he hits with the sting of death.
He is a manifest thief, a deceiver being a hunter of souls,
he hides deceit by what seems to be a beautiful appearance.
Being rich in all kinds of bad plans,

65 νόθοις ἑαυτὸν κατακοσμεῖ τοῖς τρόποις,
κατὰ κολοῖον ἐπιλωμένον νόθοις.
Ἵς ἀλιεύς τις εἰναλίους ἰχθύσιν
ἄγκιστρον εἶδαρ ἔρχεται καθείς ἔχον
οἱ καὶ ποθοῦντες τὴν πρὸς <ἦς> ζωῆς χάριν
70 εἴλκυσαν ἀπρόοπτον, ἄθλιον τέλος,
οὕτως Σατᾶν ἔπεισιν ἐν κακουργίᾳ.
Ἐπῆλθε φωτὶ παραπλήσιον σκότος,
ὡς παρόμοιον ἐκφανῆ φῶς τῷ σκότει.
Ἦ δεινότητος ἦν λόγοις ἀποπτύει,
75 ὦ σκαιότητος ἦν δόλοις ἐπειλύει.
Σκάζων προδήλως ὡσπερ ὁ κλυτοτέχνης,
ἰθυτενῆ δείκνυσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα·
οὔ σκανδάληθρα πάντα βλέψαι μὴ σθένων
κλήσεις ὀλίγας εὔρον αὐτοῖς ἰδίας,
80 ἐκ τῶν ὀνύχων τὸν λέοντα τίς φράσοι·
αὐται παρεμφαίνουσι τὰς βδελυγμίας,
αὐται παραδηλοῦσι τὰς τεχνουργίας,
αὐται παραγυμνοῦσι τὰς μιαρίας.
Ἵς γὰρ ἄπασαν ἡδονὴν εὐρών· ὄφεις,
85 πῦρ· ὡς ἀνάπτῃς τῶν παθῶν τῶν σαρκίνων,
Βελίας· ὀργῆς ὡς θυμοῦ κινῶν βέλη,
κακία· πρῶτος ἀνομίαν ὡς πλάσας,
θάνατος· ὡς αἴτιος ἡμῖν θανάτων,
χάσμα· μέγιστον ὡς ἄδου στόμα, πύλη,
90 τίνα δεδορκῶς ὡς καταπίη· δράκων,
θήρ· ὡς καθ' ἡμῶν ἀγριαίνων διόλου,
νύξ· ὡς σκοτεινὸς ἡμέρας ἀντίθετος,
ὡς εἰσπιδύων λάθρα τὰ πλείω· λόχος,
ὡς θανατῶν δῆγματα· λυσσώδης κύων,
95 χάος, Χάρυβδις· ὡς ἀπωλείας τόπος,
καὶ βάσκανος· τοῖς πᾶσιν ὡς φθονῶν μάτην,
φονεύς· τὸν Ἄβελ ὡς ἀναιρῶν ἀπάτη,

66 scholion ad ἐπιλωμένον: [...]μένον add. in mg. N **69** ἦς con. De Groote **70** scholion ad τέλος: [...]n add. in mg. N, fort. θάνατον **72** παραπλήσιος N^{ac} **73** παρόμοιος N^{ac} **77** αὐτοῦ N **84** τοῦ διαβόλου τίνα ὀνόματα ἐνδεικτικὰ τῶν μηχανουργιῶν αὐτοῦ add. sub folio N; εὔρον N **88** scholion ad θανάτων: Ἦγο[υν ...] χι[...]
σ[...]
N **91** δι' ὄλου N^{ac}

65 he adorns himself with false manners,
like the proverbial jackdaw with forged plumes.
Like as a fisher who lets a fish hook with food sink
for the fishes that live in the sea,
and they, full of desire for the grace that brings life,
70 draw an unforeseen, a wretched death,
so Satan wickedly comes upon us.
He comes as a darkness resembling light,
so that he appears as light that resembles darkness.
O what a terribleness he spits out in words,
75 o what a perversity he hides in deceit.
While clearly limping as the famed craftsman,
he points to his straight foot.
I am not able to see all his traps,
but I found a few proper names for them,
80 “(to recognise) the lion by his claws” as one would say.
They emphasize the nastiness,
they display the mischiefs,
they disclose the brutalities.
As he invented all kinds of pleasure: (he is called) snake,
85 fire: as he is an inflamer of the fleshly passions,
Beliar: as he moves the arrows of wrath and anger,
evil: as he was the first to conceive illegal action,
death: as he is the cause of death for us
gap: as he is the great mouth, the gate of the underworld,
90 as he swallows down someone whom he spotted: dragon,
wild beast: as he is entirely full of wrath towards us
night: as he is the shadowy counterpart of day,
as he mostly rushes in secretly: trap,
as he is the bites of death: raging dog,
95 chaos, Charybdis: as he is a place of ruin,
and an envier: as he is jealous in vain towards everyone,
murderer: as he killed Abel with deceit:

τὸν νοῦν ὁ Κάϊν ζηλοτυπῶν ἀδίκως,
 εἰς τὴν πλατεῖαν ἐξάγων πεδιάδα
 100 κάκεισε νεκρῶν τὸν Θεοῦ θεῖον θύτην,
 ὡς μὴ θυσίας τὰς ἐρασμίους θύη,
 ὡς μὴ θύματα προσφέρῃ τῷ Δεσπότῃ
 ἄμωμα, δεκτά, καθάρα, πεφιλμένα
 καὶ τῶνδε δὴ τι μεῖζον ἀντιλαμβάνη,
 105 τὴν εὐλογίαν εὐλογῆ τοῦ Κυρίου.
 Ποῖος νοήσει τῶν σοφῶν λογεμπόρων
 φωτὸς θεατῆς, ἐργάτης ἀμεινόνων,
 ψυχῆς τὸ φέγγος ἐμπερισχῶν ἐμφρόνως,
 ψυχῆς τὸ λαμπρὸν ἀντανακλῶν τοῖς πόνοις,
 110 γενναιότητα δεικνύων ἐν πρακτέοις
 καὶ πρᾶξι ἐνθεν εὐκλείζων συντόνως,
 νοδὸς στρατηγός, δημαγωγός, ἰππότης
 τό τε πρόσαντες Λοξίου πρωτοστάτου
 τό τ' εὐθὲς αὐτοῦ συγκεκρυμμένον δόλω;
 115 Ἦ τίς καταθρήσειε κρυφίους πάγας,
 ἢ τίς διαιρήσειε τὰς πανουργίας
 ἃς καθεκάστην ἴστησιν ἰξηφόρος,
 ἃς καθεκάστην ποικιλοτρόπως πλέκει
 ὁ ψευματοπλασματομηχανοπλόκος;
 120 Εἰ Παῦλος ἤμην, πυγμαχεῖν ἠσκημένος,
 οὗ τὴν σκιὰν ἦν ὀρροδοῦν ἀρχῶν ἔθνος,
 γρόνθοις ἔπαιον ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς Θερσίτην·
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναλκίς εἰμι καὶ παρειμένος,
 ἄβουλος, ἄφρων, ἀδαής, χωρὶς ὄπλων,
 125 πάμπαν ἀβληχρός, ἀδρανής, πεπληγμένος
 γλῶσσαν προτείνω πρὸς σὲ τὴν ἀναξίαν
 αἰτοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν τομὴν ἐπαξίαν.
 Ἐπιτίμησον καλάμου τῷ θηρίῳ
 καὶ φεύξεταιί μου τοῦ συλᾶν νοῦν ἢ τρόπον·
 130 ὑπεξάγαγε τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ βίου
 καὶ κατάταξον εἰς μονὰς τῶν ἀγίων

114 συγκεκραμένον N^{ac} 121 scholion ad ἔθνος: Γράφεται· στίφος ἢ φύλο[v] add. in mg. N 123
 ἐπεὶδ' N 125 ἀμβληχρὸς M

Cain, who unlawfully envied the mind of Abel,
took him to the broad plain
100 and there he killed the divine sacrificer of God,
in order that he would never sacrifice a pleasing sacrifice again,
in order that he would never again bring offerings to the Lord,
impeccable, welcome, pure, beloved (sacrifices),
in exchange for which he would receive something bigger,
105 he would bless the blessing of the Lord.
What kind of wise word-monger,
spectator of light, worker for the better,
encompassing sensibly the splendour of the soul,
reflecting in his labours the brilliance of the soul,
110 showing nobility in his deeds
and thence, in short, bringing honour to action,
what kind of commander, leader, driver of the mind
would understand both the hostility of the crooked chief
and his direct intentions, concealed in deceit?
115 Or who might perceive the hidden traps,
or who might distinguish the wicked evils,
which the bearer of trickery sets up every day,
which in various ways he devises every day,
the deviser of lies, forgeries and tricks?
120 If I were Paul, practiced in boxing,
whose shadow the leaders of the gentiles feared,
I would strike (him) with fists as Achilles stroke Thersites.
But since I am weak and slack,
inconsiderate, foolish, ignorant, without weapons,
125 completely feeble, impotent, defeated,
I expose my worthless tongue to You,
which asks the devil's deserved cutting.
Rebuke the beast in the reeds
and it will be refrained from stripping off my mind or behaviour.
130 Withdraw me from the deceit of life
and place me in the abodes of the saints,

ὡς ἂν ὑμνῶ κάγω σε σὺν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις,
ἄζυξ, μοναστῆς Ἰωάννης σὸς λάτρης
καὶ τῆς χοϊκῆς Κομνηνῆς ρίζης κλάδος.

Στίχοι ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε οἱ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ποιμένα λόγου τοῦ Κλίμακος.
Καὶ ὁμοῦ, οἱ τοῦ κήπου, οἱ τοῦ διὰ στίχων Κλίμακος, οἱ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ τριακοστοῦ λόγου, καὶ οἱ
παρόντες ἐν τῷ τέλει δηλονότι τοῦ ὅλου βιβλίου στίχοι τετρακόσιοι ἑβδομηκοντακτώ.

Ἀδελφέ μου, μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ τοῦ εἰπεῖν περὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ γεγραφότος ταύτην τὴν βίβλον, τὸν
βραχύτατον, εὐκτικὸν λόγον μόνον, εἰ βούλει καὶ σὺ τὸν Θεὸν μὴ ἐπιλαθέσθαι σοῦ, γέγραπται
γὰρ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ αὐτοῦ· “ὧ̅ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν”. Ἀφομοιοῦται γὰρ τὸ θεῖον
ταῖς ἡμῶν διαθέσεσιν.

Prima nota in fine ἐν τῷ τῷ τέλει τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ποιμένα N | οἱ παρόντες δηλονότι M **Secunda
nota in fine** om. M

in order that I also praise You together with the angels,
I, the unmarried monk John, Your servant
and branch of the earthly Komnenian root.

One hundred thirty-five verses at the end of the treatise To the Shepherd by Klimax. Together those of the garden, those of the metrical Ladder, those at the end of the thirtieth step, and these final verses make, of course, for the entire book four hundred and seventy eight verses.

My brother, do not forget to say at least the shortest word of prayer on behalf of me, the scribe of this book, if you as well wish not to be forgotten by God. Because in His book it is written: “with the same measure that you use, it will be measured back to you”.¹³² For indeed the divine action corresponds to our disposition.

¹³² Translation of Lc. 6:38 quoted from The New King James Bible (1979).

3.3 *Loci paralleli*

This list presents the intertextual references and parallels found. They should be taken into consideration to fully understand the composition of the poems. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the possible influence of these poems on later texts. Therefore, most intertextual references given predate the poems. Nevertheless, some relevant parallel passages from a later date which I came across will be mentioned.

In the list four signs are used to indicate the relationship between the poem and its intertextual reference: '=' means exact quotation (likely on purpose); '≈' means almost exact quotation / adapted quotation (likely on purpose); 'cf.' means parallel, not necessarily with verbal similarities (might or might not be on purpose); '~' refers to an intratextual reference. For a discussion of the parallel passages, see the commentary on the respective verses in which they appear (chapter 3.4).

3.3.1 Poem 1

- tit. παρά πνεύματος** cf. Basil. Caes. *Hom. 1 in Psal.* (PG 29.219A); cf. 2 Tim. 3:16
- κῆπον νοητὸν** cf. Cyrill. Alex. *Comm. in Is.* (PG 70.1108, ll. 18-45); cf. Joseph. Rhakend., *Epit.* (475.27) (ed. Treu 1899: 39-42); cf. *Canones Jan. 27, In transl. reliq. S. Chrys. can. 37, od. 2, ll. 31-44* (ed. Proiou – Schirò 1971)
- εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων** = Jc. 5:16
- ὁ Θεὸς συγχωρήσοι σοι** cf. Theod. Stud. *Ep.* 109, l. 25; *Ep.* 167, l. 8 (ed. Fatouros 1992)
- 1-4** ≈ J. Chrys. *De eleemosyna* (PG 60.707); cf. J. Mosch. *Prat. Spir.* (PG 87/3.2852A)
- 5-6** cf. Prov. 24:13-14; Ps. 118:103; Bas. Caes. *Hom. in princ. prov.* (PG 31.413, ll. 43-45)
- 16-28** cf. Athan. *Exp. in Ps.* (PG 27.62CD); Orig. *Frag. in Ps.* [Dub.], Ps. 1:3 (ed. Pitra 1883-1884); J. Chrys. *De eleemosyna* (PG 60.707, ll. 44-56)
- 19 Δένδρα καλὰ** cf. Mt. 12:33; Lc. 6:43
- 26 γάγγραιναν** ≈ 2 Tim. 2:17
- 27 θέμεθλον** cf. 2 Tim. 2:19; 1 Cor. 3:11
- 28 τῶν λόγων τὰ πρακτέα** cf. Jc. 2:18-22; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.633, ll. 16-18)
- 30 ἔλος** cf. *Apoph. Patr. (coll. alphas.)* (PG 65.249, ll. 53-54)
- 33 ἀμερίμων** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.928, ll. 24-26); Mt. 6:26
- 33 ἀβίων** cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4 (SC 309: 182, ll. 8-10); 2 Tim. 2:4; Eust. Thess. *De emend. vit. monach.* (ed. Metzler 2006: par. 25, l. 3; par. 42, l. 11); 1 Cor. 4:11; Mc. 12:44
- 36** cf. J. Chrys. *In Ps. 50* (PG 55.577, l. 45); *Sacr. Parall.* (PG 96.144, l. 37); Ps.-J. Dam. *Adv. iconocl.* (PG 96.1356, l. 8)
- 37** ~ Poem. 1, v. 28; cf. Jc. 2:18-22
- 38** cf. Cant. 2:1

- 39 ~ Poem. 1, v. 4
- 40-41 ≈ Ps. 140:2; cf. Rev. 8:4
- 42 cf. 2 Cor. 2:15; Eph. 5:2; Phil. 4:18
- 45-55 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1153D-1156A); *Symbolon* (PG 152.1102, l. 18); ~ Poem. 2, vv. 24-25
- 49-55 cf. J. Chrys. *De eleemosyna* (PG 60.707, ll. 24-28); Jc. 1:9-11; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1137, ll. 25-33); Greg. Naz. *Or.* 40 (PG 36.364, l. 43 - 365, l. 27)
- 51 ταῖς βολαῖς ταῖς πυρφόροις cf. Greg. Nyss. *Adv. Ar. et Sab.* (ed. Mueller 1958: 84)
- 52 cf. Eph. 5:29
- 54 ≈ Joh. 3:8; cf. 1 Cor. 12:11
- 60 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.897, ll. 25-30)
- 62-63 cf. 1 Cor. 1:19
- 65-67 cf. *Canones Dec. 28, In S. Steph. Thaum. can.* 54, od. 7, ll. 9-15 (ed. Kominis – Schirò 1976); 1 Cor. 3:6
- 70 τρισσοφειγῆ cf. *Symbolon* (PG 152.1102, l. 18); Nil. Cabas. *Or.* 5, sect. 25, l. 23 (ed. Kislas 2001)
- 73 σκάφης cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.996, l. 37)
- 74 κοσμικὴν θάλασσαν ~ Poem. 2, v. 155
- 83 γνώρισμα cf. 2 Tim. 2:19
- 92 φερέγγυος cf. Hebr. 7:22; 2 Cor. 1:22
- 94 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,55, v. 23 (PG 37.1401)
- 98 cf. 2 Cor. 1:22, 3:3; Hebr. 8:10; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.632, l. 38)
- 100 cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 7 (PG 35.776, ll. 12-22), *Ep.* 197.6 (ed. Gallay 1967: 89), *Or.* 5 (PG 35.720, l. 6), *Or.* 25 (PG 35.1212, l. 14)

3.3.2 Poem 2

- 1-2, 9-18 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,2,1, vv. 263-272 (PG 37.1470-1471); cf. Herod. *Hist.* 1.93, 5.101 (ed. Rosén 1987; 1997); *Cosm. Jerus. Comm. in S. Greg. Naz. Carm.* (ed. Lozza 2000: 165-166)
- 1-4 cf. epigr. inc. Ἦν τίς ποταμὸς τῷ Κροίσῳ χρυσορρόας (www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/8032)
- 2-5 cf. Strab. *Geogr.* 13.4.5 (ed. Meineke 1913); Eustath. *Thess. Comm. ad Hom. Il.* (ed. van der Valk 1971: 577, ll. 14-16)
- 4 ψαφαροῖς ἠρεισιμένος cf. Mt. 7:26; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.637, ll. 16-18)
- 6-8 ≈ J. Chrys. *In epist. ad Coloss. comm.* (PG 62.350, ll. 18-24)
- 9-10 cf. Herod. *Hist.* 3.102-105 (ed. Rosén 1987)
- 14 Ἀγάλλεται cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 16.15; PG 88.928 Gr. 17, l. 22)
- 14-18 cf. epigr. inc. Εἶπερ κατέγνωσ ἀτρεκῶς ἀμαρτάδος, v. 11 (ed. Bentein et al. 2009: 289)

- 20 παρέσχε (...)** Λόγος cf. ἔδωκε Χριστὸς Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,2,1, vv. 271-272 (PG 37.1471)
- 23** cf. Rom. 7:25; 2 Cor. 7:1
- 24** cf. Joh. 1:4; Ps. 118:105
- 25** cf. φῶς ἐκ φωτός *Symb.* (PG 152.1102, l. 18); Joh. 8:12; Nicet. τοῦ Μαρωνείας *Or.* 4 (ed. Festa 1912-1915: 72)
- 27-28** cf. Mt. 24:35; 1 Joh. 2:17; 1 Cor. 7:31; Greg. Pal. *Hom.* 4 (sect. 12, l. 18; ed. Chrestou 1985)
- Gradus 1** cf. Orig. *Fragm. in Ps. 1-150* [Dub.], Ps. 1:1-2 (ed. Pitra 1883-1884); J. Chrys. *Exp. in Ps.* (PG 55.340, ll. 18-29)
- tit.** ἀποταγῆς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως ≈ Sophr. (1970: 13); PG 88.629; **N** (f. 9v); cf. Sophr. (1970: 185); PG 88.631; **M** (f. 320v)
- 34** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.636, ll. 7-16); Rev. 11:8
- 34 ἐξέφυγες** ~ Poem 1, v. 74
- 34 ἐσκοτισμένην** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1069, ll. 24-29)
- 34, 36** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.633, ll. 54-55)
- 34, 36, 38** ≈ Greg. Naz. *Or.* 1 (PG 35.397, ll. 9-12)
- 35 ἠδυπάθειαν** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.640, ll. 2-6)
- 35 ἀνάπαυσιν σαρκίου** cf. Barsan. et J. *Quaes. et resp.* (Ep. 96, l. 38; ed. Neyt – de Angelis-Noah 1997); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.653 Gr. 2, ll. 19-21); Jer. 17:16
- 37 τὸ σαρκικὸν φρόνημα** cf. Rom. 8:5-9
- 37 τὸν κενὸν βίον** ~ Poem. 3, v. 9
- 38** cf. Ex. 1:11, 5:14
- Gradus 2**
- tit.** cf. Sophr. (1970: 20, 185); PG (88.629, 653); **N** (f. 9v); **M** (f. 320v)
- 41** cf. Gen. 19:15-26; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 40 (PG 36.384, ll. 7-18); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.653 Gr. 2, ll. 21-28; 657, ll. 42-43; 665, ll. 23-29); Lc. 9:62, 17:32-33; M. Philes *Carm.* 2.211, v. 130 (ed. Miller 1855: 388)
- 42-44** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.656, ll. 40-44; 657, ll. 22-31)
- 45** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.656, ll. 9-14); Mt. 19:21; Mc. 10:21
- Gradus 3**
- tit.** περὶ ξενιτείας cf. Sophr. (1970: 23, 185); PG (88.629, 644); **N** (f. 9v); **M** (f. 320v)
- tit.** προαιρετικῆς cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.664, l. 42 - 665, l. 2)
- 46-47** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.664 Gr. 3, ll. 12-13; 23-24)
- 48** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.665, ll. 38-40)
- 50 ἄγνωστον, ἀπόκρυφον (..) βίον** ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.664 Gr. 3, ll. 5-10)
- Gradus 4**
- tit.** cf. Sophr. (1970: 28, 185), PG (88.629, 728), **N** (f. 9v), **M** (f. 320v)
- 52 τὴν ἀνυποταξίαν** ~ Poem. 2, v. 189

53 cf. Rom. 8:5-9; Max. Conf. *Schol. in Eccl.* sect. 2, ll. 31-33 (ed. Lucà 1983); id. *Quaest. ad Thal.* sect. 62, l. 233 (ed. Laga – Steel 1980 / 1990); id. *Amb. ad Joan.* sect. 30, par. 2, l. 5; sect. 56, par. 2, l. 13 (ed. Constatas 2014); *Vit. Barl. et Joas.* (ed. Volk 2006: sect. 38, ll. 89-90)

53 **σάρκα** ~ Poem. 2, v. 37; Poem. 2, v. 143

54 **ἔλεγχον** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.681, ll. 17-20; 704, ll. 28-32; 704, l. 45 - 705, l. 3; 856, ll. 25-27)

54 **συνείδησιν** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.685, ll. 1-6; 705, ll. 23-29; 712, ll. 21-23)

55-56 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.680, ll. 20-34); Macar. *Macr. Enc. in Gabr. archiep. Thess.*, ll. 216-220 (ed. Argyriou 1996)

57 **Τρέχεις ἀδήλως** ~ Poem. 2, vv. 50-51; cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.713, ll. 3-8; 852, ll. 16-24); 1 Cor. 9:26; Athan. *De morb. et valet.* (ed. Diekamp 1938: 5, l. 24 - 6, l. 4)

Gradus 5

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 51, 185); PG (88.629, 764); **N** (f. 9v); **M** (f. 320v)

58 cf. Marc. *Eremit. De his qui put. se ex op. just.* (par. 83, l. 5; SC 445)

61-63 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.684, ll. 33-35)

Gradus 6

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 59, 185); PG (88.629, 793); **N** (f. 9v); cf. **M** (f. 320v)

64-65 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.809, ll. 14-16); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.793 Gr. 6, ll. 3-5)

67 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,2,33, vv. 229-232 (PG 37.945); *Sacr. Parall.* (PG 96.440, l. 47)

67-69 cf. Mt. 24:43-44; Mc. 13:35; Lc. 12:40; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.793, l. 35 - 796, l. 5)

Gradus 7

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 62, 185); PG (88.629, 801); **N** (f. 9v); **M** (f. 320v)

70 **Στένεις βύθιον** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.809, ll. 45-52)

70-75 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.804, ll. 31-37); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.805, ll. 28-30)

Gradus 8

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 70, 185); PG (88.629, 828); **N** (f. 9v); **M** (f. 320v)

76-77 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.828 Gr. 8, ll. 3-6); cf. Manass. *Arist. et Call.*, fragm. 11, ll. 5-7 (ed. Mazal 1967)

78-79 cf. 1 Regn. 25

80-81 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.828, ll. 12-13; 832, ll. 30-34; 833, ll. 31-32)

Gradus 9

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 74, 185); PG (88.629, 840); **N** (f. 9v); **M** (f. 320v)

82 cf. Basil. Caes. *Hom. in hexaem.* (SC 26 bis: Hom. 8, sect. 1, ll. 53-61); J. Chrys. *In Mt.* (PG 57.48, ll. 46 - 49, l. 3); id. *In epist. II ad Thess.* (PG 62.483, ll. 20-33); id. *In epist. II ad Cor.* (PG 61.439, ll. 44-50); id. *De angust. port. et in or. dom.* [Sp.] (PG 51.44, ll. 38-44); id. *Eclog. I-XLVIII ex divers. hom.* [Sp.] (PG 63.27-35); id. *De siccit.* [Sp.] (PG 61.723, l. 58); Theodor. *Stud. Parv. Catach.* (5, l. 43; ed. Auvray 1891)

83 **ἐν κωδίῳ τὸν λύκον** cf. Mt. 7:15; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 1.4.3, ll. 5-7 (SC 2 bis)

83 ἐν κόλποις ὄφιν cf. Aesop. (P 176); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.697, ll. 5-6; 841, ll. 47-49); J. Chrys. *Ascet. fac. uti non deb.* [Sp.] (PG 48.1057, l. 17); id. *In Act. apost.* (PG 60.294, ll. 53-57; id. *In epist. II ad Cor.* (PG 61.587, ll. 31-37)

84 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 9.13; PG 88.841, ll. 51-54); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.976, ll. 28-29)

ξύλω σαθρῶ σκώληκα cf. Theodoret. *Comm. in Is.* (SC 295: sect. 12, ll. 389-390)

85-86 cf. *Il.* 9.313; *Od.* 18.168; Porphyry. *Quaest. Hom. lib. I (recensio V)* (sect. 95, l. 8; ed. Sodano 1970); Eustath. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* (ed. van der Valk 1976: 713, ll. 18-19); Themist. *Βασαν. ἢ φιλόσ.* (Harduin p. 258, sect. d, l. 2; ed. Downey et al. 1971); Germ. *II Epist. du. ad Cypr.* (Ep. 1; ed. Sathas 1873: 10-11); M. Chon. *Ep.* 69 (ed. Kolovou 2001: 94, l. 33); N. Chon. *Historia* (ed. van Dieten 1975: 133, ll. 16-19); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.845 Gr. 10, ll. 16-17)

87 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 9.2; PG 88.841, ll. 12-13)

Gradus 10

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 76, 185); PG (88.629, 854); **M** (f. 3r); **N** (f. 9v); cf. **M** (f. 320)

89 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.848, ll. 2-10)

90 νόθοις ἡσυχίοις ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.841, ll. 52-53)

90, 92 ἐκδαπανῶν (...) ἀγάπης ὑποκρίσει ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.845 Gr. 10, 8-9)

91 τὴν ἀγκαλίδα, τὴν μερίδα cf. Eudem. *Περὶ λέξ. ῥητ.* (ed. Niese 1922: f. 3b, l. 13); Phot. *Lex.* (A-Δ, lem. 179, l. 4; ed. Theodoridis 1982); *Suda* (ed. Adler 1928: α, lem. 243); *Etymol. Gud.* (ed. de Stefani 1909: 13, l. 11); *Ps.-Zon. Lexic.* (ed. Tittmann 1808: 24, l. 22)

91 τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Λόγου cf. Act. 8:21; Eus. *Gener. ele. intr.* (ed. Gaisford 1842: 188, ll. 17-20), id. *Comm. in Ps.* (PG 24.32, ll. 17-27)

93 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.845 Gr. 10, ll. 17-25)

Gradus 11

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 78, 185); PG (88.852); **N** (f. 9v)

94 Εὐτράπελον cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.852, l. 11)

94 Εὐτράπελον, λαμυρόν cf. Phot. *Lex.* (E-M, lem. 83; ed. Theodoridis 1998); *Suda* (ed. Adler 1933b: λ, lem. 106); *Etymol. Gud.* (ed. Sturz 1818: 362, l. 7)

95 λαρόν, προσηνές, ἡδὺ ≈ Apoll. *Lexic. Hom.* (ed. Bekker 1833: 107, l. 5); Hesych. *Lexic.* (A-O) (λ, lem. 340; ed. Latte 1953); Phot. *Lexic.* (E-M, λ, lem. 101; ed. Theodoridis 1998); *Suda* (ed. Adler 1933b: λ, lem. 126); *Ps.-Zon. Lexic.* (ed. Tittmann 1808: 1288, l. 15 - 1289, l. 3)

96 cf. Deut. 6:4-9; Num. 15:38-40; Mt. 23:5; J. Chrys. *In Mt. hom.* (PG 58.669, ll. 3-7; ll. 28-41); Athan. *Ep. ad episc. Aeg. et Lib.* (9.3, ll. 3-6; ed. Hansen et al. 1996)

97-99 ≈ schol. in J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 1970: 77 n. 2); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.848, ll. 23-33)

Gradus 12

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 79, 185); PG (88.629, 853); **N** (f. 9v); **M** (f. 3r); cf. **M** (f. 320v)

100-101 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.853 Gr. 12, ll. 3-5)

102 ἐγκρίς, γλύκασμα ≈ Hesych. *Lexic.* (A-O) (ε, lem. 264; ed. Latte 1953); Phot. *Lexic.* (E-M, ε, lem. 59; ed. Theodoridis 1998); *Suda* (ed. Adler 1928: ε, lem. 128); Ps.-Zon. *Lexic.* (ed. Tittmann 1808: 600, l. 24); cf. Psell. *Poem.* 6, v. 319 (ed. Westerink 1992)

102 ἀπάτη cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.864 Gr. 14, ll. 12-13)

102 βέλως cf. Eph. 6:16; ~ Poem. 4, vv. 35, 86

104-105 cf. Jos. 2:1-14; Hebr. 11:30-31; Jc. 2:24-26; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.856, ll. 27-43); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.17.105.4, l. 3 (ed. Stählin et al. 1985⁴); Clem. Rom. *Ep. I ad Cor.* 12.1 (SC 167)

105 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.856, ll. 42-43)

105 ἀποβλέπων cf. Cyr. Jer. *Cat. ad illum. 2 (exemplar alterum)* (PG 33.416, ll. 9-14); Theod. Prodr. *Epigr. in Vet. et Nov. Test.* (Jos. 81, ll. 1-4; ed. Papagiannis 1997)

Gradus 13

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 80, 185); PG (88.629, 857); **N** (f. 9v); **M** (f. 3r); cf. **M** (f. 320v).

109 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 13.9; PG 88.860, ll. 46-47)

110 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.861, ll. 3-5; 861, l. 7)

Gradus 14

tit. cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.865, l. 35; 865, ll. 48-49; 869, ll. 1-2)

112-117 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.865, ll. 12-32)

112 cf. Hesych. *Lexic.* (Π-Ω) (π, lem. 2421, 2422; ed. Schmidt 1861-1862); Phot. *Lexic.* (N-Φ) (π, lem. 906; ed. Theodoridis 2013); *Suda* (ed. Adler 1935: π, lem. 1679); Ps.-Zonaras, *Lexic.* (ed. Tittmann 1808: 1555, l. 19); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.868, ll. 2-3, 17-18)

112-113 cf. J. Chrys. *Ad pop. Antioch.* (hom. 6; PG 49.85, ll. 20-25); *Expos. in Ps.* (PG 55.340, ll. 18-21)

116 ἄφιλον λόγοις cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.868, ll. 12-17)

Gradus 15

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 86, 185); PG (88.880); **N** (f. 9v)

119 σωφροσύνη cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.880, ll. 10-13); tit. PG (88.880), Sophr. (1970: 86, 185), **N** (f. 9v)

120 σαρκικῶν μiasμάτων cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.888, l. 22)

121 ἀφθαρτοσωμάτωσις cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.888, ll. 17-19; 1148 Gr. 29, ll. 13-15); tit. PG (88.880), Sophr. (1970: 185), **N** (f. 9v), **M** (f. 320v); 1 Cor. 15:52

121 ἀγνείας cf. tit. PG (88.629, 880), Sophr. (1970: 86, 185), **N** (f. 9v), **M** (f. 320v); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.880 Gr. 15, l. 4 - 881, l. 3)

122 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.884, ll. 3-5); Mt. 19:12; Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 6.8.2-1 (SC 41); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 3.6 (ed. Stählin et al. 1985⁴)

122-123 θλαδίαν, Λευϊτικὸν cf. Lev. 18, 21:16-20, 22:24; Deut. 23:2

Gradus 16

tit. = PG (88.629, 924); cf. Sophr. (1970: 98, 185); **M** (f. 3r, 320v); **N** (f. 9v)

124 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.896, ll. 25-29); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.880 Gr. 15, ll. 4-7; 881, ll. 3-7; 901, ll. 27-28); M. Glyc. *Ann.* (ed. Bekker 1836: 213, ll. 4-6)

125 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.904, ll. 6-9)

126 cf. Mt. 27:5; *Christ. pat.*, v. 327 (SC 149); J. Chrys. *De paen. (serm. 2)* [Sp.] (PG 60.699, ll. 57-58); J. Chrys. *De jejuniō (serm. 1-7)* [Sp.] (PG 60.717, ll. 72-74); Antioch. *Pandect. script. sacr.* Hom. 8 (PG 89.1457, ll. 15-19); Philagath. *Hom.* 29.10, ll. 1-4 (ed. Rossi Taibbi 1969)

Gradus 17

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 100, 185); PG (88.629 Gr. 18; 932 Gr. 18); **N** (f. 9v Gr. 17); **M** (f. 3r Gr. 18; f. 320v Gr. 18); J. Chrys. *In Mt. hom.* 28 (PG 57.351, ll. 35-37), *In Act. apost. hom.* 26 (PG 60.199, ll. 18-23)

130 μακάριον πάθος cf. Hippol. *De consum. mund.* [Sp.] 1, ll. 10-11 (ed. Achelis 1897)

132 ἀλγείς cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.932 Gr. 18, ll. 7-11)

133-134 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.924, ll. 17-19; 933, ll. 3-4)

Gradus 18

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 101 Gr. 18; 185 Gr. 18); PG (88.629 Gr. 19; 937 Gr. 19); **N** (f. 9v Gr. 18); = **M** (f. 3r Gr. 19); cf. **M** (f. 320v Gr. 19)

138-139 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.940 Gr. 20, ll. 13-14)

139 παραστάσεις cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.892, l. 31)

Gradus 19

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 102, 185 Gr. 19); PG (88.629, 940 Gr. 20); **M** (ff. 3r, 320v); **N** (f. 9v)

142 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.940 Gr. 20, l. 27¹³³)

143 ~ Poem. 2, vv. 37, 53

145-146 cf. *Ps.-Clem. (epit. de gest. Petr. praemetaphr.)* [Sp.] sect. 69, ll. 5-6 (ed. Dressel 1873²); cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,23, v. 17 (PG 37.1283)

Gradus 20

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 104, 185 Gr. 20); PG (88.629, 945 Gr. 21); **N** (f. 10r Gr. 21); **M** (ff. 3r, 320v Gr. 21)

148 πίστεως cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, l. 6)

150 κοσμοκράτορας σκότους cf. Eph. 6:12

152-153 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 7-8); cf. id. (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 24-25); *Ps.-Zon. Lex.* (ed. Tittmann 1808: 479, l. 22)

Gradus 21

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 185); PG (88.629); **N** (f. 10r Gr. 21); **M** (f. 3r Gr. 22); cf. Sophr. (1970: 105 Gr. 21); PG (88.948 Gr. 22); **M** (f. 320v).

154 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.840 Gr. 9, ll. 3-5; 845C; 853; 860, l. 47 - 861, ll. 3-5, 10; 869, ll. 45-47; 932, ll. 9-11; 945, ll. 5-7; 957 Gr. 22, l. 51); cf. schol. 19 in J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.961, ll. 48-53)

154-156 ≈ M. Psell. *Poem.* 21, vv. 1-3 (ed. Westerink 1992)

¹³³ Line 29 according to TLG.

155 τὴν τῶν κακῶν θάλασσαν ~ Poem. 1, vv. 73-74; cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.636 Gr. 1, l. 4)

156 δίαιταν, ἐστίαν cf. M. Psell. *Poem.* 21, v. 3 (ed. Westerink 1992); Phot. *Lex.* (ε, lem. 2025; ed. Theodoridis 1998); Anonym. *Lexic. Συναγ. λέξ. χρῆσ.* (ed. Cunningham 2003: ε, lem. 871); *Suda* (ed. Adler 1928: ε, lem. 3212); *Lex. Seguer. Collect. verb. util. e diff. rhet. et sap. mult.* (ed. Bachmann 1828: 237, l. 25); *Ps.-Zon. Lex.* (ed. Tittmann 1808: 879, l. 15)

157 ναυάγιον cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.949, l. 17)

157 στρόφον cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.949, ll. 13-14)

158 ἀπατουργὸν cf. Hesych. *Lex. (A-O)* (α, lem. 5843, l. 1; ed. Latte 1953); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.681, ll. 7-8)

158 τῶν καλῶν ἀναιρέτιν cf. Neophyt. *Incl. Lib. catech.* 2.29, ll. 49-51 (ed. Sotiroudis 1998)

158 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.949, ll. 46-54)

Gradus 22

tit. = Sophr. (1970: 185 Gr. 22); N (f. 10r Gr. 22); cf. Sophr. (1970: 109 Gr. 22); PG (88.965 Gr. 23; 629 Gr. 23); M (f. 3r Gr. 23)

160-165 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 4-12)

160 Θεοῦ ἄρνησις cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 4, 6-7); Neophyt. *Incl. Πανηγυρ. βιβ. or.* 14, ll. 64-67 (ed. Giagkou – Papatriantafyllou-Theodoridi 1999)

160 ἀνθρώπων φθόνος cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 5; 969, ll. 49-52)

161 ἐξουδένωσις cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 5)

162 ἐκστάσεως (...) πρόδρομος cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 7)

163 πηγὴ θυμοῦ cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 8-9)

163 ρίζα τῆς βλασφημίας cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 12).

163 cf. J. Chrys. *De verb. apost. Hab. eumd. Spir.* (PG 51.283, ll. 43-48); ~ Poem. 2, vv. 166-168

164 πικρὸς δικαστής cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 11); J. Chrys. *In Mt.* (PG 57.411, ll. 50-51)

164 ὑποκρίσεως θύρα cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 9; 969 Gr. 23, ll. 49-52)

165 στήριγμα (...) δαιμόνων cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 9)

165 πύργος cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.993, ll. 49-50)

Gradus 23

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 112, 185); N (f. 10r); PG (88.629, 965); M (f. 3r)

166, 168 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.976, ll. 19-22); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.977, ll. 46-49); ~ Poem. 2, v. 163

166-167 ~ Poem. 1, vv. 7-8

167 καρποὺς ἀχρήστους cf. Sap. 4:3-5

167 καρποὺς (...) σαπροὺς cf. Mt. 7:16-20, 12:33; Lc. 6:43-44

169 ἀπρεπεῖς λόγοι cf. tit. in blasphem. in Sophr. (1970: 112); PG (88.976, ll. 19-22)

169 κρύψις ἀμαρτήματος J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.976, ll. 24-27)

170-171 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.976, ll. 45-48)

Gradus 24

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 114); PG (88.629, 980); **M** (f. 3r)

174-176 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.981, ll. 24-26, 33-42)

174 ἀσημοσύνην δαιμονιώδη cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.981, ll. 24-25)

174 δόλον cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.981, l. 36)

175 πένθους μακρυσμόν cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 24.17; PG 88.981, ll. 38-39)

175 πρόξενον συμπτωμάτων cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.965, ll. 4-12; 981, l. 40)

176 ἰδιογνωμόρρυθμον cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* PG (88.981, l. 39); *V. Nic. Med.*, sect. 1, l. 25 (ed. Halkin 1960)

Gradus 25

tit. = PG (88.629); **M** (f. 3r); cf. Sophr. (1970: 116, 185); PG (88.988); **N** (10r); **M** (f. 320v)

178 ≈ Mt. 11:29; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.980, ll. 8-9; 989, l. 7)

179 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.989, ll. 16-19)

180-182 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.992, ll. 25-29)

181 φαιδρῶ, γαληνῶ cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.992, l. 27; 1004, ll. 8-9)

182 μὴ ζοφουμένῳ cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.993, ll. 5-7)

183 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.977, ll. 14-16)

Gradus 26

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 124, 137, 116, 185); PG (88.629, 1013, 1056, 1084); **M** (ff. 3r, 320v Gr. 26); **N** (f. 10r Gr. 26)

184-185 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1017, ll. 22-24); cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1033, ll. 6-10)

186 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.848, ll. 18-33, 46-67; 1024, ll. 8-11; 1033, ll. 1-2); Mt. 7:2; Lc. 6:3

187 εὐδιακρίτῳ κρίσει ≈ Sophr. (1970: 137 tit. Gr. 26.2, 185 tit. Gr. 26.2-3); PG (88.1056 tit. Gr. 26.2); **M** (f. 320v Gr. 26); **N** (f. 10r Gr. 26)

188 ~ Poem. 2, v. 179; cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.681, ll. 43-44; 997, ll. 8-19)

189 ~ Poem. 2, v. 52

Gradus 27

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 149, 185); PG (88.1096 Gr. 27, 629 Gr. 27); **N** (f. 10r Gr. 27); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1097, ll. 11-13); **M** (ff. 3r, 320v Gr. 27)

190 ~ Poem. 3, vv. 2-5; cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1097, ll. 18-26)

191-192 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1100, ll. 8-9)

194-195 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1100, ll. 35-40); 2 Cor. 12:2-5

Gradus 28

tit. cf. Sophr. (1970: 159, 185); PG (88.629, 1129 Gr. 28); **M** (ff. 3r, 320v Gr. 28); **N** (f. 10r Gr. 28)

196 τριάς cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1117, l. 7 - 1129, l. 15)

196 δυὰς cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1137, ll. 8-10)

197 στάσις ἀκλινῆς cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.656, ll. 55-56; 892, ll. 30-31; 940 Gr. 20, ll. 11-22; 941 Gr. 20, ll. 8-10; 1109, l. 30); ~ Poem. 2, vv. 138-139

- 197 σώματος κατακρίτου cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1132 Gr. 28, ll. 7-9; 1136, ll. 8-10)
- 198 στεναγμός ἀλάλητος ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1136, l. 52); Rom. 8:26
- 198 εἷς βραχὺς λόγος ~ ἀπλῆ Poem. 2, v. 196; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1132, ll. 13-21); Lc. 18:13; 23:42
- 199 νοὸς φυλακῆ cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.793 Gr. 6, l. 17; 869, ll. 14-16; 88.1132, ll. 22-24)
- 199 συνοχή τε καρδίας cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.765, ll. 30-32); 2 Cor. 2:4
- 200 πνεύματος κραυγὴν ~ στεναγμός ἀλάλητος Poem. 2, v. 198; cf. Rom. 8:26; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1136, ll. 49-52)
- 200-201 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1133, ll. 6-9); 1 Cor. 14:19
- Gradus 29**
- tit. = PG (88.629); M (f. 3r); cf. Sophr. (1970: 165, 185 Gr. 29); PG (88.1148 Gr. 29); M (f. 320 Gr. 29); N (f. 10r Gr. 29)
- 203-205 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1148, ll. 10-13)
- 204 ἀθύρματα cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1100, ll. 13-15)
- 206-207 ≈ J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1001, l. 43 - 1004, l. 3); Ps. 90:13; cf. *Il.* 11.480-481; 1 Pt. 5:8
- Gradus 30**
- tit. cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1129 Gr. 28, ll. 5-6; 1136, ll. 4-7; 1152, ll. 12-17; 1157, ll. 35-38)
- 210 εἰκόνα cf. Gen. 1:26; Porphyr. *V. Plot.* (sect. 2, ll. 24-26; ed. Henry – Schwyzer 1951)
- 213 ~ Poem. 2, v. 210
- 213 Τριάδι τριάδα ~ τριάς Poem. 2, v. 196
- Epilogus**
- 216 τριμεροῦς χρόνου cf. Sext. *Empir. Adv. math.* 10.197, ll. 1-2 (ed. Mutschmann 1914)
- 218 cf. Ps. 36:23; 39:4; 118:133; ~ Poem. 4, vv. 76-77; cf. *Barocc.* 141 Poem. 1, vv. 13-14
- 220 ~ προσάψεις Poem. 2, v. 210
- 220 Χριστοπατράσιν cf. *Epiph. Hom. 2 in Sabbat. magn.* (PG 43.452C)
- 222 λαμπροπυρσομορφογλωττοεργάτου cf. *Christ. Pat.*, v. 2055 (SC 149); ~ Poem. 1, v. 46; cf. *Pisid. Hexaem.* (PG 92.1572, v. 1796)
- 223 πυρσολαμπρομορφορηματοτρόπου ~ Poem. 2, v. 222
- 224 ~ Poem. 2, vv. 15-18
- 225 νοῖ, λόγῳ, πνεύματι ~ Poem. 2, v. 211
- 226 cf. *epigr. inc.* Ἰωάννης ὁ χθαμαλὸς τοῦπίκλην Ξηροκάλιτος, v. 22 (www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/3280)

3.3.3 Poem 3

- 3 σαρκοκτόνοι cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.769, ll. 51-56)

7-8 cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.900, ll. 19-27; 1085, ll. 8-14); Basil. Caes. *Enarr. in proph. Is.* [Dub.] 1, ll. 10-19 (ed. Trevisan 1939); Porphyry. *V. Plot.* 2, ll. 27-31 (ed. Henry – Schwyzer 1951)

8 **ὀπῆς στενῆς** cf. Mt. 7:13-14

8 **ὡς γῆρας ὄφιν** ≈ Theod. Prodr. *Carm. Hist.* (ed. Hörandner 1974: poem. 24, v. 18)

9 ~ Poem. 2, v. 37; cf. Rom. 6:4; 1 Cor. 15:50-52; Col. 3:9-10

12 cf. epigr. inc. Αὕτη κλίμαξ πέφυκεν οὐρανοδρόμος (v. 3; www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2259)

17 **σχήματος μονοτρόπου** cf. Theod. Prodr. *Carm. Hist.* (ed. Hörandner 1974: poem. 39, v. 138; poem. 79, v. 19)

3.3.4 Poem 4

1 cf. Jc. 1:17

1-2 cf. Didym. Caec. *De trin.* [Sp.] (PG 39.764, ll. 36-38)

2 **κράτος** cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 88 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14)

3 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 72-73 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14); cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 41 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 12)

4 **τρισάριθμε** cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 74 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14)

5 **ἔν νόημα καὶ κλέος** ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 87-88 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14)

7 **σθένος** cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 87 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14)

8 **προηγμένον** cf. Ephr. *Hist. Chron.*, v. 1277 (ed. Lampsides 1990); cf. e.g. Leo VI *Hom.* 6, ll. 71-72 (ed. Antonopoulou 2008)

9 ~ Poem. 1, vv. 45-55; cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 31 (par. 32, ll. 1-6; ed. Barbel 1963); *Symb.* φῶς ἐκ φωτός (PG 152.1102, l. 18)

10 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 60 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14); cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 25 (PG 35.1221, ll. 44-45); J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.992, l. 55 - 993, l. 3); Evagr. Schol. *Hist. eccl.* (ed. Bidez – Parmentier 1898: 198, ll. 18-19); Justinian. I *Edict. rect. fid.* (ed. Albertella et al. 1973: 130, ll. 16-17); Justinian. I *Contr. monoph.*, sect. 2, l. 1 (ed. Albertella et al. 1973); Epiphani. *Panar.* (PG 2.391, ll. 23-24); Athanas. *Symb.* “quicumque” [Sp.] (PG 28.1581, ll. 15-16; 1585, ll. 7-8, 44-45; 1587, ll. 34-36; 1588, ll. 41-42; 1589, ll. 33-34); *Chronic. Pasch.* (ed. Dindorf 1832: 636, ll. 21-22); Cyrill. V. *Euthym.* (ed. Schwartz 1939: 40, ll. 4-6); Max. Conf. *Mystag.* ch. 23, ll. 60-61 (ed. Cantarella 1931); id. *Exp. or. dom.*, l. 446 (ed. van Deun 1991); J. Dam. *Laud. s. J. Chrys.* sect. 3, ll. 3-4 (ed. Kotter 1988)

11 **ταυτόβουλε** Nicet. *Steth. Contr. Lat. et de process. spirit. sanct.* (ed. Michel 1930: 382, ll. 12-15 - 383, l. 1); Nicol. Methon. *Or.* 7 (ed. Demetrakopoulos 1866: 374, ll. 2-7); Joh. *De sacr. imag. contr. Const. Cabal.* (PG 95.312, ll. 14-19)

13 **σῶ λάτρη** ~ Poem. 4, v. 133

15 **Τὸ τριμερές μου** cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 87 (ed. Moerschini – Sykes 1997: 14)

- 15-16 ~ Poem. 2 tit. Gr. 30; cf. 1 Joh. 5:7-8
- 19 **κηδαρικῆς** Gen. 25:13; 1 Chron. 1:29; Greg. Nyss. *De virg.* 4.4, ll. 21-22 (SC 119); Jer. 2:10; Ez. 27:21
- 19 **μακρᾶς ἀποδημίας** Greg. Nyss. *In s. pasch.* (PG 9.247, ll. 1-10)
- 20 **ταβερναλιγκίου** cf. 2 Cor. 5:1-10
- 19-20 Cant. 1:5; Ps. 119:5; J. Chrys. *Exp. in Ps.* (PG 55.341, ll. 34-44); Euseb. *Comm. in Ps.* (PG 24.9, ll. 35-39)
- 21 J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1013, l. 46 - 1016, l. 5)
- 25 ≈ Paraphr. 1 Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,50* (ed. Ricceri 2013: 241, ll. 5-7); cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,50*, v. 106 (ed. Ricceri 2013); Paraphr. 2 Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,50* (ed. Ricceri 2013: 246, ll. 17-18)
- 28-29 cf. Ecclus. 4:23-26; Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 178.4 (ed. Gallay 1967); Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,83*, vv. 21-22 (PG 37.1430)
- 30-45 ≈ Paraphr. 1 Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,50* (ed. Ricceri 2013: 241, ll. 7-16); cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,50*, vv. 107-112 (ed. Ricceri 2013); Paraphr. 2 Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,50* (ed. Ricceri 2013: 246, ll. 19-26)
- 31 **ἠκανθωμένον** cf. Epiphani. *Panar.* (PG 2.62, ll. 22-23); Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,87*, vv. 1-2 (PG 37.1433); Aster. *Hom.* 15.3, ll. 80-81 (ed. Datema 1978-1979: 71); J. Chrys. *De paen.* (PG 49.307, l. 55 - 308, l. 2); Gen. 3:17-18; Hebr. 6:8
- 34-35 cf. Joh. 19:34
- 36 cf. Ps. 6:2
- 37 cf. Greg. Nyss. *Or. fun. in Melet. episc.* (PG 9.455, ll. 6-8); id. *De virg.* 4.6, ll. 9-12 (ed. Aubineau 2011)
- 40 **ὑβριστῆς κόρος** cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm. I,2,16*, v. 15 (PG 37.779), *Carm. I,2,31*, v. 25 (PG 37.912), *Carm. II,1,1*, v. 40 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 5)
- 45 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,50*, v. 112 (ed. Ricceri 2013)
- 46-51 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm. I,2,31*, vv. 5-6 (PG 37.911); cf. Joh. 2:19-21
- 46-47 cf. Jer. 7:11; Mt. 21:13; Mc. 11:17; Lc. 19:46
- 50 **βασιλίσσαν** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1160, ll. 36-40; Sophr. 1970: 169 n. 3)
- 50-56 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,83*, vv. 1-6 (PG 37.1428-1429)
- 52-56 cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm. I,2,31*, vv. 19-20 (PG 88.912)
- 56-57 cf. Gen. 3:18; J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.1109, ll. 7-13)
- 57 **καθυποσπείρων** cf. Mt. 13:25-26
- 57, 61 cf. Is. 27:1-4; Sap. 16:5
- 58 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,1*, vv. 50, 52 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 6)
- 61 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,1*, v. 52 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 6); 1 Cor. 15:54-56; Os. 13:14
- 62 **κλέπτῆς** J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 26.9)
- 63 ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm. II,1,1*, vv. 53-54 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 6)
- 64-66 cf. Aesop. *Fab.* (ed. Hausrath - Hunger 1957²: nr. 103); Greg. Naz. *Carm. I,2,29*, vv. 55-58 (PG 37.888)

- 68-73** ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 56-60 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 6)
- 67-70** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (PG 88.889, ll. 7-9; 940 Gr. 20, l. 25 - 941, l. 1); *Quaest. et respons. sen. de tentat.* (ed. Guy 1957: 179 nr. 18)
- 72-73** cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,83, vv. 7-8 (PG 37.1429); Greg. Naz. *Or.* 40.16 (PG 36.377, l. 43)
- 76-77** cf. Hebr. 12:11-13
- 84-97** ≈ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,55, vv. 3-4 (PG 37.1399-1400)
- 86 Βελίας (...)** βέλη cf. *Etymol. magn.* lem. Ἀνδριάς (Kallierges p. 101, ll. 42-49; ed. Gaisford 1848); Macar. *Apocrit. seu Monogev.* (lib. 3, Blondel p. 114, ll. 12-13; ed. Goulet 2003); Rom. Melod. *Cant. Hymn.* 43, Προοίμ., vv. 5-6 (SC 128); J. Maur. *Canon. Paracl. can.* 7, od. 1, ll. 19-24 (ed. Follieri 1967); Eph. 6:16
- 87** cf. Just. Mart. *Apol.* 28.1, ll. 1-2 (ed. Goodspeed 1915)
- 94** cf. Georg. Mon. *Chron.* (ed. de Boor 1904: 667, ll. 1-3); M. Psell., *Poem.* 21, v. 19 (ed. Westerink 1992); Theod. Sync. *Hom. de obsid. Avar. Const.* (ed. Sternbach 1975: 92, ll. 33-34); Greg. Nyss. *De v. Mos.* 2.276, ll. 1-5 (SC 1 bis); M. Phil. *Carm. var. de nat. hist.* pars 1, v. 1362 (ed. Dübner – Lehrs 1862)
- 95** cf. Georg. Mon. *Chron.* (ed. de Boor 1904: 704, l. 15 – 705, l. 2); Georg. Mon. *Chron. brev.* (PG 110.872, ll. 18-29); Georg. Cedren. *Comp. hist.* (ed. Bekker 1838: 743, ll. 9-18)
- 97-105** cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,55, vv. 5-6 (PG 37.1399-1400); Gen. 4:1-8; J. Chrys. *De paen.* (PG 49.285, ll. 32-35); Georg. Sync. *Eclog. chron.* (ed. Mosshammer 1984: 9, l. 4)
- 103 ἄμωμα, δεκτά, καθαρὰ** *Canones Jan.* 14, *In ss. Abb. in Sina et Raithu interf. can.* 23, od. 8, ll. 3-8 (ed. Proiou – Schirò 1971)
- 105** cf. 1 Cor. 10:16
- 113 Λοξίου** cf. *Etymol. magn.* (Kallierges p. 569, ll. 46-50; ed. Gaisford 1848); L. A. Cornut. *De nat. deo.* (ed. Lang 1881: 67, ll. 14-15); Theod. Hexapt. *Progymn.* 2, ll. 8-9 (ed. Hörandner 1984)
- 115 κρυφίους πάγας** cf. A. P. 6.192, v. 4 (ed. Beckby 1965^{2a})
- 120** cf. 1 Cor. 9:24-27
- 120-121** cf. Athan. *Synops. script. sacr.* [Sp.] (PG 28.424, ll. 34-37)
- 122** *Schol. in Il.* 2.219 (ed. Heyne 1834); Q. Smyr. *Posthom.* 1.741-747 (ed. Vian 1963)
- 123 ἄναλκίς ~ παναλκίς** *Poem.* 4, v. 2
- 126-127** cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* II,1,11, vv. 984-985 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 98)
- 128** ≈ Ps. 67:31; cf. Ez. 29:1-3
- 129** cf. J. Clim. *Scal. Par.* (Sophr. 15.78; PG 88.901 Gr. 15, ll. 9-12)
- 130 τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ βίου** cf. Greg. Nyss. *In Can. can.* (ed. Langerbeck 1960: 316, ll. 1-6)
- 132** cf. *Hymn. in S. Petr. Anachor.* (5 Jun., can. 2, od. 9, ll. 32-33; ed. Acconcia Longo – Schirò 1972)
- Secunda nota ὧ̅ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν** ≈ Lc. 6:38; cf. Mt. 7:2

3.4 Commentary

3.4.1 Poem 1

3.4.1.1 Structure

description of the garden

flowers (vv. 1-6)

the *Ladder* as a garden (vv. 7-14)

description of the garden (vv. 8-14)

hinge (v. 15)

explanation of the garden (vv. 16-28)

birds / monks

further metaphorical description without explanation (vv. 29-37)

flowers; prayer, fasting and psalmody as monastic activities (v. 38-44)

the sun / Trinity (vv. 45-55)

the sources / mourning (vv. 56-67)

conclusion of the garden (i.e. the book) (vv. 68-72)

invocation of Klimax (?) (vv. 73-78)

spiritual value of the book (vv. 79-89)

dedication (of the poem) to Klimax (vv. 90-102).

To a large extent, the red initial letters in manuscripts **M** and **N** indicate the structural divisions of the poem. Although **M** and **N** do not entirely agree, their initials more or less correspond to the structure of the poem as described above. In the editions, the manuscripts were followed as much as possible.

In **N**, the verses of a new paragraph are marked by a red initial. In **M**, however, all first letters of each verse are written in red. Nevertheless, in **M** too, some initial letters are written slightly larger or thicker. Of course, in **N** the contrast is clearer than in **M**, where it is sometimes hard to decide if an initial is stressed on purpose or by accident. The table below provides an overview of the verses which have a stressed initial in the manuscripts and in the edition.

Ed.	N	M	content	marginal reading guide in the manuscripts
v. 1	v. 1	v. 1	flowers (vv. 1-6)	
v. 7	v. 7	v. 7	the <i>Ladder</i> as a garden (vv. 7-14)	
v. 12	v. 12		(grasslands (vv. 12-14))	
	v. 13			
v. 15	v. 15		hinge	
v. 16	v. 16	v. 16	explanation of the garden (vv. 16-28); (the ground (vv. 16-18))	γῆ τοῦ κήπου
v. 19		v. 19	trees (vv. 19-28)	δένδρα
	v. 20	v. 20	(twigs (vv. 20-23))	κλάδοι
v. 24	v. 24		(leaves / faith (vv. 24-27))	
		v. 27		
v. 28	v. 28	v. 28	(fruit (vv. 28))	[κ]αρπός
v. 29	v. 29	v. 29	birds (vv. 29-31)	πετηνά
			(marsh-meadow (v. 30))	ἔλος
v. 32	v. 32	v. 32	birds (vv. 32-37)	πετηνά
v. 38	v. 38		flowers (vv. 38-44)	ἄνθη
v. 40	v. 40		(flowers as prayer (vv. 40-44))	
	v. 42			
	v. 43			
v. 45	v. 45	v. 45	the sun / Trinity (vv. 45-55)	ἥλιος
			(the Spirit (vv. 54))	Πνεῦμα
v. 56	v. 56		springs (vv. 56-67)	κρήναι
	v. 65		(all kinds of fruits / trees (vv. 65-67))	
		v. 66		
v. 68	v. 68	v. 68	conclusion of the <i>Ladder</i> as a garden (vv. 68-72)	
			invocation of Klimax (?) (vv. 73-78)	
			spiritual value of the book (vv. 79-89)	
v. 84			praise of the reader or of Komnenos (?) (vv. 84-89)	
	v. 87	v. 87	(v. 87 is the first of three similar verses (vv. 87-89))	
v. 90	v. 90	v. 90	dedication of the poem to Klimax (vv. 90-102)	
v. 100	v. 100		(retake of the poem (Ταύτην retaking Αὐτή) (vv. 100-102))	

As shown above, in many instances the stressed initials in **M** and **N** coincide with those in our edition. I will briefly return to some of the differences in the commentary. I opted to add some indentions in the edition in order to visualize the structure: at the beginning of vv. 15, 29, 45, 56, 68, 90. The reading guides in the margin only concern parts of the garden metaphor. In the last part of the poem, from the conclusion of the garden (v. 68) onwards, there are no more reading guides.

3.4.1.2 Verse by Verse Commentary

Introductory Prayer

As already mentioned in the paragraph on the parapatexts (chapter 3.1.3), the left upper corner of f. 1r in **M** is spotted by oil varnish which hinders the reading of some words.¹³⁴ In **N**, the folio preserving the introductory prayer is damaged. In this case, the upper margin is cut. It is not clear if this has caused any loss of text. By consequence, we can only be sure that John Komnenos was mentioned in **M**.

τεθέντες: This is the first word of the first line of f. 1r of **M** which is entirely readable. There is a clear space before this word. Before **τεθέντες** a 'ν' or a 'ρ' is written. At the beginning of the line, there is a cross, after which there might be a 'ζ', but its reading is unsure. If the reading of the stigma is correct, Στίχοι συντεθέντες, meaning *verses composed*, could be a possible conjecture.

παρὰ πνεύματος: The exact meaning of this expression is not clear and the damage at the beginning and the end of the line does not facilitate its interpretation. It seems to mean *inspired by*. Compare with the opening of the first homily on the Psalms by Basil of Caesarea (PG 29.219A), based on 2 Tim. 3:16, Πᾶσα Γραφή θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος, διὰ τοῦτο συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος.¹³⁵ In this case, of course, the divine Spirit is meant, whereas in the case of Poem 1 the spirit of John Komnenos is designated. This might signify that Komnenos was the author, but that he did not physically write the poems himself, just as Basil means that the Scripture was given, or inspired, by the Spirit, without the Spirit holding the pen Himself. This could imply that Komnenos dictated the poems. Another possible interpretation is that Komnenos only functioned as a patron. His noble name would, of course, well fit this role.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ This observation is based on personal communication with Natalia Zhukova of the State Historical Museum in Moscow (10 March 2016). I also thank Nina Sietis wholeheartedly for the reading suggestions she has provided based on her autopsy of f. 1r of **M** (personal communication, 6 April 2016).

¹³⁵ The text is also quoted in the *Sacra Parallela* (PG 96.13A).

¹³⁶ See chapter 3.1.5 (Authorship) for a further discussion.

Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ: To our knowledge, this John Komnenos, designated as a monk, is not known from other sources (Pierre et al. 2015: 248). His name allows to roughly date the cycle to the Komnenian period. The name Komnenos appears first in the early 11th c. The family had its peak of success during its dynasty from 1081 to 1185. From the end of the 12th c. onwards their role declines, but their name appears at least until the 13th c. (ODB s.v. *Komnenos*). Taking the date of **M** and **N** into account, the poems can be dated no later than the 12th c. Since the nobility of the name is praised (cf. Poem 3, vv. 16-17), it is probable that the poems date from the heydays of Komnenian rule.

Γεγραφότος πρὸ αὐτοῦ τ[±7]: Again, the damage of the text in **M** complicates a clear understanding. The version of **N** supports the interpretation to take these words as the beginning of a new phrase. There γεγραφότος is integrated after the word στίχοι, which is clearly written with a majuscule initial. In **M** a ‘τ’ is clearly readable at the beginning of the second damaged line. After this tau an alpha or an omicron might be written, but this reading is not sure. **στίχοι** is the first readable word after the stains. Maybe one can consider the possibility of the name of John the writer hiding behind the stains on the folio. John the writer and John Komnenos appear together in Poem 3 and are both shown as involved in the production of the cycle. If we follow the interpretation of **παρὰ πνεύματος** as given above, we could interpret John Komnenos as an agent, who ‘inspired’ the scribe John to write the verses. The scribe can thus be regarded as someone who merely writes down what the author dictates, or he can be perceived as a scribe / poet who received a request from Komnenos to compose the cycle.

στίχοι (...) βιβλίον: The title introduces the idea that this poem is conceived as a metaphor, comparing the *Ladder* to a spiritual garden. Also in the garden poem of Theodoros Prodromos, the garden is used as a metaphor, in this case as a symbol of life. It is reminiscent of Eden, but toil and suffering are part of it. Zagklas (2014: 401) mentions that the motif of the garden in literature was “Protean” in the Komnenian period, meaning that it was used in different ways and not only as an allegory.¹³⁷ In a hymn of the Cypriot hermit Neophytos, dated to the 12th c., the ladder of Jacob is praised as part of an invocation which also comprises, amongst others, Eden and elements reminiscent of a garden, such as trees, fruits, abundant rivers and birds.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ For an edition, translation and commentary of the garden poem by Prodromos and further discussion see Zagklas (2014: 395-402); Nilsson (2013: 20-24). Interestingly, Klimax himself discourages those who did not yet receive spiritual powers to study works of an allegorical nature (ἀλλοτριονόους (...) λόγους) (PG 88.1116, ll. 44-47). Cf. Luibheid et al. (1982: 273 n. 128). See also the *scholion* preserved in Sophr. (1970: 157 n. 2).

¹³⁸ For a discussion and translation, see Maguire (2012: 83); for an edition, see Torniole (1974: 61-65).

In several book epigrams, the main text is compared to a garden or to a meadow. As the following examples demonstrate, this comparison appears quite frequently. A clear example is a book epigram on the homilies of Ephraim the Syrian (4th c.).¹³⁹

Θησαυρὸς ἀβρὸς γραφικῶν διδαγμάτων
ψυχῶν τροφή τὸ χρῆμα λειμῶν ἠδύνων
γέμων χαρίτων χῶρος, ἀνθῶν ἀνθέων
ῶν ἦν γεωργὸς ἡ χάρις τοῦ Πνεύματος·
δρέπου κρατῶν τὴν βίβλον ὃς τύχης ἔχων
τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς ὡς σαφῶς νοοτρόφον
καὶ πνευματικὸν ἐκροφῶν χανδὸν στόμα
εὐχαῖς ἀμείβου τὸν συντάξαντα τάδε.

Another example is a book epigram of 28 vv., inc. Λειμῶν καλοῦμαι, καὶ φράσω τὴν αἰτίαν.¹⁴⁰ The poem explains why the book is called a meadow. The manuscript from London, *Burney 50*, in which the poem is preserved (ff. 2r-2v), is indeed a *leimonarion*, containing amongst others the prologue of Moschos' *Pratum Spirituale*, followed by the *Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica)*. Other examples are:

1) *Zaborda, Mone tou hagiou Nikanoros 119 f. 315r* (a Gerontikon entitled Παράδεισος) 22 vv.:¹⁴¹

inc. Τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ χωρίου

2) *Vat. gr. 703 f. I, II* (theological and ascetic treatises by several authors, a.o. Mark the hermit and Evagrius Pontikos, also parts of the *Historia Lausiaca*) 8 vv.:¹⁴²

inc. Λειμῶν εὐανθῆς καὶ παράδεισος ἄλλος

3) *Paris. suppl. gr. 690 f. 45v* (miscellaneous manuscript containing various kinds of texts, both pagan and Christian authors) 33 vv.:¹⁴³

¹³⁹ The text is presented as it appears in a manuscript from Athos, *Megistes Lavras K 111 f. 222v* (14th c.). Cf. Eustratiades (1925: 240). With some different readings, the poem also appears in Athos, *Philotheou 56* (a. 1291), in Athens, *EBE 322 f. 148r* (13th c.) and in Naples, *BN - gr. II B 9 f. 333v* (second or third quarter 15th c.). See the type in DBBE: www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/1256.

¹⁴⁰ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/7069.

¹⁴¹ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/6652.

¹⁴² www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1064.

¹⁴³ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/4811.

inc. Γεώργιος μὲν τῶνδε τῶν συγγραμμάτων

4) Serres, *Gumnasion* 2 f. 312r (theological and ascetic treatises by several authors, a.o. Evagrius Pontikos) 2 vv.:¹⁴⁴

Λειμῶν ἐνθάδε καρπῶν πεπληρωμένος
πνευματικῆς πράξεως καὶ θεωρίας

5) *Ambros. D 90 sup.* (Gregory of Nazianzos' *Orationes*) 2 vv.:¹⁴⁵

Λειμῶνα μεστὸν χαρίτων ἀκηράτων
ἡ βίβλος ἤδε τοῖς θέλουσι παρέχει

6) *Vat. gr. 641* f. 466v (New Testament with commentary by Theophylaktos of Ohrid) 8vv.:¹⁴⁶

inc. ἡ βίβλος ἤδε τῶν θεοπνεύστων λόγων
λειμῶν πέφυκε ψυχικῶν ἀρωμάτων

7) Lesbos, *Mone tou Leimonos 27* (Homilies by John Chrysostom) 12 vv.:¹⁴⁷

inc. Σοὶ τῆ τεκούση μητρὶ τὸν Θεὸν λόγον

From the seven examples shown above, example 1) is a *leimonarion*, just as *Burney 50*. Examples 2)-4) are anthologies or collections of several (fragments of) texts. Examples 5)-7) are manuscripts containing texts of one author or texts which are clearly meant to be in one codex. Although this list is incomplete, it indicates that it was quite common to compare books to gardens. Logically, those books are in most cases *leimonaria* or anthologies, although this is not strictly required. In the book epigrams, a meadow full of flowers is used often as a symbol of the spiritual value of a book. In the case of a

¹⁴⁴ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/5645.

¹⁴⁵ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/4581. The poem appears between ff. 382v-383v, accompanied by several other short poems and notes.

¹⁴⁶ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1892.

¹⁴⁷ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/318. DBBE notes: "This colophon consists of twelve verses, each one of which is placed on the bottom margin of the first folio of a homily: f. 5r; f. 15r; f. 25v; f. 50r; f. 65v; f. 72v; f. 89v; f. 99r; f. 116r; f. 131r; f. 144v; f. 171r".

leimonarion, the diversity of the flowers represents a collection of spiritual texts. Similarly with anthologies, the different texts are each symbolised as a separate flower. The terms *florilegium* and *anthology*, both meaning “a collection of blossoms”, found their origin in this concept (Chantraine 1968: s.v. ἄνθος). The concept is already present in the *Garlands* of Meleager and Philippos, although they do not use the word *anthology* itself. In these Hellenistic cases, the anthologies are collections of poems and not necessarily of spiritual texts. The word they use is στέφανος.¹⁴⁸ This title indicates that they did not only collect poems, but also imposed a structure to their collection.¹⁴⁹ In the opening of John Moschos’ *Pratum spirituale* (PG 87/3.2852), which will be discussed below (see commentary on the opening of Poem 1) στέφανος is used in a similar way.

Another poem found in *Vat. gr. 2230 f. 1r* draws the attention.¹⁵⁰ It is a book epigram advising that those who want to reach Eden read the *Ladder*:

ἄν κλῆρον εἰς ἔδον τὴν Ἐδέμ λαβεῖν θέλης
καὶ τῶν δικαίων τὴν κατοίκησιν λάχος
τὸν νοῦν ἐπισύναξον ἐν τῶν γηίνων
καὶ τήνδ’ ἀναγίνωσκε τὴν καλὴν βίβλον
τὴν ἀρετῶν κλίμακα τὴν παθοκτόνον
τὴν τριακοντάριθμον ἐν θείοις λόγοις

The same idea is expressed in the first verses (vv. 1-6) of a long metrical summary (92 vv.) of the *Ladder* preserved in *Paris. Coisl. 87 f. 1r-v* (Antonopoulou 2014: 23).¹⁵¹

Πίναξ ὄδ’ ἐστὶ τῆς παρούσης πυκτίδος,
ἢ γῆθεν ὑψοῖ τοὺς μοναστὰς εἰς πόλον,
καὶ τοὺς μιγάδας εἰς Ἐδέμ φέρει τόπους,
ἄνπερ τρέχειν θέλωσι τῆσδε κατόπιν,
κἂν καὶ τραχεῖα κἂν ἀνάντης τὴν φύσιν
πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ πέφηνε ταύτης ἢ τρίβος.

κῆπον νοητόν: In his commentary on *Isaiah* (PG 70.1108, ll. 18-45), after an explanation that Sion in *Isaiah* refers to the spiritual Sion and not the earthly, Cyril of Alexandria (4th-5th c.) makes clear that paradise also has a spiritual meaning, by using the expression νοητὸν κῆπον. Also Joseph Rhakendytes (13th-14th c.), in his *Epitome* (475.27),

¹⁴⁸ *Anthologia Palatina* IV.1-2 (ed. Beckby 1965²a: 240-244).

¹⁴⁹ Tueller (2014: xvi). See also Cameron (1968).

¹⁵⁰ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1326.

¹⁵¹ For a discussion see chapter 4.2 *Paris. Coisl. 87*.

explains this expression as a synonym for paradise.¹⁵² The same idea appears in a hymn for the 27th of January.¹⁵³

οὖς ὁ ἀναγινώσκων (...) αἰώνων ἀμήν: As already discussed in chapter 3.1.5 (Authorship), the reader is asked to pray both for the *weaver* (**πλοκεῖ**) and the scribe (**τὸν γράψαντα**).

εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων: This phrase is a quotation from Jc. 5:16.

οὔτω ποίει: This refers to what is described in the previous part, namely a request to pray. **N** has a slightly different reading (οὔτως ποίει). In classical Greek, the form **οὔτω** is normally used before a consonant and οὔτως before a vowel (LSJ). However, a quick search on TLG learns that this distinction was not always strictly applied.

ὁ Θεὸς συγχωρήσοι σοι: A similar expression appears as a closing formula at the end of *Epistula* 109 of Theodoros Stoudites (8th -9th c.) (in this case Ὁ θεὸς συγχωρήσοι σοι ἐν πᾶσιν) and again in the middle of *Epistula* 167, l. 8 (ed. Fatouros 1992).

Πλὴν τούτου ἕτερόν τι οὐ ζητῶ: **N** gives a variant reading which also makes sense: πλέον τούτου οὐ ζητῶ. Since we followed **M** for the opening of this intro, we also follow it in this case.

¹⁵² Ed. Treu (1899: 39-42), see also www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/4004.

¹⁵³ *Canones Januarii, day 27, In translationem reliquiarum S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, canon 37, ode 2, ll. 31-44 (ed. Proiou – Schirò 1971).

Poem 1 (opening)

The opening of this poem is clearly based on the opening of John Chrysostom's *De eleemosyna* (PG 60.707):

Poem 1, vv. 1-6	John Chrysostom, <i>De eleemosyna</i> (PG 60.707, ll. 1-7)
Ἔχουσιν οἱ λειμῶνες ἄνθη ποικίλα καὶ παντοδαπά, πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα· τούτων τὰ μὲν τέρπουσι τὴν θεωρίαν, εὐωδιάζει τὰ δὲ τὴν ῥίνα μόνην, ἄλλα δὲ τὸν φάρυγγα καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν τρέφουσι, γλυκαίνουσιν οὐκ ἀθεσφάτως.	Οἱ λειμῶνες ἔχουσι ποικίλα καὶ διάφορα ἄνθη, καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς τέρψιν ὀφθαλμῶν, τὰ δὲ εἰς εὐωδίαν, τὰ δὲ εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν, ἕκαστα δὲ αὐτῶν ἀρμόττει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· οὕτω καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἔχει τῶν θειῶν Γραφῶν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, εὐαγγελικά τε καὶ ἀποστολικά καὶ προφητικά, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους· ἕκαστα δὲ αὐτῶν ἀρμόττει τῷ Χριστῷ.

A second parallel for the opening of Poem 1 is the opening of John Moschos' *Pratum spirituale* (PG 87/3.2852, ll. 1-24), which also seems to be inspired by the passage from John Chrysostom:¹⁵⁴

Τῶν ἔαρινῶν λειμῶνων τὴν θέαν, ἀγαπητὲ, πολλῆς εὐρίσκω τέρψεως γέμουσαν, ἦν ἡ παντοδαπῆς τῶν ἀνθέων βλάστη τοῖς θεωμένοις παρέχεται· κατέχουσα τοὺς παριόντας, καὶ ἐστιῶσα ποικίλως αὐτούς· κατὰ τι μὲν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς φαιδρύνουσα, κατὰ τι δὲ νῦν τὴν ὄσφρησιν ἠδύνουσα. Τούτου μὲν γὰρ τοῦ λειμῶνος τὸ τυχὸν τῆ τῶν ῥόδων ἐρυθρότητι καταλάμπεται· τοῖς δὲ κρίνοις ἕτερον ἂν εἶη χωρίον· ἰκανῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ῥόδων ἐφ' ἑαυτὰ βιάσασθαι προτρεπόμενα· ἄλλοθεν ἀπαστράπτει τὸ χρῶμα τῶν ἴων, βασιλικῆς ὑπάρχον μίμημα πορφυρίδος· καὶ ὅλως ἡ ποικίλη καὶ διάφορος τῶν ἀμυθήτων ἀνθέων, εὐωδίας τε καὶ τέρψεως χάρισμα πάντοθεν ἀναδίδεται. Τοιοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὸ παρὸν πόνημα ὑπολάμβανε, ἱερὸν καὶ πιστὸν τέκνον Σωφρόνιε. Εὐρήσεις γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀρετὰς ἀγίων ἀνδρῶν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις ἡμῶν διαλαμψάντων· καὶ κατὰ τὸ ψαλμικὸν ἐκεῖνο λόγιον, παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων πεφυτευμένους· καὶ πάντων μὲν χάριτι Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν θεοφιλῶν ὁμοίως· ἄλλοτε ἄλλου ἐν ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς ὠραιζομένου κάλλει τε

¹⁵⁴ In the secondary literature on Moschos this reference to Chrysostom seems not to be noticed. Cf. Rouët de Journel (2006²), Mioni (1951), Wortley (1992).

καὶ εὐπρεπεΐα, ἐξ ὧν τὰ καλὰ δρεψάμενος ἄνθη πλεκτὸν στέφανον ἀκηράτου
λειμῶνος λαβῶν, προσφέρω σοι, τέκνον πιστότατον, καὶ διὰ σοῦ τοῖς πᾶσι.

Both in the passage from Chrysostom and from Moschos, the image of various flowers in the meadow is incorporated in the text. Chrysostom compares the flowers to the Scriptures. For Moschos, they are a symbol of the diversity of different anecdotes on the Desert Fathers of which he made a collection (PG 87/3.2852, ll. 24-26). Although flowers play a role in Poem 1 (reappearing in v. 38 and v. 82), they are not part of the explicit comparison between the *Ladder* and a garden (vv. 7-28). The first 6 verses on the flowers serve as a literary introduction to the poem. V. 7 closes this introduction. This indicates that the author uses these passages (and mostly the one of Chrysostom) to give his poem a recognisable opening which is based on tradition. His main focus is the garden-metaphor which follows and which is announced in the introductory text in prose.

1: This opening verse is almost a metrical paraphrase of the passage from John Chrysostom quoted above.

In **N**, the poem is written on a new folio, f. 2r. The upper margin of this folio is cut in a similar way as f. 1. Hereby the accents and the breathings of v. 1 are cut away. Also the abbreviation of the final -ες from λειμῶνες which was probably written above the line got lost. At the end of v. 1, there are a few strokes which seem to be part of a now lost line which was written above. The shapes of these pen strokes do not resemble any letter forms. Compared to **M**, **N** does not lack any text. Hence, it is probable that there was, for example, an ornamental drawing above the first verse.

2: The close relation to the passage of Chrysostom explains the unfitting accent position of **διάφορα**, having an accent on the antepenult, instead of on the penult as is required in a dodecasyllable. It seems that it was most important for the author to preserve as much as possible of Chrysostom's words, even when the words did not fit the meter exactly (see chapter 3.1.6 Metrical Analysis).

The word **παντοδαπά**, in turn, appears in the quoted passage from Moschos. Since it is a quite common synonym, it is not necessarily taken from Moschos.

3-4: These verses do not preserve the exact words of Chrysostom, but retain their idea. The same idea also occurs in Moschos.

5-6: From this verse onward, Poem 1 draws less on Chrysostom and Moschos. The notion of ἐπιμέλεια from Chrysostom is replaced by the nourishing capacities of the flowers. **γλυκαίνουσιν** (v. 6) implicitly refers to honey. This was a common image. It was already present in Prov. 24:13-14:

Poem 1, vv. 5-6	Prov. 24:13-14
ἄλλα δὲ τὸν φάρυγγα καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν τρέφουσι, γλυκαίνουσιν οὐκ ἀθεσφάτως	φάγε μέλι, υἱέ, ἀγαθὸν γὰρ κηρίον, ἵνα γλυκανθῇ σου ὁ φάρυγξ· οὕτως αἰσθήσῃ σοφίαν τῇ σῇ ψυχῇ

Honey is sweet for the throat in the same way as wisdom is sweet for the soul. See also Basil's *Homilia in principium proverbiorum* (PG 31.413, ll. 43-45): μέλι τροπικῶς ὀνομάζων τὴν θεϊὰν διδασκαλίαν. See also Ps. 118:103. By contrast, in Prov. 5:3-4, honey is used in a negative context.

6: Concerning the litotes (οὐκ ἄθεσφάτως), compare with Montanari, where *divine* is given as one of the possible translations of θέσφατος.

7: Ἰωάννου refers to John Klimax as the author of the *Ladder*. If we return to Chrysostom's passage, we see that the *Ladder* takes the place of the Scriptures, but with another function. Poem 1 does not follow the parallels drawn by Chrysostom, where the meadow is compared to the Church, flowers to the Scripture, and man to Christ. In Poem 1, the meadow with flowers is a garden which allegorically bears fruit from the *Ladder*. In step 25 (PG 88.989A-C), fruit is used in a similar allegorical way. There, Klimax compares the virtue of humility to fruit.

The λειμῶνες of v. 1 are renamed κῆπος. In the ascetic literature, παράδεισος, which is a synonym of κῆπος,¹⁵⁵ is frequently used as an alternative title for λειμῶν and λειμωνάριον. This accords with the alternative title of the *Pratum spirituale* given in the title of the anonymous prologue to Moschos' work (ed. Usener 1907: 91): Πρόλογος τῆς βίβλου τοῦ Νέου παραδείσου τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης Τὸ λειμωνάριον. See also the above mentioned example of the Gerontikon entitled Παράδεισος in a codex from Zaborda, *Mone tou hagiou Nikanoros 119* (see p. 109).

8-14: These verses present some typical features of a garden: fruits, trees, leaves, blossom and pleasant rivers. Similar aspects of a garden feature in the allegorical garden poem of Theodoros Prodromos mentioned above. See also the fifth poem of Makarios' cycle of epigrams on the Psalms, preserved in *Barocc. 194 f. 48r*, which refers to Ps. 1:3.¹⁵⁶

10: εὐχλοούντων seems to be derived from the adjective εὐχλοος *fresh and green* (LSJ); see also εὐχλωρος *schön grün* (LBG). As a verb, it appears in TLG only in the late 12th-c. Georgios Tornikes, *Orationes in honorem Georgii Xiphilini* (Or. 2.3, l. 71), where it is preserved in exactly the same grammatical form.

13: In **N**, this verse starts with a red initial. The reason is unclear to me. V. 13 is simply a continuation of v. 12, having **καὶ** as a link.

15: This verse functions as a structuring hinge. After the description of the garden (vv. 7-14), the first part of the explanation of the garden as the *Ladder* follows (vv. 16-28). With **Σκοπητέον**, the narrator appeals to the attention of the reader.

¹⁵⁵ Etymologically, παράδεισος, derived from Iranian, refers to a piece of land which is surrounded by a fence, and thus, is a synonym of κῆπος (garden). Cf. Chantraine (1968: s.v. παράδεισος).

¹⁵⁶ For an edition, translation and commentary, see Meesters – Praet et al. (2017).

16-28: In these verses, the comparison between the garden and the *Ladder* is elaborated. Schematically, the following elements are equated:

κῆπος (v. 7) = **Γῆ παραδείσου, βιβλίου** (v. 16) (garden = book) => γῆ τοῦ κήπου in mg. **MN**

καρπὸς (v. 8) = **καρπὸς (...)** τὰ πρακτέα (v. 28) (deeds = fruits) => [κ]αρπός in mg. **N**
πρέμνων (v. 9) = **Δένδρα (...)** διδασκαλῖαι (v. 19) (trees = lessons) => δένδρα in mg. **MN**

φύλλων (v. 10) = **φύλλα πίστις** (v. 24) (leaves = faith) => no marginalia in **MN**

Most of the equations, as shown above, are also identified by the marginal reading guides in **M** and **N**. Only in the case of **φύλλα πίστις** (v. 24), there is no marginal note. **M** and **N**, however, present one extra reading guide, **κλάδοι**, next to v. 20. The *twigs* are not mentioned in vv. 7-14. In this case, the *comparans* and *comparandum* are mentioned first in v. 20. Besides, the water referred to in vv. 12-14 seems to announce the **Κρήναι** (v. 56), which is also marked by a marginal reading guide in the manuscripts, and the passage on **πένθος** (vv. 60-64). Two other equations are made in vv. 16-28, although not announced in vv. 7-14: **Γῆ** (v. 16) = **γραφή** (v. 17) (material aspects); **ράδαμνοι / κλάδοι** (v. 20) = **λόγοι** (v. 20) (branches = words).

A similar spiritual allegory of a garden is found in Origen's *Fragmenta in Psalmos* 1 (Pitra 1884: 444-447). Origen explains the fruit and the leaves in Ps. 1:3 as follows: Τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ ξύλου νοήσεις τὴν ὀρθὴν πίστιν. Φύλλα δὲ αὐτοῦ, τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν ἐντολῶν. These words also occur in Athanasios' *Expositiones in Psalmos*, when he discusses the same passage from Ps. 1 (PG 27.60-64). In fact, the words of Origen occur twice in Athanasios' commentary: once without the word ὀρθὴν (PG 27.62D) and once, four lines earlier, with exactly the same words as Origen (PG 27.62C). This last occurrence is indicated as an interpolation by John Ernest Grabe, whose edition was reprinted by Migne in PG 27.¹⁵⁷ This interpolation resembles vv. 16-28 of Poem 1 even better, as it gives a longer list of very short explanations of parts of a garden:

Ἐύλον ζωῆς ὁ Χριστὸς, κλάδοι οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καρπὸς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς· ὧν τὸ μὲν εἰς ὑποτύπωσιν μαρτυρίου, τὸ δὲ βαπτίσματος. Φύλλα οἱ λόγοι· καρπὸν τοῦ ξύλου νοήσεις τὴν ὀρθὴν πίστιν· φύλλα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν ἐντολῶν. Καρπὸς καὶ οἱ σωζόμενοι, ρίζα τὸ βάπτισμα· γεωργὸς ὁ Πατήρ.

¹⁵⁷ Unfortunately, the edition given in PG 27 is even today the most accessible edition of the *Expositiones in Psalmos* (Bouter 2001: 17).

Of course, Poem 1 explains things differently. This type of short allegorical explanations is a parallel way of presentation. There are, however, no verbatim quotation of these passages in Poem 1.

In a broader context, one might also think of the parables of Christ in Mt. 13: first, Christ tells a parable to the multitudes, and only later on He explains it to His disciples.

In John Chrysostom's *De eleemosyna*, of which the opening was quoted as a source of inspiration for the opening of Poem 1, some of the garden elements recur, albeit in a different context, namely a passage on the faith of Job (PG 60.707, ll. 44-56):

Πόσα ἐπάλαισεν ὁ διάβολος, καὶ τὸν δίκαιον οὐκ ἔρρηξε; Τὴν φαρέτραν τῶν βελῶν ἐκένωσε, καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην οὐκ ἔτρωσε· τὰ μηχανήματα προσήνεγκε, καὶ τὸν πύργον οὐκ ἐσάλευσεν· τὸ δένδρον ἐτίναξε, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν οὐκ ἐτρύγησεν· τοὺς κλάδους ἔκλασε, καὶ τὴν ρίζαν οὐκ ἀνέσπασεν· τὸν τοῖχον διώρυξε, καὶ τὸν θησαυρὸν οὐκ ἐσύλησεν. Θησαυρὸν δὲ λέγω οὐ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀσάλευτον αὐτοῦ πίστιν· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν αὐτοῦ θησαυρὸν ἐβούλετο συλῆσαι ὁ διάβολος. Εἶδες τὸν καρπὸν πληθυνόμενον; εἶδες τὴν πίστιν ὡς πέτραν ἐστηριγμένην; εἶδες τὸν πύργον ἄρρηκτον ἐστῶτα; εἶδες τὸν στρατιώτην παραταττόμενον, εἶδες τὸν διάβολον ἀφανιούμενον;

In this passage, the faith of Job is compared to a tree bearing fruit. The tree is attacked by the devil, who is able to damage the tree, but not its fruit, which is the faith. Clearly, this passage does not present an extensive allegory. It might be the case that these vegetal elements are a continuation of the opening scene on the flowers in the meadow. Since 'tree', 'fruit' and 'twigs' are by no means exceptional words when speaking of a garden, there is not necessarily a direct link between this passage from Chrysostom and Poem 1.

16: The marginal note shows **κήπου** as a synonym of **παραδείσου**. It resumes **κῆπος** of v. 7 (see also the commentary on v. 7). The book (the *Ladder*) is explained as the garden.

17: Semantically, the word **ὕλην** has the abstract meaning of *matter* (LSJ, PGL) and the concrete of *material* (PGL). It seems that both meanings operate together. The abstract meaning functions in the context of the explanation that follows. The concrete meaning refers to the materiality of the book, hence to the beauty of the writing, to calligraphy.

19: **Δένδρα καλὰ**, although not explicitly referring to the Gospels, has to be interpreted in the context of Mt. 12:33 and Lc. 6:43, where it is said that the good tree bears good fruit and that the bad tree bears bad fruit. The trees are equated with the lessons. These lessons must be the lessons of the *Ladder*. Together with **λόγοι** (v. 20), as an organic whole, it might refer to the steps of the *Ladder*.

20: The branches of the trees are equated with **λόγοι**. Although *λόγος* has countless connotations, it might be useful to interpret it here as a step of the *Ladder*. In *Klimax*,

each step of the *Ladder* is entitled λόγος. Besides, one of the titles of the *Ladder* preserved in the manuscripts is Λόγος ἀσκητικός (Duffy 1999: 5).

At the beginning of step 13, the topic of the step, despondency is described as one of the twigs which come from talkativeness (PG 88.857 Gr. 13, ll. 3-5):

Εἷς καὶ οὗτος πολλάκις τῶν τῆς πολυλογίας κλάδων, ὡς καὶ ἤδη φθάσαντες εἴπομεν, ἐστὶ, καὶ πρῶτος ἀπόγονος, λέγω δὴ ὁ τῆς ἀκηδίας.

21-23: A tree has several branches and twigs (v. 20). This concept is compared to the ‘growth’ of virtues and of λόγοι. One virtue develops other virtues and one λόγος leads to several λόγοι. Just as the λόγοι, the virtues can be seen as the steps of the *Ladder*. Stairs consisting of virtues are a typical aspect of the *Ladder* of Klimax.¹⁵⁸ The comparison between the steps of the *Ladder* and growing branches corresponds to the fact that the steps of the *Ladder* dynamically interact with each other. On this point, Zecher (2015: 42) clearly states that “one progresses *within* virtues and not simply from one virtue to another”. This notion is essential for understanding Klimax. In the opening of step 9, Klimax himself explains (PG 88.840 Gr. 9, l. 3 - 841, l. 5):

Αἱ μὲν ὅσαι ἀρεταὶ, τῇ τοῦ Ἰακώβ κλίμακι παρεοίκασιν,¹⁵⁹ αἱ δὲ ἀνόσιοι κακίαι, τῇ ἀλύσει τῇ ἐκπεσούσῃ ἐκ Πέτρου τοῦ κορυφαίου.¹⁶⁰ Διὸ αἱ μὲν μία τῇ μιᾷ συνδεθεῖσαι εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸν προαιρούμενον ἀναφέρουσιν· αἱ δὲ ἕτερα τὴν ἕτεραν γεννᾶν καὶ συσφίγγειν πεφύκασιν.

Although this passage is not verbally quoted in Poem 1, it is this concept that is expressed in vv. 21-22. Besides, we see that what applies to virtues, also applies to vices in a certain way.¹⁶¹ In the beginning of step 10, Klimax writes καταλαλιά ἐστὶν ἀποκύημα μίσους (PG 88.845, l. 6).

23: Although its meaning is clear, **ἰσχυλοεπτοβραχέας (N)** and its variant **ἰσχυλοεπτοβραχείας (M)** are *hapax legomena*. As a genitive singular, the word in the reading of **M**, agrees with **μιᾷς** of v. 22 and thus refers to **ἀρετῇ** of v. 21. Having a heavy penultimate syllable, this form does not fit into the meter. The reading of **N**, by contrast, does fit. In this case, we are dealing with an adjective, masculine accusative plural, derived from *ἰσχυλοεπτοβραχύς. This form, ending on -έας, is the variant without

¹⁵⁸ See chapter 2.2 The Ladder Concept in Klimax.

¹⁵⁹ Gen. 28:12.

¹⁶⁰ Act. 12:7.

¹⁶¹ Cf. the commentary of Nikephoros on the *Ladder* (Antonopoulou 2007: 157).

synaeresis of –εῖς.¹⁶² This reading of **N** is also stylistically and syntactically convincing. In v. 23, three equal adjectives, agreeing with **λόγους** (v. 22), build up to a climax. **μικρούς** has only two syllables, **μερικούς** already three, and **ισχυνολεπτοβραχέας**, finally, seven. Also in v. 85, we see that the author avoids a heavy penultimate syllable by using a rare form (**προμηθέα**).

24, 28: The idea of leaves being faith and fruit being the result of words, is, perhaps just by accident, the exact opposite of the interpretation given by Origen (Pitra 1884: 446) and Athanasios (PG 27.62) as quoted above (see commentary on vv. 16-28). For them, fruit is the right faith and the leaves are the fulfilment of commands.

24: σκῶλον is the accusative from the neuter σκῶλον, as indicated by **τι**. In PGL it is translated as *obstruction, hindrance*.¹⁶³ Also according to PGL, it is a synonym of σκάνδαλον. In this vegetal context, however, it is used with the meaning of σκῶλος, *thorn* (LSJ).

25-27: These verses give an explanation of **σκῶλον**. The word **μυσηπόλος** refers to Paul, as the author of the *Second Epistle to Timothy*. **γάγγραιναν** refers to 2 Tim. 2:16-18:

Poem 1 (vv. 25-27)	2 Tim. 2:16-18
<p>ὕπαντιάζον φθέγμα θείοις πατράσι· γάγγραιναν εἶπε τοῦτο τίς μυσηπόλος, βάθρον κακίας καὶ θέμεθλον ἀπάσης.</p>	<p>τὰς δὲ βεβήλους κενοφωνίας περιίστασο· ἐπὶ πλεῖον γὰρ προκόψουσιν ἀσεβείας, 17 καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν ὡς γάγγραινα νομὴν ἔξει· ὧν ἐστὶν Ὑμέναιος καὶ Φίλητος, 18 οἵτινες περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠστόχησαν, λέγοντες [τὴν] ἀνάστασιν ἤδη γεγονέναι, καὶ ἀνατρέπουσιν τὴν τινῶν πίστιν.</p>

In the passage of 2 Tim., the word **γάγγραινα** is used in a similar context. In this case, the words of Hymenaios and Philetos are as cancer, because they “have strayed concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is already past; and they overthrow the faith of some”. In the passage of Poem 1, these heretic words are translated as words *in contradiction with the divine fathers*. In both cases, the words are described as evil or as leading to impiety.

26: τοῦτο τίς: We follow the reading of the manuscripts. In this case, **τίς** has no interrogative meaning (see also chapter 3.1.6 Metrical Analysis).

¹⁶² Cf. Theodosios, *Canones isagogici de flexione nominum* 4.2.13: Πληθ. (...) τοὺς ἡδέας καὶ ἡδεῖς κατὰ συναίρεσιν (ed. Hilgard 1894).

¹⁶³ See for example Is. 57:14: καὶ ἐροῦσιν Καθαρίσατε ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ὁδοὺς καὶ ἄρατε **σκῶλα** ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ μου.

27: θέμεθλον is derived from θέμεθλος or θέμεθλον, the in classic Greek non-existent singular of τὰ θέμεθλα.¹⁶⁴ Besides, the plural would not fit the verse, since it would cause a hiatus. Given its context, it possibly alludes to θεμέλιος in 2 Tim. 2:19, the verse immediately following the passage quoted above:

ὁ μέντοι στερεὸς θεμέλιος τοῦ θεοῦ ἔστηκεν, ἔχων τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην· Ἔγνω κύριος τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ, καί, Ἀποστήτω ἀπὸ ἀδικίας πᾶς ὁ ὀνομάζων τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου.

V. 27 is thus an inversion of the common concept that Christ is the foundation of everything. See for example 1 Cor. 3:11:

θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

ἀπάτης: Since ἀπάσης is not very elegantly applied in Poem 1, we opted to adopt Kristoffel Demoen's suggestion to change it into **ἀπάτης**. This suggestion indeed makes much more sense.

28: The description of the deeds as the fruit of the words is consistent with v. 20, where the words are compared to braches. The relationship between a branch and fruit is the same as between words and deeds. Word and deed might refer to two similar aspects of Christian life, namely *faith* and *works*. See Jc. 2:18-22:

Ἄλλ' ἐρεῖ τις, Σὺ πίστιν ἔχεις κἀγὼ ἔργα ἔχω. δεῖξόν μοι τὴν πίστιν σου χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων, κἀγὼ σοὶ δείξω ἐκ τῶν ἔργων μου τὴν πίστιν. 19 σὺ πιστεύεις ὅτι εἷς θεὸς ἐστιν; καλῶς ποιεῖς· καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια πιστεύουσιν καὶ φρίσσουσιν. 20 θέλεις δὲ γινῶναι, ὧ ἄνθρωπε κενέ, ὅτι ἡ πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων ἀργή ἐστιν; 21 Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἀνενέγκας Ἰσαὰκ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον; 22 βλέπεις ὅτι ἡ πίστις συνήργει τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἡ πίστις ἐτελειώθη.

In Jc. 2:22, it is similarly stated that the *works*, which are the *deeds* of Poem 1, are required to complete the *faith*, which is the *word*. In the first step of the *Ladder*, the definition of a Christian reads (PG 88.633, ll. 16-18):

¹⁶⁴ Cf. LBG s.v. θέμεθλον, θέμεθλος. See also the *Lexicon* of Ps.-Zonaras: θέμεθλον. τὸ θεμέλιον (ed. Tittmann 1808).

Χριστιανός ἐστίν, μίμημα Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἀνθρώπων, λόγοις, καὶ ἔργοις,
καὶ ἐννοία εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀμέμπτως πιστεύων.

Clearly, also Klimax stressed the importance words and deeds as two aspects of a Christian.

29-37: Clearly, vv. 29-31 stand on a similar level as vv. 32-36. Both v. 29 and v. 32 begin with Ἐν ῶ. This likely refers to the garden as the location where all these scenes take place. Both parts are accompanied by the reading guide **πετηνά**, indicating that they have the same subject: a group of birds (**γένος** v. 29 and **γένος** v. 34). In these verses the birds metaphorically stand for monks: the first group sleeps in *abodes* (**μονάς** < μονή: *abode, lodging, monastery* (PGL)); the second group (vv. 32-36) are said to be **μονασταί**, meaning, of course, *monks* (PGL). We have, however, translated it as *solitary*, trying to preserve its etymological meaning.

Although v. 37 is not easy to interpret,¹⁶⁵ I think it is possibly the key to understand the relation of the two preceding parts towards each other. **γὰρ** announces the explanation. Possibly, each part is said to stand for one aspect of monasticism:

1) **λόγων** refers to the contemplative aspect of the second group (words). They are said to dwell *in the thickness of thoughts* (v. 35).

ἐμφιλοχωροῦν (v. 35) can mean *frequent by preference* or *dwell in and*, in a derived way, *study* (regarding the Scripture) (PGL).

δάσει < δάσος, means *thicket, copse* or, as a derived meaning, *roughness* (LSJ). In the case of Poem 1, it has this derived signification. Its first meaning, with its vegetal connotation, fits into the context of a garden and was probably also activated in the minds of the contemporaneous reader. The choice of words points to a poetic consciousness of the author.

Moreover, they are said not to be *capable to understand everything precisely* (v. 36), which possibly hints at an apophatic way of thinking. Examples of passages where the human mind is incapable of understanding the nature of God include: John Chrysostom, *In Psalmum 50* (καταλαβεῖν οὐκ ἰσχύω PG 55.577, l. 45); also quoted in the *Sacra parallela* (PG 96.144, l. 37);¹⁶⁶ Ps.-John of Damascus (= John of Jerusalem ?), *Adversus iconoclastas* (οὔτε νοῦς καταλαβέσθαι ἰσχύει PG 96.1356, l. 8).¹⁶⁷ Also in step 30 of the *Ladder* an apophatic statement appears (PG 88.1156, ll. 14-16):

¹⁶⁵ The fact that in **N** a *scholion* on the word ἄλλη is added in the margin indicates that also for the contemporary reader this verse was not entirely clear.

¹⁶⁶ As demonstrated by Declerck (2015) the *Sacra Parallela* are not composed by John of Damascus, as was assumed before.

¹⁶⁷ The authorship of this last reference is not yet ascertained (Noble 2009).

Ἄγάπη ὁ Θεός ἐστίν, ὁ ὄρον δὲ τούτου λέγειν βουλόμενος, ἐν ἀβύσσῳ τυφλώτων τὸν ψάμμον μετρεῖ.

The ignorance of the birds / monks in this passage contrasts with vv. 84-89, where probably John Komnenos as a patron (or otherwise Klimax) is said to be able to understand.

2) **πραγμαίων** refers to the active / practical aspect (deeds). V. 30 mentions that the birds, from here and there, go to the marsh-meadow, which is marked by its own reading guide. The *Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica)* mention that near Sketis there was a marsh-meadow (**ἔλος**), where the churches were built: ἔλος γὰρ παράκειται ἐν τῇ Σκήτει, ἔνθα καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησῖαι ὠκοδομῆνται, καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ὑδάτων εἰσὶ (PG 65.249, ll. 53-54). So it could be argued that the marsh-meadow here stands allegorically for the church.

Perhaps, one could suggest that both groups stand also for a type of monasticism. The first group might stand for the cenobitic monks, who live together in monasteries and go to church together. Perhaps, they are even better interpreted as semi-eremitic monks. Firstly, there is the possible link with Sketis, which stood at the cradle of semi-eremitic monasticism.¹⁶⁸ Secondly, the nests of birds, referred to in v. 31, are typically built only for a small number of birds and not for dozens of them.¹⁶⁹ The second group, which is portrayed as solitary and contemplative might then refer to anachoretic monks.

The situation of the birds / monks as **ἀμερίμων, ἀβίων** (v. 33) is reminiscent of step 17 in Klimax (PG 88.928, ll. 24-26): Μὴ οὖν φανῶμεν, ὡς μοναχοὶ, τῶν πετεινῶν ἀπιστότεροι. Οὐ γὰρ μεριμνῶσιν, οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν, which, in its turn, refers to Mt. 6:26, where it is said of the birds that they do not work on the land, nor gather food and yet God feeds them. ἄβιος cannot only mean *without a living*, but also *having no fixed subsistence* and thus *nomad* (LSJ). Gregory of Nazianzos uses ἄβιος in a context referring to monks where all these connotations are applied. In his 4th *Oratio*, against Julian the Apostate, he compares soldiers on a campaign, who march for miles and have to eat

¹⁶⁸ The word σκήτη is derived from Sketis (Σκήτις), present day Wādī Naṭrūn, a monastic centre in Egypt. Semi-eremitic monks lived solitarily in their own hermit's cell and assembled only on Sundays in church for the liturgy. Cf. ODB s.v. *lavra, skete* and *Wādī Naṭrūn*; Chryssavgis (2004: 17-18). See also step 1 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.641-643), where Klimax mentions three types of monasticism: the eremitic, the semi-eremitic and the cenobitic monastic way. He states that many people are able to follow the middle one. This, however, does not have to be interpreted as a command to practice this type of monasticism. In the preceding passage (PG 88.641, ll. 39-47), Klimax clearly advises the starting monk to “consider what is most suited to his needs”. See also Johnsén (2010: 163-164). For a further discussion of the *genera monachorum* see Caner (2002: 5-12).

¹⁶⁹ However, when reading **μονὰς (...)** ἠωρημένας, one might think of monasteries that are built high against the rock, as for example the Simonopetra Monastery on Mount Athos or the monasteries at Meteora.

what they find on their way, to monks who have the same way of living (ed. Bernardi 1983: 182, ll. 8-10):

Ὅρᾱς τοὺς ἀβίους τούτους καὶ ἀνεστίους, καὶ ἀσάρκους μικροῦ καὶ ἀναίμονας, καὶ
Θεῶ κατὰ τοῦτο πλησιάζοντας;

This comparison seems to be derived from 2 Tim. 2:4:¹⁷⁰

οὐδεὶς στρατευόμενος ἐμπλέκεται ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις, ἵνα τῷ
στρατολογήσαντι ἀρέσῃ·

This nomadic aspect of monks also evokes the wandering and begging *gyrovagi* or *κυκλευταί*.¹⁷¹ Also Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his *De emendanda vita monachica*, uses ἄβιος twice to refer to monks (Metzler 2006: par. 25, l. 3; par. 42, l. 11).¹⁷² It might be that this ‘wandering’ aspect of ἄβιος has its origin in 1 Cor. 4:11, where ἀστατέω (*to be unsettled, to be a wanderer* LSJ) is used in a similar context:

ἄχρι τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας καὶ πεινῶμεν καὶ διψῶμεν καὶ γυμνιτεύομεν καὶ κολαφιζόμεθα
καὶ ἀστατοῦμεν.

However, the word **ἐνιζάνει** (v. 34) has a static connotation and thus might contradict the interpretation of the monks as wandering round.

In any case, the poem itself does not explicitly refer to several types of monasticism since groups have the same (singular) subject: **γένος**. Likely, it is rather stressed that monasticism exists out of two equally important aspects: words and deed.

36: ἰσχύον, with an acute accent instead of a circumflex, is a late form of the active present participle nominative neuter singular. Here, it is governed by **γένος**.

37: In M, στάσις is written with a circumflex (στᾱσις). This spelling occurs only once in TLG, in a *Catena in Lucam* (ed. Cramer 1841: 63):

¹⁷⁰ This parallel between Gregory’s 4th *Oratio* and 2 Tim. 2:4 is not mentioned in the commentary by Lugaresi (1993: 324) nor by Moreschini (2000: 1208).

¹⁷¹ *Gyrovagi* consists of γῦρος (circle) and Latin *vagus* (wanderer, vagrant) and is first attested in the *Regula Eugippii* 27.13-13 (Caner 2002: 9-10). Κυκλευτής means *vagrant monk* (PGL) and appears in Evagrius Pontikos (PG 79.1128, l. 16; 79.1160, ll. 1, 4) and in Ephrem the Syrian (Phrantzoles 1988: 243, l. 5).

¹⁷² One might also think of the poor widow of whom is said: πάντες γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς ἔβαλον, αὕτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑστερήσεως αὐτῆς πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν ἔβαλεν, ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτῆς (Mc. 12:44).

τί δὲ ἦν τὸ δίκαιον; ἡ ἔξομολόγησις τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τὸ δάκρυον καὶ ἡ τιμὴ, καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας σταῖσις.

In TLG, this orthographical form is indicated as a Byzantine variant.

38-39: **προσέρπει** is the last word governed by **γένος** (vv. 29 and 34). The marginal reading guide indicates that vv. 38-44 form a separate section.

Ἄνθη (...) **κοιλάσιν** might be reminiscent of the famous passage from Cant. 2:1: Ἐγὼ ἄνθος τοῦ πεδίου, κρίνον τῶν κοιλάδων. In any case, the flowers in Poem 1 are explained differently. They are mentioned here especially because of their sweet scent. This reminds us of v. 4, where it is said of flowers that *some have only a pleasant perfume*. In this passage, however, there is no explicit attempt to link these verses to the opening of the poem. In the following verses the interpretation of the flowers is given.

38: In **M**, **κοιλάσιν** is written with a circumflex (κοιλᾶσιν). This spelling occurs only once in TLG. It is found in John of Damascus' *Homilia in nativitatem Domini* (ed. Kotter 1988: section 1, ll. 12-17), which presents a similar context as Poem 1:

Τότε καὶ ἥλιος ἐπιπολεύων τῇ γῆ λαμπρῶς ταῖς κοιλᾶσι καὶ λειμῶσι καὶ ἀγροῖς τὴν τῶν κρίνων καὶ παντοίων ῥόδων εὐπρεπεστάτην χροιάν ἐγκαλλωπίζει καὶ ὄσμαῖς ἡδυνόοις τὰς ὀσφρήσεις πάντων εὐμυρίζειν παρασκευάζει καὶ δένδρων καρπίμων τε καὶ ἀκάρπων κλάδη αὖξει καὶ ἄνθη τερπνὰ παντοδαπῶν ποιεῖται φυτῶν.

In TLG, this orthographical form is indicated as a Byzantine variant. Of course, this reading of **M** with a heavy penultimate syllable does not fit the verse.

40-41: The scent of the flowers is compared to *the words of the prayer which David has called incense*, a clear reference to Ps. 140:2 κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου. This Psalm is entitled Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ and thus, the persona praying in this Psalm is understood as being King David himself.¹⁷³

41: εἰρημένης: **M** and **N^{ac}** have the reading εἰρημένοι, which agrees with **λόγοι** of v. 40. This reading, *in se*, makes sense and could be translated as *the words of the prayer spoken by David as incense*. If, however, we look again to the passage of Ps. 140:2, it is clear that the prayer of David itself is compared to incense. Therefore, we opted for the reading of **N^{pc}**, where **εἰρημένης** accords with **προσευχῆς** (v. 40).

42: Syntactically, this verse is not straightforward. Taking the structure of the verse into account, it is hard to take **τὰ** together with **ἄνθη**. Possibly **τὰ** refers again to **Ἄνθη** (v.

¹⁷³ Another passage where *incense* occurs together with *prayer* is Rev. 8:4: καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ καπνὸς τῶν θυμιαμάτων ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

38), the flowers of the garden that metaphorically stand for prayer (v. 40). The scent of these flowers contrasts with that of the material flowers (**ἄνθη** v. 42). If **τὰ** can indeed be taken as a subject, it is applied *ad sensum*, being a neuter plural agreeing with a plural verb **τέρπουσι**. LBG mentions the verb *περιτέρω* (*erfreuen*). If this verb is applied here, then *περί* is used as a preposition standing in postposition to **ἄνθη**, which is an accusative. *Περί* can mean *above all, more than any*. Accompanied by an accusative, it means *in comparison with* (Montanari s.v. *περί* IA). Here, it would then be meant that *the scent of metaphorical flowers please the mind of God even more than the scent of real flowers*.

The same idea of a fragrance pleasing God is found in 2 Cor. 2:15: *ὅτι Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἔσμεν τῷ θεῷ ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις*. See also Eph. 5:2 and Phil. 4:18.

43: This verse presents yet another activity, practised by monks. Contrary to the words of prayer, which were compared to incense and thus have a sweet scent, fasting is not easily associated with flowers. It is an expansion of ‘things that please God’.

44: This verse completes the list of activities pleasing to God. Psalmody is of course central to the monastic life. More than fasting, it fits in with the idea of the scent of flowers being like the prayer of David.

38-44: In conclusion, this passage allegorically stands for the monks who go out to pray. Maybe, the valley with flowers can be understood as the aforementioned marsh-meadow (v. 30), of which, regarding the situation in Sketis, we have suggested that it might stand for the church (see commentary on v. 30). If we follow this interpretation, vv. 38-42 would mean that the monks pray (in the church) to please God.

45-55: The exact meaning of this passage is hard to fathom. As indicated by the reading guide in the margin, the sun is the subject of this paragraph. The sun is a symbol of God.¹⁷⁴ This could explain the position of this paragraph following on the previous one in which God is mentioned in v. 42. The passage is divided into two parts: **Τούτῳ μὲν** (v. 45) contrasts **καὶ τῷδε** (v. 49) which are, in my opinion, both used merely to structure the text, without referential meaning. Generally, I understand that the sun shines in two ways: as light (direct) and warmth (indirect).

45-48: **ὄψιν** (v. 47) stresses the visual aspect. V. 47 clearly refers to the morning light (**ἑῶν**). One might consider the possibility that, by contrast, v. 48 refers to the light of

¹⁷⁴ The comparison of God to the sun as a source of light is quite common in Byzantine literature. Cf. the *Symbolon* of Nicaea and Constantinople: *φῶς ἐκ φωτός*. Another example is found in Rev. 1:15-16: *καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν, 16 καὶ ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος ὀξεῖα ἐκπορευομένη, καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ*. See also step 15 (PG 88.881, ll. 36-43): *ἕτερος ὁ ἐξ ἀγώνων, καὶ ἕτερος ὁ ἐκ ταπεινώσεως καὶ ἄλλος, ὁ θεὸς ἀποκαλύψει τὸν τύραννον δεδεμένον ἔχων· ὁ μὲν τῷ ἑωσφόρῳ ὁ δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ σελήνῃ, ὁ δὲ τῷ λαμπρῷ ἡλίῳ προσεοίκασιν*.

the evening. The verb **ἐκτελῶν** might imply such an accomplishing aspect. Regarding the grammar, however, it is clear that **ἐκτελῶν** as a participle depends on **ἐμφανίζει** (v. 47). This being the case, **ἐκτελῶν** likely thus does not refer to an accomplishing aspect and this would imply that both verses deal with the morning light. The red colour in the sky, as an effect of Rayleigh scattering, is, of course, visible both at sunrise and sunset. Unfortunately, the *scholion* in **N** on **ἐκτελῶν** is heavily damaged and not readable any more. The fact that there is a *scholion*, however, indicates that this word required some explanation, also for the contemporary reader.

49-55: The indirect aspect of the second type of light has to be understood as the effect of sunlight. In this case, the sun throws **δραστικὰς λαμπηδόνας** (v. 49). On a first level, these words refer to the radiant beams of sunlight. On a second level, the etymological meaning of **δραστικός** < **δράω** (*do, accomplish* LSJ) possibly implies that the words refer to what this sunlight does, and hence, to its effect. The interpretation on this second level is also important here. In the next verses, two possible effects of sunlight are mentioned. The first one is negated and the second one is confirmed. In vv. **50-51**, the first option is mentioned, namely the burning effect of the sun standing at its zenith. Not a thunderbolt is mentioned here, but the sun as a cause of forest fires.¹⁷⁵ In vv. **52-53**, by contrast, the nourishing aspect of the sunlight is meant. This contrast is emphasized by two contradictory, but similarly sounding words: **πυρφόροις** at end of v. 51 and **προσφόρως** at the end of v. 53. Since the whole poem is placed in the context of a garden, which as a whole is a symbol of an ideal monastic world, the sun only shows its positive aspects here. The same idea is present in the aforementioned opening of John Chrysostom's *De eleemosyna*. Immediately after the passage quoted above (see commentary on the opening of Poem 1) follows (PG 60.707, ll. 24-28):¹⁷⁶

Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξω λειμώνων ἀνατέλλει ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ μαραίνει τὰ ἄνθη, καὶ ἡ εὐπρέπεια τῶν προσώπων αὐτῶν ἀφανίζεται· ἐν δὲ τῷ λειμῶνι τούτῳ ἀνατέλλει ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ τὸν μὲν σωφρονίζει, τὸν δὲ δικαιοῖ, τὸν δὲ ἐλεεῖ.

In the meadow *from outside* (ἔξω), the sun burns and causes flowers to wither. In *this* meadow, however, the sun is just and merciful.¹⁷⁷ Returning to Poem 1, this means that

¹⁷⁵ On Christ as a thunderbolt see also Mt. 24:27.

¹⁷⁶ The following passage of Chrysostom seems to be based on Jc. 1:9-11: Καυχάσθω δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ταπεινὸς ἐν τῷ ὕψει αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ πλούσιος ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου παρελεύσεται. ἀνέτειλεν γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος σὺν τῷ καύσωνι καὶ ἐξήρανε τὸν χόρτον, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσεν καὶ ἡ εὐπρέπεια τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἀπώλετο· οὕτως καὶ ὁ πλούσιος ἐν ταῖς πορείαις αὐτοῦ μαρανθήσεται. As far as I know, this similarity between Chrysostom and *James* is unmentioned in the secondary literature.

¹⁷⁷ This distinction between Paradise and Hell is common. An example is found in Rev. 22:14-15: Μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν εἰσέλθωσιν

in this garden, in the *Ladder*, God is merciful. In the *other* meadow, outside of the garden, outside of Poem 1, the burning capacities of the sun are reserved for the devil, and thus also for the sinners. This is also the case in a passage from Gregory of Nyssa, *Adversus Arium et Sabellium de patre et filio* (ed. Mueller 1958: 84):

οὕτω καὶ Ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκον προσαγορεύεται καὶ Πῦρ ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ καυθήσεται, ἵνα τοῖς μὲν προσφιλέσι λύχνος καὶ φῶς ᾗ, τοῖς δὲ ἐχθροῖς πῦρ καταναλίσκον· Φλογιεῖ, γάρ φησι, κύκλω τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ. διὸ δὴ καὶ ὁ τῆς κακίας ἄρχων βουλόμενος διαφεύγειν τὰς πυρφόρους τοῦ θεοῦ βολὰς πάντα τόπον διαθεῖ.

In this passage, the flame of God is also explained as having a different effect on the righteous man than on the evil one and the devil. The same expression *the fire-bearing rays* is used here, just as in Poem 1, in a negative context. This passage was not necessarily a direct source of inspiration for the author of Poem 1.

A passage which might have served as a direct source can be found in step 28 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.1137, ll. 25-33):

ἄλλο ἐπισκοπεῖν συχνότερως τῇ καρδίᾳ· καὶ ἄλλο ἐπισκοπεῦσαι καρδίας διὰ νοδὸς ἄρχοντος, καὶ ἀρχιερέως λογικὰς θυσίας Χριστῶ προσάγοντος· τοὺς μὲν, ὡς φησὶ τις τῶν θεολογίας προσηγορίαν λαχόντων, τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον πῦρ ἐπιδημοῦν καταφλέγει, διὰ τὸ ἔτι ἐλλιπὲς τῆς καθάρσεως· τοὺς δὲ πάλιν φωτίζει διὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς τελειότητος· τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ πῦρ καταναλίσκον καὶ φωτίζον φῶς ὀνομάζεται.

Klimax explains that the same divine fire burns those who are still impure, whereas it enlightens those who reached purity. This paradox of fire, as Klimax explicitly mentions, was based on Gregory of Nazianzos (*Oratio* 40.6; PG 36.364, l. 43 - 365, l. 27):

ζ'. Φῶς μὲν ἦν καὶ ἡ τῷ πρωτογόνῳ δοθεῖσα πρωτόγονος ἐντολή (...), εἰ καὶ τὸ φθονερὸν σκότος ἐπεισελθὸν τὴν κακίαν ἐδημιούργησεν· φῶς δὲ τυπικὸν καὶ σύμμετρον τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις, ὁ γραπτὸς νόμος, σκιαγραφῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου φωτὸς μυστήριον· εἶπερ καὶ τὸ Μωϋσέως πρόσωπον τούτῳ δοξάζεται.¹⁷⁸ Καὶ ἵνα πλείονα φῶτα δῶμεν τῷ λόγῳ, φῶς μὲν ἦν ἐκ πυρὸς τῷ Μωϋσεῖ φανταζόμενον, ἡνίκα τὴν βάτον ἔκαιε μὲν, οὐ κατέκαιε δὲ, ἵνα καὶ τὴν

εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἔξω οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ φάρμακοὶ καὶ οἱ πόρνοι καὶ οἱ φονεῖς καὶ οἱ εἰδωλολάτραι καὶ πᾶς φιλῶν καὶ ποιῶν ψεῦδος.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Ex. 34:30.

φύσιν παραδείξῃ, καὶ γνωρίσῃ τὴν δύναμιν· (...) φῶς, τὸ τοῦ προδραμόντος ἀστέρος ἐπὶ Βηθλεὲμ κάλλος, ἵνα καὶ Μάγους ὀδηγήσῃ¹⁷⁹ (...) φῶς, ἡ Παῦλον περιαστράψασα φαντασία, καὶ πληγῆ τῶν ὄψεων, τὸν σκότον τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπεύσασα.¹⁸⁰ φῶς, καὶ ἡ ἐκεῖθεν λαμπρότης, τοῖς ἐνταῦθα κεκαθαρμένοις, ἡνίκα ἐκλάμπουσιν οἱ δίκαιοι ὡς ὁ ἥλιος,¹⁸¹ ὧν ἴσταται ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ, θεῶν ὄντων καὶ βασιλέων, διαστέλλων καὶ διαιρῶν τὰς ἀξίας τῆς ἐκεῖθεν μακαριότητος· φῶς παρὰ ταῦτα ἰδιοτρόπως, ὁ τοῦ βαπτίσματος φωτισμὸς, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν περιέχων μυστήριον.

52: A similar idea of nourishing and protecting is also present in Eph. 5:29, although there are no close verbal parallels:

οὐδεὶς γὰρ ποτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἐμίσησεν, ἀλλὰ ἐκτρέφει καὶ θάλπει αὐτήν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν

45-55: In the above quoted passage from Gregory of Nyssa, God is the origin of the judging flame. Also in Poem 1, the sun can be understood as God, and in this case as the Father. The two other members of the Trinity are mentioned further on: the Spirit in v. 54 and the Son, as the Logos,¹⁸² in v. 55. The description of the Spirit (**καθὼς θέλει**) is based on Joh. 3:8 τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκούεις, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδας πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει· οὕτως ἐστὶν πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος. A similar passage is found in Paul, 1 Cor. 12:11: πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα, διαιροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται.

Klimax compares the three Christian virtues to God, to the Trinity and to the sun in the beginning of step 30 (PG 88.1153-1156):

Νυνὶ δὲ λοιπὸν, μετὰ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, μένει τὰ τρία ταῦτα, τὰ τὸν σύνδεσμον πάντων ἐπισφίγγοντα καὶ κρατοῦντα, πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη. Μείζων δὲ πάντων ἡ ἀγάπη· Θεὸς γὰρ ὀνομάζεται. Πλὴν ἔγωγε τὴν μὲν ἀκτῖνα ὄρω, τὴν δὲ φῶς, τὴν δὲ κύκλον· πάντα δὲ ἐν ἀπαύγασμα καὶ μίαν λαμπρότητα.

Clearly referring to 1 Cor. 13:13, love is mentioned as the most important of the triad of the Christian virtues. Love is equated with God, in this case referring to the Father. Love is mentioned thirdly and thus coincides with the orb of the sun.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Mt. 2:9.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Act. 9:3.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Mt. 13:43.

¹⁸² This is a common equation; cf. the opening of the Gospel of John.

56-67: The subject of this paragraph are the springs. In vv. 56-57, an idyllic scene is pictured. The fact that the rivers are described as consisting of teardrops (v. 58) does not undermine this *locus amoenus*. From v. 60, an explanation is given. The springs stand for mourning (**πένθος** v. 60). Just as the sources run through the middle of the garden, so πένθος is central in the *Ladder*. For Klimax, tears are purifying and paradoxically bring joy. Tears are a symbol of the awareness of the sinful condition of man after the Fall, and thus of mortality. Tears lead to repentance and salvation, and thus to joy.¹⁸³ In v. 59, tears are said to grow the trees, which are the lessons (v. 19). Without πένθος, all attempts to reach virtues will turn out to be futile.¹⁸⁴

In his treatise *To the Shepherd*, Klimax shows Moses as an example, giving an interesting interpretation of Ex. 17:5-6, in which Moses is advised by God to strike the rock with his staff in order that water will pour out of it (PG 88.1204, ll. 44-49):

Εἶτα τί; Ἐπελάβου τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, τὴν ἔρημον διεβίβασας. Ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ φλογὸς πυρὸς οἰκείου καυσομένῳ τούτῳ ποτὲ πηγὴν ὕδατος δακρῶν διὰ ξύλου (λέγω δὴ σαρκὸς σταυρώσεως σὺν τοῖς παθήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις) γεγένηκας.

The water, which in *Exodus* seems to be meant as drinking water for a physical thirst, is turned by Klimax into a source of tears and mourning. Also Paul gave a spiritual interpretation of this passage from *Exodus*. In 1 Cor. 10:1-5, the water of the rock is described as spiritual water, and the rock as Christ. In his interpretation, Paul does, however, not mention πένθος or any kind of mourning.

In the *Ladder*, another example of tears of mourning forming a river is found in step 10 (PG 88.848, ll. 27-33):

Εἰ γάρ τις τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κακὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς φιλαυτίας περικαλύμματος ἀκριβῶς θεάσοιτο, οὐδενὸς λοιπὸν ἄλλου τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ φροντίδα ποιήσοιτο, λογιζόμενος μηδὲ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον πένθος ἐξαρκεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χρόνον, κἂν ἑκατὸν ἔτη ζήσειεν· κἂν τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν ὅλον δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν ἴδοι ἐκπορευόμενον.

¹⁸³ Cf. Chryssavgis (2004: 131-163), Zecher (2015: 116-117, 213-216). The 7th step of the *Ladder* is entitled Περὶ τοῦ χαροποῦ πένθους (PG 88.801). This concept is widely present in the New Testament. Cf. Lc. 6:21: μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντες νῦν, ὅτι γελάσετε. See also Joh. 16:20: ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι κλαύσετε καὶ θρηνησετε ὑμεῖς, ὁ δὲ κόσμος χαρήσεται· ὑμεῖς λυπηθήσεσθε, ἀλλ' ἡ λύπη ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν γενήσεται and 1 Cor. 7:30-31: καὶ οἱ κλαίοντες ὡς μὴ κλαίοντες, καὶ οἱ χαίροντες ὡς μὴ χαίροντες, καὶ οἱ ἀγοράζοντες ὡς μὴ κατέχοντες, καὶ οἱ χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι· παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. Cf. Jc. 4:9: ταλαιπωρήσατε καὶ πενήθησατε καὶ κλαύσατε· ὁ γέλως ὑμῶν εἰς πένθος μετατραπήτω καὶ ἡ χαρὰ εἰς κατήφειαν.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Zecher (2015: 214) on the importance of mourning in the *Ladder* as begetter of other virtues.

60-64: In these verses, πένθος is described as a teacher. Interestingly, Chryssavgis (2004: 141) states that for Klimax πένθος leads to self-knowledge. This is shown by a passage from step 15 (PG 88.897, ll. 15-30):

Ἔστι παρὰ τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις τῶν γνωστικῶν Πατέρων, καὶ ἕτερα τις τούτων λεπτοτέρα ἔννοια, ὅπερ παραρῥιπισμὸν νοός τινες ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅστις χρόνου χωρὶς, καὶ λόγου καὶ εἰκόνοσ ὀξυτέρως τὸ πάθος τῷ πάσχοντι σημαίνειν πέφυκε. Θᾶπτον οὐδὲν τοῦ [ἐπὶ] τῶν σωμάτων, ὀξύτερον ἢ ἀφανέστερον ἐν πνεύμασιν εἶναι πέφυκε, μνήμη ψιλῆ καὶ ἀσυνδιάστω, ἀχρόνω τε καὶ ἀφράστω [al. ἀφθάρτω], παρὰ τισὶ δὲ καὶ ἀγνώστω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παρουσίαν ποιοῦντος [ἐμφαῖνον, al. ποιοῦν]. Εἴ τις τοίνυν τὴν τοιαύτην αὐτοῦ λεπτότητα διὰ πένθους καταλαβεῖν ἠδυνήθη, οὗτος ἡμᾶς διδάξαι δύναται, πῶς τέ ἐστι καὶ ὀφθαλμῷ μόνω, ψιλῆ τε θέα καὶ ἀφῆ χειρὸς, καὶ μέλους ἀκροάσει ἐκτὸς πάσης ἐννοίας, καὶ λογισμοῦ πορνεύων ψυχὴν ἐμπαθῶς.

In this passage, we see that also Klimax attributes didactical qualities to πένθος, although he describes it rather as a cause of learning than as the teacher itself. In Poem 1, πένθος is described as a kind of dialectical teacher, taking and giving knowledge. It could be helpful to look at 1 Cor. 1:18-23:¹⁸⁵

Ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν, τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις θεοῦ ἐστίν. 19 γέγραπται γάρ, Ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω. 20 ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεὺς; ποῦ συζητητὴς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου; οὐχὶ ἐμώρανεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου; 21 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν θεόν, εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῆς μωρίας τοῦ κηρύγματος σῶσαι τοὺς πιστεύοντας. 22 ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι σημεῖα αἰτοῦσιν καὶ Ἑλληγες σοφίαν ζητοῦσιν, 23 ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρίαν.

In this first letter to the Corinthians, Paul stresses the cross of Christ as the essence of his message. The wisdom of the Christian is faith, and not an intellectual construction. If we follow this interpretation, it is πένθος, by reminding man of the Fall, which cuts out all highbrow intellectual considerations and replaces them by a higher spiritual wisdom. **60: ὅτι** seems to have an explanatory meaning here. Just as the **Κρήναι** grow **τὰ δένδρα** (v. 59), **πένθος** grows **γνώσιν**.

¹⁸⁵ Compare also with 1 Cor. 13:8.

60, 64: To me, the function of **αὐτό** is not entirely clear in these verses. In the case of v. 60 it could grammatically accord with **πένθος** and thus stress the subject. However, the *Binnenschluß* after the fifth syllable indicates a break between **πένθος** and **αὐτό**. This being the case, it seems reasonable to take **αὐτό** as the object of **διδάσκει**. It might then generally refer to what mourning teaches, namely what is described in vv. 61-63. In the case of v. 64, **αὐτό** could morphologically refer to **πένθος** as a subject. Syntactically, however, it would be strange to express the subject again if it remains the same as in the previous verses. Maybe it is, just as is the case in v. 60, a reference to the object in general, in this case object of **γράφει**. It would of course be coherent if **αὐτό** is an object both in v. 60 and in v. 64. The interpretation of **αὐτό** in v. 64 as an object seems to be supported by the meter. In this case, contrary to v. 60, **αὐτό** is part of the first five syllables before the *Binnenschluß*. This might indicate that **αὐτό** is meant as an object, just as **κύκλον**. Kristoffel Demoen therefore even cautiously suggested not to read **αὐτό**, but **αὐτόν**, stressing **κύκλον**. This suggestion certainly makes sense. However, if we take **κύκλον** as an object complement to **αὐτό**, which refers to the object in general, the reading of the manuscripts, on which there is no doubt, seems to make sense as well. V. 64 would then mean that **αὐτό**, which is the process described in vv. 61-63, is written as a circle by mourning.

65: **ἔνθεν** might refer to the previous passage concerning **πένθος**. At first sight, it clearly refers to **Κρήναι** (v. 56).

65-67: **τελεσφοροῦσι** as a plural contrasts the singular forms **εὐωδιάζει**, **σκέπει** (v. 66) and **γίνεται** (v. 67), the latter of which is accompanied by a neuter plural **ψυχαγωγὰ**. It is hard to find one subject that corresponds to all these parameters. As **κρήναι** is written as a reading guide next to v. 56, it is possible that they are still the subject of **τελεσφοροῦσι**. They are the water that brings diverse fruits to full growth. An alternative might be to take **δένδρα** of v. 59 as a subject of all the verbs. If we look at vv. 60-64 as an interjectory explanation of the garden-metaphor, then **δένδρα** is mentioned last. It might be that the trees are seen once as an *ad sensum* plural (**τελεσφοροῦσι**), and that for the other verbs the classical rule is followed that a neuter plural takes a singular verb. This might then explain the neuter plural **ψυχαγωγὰ** agreeing with a singular verb **γίνεται**. Besides, regarding content, the trees pass the water of the rivers to the fruits. So both ‘water’ and ‘tree’ are important to come to full grown fruits. Among the singular verbs, **σκέπει** points to the protection of the gardeners. It seem logical that this refers to the roof of foliage that gives shadow. It might also be useful to compare the poem to a part of a hymn for the 28th of December (Kominis – Schirò 1976: canon 54, ode 7, ll. 9-15):

Ἐν διεξόδοις
 ἀσκητικῶν ὑδάτων τέθηλας
 δένδρον
 παγκαρπίαν φέρων τῶν ἀρετῶν,

αἷς ἐκτρέφονται οἱ ψάλλοντες·
“εὐλογητὸς εἶ
ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς δόξης σου, Κύριε”.

The content of this passage is similar to the scene in Poem 1. The *ascetic water* must refer to the tears of mourning, which cause the tree to flourish. The tree, in its turn, bears different kinds of fruit, which stand for virtues. The fruit feeds those who sing Psalms. Returning to Poem 1, **καθ’ ἡμέραν** (v. 67) might then refer to the singing of Psalms, which was a daily practice of monks. By this parallel, **φυτοσκάφους** can be equated with οἱ ψάλλοντες. This part of the metaphor remains unexplained in Poem 1. In the hymn, it is παγκαρπία that is, one could say, ψυχαγωγὸς καθ’ ἡμέραν. In Poem 1, as we have said, this reading does not accord with the grammar. Possibly, vv. 54-67 intend to mean the same as the hymn. Since the syntactical structure of the poem is opaque, we can, however, not be sure of this and the interpretation of this passage remains uncertain. Another possibility is to look to 1 Cor. 3:6, in which Paul says: ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλῶς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς ἠύξανεν. Here, Paul and Apollos are mentioned as gardeners. This stands, metaphorically, for the ‘cultivation’ of new believers.

68-71: These verses conclude the metaphorical part of the poem. The garden is resumed as flourishing and full of blossom.

72-102: These last 30 vv. present some ambiguities. In many instances, someone is addressed. Throughout these verses it is never made explicit who exactly is addressed or meant. It is even not clear if only one person is concerned or if several people are addressed alternately. Below, I present a scheme of the structure of the last 30 verses, indicating the textual breaks and mentioning the possible persons meant or addressed.

As already mentioned above, the authorship of the cycle is not straightforward. If one takes John Komnenos as the author, then he is also the narrating voice of vv. 68-102. By contrast, if one takes John the writer as the author, then narrating voice of these verses can be either John the writer himself, or John Komnenos if he writes from the perspective of this patron. These options lead to two possible interpretations of who is mentioned or addressed in vv. 68-102, with some sub-options:

		narrating voice = John the writer	narrating voice = John Komnenos
conclusion of the garden (vv. 68-71); the book (vv.72-73).	68 ἡμῖν	Komnenos + John the writer (or the reader in general)	
	72 σου	Klimax or Komnenos	Klimax
	73 ἐμῆς	John the writer	Komnenos
invocations (vv. 74-78)		Komnenos or Klimax	Klimax
spiritual value of the book (vv. 79-83); encouragement (vv. 84-89)	79 φίλτατε	Komnenos or the reader	the reader
	84 σὺ	Komnenos or the reader	the reader
dedication (vv. 90-102)	90 ἡμῶν	Komnenos + John the writer	
	90 σοὶ	Klimax	
	93 ἡμῖν	Komnenos + John the writer	
	93 ἡγγυήσω	Klimax	
	94 προὔτεινας	Klimax	
	97 σῆς	Klimax	
	98 ἡμῖν	Komnenos + John the writer	
	98 ἐντυποῖς	Klimax	
	102 σῶν	Klimax	
	102 ἡμᾶς	Komnenos + John the writer	

Between vv. 89 and 90, I have put a thicker line to indicate that v. 90 initiates a shift in the one who is addressed as ‘you’. Also from this verse on, I think the ambiguity is resolved.

68: ἡμῖν could refer to John Komnenos and John the writer. It might as well refer in general to us, the readers of the *Ladder*. This slight ambiguity announces some greater ambiguities concerning the addressee.

69: The double lambda in the word τέθηλε in **M** is simply an orthographical mistake.

70: τρισσοφεγγῆ reminds us of the metaphor of the sun, representing the Trinity (vv. 45-55). The word is typically used in this context. A clear example is found in the 5th oration of Neilos Kabasilas (13th-14th c.), *Orationes quinque de spiritu sancto*, Or. 5, sect. 25, ll. 19-23 (ed. Kislas 2001):

Πατρὶ μὲν τὴν ἀγεννησίαν καὶ τὸ αἴτιον τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ νέμοντες. Υἱῶ δὲ τὴν γέννησιν. Πνεύματι δὲ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν. Καὶ ὡς ἐξ αἰτίου τοῦ Πατρὸς τό τε γεννώμενον καὶ τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον νοοῦντες ἀπαυγάσαντα, καὶ ὡς φῶς ἐκάτερον ἐκ φωτὸς προελθόν, ἐν ὑπερκόσμιον τρισσοφεγγές καὶ τρισήλιον φῶς.

In this passage, ὡς φῶς ἐκάτερον ἐκ φωτὸς προελθόν refers, of course, to the *Symbolon*: φῶς ἐκ φωτός (PG 152.1102, l. 18). It is clear that this phrase inspired authors throughout the ages to compare the Trinity to the sun and its rays.

71: **τρισεμέριστον**, also referring to the Trinity, fits in with **τρισοφεγγή**.

72: From this verse on, the narrator addresses someone (**σου**), but it is not explicitly mentioned to whom this refers. As already shown above, this leads to a lot of ambiguities in the following verses. In the case of v. 72, I think there are two options: 1) John Komnenos as the possessor / patron of the book (the original one, not **M** or **N**); 2) John Klimax as the author of the *Ladder*. The word **πυξίον** (v. 72) reminds of *tables of Law* (cf. Montanari s.v. *πυξίον*), which would fit the *Ladder*.¹⁸⁶

72: In this verse, the book (**αὕτη**) corresponds to the garden (**Τοιοῦτος** v. 68). The book is thus for a last time associated with the garden, which is the central metaphor of the poem.

73: In **N**, v. 73 is the first one in a list of invocations. Also, it is the first verse of a new folio (f. 3v). In **M**, by contrast, the verse starts with a female article, clearly indicating that it refers to the book and not to **σου** (v. 72). Since v. 73 closely resembles v. 74, it is likely the first of three pairs of invocations, consisting each out of 2 vv. The reading of **M**, however, does make sense. It is remarkable that in each of the next verses there seems to be an action or a term which would rather fit a person than a book: **ἐκφυγῶν** (v. 74), **τοῦ γένους σου κόσμε** (v. 75), **προστάτα** (v. 76), **εὐεργέτα** (v. 77), **μετριάζων** (v. 78). Only in v. 73, it is hard to discern a similar action executed by a person or a reference to a person itself. It seems thus that v. 73 still refers to the book. It seems perhaps more logical to compare a book, rather than a person, to a sea in which one can sail, unless the person is metonymically representing the book. In the manuscripts, **Κλίμαξ** indeed appears sometimes with **ὁ** (referring to John Klimax) and sometimes with **ἡ** (referring to the *Ladder*).¹⁸⁷ Such a metonymical interpretation could serve as an argument in favour of the reading of **N**.

σκάφης: Also in the *Ladder* (step 25, PG 88.996, l. 37) **σκάφης** is used as a symbol of the soul in a comparison of monastic life to a ship on the sea.

74-78: These invocations could, as shown above, refer to Komnenos, who would be praised as a patron, or to Klimax as a saint.¹⁸⁸ Possibly, although not certain, this last

¹⁸⁶ Compare with **Πλάκες πνευματικάι** (*Spiritual Tablets*), one of titles of the *Ladder* found in the manuscripts. Cf. Duffy (1999: 5-6), Chryssavgis (2004: 21), Pierre et al. (2015: 276), Johnsén (2007: 15).

¹⁸⁷ Papaioannou (2014: 23); Völker (1968: 1).

¹⁸⁸ Unfortunately, as is the case with many saints from the first millennium, we do not know when exactly John Klimax was canonized. In any case, he was considered a saint by the Komnenian period. In the 9th-10th-

option is to be preferred. Since, in the prologue in prose to Poem 1, it is said that the poems were written **παρὰ πνεύματος Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ**, a long list of laudatory invocations would sound strange. Moreover, **πάλαι** (v. 74) could imply that the addressee is already dead. By contrast, one could say that v. 75 refers to someone still living in the world (κόσμος).¹⁸⁹ **ἐκφυγῶν** (v. 74) refers to a monk, someone who has left the world. *In se*, it could refer both to Klimax, or to John Komnenos, since both were monks. An argument in favour of Komnenos being addressed is that **γένους**, just as in Poem 3 (vv. 16-17), might refer to Komnenos' famous lineage. **προστάτα** (v. 76), from **προστάτης**, is used, according to PGL, frequently for saints and even for God, but also for bishops and minor officials.¹⁹⁰ Hence it is hard to decide whether Komnenos or Klimax is meant in v. 76. The same can be said on **εὐεργέτα** (v. 77). **μετριάζω** (cf. v. 78) means, when intransitive, *be moderate, be humble* or, when transitive, *moderate* (PGL). The first would fit a humble Komnenos, the second Saint Klimax. On the basis of vv. 76-78 it is, I think, hard to come to a decisive conclusion.

Looking back to vv. 72-73, one could argue in favour of Klimax being the addressee of vv. 73-78. If **σου** (v. 72) would indeed refer to Klimax, rather than to Komnenos, it is likely that he is also the addressee in the following verses. When preferring the reading of **N** in v. 73, this verse is the first verse in the list of invocations. Since we interpreted **θάλασσα** (v. 73) as a metaphor for Klimax / the *Ladder*, and since all following invocations have the same addressee, this addressee is perhaps more likely to be Klimax.

If these observations are correct, we have to reanalyse v. 78. If one applies the transitive meaning to **μετριάζων**, it refers to Klimax, who as the author of the *Ladder* offers a spiritual rule leading to humility and moderation. In the reading of the manuscripts, there is, however, no clear object of **μετριάζων**. **M** reads **μετρίας** and **N** has **μετρίοις**. Therefore, Kristoffel Demoen suggested **μετρίους** as a correction. When taking the previous verses into account, **μετρίους** likely refers to a group of people (cf. **πενήτων** v. 76; **ξένων** v. 77), in this case probably 'monks'. This reading is an improvement, both regarding the syntax and the content.

74: κοσμικὴν θάλασσαν, of course, contrasts with **σωστικὴ θάλασσα** (v. 73). In ascetic literature, human life is typically compared to the sea. A clear example is found in the *Apophthegmata patrum (collectio systematica)* 10.75 (ed. Guy 2003: 178):

c. *typikon* of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople he is mentioned as a saint, commemorated on the 30th of March, as still is the case nowadays (Mateos 1962).

¹⁸⁹ However, **κόσμε** is also used by Gregory of Nazianzos when addressing Christ. Cf. *Carm.* II,1,55, v. 23 (PG 37.1401, l. 3): Τὰς δὲ χέρας τανύω, δέξασθέ με. Χαῖρε σὺ, κόσμε.

¹⁹⁰ Compare also, for example, with Psellos' *Poem.* 21, v. 29 (ed. Westerink 1992): καὶ τῶν πενήτων προστάτης δεδειγμένος.

ἐν ἀδήλω πλέομεν, θάλασσα γὰρ ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροψάλτου Δαυὶδ εἴρηται· ἀλλὰ τὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὰ μὲν καὶ θηρίων πλήρη τὰ δὲ καὶ γαληνά. Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν τῷ γαληνῷ μέρει (5) τῆς θαλάσσης δοκοῦμεν πλεεῖν, οἱ δὲ κοσμικοὶ ἐν τοῖς κινδυνώδεσιν· καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας πλέομεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὀδηγούμενοι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγνωσίας φερόμενοι. Ἄλλ' ἐνδέχεται πολλάκις τὸν κοσμικὸν ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ἐν κινδύνῳ τυγχάνοντα (10) βοήσαντα καὶ ἀγρυπνήσαντα σῶσαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκάφος, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν γαλήνῃ ὄντας ὑπὸ ἀμελείας βυθισθῆναι τὸ πηδάλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀφέντας.

Unfortunately, the reference to David is unclear and is not able to be traced (Guy 2003: 179). The idea of this *apophthegma* is, however, clear. The comparison of life to the sea is an old one. Just as in Poem 1 (vv. 73-74), there are two kinds of seas: the calm sea which is sailed by monks and the wild sea which is sailed by people who live in the world. This, however, does not mean that one is free from trouble when sailing a calm sea. The warning at the end of this *apophthegma* reminds us of a passage at the end of step 2 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.657, ll. 37-41):

Ὁ λιμὴν καὶ σωτηρίας, καὶ κινδύνων πρόξενος, καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκουσιν οἱ τὴν νοητὴν θάλασσαν πλέοντες. Ἐλεεινὸν δὲ ἰδέσθαι θέαμα, τοὺς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διασωθέντας, ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυαγήσαντας.

The *Ladder* is full of such sea-comparisons.¹⁹¹ This lead Pierre, Conticello and Chryssavgis (2015: 199) even to the suggestion that John Klimax might have his origin in Lower Egypt, because it lays close to the sea. In my opinion, the references to the sea in the *Ladder* are too vague and symbolic to be any proof whatsoever for locating Klimax birthplace close to the sea.¹⁹²

79-89: In these verses, someone is addressed (**φίλτατε** v. 79). I suggest that it is probably John Komnenos or the reader in general, and not Klimax. If it refers to the reader in general, then this vocative **φίλτατε** might stand on the same level as **ἀδελφέ** in the second part of the prose introduction to Poem 1. The actions that are mentioned, in my opinion, better fit the role of the reader of the *Ladder* than the role of the composer of the *Ladder*, as I will explain below.

79: ἧς refers back to **βίβλος** (v. 72). **φίλτατε**, as a vocative, sounds a bit informal after the list of formal invocations. Also when looking to the content, this verse seems to refer

¹⁹¹ See, for example, θαλάσσαν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων (PG 88.636, l. 4). See also PG 88.708C, 712C, 996C, 1016D.

¹⁹² Compare also with Chryssavgis (2004: 66).

rather to a reader of the *Ladder*, who lives a good life because of this book. If Komnenos is addressed in the invocations of vv. 74-78, this would imply a change of style when also in v. 79 Komnenos is addressed. The fact that ἤς refers back to a word that was last mentioned seven verses higher is also a break and might tone down the change of style in how Komnenos is addressed. The ambiguity, however, remains.

80: Here, δημιουργῶ rather refers to Klimax as the composer of the *Ladder*, than to God, as the creator of everything. Therefore, the imperative εὐγνωμόνει likely addresses the reader.

81-82: Someone who can still increase his faith (v. 81) and still has to *pick the spiritual flower of prosperity* (v. 82) is someone who has not died yet. This implies that Klimax cannot be addressed.

ἐκτρέφω appears as ἐκτρέφε in **M**. This imperative can be explained as standing on the same level as the imperative εὐγνωμόνει (v. 80). We preferred, however, the reading of **N**. In this case ἐκτρέφω as a participle depends on δρέψη (v. 81), which is a non-classical future. In order to be able to *pick the spiritual flower* one has to *bring forth the fruitful faith*.

82: Just as was the case for the previous verse, it would be more logical if Komnenos or the reader is meant. The flowers remind us of the opening scene of this poem. In the parallel passage from Moschos the picking of the flowers is mentioned referring to the act of making an anthology (see commentary on the opening of Poem 1). Flowers are commonly used as a metaphor for spiritual prosperity, and frequently appear with this connotation in hymns. See for example a hymn *In sanctos Sebastianum et Florum* (18th of December, canon 32, ode 1, ll. 3-9; ed. Kominis – Schirò 1976):

Τὰ νοητὰ
σήμερον ἄνθη δρεψώμεθα
τῶν ἰαμάτων ἅπαντες
ἐκ τῶν τοῦ μάρτυρος
θεοσδότην λειμώνων,
τῶν καλῶν τὸν φυτουργὸν
Χριστὸν δοξάζοντες.

A similar example is found in a hymn *In Sanctum Parthenium Episcopum Lampsaci* (7th of February, canon 8, ode 9, ll. 14-19; ed. Schirò – Tomadakis 1974):

Ἄνθη νοητὰ, θεοφόρε,
ὡς ἐν λειμῶνι ἀκηράτω,
ἐν τῇ παναγίᾳ σου μνήμη
τὰ τῶν θαυμάτων κάλλη δρεπόμενοι

ποικιλόπλοκον στέφανον
τὰς ἐνεργείας περιφέρομεν.

Another in a hymn *In Sanctum Timotheum Prussae Episcopum* (24th of May, canon 26, ode 8, ll. 18-25; ed. Nicas – Schirò 1973):

Τοὺς ἱεροὺς
διελθόντες λειμῶνας
τοῦ ἱεράθλου,
τὰ τῆς χάριτος ἄνθη
νοητῶς δρεψώμεθα
καὶ τοῖς ἄθλοις πλέξωμεν
τοὺς ἱερονίκους
τῷ ἀγίῳ στεφάνου.

As the symbol for the spiritual value of a book, flowers are also thematised in book epigrams. See for example a poem in elegiacs in *ÖNB Phil. gr. 191 f. 59r inc.* Ἄνθεα δρεψάμενος καθάπερ λειμῶνος ἄθλου (Hunger 1961: 300); or an epigram written by John Gregoropoulos (15th c.), inc. Ἄνθεα γραμματικῆς δρέψαι ποθέων, ξένε, τάνδε (ed. Legrand 1962: 59). It becomes clear from these examples that flowers are popular for spiritual comparisons. In these cases it is also the reader who takes profit from the *flowers of the book*.

83: This verse further refers to the spiritual value of the *Ladder*. The reader (and ascender) of the *Ladder* appeases God, and can thus hope for God's mercy. He who wears the **γνώρισμα** will be spared at the Judgment. Compare with 2 Tim. 2:19 (τὴν σφραγίδα).

84: In the manuscripts, the initial of this verse is unmarked. In our edition, however, we stressed the initial since it starts a new sentence by posing an indirect question.

This verse stresses the mystical character of the previous verses. The optimistic view is in accordance with the famous quotation from Mt. 13:43: ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούετω. Probably the reader of the *Ladder* is addressed here, since Klimax as a saint has already reached heaven and its heavenly wisdom.

85-89: The interpretation of v. 84 influences that of vv. 85-89, and vice versa. *In se*, these encomiastic praises could be addressed to John Komnenos, to the reader in general or to John Klimax. Since it seems that in v. 84 someone is addressed who is still looking for an explanation of the mysteries, I suggest that a living person is addressed. In this case maybe not just the reader in general, but John Komnenos as a patron in specific is praised.

85: **προμηθεά** is known as the accusative of Προμηθεύς. In this case, προμηθεύς functions as a variant of προμήθεια. The accusative of that word, προμήθειαν, having a long

penultimate, would not fit the verse. The *scholion* in the margin of **N**, Ἦγουν νοῦν, shows that this form was not standard.

87-89: These verses are clearly composed as a parallelism. It seems that their internal resemblance led to confusion by the contemporary scribes. In **M**, **προβλημάτων** (v. 88) was replaced by βουλευμάτων, which then occurred twice. In **N**, the scribe first forgot to copy v. 89, but added it in the margin later on. To ensure the order of the verses the scribe of **N** gave them a number.

90-91: At first sight, **Αὕτη παρ' ἡμῶν** can be interpreted in different ways. **Αὕτη** might simply refer to **βίβλος αὕτη** (v. 72), so to the book, the *Ladder*. **παρ' ἡμῶν** then refers to the involvement of the scribe and the patron in the creation of *this* book, meaning the copy of the *Ladder* that was originally requested by John Komnenos. When reading the next verse, however, one sees that **Αὕτη** agrees with **δεξίωσις ἐκ λόγων**. This refers to Poem 1 as a whole. **παρ' ἡμῶν** then refers to John Komnenos and John the writer as the 'creators' of the poem, without going into detail concerning their role in this process. The poem is dedicated (**ἀφωσίωται**, referring to ὄσιος etymologically) to Klimax (**σοὶ φιλοῦντι τοὺς λόγους**, referring to Klimax as the author of the *Ladder*). The poem is the gift from the two Johns to their holy namesake.

92-93: The poem is described as a proof of the spiritual zeal (πόθος) of John Komnenos and John the writer. **ἀνθ'** implicates that it is a gift to Klimax because of the πόθος he aroused in both Johns. One could say that, by composing and writing this poem, John Komnenos and John the writer follow Klimax' advise at the end of the first step (PG 88.644, ll. 3-8):

Τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς, καὶ φρόνιμος μοναχὸς, ὃς τὴν θέρμην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐφύλαξεν
ἄσβεστον· καὶ μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐξόδου καθ' ἡμέραν [προστιθείς] πῦρ πυρὶ, καὶ
θέρμην θέρμη, καὶ σπουδὴν σπουδῇ, καὶ πόθον πόθῳ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο;

Another passage which could be relevant is 2 Cor. 1:22:

ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ δὸς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις
ἡμῶν.

In this case, the Spirit is sealed by God into the hearts of men as a guarantee.¹⁹³ In Hebr. 7:22 Jesus has become a surety: κατὰ τοσοῦτο καὶ κρείττονος διαθήκης γέγονεν ἕγγυος Ἰησοῦς. In a similar way, πόθος is given by Klimax to men as a pledge (v. 93).

¹⁹³ See also 2 Cor. 5:5, Eph. 1:14 and 2 Tim. 1:12-14 for similar passages.

93-96: To confirm the deal between the one who prays and Saint Klimax (the poem in exchange for more πόθος), Klimax is reminded of his previous helpfulness in order to convince him to do the same in this case.¹⁹⁴

96: αὕτη refers again to the poem. One could indeed make the remark that the *Ladder* itself could be ‘a depiction of the love of Klimax’. However, the *Ladder* in itself is the love of Klimax. Love causes Klimax to give his fellow monks a ladder, a tool to ascend heaven. Since δεξιώσεις is equated with ζωγράφος one can say that the poem, as a spiritual reflection of the *Ladder*, is a depiction of the book, which is the love of Klimax.

97: ἦνπερ refers back to ἀγάπης.

98: The concept of carving something useful in the heart is also present in the above quoted passage from 2 Cor. 1:22 (see commentary on vv. 92-93). See also 2 Cor. 3:2-3:

ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστε, ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, γινωσκομένη καὶ ἀναγινωσκομένη ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων· 3 φανερούμενοι ὅτι ἐστὲ ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ διακονηθεῖσα ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, ἐγγεγραμμένη οὐ μέλανι ἀλλὰ πνεύματι θεοῦ ζῶντος, οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶν λιθίναις ἀλλ’ ἐν πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίνοις.

The same concept is present in Hebr. 8:10, where the divine law is considered:

ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη ἦν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, λέγει κύριος, διδοὺς νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν.

Also in the beginning of the first step of the *Ladder* this concept is present (PG 88.632, l. 31 - 633, l. 3):

φέρε δὴ, φέρε ἡμεῖς νῦν πρὸς τοὺς εὐσεβῶς ἡμᾶς τυραννήσαντας, καὶ πιστῶς βιασαμένους τοῖς αὐτῶν προστάγμασι, Θεοῦ γνησίους δούλους, τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνάξιον χεῖρα δι’ ὑπακοῆς ἀδιακρίτου ἐκτείναντες, καὶ παρὰ τῆς αὐτῶν γνώσεως τὸν τοῦ λόγου κάλαμον δεξάμενοι, τῇ σκυθρωπῇ καὶ λαμπούσῃ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ βᾶσαντες, ἐν ταῖς λείαις, καὶ λευκαῖς αὐτῶν καρδίαις, ὡσπερ ἐν τισὶ χάρταις, μᾶλλον δὲ πλαξὶ πνευματικαῖς τοῦτον ἀναπαύσαντες, τὰ θεϊκὰ [θεῖα] λόγια, μᾶλλον δὲ σπέρματα διαζωγραφοῦντες λέγωμεν ὧδε.

99: αὐτῆς refers again to ἀγάπης (v. 97).

¹⁹⁴ The image of the begging hands extended to the Lord, longing for acceptance, also appears, for example, in Gregory of Nazianzos’ *Carm.* II,1,55, v. 23 (PG 37.1401, l. 3): Τὰς δὲ χέρας τανύω, δέξασθέ με. Χαῖρε σὺ, κόσμε.

100-102: Ταύτην refers to the poem (vv. 90-91). The shift, the reference back to δεξίωσις and not to ἀγάπης, is confirmed by the use of a red initial of Ταύτην in N. This indicates that this word stands on the same level as Αὔτη (v. 90). Vv. 101-102 repeat the idea that the poem is a depiction of Klimax' love. It does not only depict, but it also proclaims (βοῶσαν v. 101) Klimax' benevolence (τῶν σῶν εὐμενῶν ἐνδειγμάτων) towards us (πρὸς ἡμᾶς v. 102). πρὸς ἡμᾶς refers back to ἡμῖν (v. 98), ἡμῖν (v. 93) and ἡμῶν (v. 90).

100: A similar expression as Ταύτην ὁ μέλλων λήψεται σύμπας χρόνος is found several times in the works of Gregory of Nazianzos. He uses the expression to indicate that a contemporary subject will be passed as a memory throughout the ages. In his funeral oration for his brother Kaisarios, *Oratio* 7, he writes (PG 35.776, ll. 12-22):

Τὸ δὲ ἔμὸν δῶρον, λόγος, ὃ τάχα καὶ ὁ μέλλων ὑπολήψεται χρόνος αἰεὶ κινούμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἔων εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἐνθένδε μεταχωρήσαντα, φυλάσσον δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ ἀκοαῖς καὶ ψυχαῖς τὸν τιμώμενον, καὶ πινάκων ἐναργεστέραν προτιθεῖς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ποθουμένου. Τὰ μὲν οὖν παρ' ἡμῶν τοιαῦτα. Εἰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐλάττω, καὶ Θεῷ φίλον τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀποδεδώκαμεν, τὰ δὲ δώσομεν, τὰς δι' ἔτους προσφέροντες τιμάς τε καὶ μνήμας, οἳ γε τῷ βίῳ περιλειπόμενοι.

The funeral oration itself is explained as an everlasting memory of his deceased brother.¹⁹⁵ If we look again to Poem 1, there are some apparent similarities. In both passages, a text from us, παρ' ἡμῶν (v. 90), is the subject. In both cases, there is a contemporaneous element. In the case of Gregory the contemporaneous element is his brother; in the case of Poem 1, it is the love of Klimax towards us (πρὸς ἡμᾶς v. 102). Both Gregory's oration and Poem 1 are meant for eternity.

¹⁹⁵ Other contemporaneous elements in the work of Gregory of Nazianzos which are mentioned as subject of the expression ὁ μέλλων ὑπολήψεται χρόνος are: Theosebeia, a pious deceased woman (*Epistula* 197.6, ed. Gallay 1967: 89); a column raised by our hands, which symbolically stands for the oration of which it is a part (*Oratio* 5, PG 35.720, l. 6); a tragic story, retold by Gregory (*Oratio* 25, PG 35.1212, l. 14); the books and tongues of heretics, as an eternal pillory, being the only example I found where the expression is used in a negative context (*Oratio* 33, PG 36.217, l. 1).

3.4.2 Poem 2

3.4.2.1 Structure

Proem (vv. 1-33)

Summary of the *Ladder* (vv. 34-213)

Epilogue / prayer (vv. 214-226)

3.4.2.2 Verse by Verse Commentary

Poem 1 and 2 are logically placed before the *Ladder* in the manuscripts. Whereas Poem 1 is a spiritual introduction to the *Ladder*, Poem 2, as a metrical summary, presents a direct introduction.

Title

Ἔτεροι and **τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κλίμακος** refer back to Poem 1, indicating that this second poem is a continuation of the cycle.

εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κλίμακος: Here, Κλίμαξ is masculine, indicating that it refers to John Klimax. However, **ἀρχὴν** indicates that it is used metonymically for the *Ladder*. In fact, Poem 2 does not only deal with the opening of the *Ladder*, but as a summary, of course, it does start with its beginning.

ἐν σχήματι ἐγκωμίου: At first sight, the encomiastic aspect seems rather limited. Klimax is not openly mentioned. We could, however, state that, if **σοί** (v. 16) refers to Klimax, he is praised in vv. 16-18 because he longs for something spiritual instead of something material.

παραίνεσιν παρεισάγοντες: The poem has also a paraenetic function. **παραίνεσιν** could refer to the proem.

A similar collocation in a title appears in the title to Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* II,1,1 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 2): Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου προσίμιον ἐν σχήματι εὐχῆς ἐν ᾧ φιλοσοφεῖ περὶ ὅλων τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

κλίμακα (...) **ἑτέραν**: By presenting a summary of the *Ladder*, the poem itself also takes the shape of a ladder.

ἥς μία ἐκάστη ἀνάβασις δι' ἕξ στίχων συνίσταται: This principle, presenting a summary of each step in 6 verses, is consistently followed throughout the poem. This metrical summary of the *Ladder* is presented by the title as the topic of this poem. The opening proem (vv. 1-33) and the epilogue, which is a prayer (vv. 214-226), have also a separate title.

Proem

1-2, 9-18: These verses are clearly based on vv. 263-272 of Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carmen* II,2,1, which is the first poem of the *Poemata quae spectant ad alios* (PG 37.1470-1471):¹⁹⁶

Χρύσεια μὲν Λυδίοισι δόμοις ἐχαρίζετο μῦθος
Ψήγματα, καὶ ποταμοῦ ὀλβοδότιο ρόον.
Χρυσοφόροι δ' Ἴνδοῖσι μελαγχρώτεσσιν ἄφυσσον (265)
Μύρμηκες κοίλης πλοῦτον ἀπὸ ψαμάθου.
Νεῖλος δ' εὐκάρποισιν ἐπαΐσσων πεδίοισιν
᾿Ωριος, Αἴγυπτον θῆκεν ἐρισθενέα.
Ἄλλος δ' ὀρνίθεσσιν ἀγάλλεται, ὃς δὲ φυτοῖσιν,
᾿Ὅς δὲ λίθοις τερπνοῖς ἔνδοθι λαμπομένοις. (270)
Αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ πάντων περιώσιον εὐχος ἔδωκε
Χριστὸς ἄναξ, πολλῶν εὐσεβέων στέφανον.

In *Bodl. Barocc.* 96 f. 116r (14th c.), the poem is written in the left column.¹⁹⁷ The column at the right provides a paraphrase. I give a diplomatic transcription of the paraphrase of vv. 263-272:

Χρύσεια μ(ὲν) τ(οῖς) λυδί(οις) οἶκ(οις) ἐχαρίζετο ὁ μῦθο(ς).
Ψήγματα (καὶ) τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ τ(ῆν) εὐδαιμονί(αν) παρέχοντο(ς) τ(ὸν) νοῦν.
Χρυσ(ὸν) φέροντ(ες) τ(οῖς) ἰνδ(οῖς) τ(οῖς) μελανοσωμάτ(οις) ἦντλουν.
Μύρμηκ(ες) βαθέ(ας) πλοῦτον ἀπὸ ἄμμου.
᾿Ο Νεῖλο(ς) δὲ τ(οῖς) καλλικάρπ(οις) ἐφορμῶν γηδί(οις).
Εὐκαιρο(ς) τ(ῆν) αἴγυπτον ἐποίησε μεγαλοδύναμον.
Ἄλλο(ς) δὲ ὄρνισι σεμνύνεται ὁ δὲ φυτοῖς.
᾿Ὅ δὲ λίθ(οις) τερπν(οῖς) ἔσω λάμπουσι.
Ἔμοι δὲ πάντ(ων) μεῖζον μέγα καύχημα παρέσχ(εν).
᾿Ὅ Χ(ριστὸς) ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εὐσεβ(ῶν) στέφανον.

Bodl. Barocc. 34 ff. 37v-38r (14th-15th c.), preserves the same passage from Gregory's *Carm.* II,2,1.¹⁹⁸ In this case, there is no separate paraphrase, but there are red interlinear notes

¹⁹⁶ See for a further discussion also chapter 3.5 The Presence of Gregory of Nazianzos in the Cycle.

¹⁹⁷ For an online reproduction of the manuscript see <http://bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/digitized-items-greek-manuscripts> (18 April 2016).

¹⁹⁸ For an online reproduction of the manuscript see <http://bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/digitized-items-greek-manuscripts> (18 April 2016).

which are a testimony of a similar paraphrase as the one preserved in *Barocc.* 96.¹⁹⁹ I provide again a diplomatic transcription of vv. 263-272. In this case, I replace those words or phrases of Gregory's poem which have an interlinear note by the note itself. The words (or letters) which are underlined in the transcription are thus written in red above the line in the manuscript and replace the original text:

χρύσεια μὲν τ(οῖς) λυδίοισι δώμοις ἐχαρίζετο ὁ μῦθος:
κόμματ(α) (καὶ) τοῦ ποταμοῦ Πακτώλ(ου) τοῦ τ(ήν) εὐδαιμον(ίαν) παρέχοντ(ος)
[τ(ὸν) ροῦν.

χρυσ(ὸν) φέροντα τοῖς ἰνδοῖσι μελανοσώμα(των) ἦντλουν:
οἱ μύρμηκες βαθεί(ας) πλοῦτον ἀπὸ ψαμμάθου:
ὁ Νεῖλος δ(ὲ) τοῖς καλοκάρποισιν ἐφορμ(ῶν) γηδίοισιν:
εὐκαιρος, αἴγυπτον ἐποίησε μεγαλοδύ(ναμον):
ἄλλος δ' ὀρνίθεσιν ἀγάλλεται ὃ δὲ φυτοῖσιν:
ὅς δὲ λίθοις τερπνοῖς ἔνδοθι λαμπομένοις:
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ πάντων μεῖζον καύχ(ημ)α παρέσχ(εν):
ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς ὁ ἄναξ πολλῶν εὐσεβέων στέφανον:

Another relevant text is the commentary on the poems of Gregory of Nazianzos by Kosmas of Jerusalem (8th c.). As Daley (2006: 262) rightfully notes, this commentary is “essentially an explanation of Biblical and classical names alluded to in the poems”. This is indeed the case for the following passage of Kosmas' commentary on vv. 263-266 of Gregory's *Carm.* II,2,1 (ed. Lozza 2000: 165-166):

Πακτωλός ἐστι ποταμὸς ἐν τῇ Λυδία, ἐν ᾧ χρύσαμμος γίνεται· ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ βοτάνη τίς ἐστιν, ἧς ὑπὸ τὴν ρίζαν ὁ χρυσός. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν βοτάνην ἀποσπῶντες, τὴν χρύσαμμον ἐν τῇ ρίζῃ μετὰ χρυσέων ἀποκομμάτων ἔφερον· εἰ δὲ τις ἄνευ τῶν βρύων ματαιοπονῶν ἦν, εἶχε τῶν ἐλπισθέντων οὐδέν. Ὡσαύτως ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίδι γῆ χρύσαμμος ἐστὶν ἐν τισὶ κοιλώμασι ψάμμου, ὅθεν οὐδὲν ἄνδρες πορίσασθαι δύνανται· μύρμηκες δὲ ὄντες πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς κοίλης ἀνάγουσι ψάμμου· τῶν δὲ μυρμηκῶν τὴν χρύσαμμον Αἰθίοπες ἀπολαμβάνοντες, τὸν δόκιμον ἔψουσι χρυσόν. Ταύτην ἡ θεία Γραφή τὴν γῆν Εὐῖλάτ κατονομάζει· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον φησὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν.

¹⁹⁹ Most likely, these two manuscripts are not the only two surviving attestations of this paraphrase. Although it has to be checked, this paraphrase is probably also preserved in (some of) the manuscripts Moroni (2006) used for her edition of the paraphrases of *Carmina* II,2,4 and II,2,5, which are both part of the *Poemata quae spectant ad alios*.

It seems that Gregory himself took his inspiration from Herodotos' *Historiae* (ed. Rosén 1987; 1997):

(from 1.93) Θώματα δὲ γῆ <ή> Λυδία ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος.

(from 5.101) Καιομένου δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ ὅσοι Περσέων ἐνήσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀπολαμφθέντες πάντοθεν ὥστε τὰ περιέσχατα νεμομένου τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξήλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος συνέρρεον ἕξ τε τὴν ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν, ὅς σφι ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τιμώλου διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν Ἑρμόν ποταμόν ἐκδιδοῖ, ὃ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν.

In any case, as I will show further on in this commentary, the intertextual reference to Gregory of Nazianzos is not the only one in this opening of Poem 2, although it is the most extensive one.

1: This first verse takes the first words of vv. 263-264 of *Carm.* II,2,1 as its beginning. Compared to *Carmen* II,2,1, there is a slight loss of information: δόμοις (*Carm.* II,2,1, v. 263) refers to the fact that the water of the River Paktolos ran through the marketplace, and thus through the centre, of Sardis as mentioned by Herodotos.

τοῖς: The article is absent in *Carmen* II,2,1, but was added in both paraphrases. It is possible that the poet was familiar with (one of) the paraphrases and took it from there. As it is quite a small intervention, its origin, however, might be independent from the paraphrases. The fact that both the paraphrases and the author of Poem 2 inserted the article is then an indication of a language which was closer to spoken language, than to the Homeric Greek of *Carmen* II,2,1.

λόγος replaces μῦθος from Gregory. In this case **λόγος** indeed has to be interpreted as a 'myth', a 'story'. It might then refer to the passages of the storyteller Herodotos. One might also think of the myth of king Midas (see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.85-145). After a while Midas realizes that his wish, that everything he touches turns into gold, was not a well-considered desire. Midas prays as a sinner for forgiveness to Dionysos. Thereupon the god advises the king to wash himself in the River Paktolos. The spell is broken, but from that point the sand in the banks of the river has gold – in fact it was electron – in it.²⁰⁰

2: Πακτωλὸν (mod. Sart Çay²⁰¹): *Carmen* II,2,1 clearly alludes to the River Paktolos, but does not mention it explicitly. Its name, as it appears in Poem 2, might thus be derived

²⁰⁰ Cf. Hard (2004: 214); RE s.v. *Paktolos*.

²⁰¹ RE s.v. *Paktolos*.

from a paraphrase as the one in *Barocc.* 34, from the commentary of Kosmas, or from the poet's common knowledge.

Τμώλου (mod. Boz Daği²⁰²) is a mountain chain laying at the south of Sardis. It is not mentioned in *Carmen* II,2,1, nor in Kosmas' commentary, nor in the paraphrases. It does appear, however, in the passages from Herodotos, who mentions that the River Paktolos has its source in this mountain range from which it streams down to Sardis.

3: Κροῖσος is not mentioned in the aforementioned parallel texts. As Kroisos is the king of Lydia, he is of course logically associated with that land and its geographical features. He also appears in a similar context in a book epigram in *Mosq. Synod. gr.* 110 f. 1r, preceding the homilies of John Chrysostom:²⁰³

Ἦν τίς ποταμὸς τῷ Κροίσῳ χρυσορρόας,
θησαυρὸς ἀβρὸς χορηγὸς χρυσίου
ψυχὴν ἀπολλὺς τὴν φιλόχρυσον φύσει.
ἄλλος ποταμὸς οὗτος ὁ χρυσορρόας
λόγους ῥέων λάμποντας ὑπὲρ χρυσίον
ψυχὰς τὲ ῥωννὺς τὰς φιλοχρίστους πλέον.
εἰ μὲν θέλεις, ἄνθρωπε, πλίνθους χρυσίνους
ζηλῶν ἐκείνου τὴν φιλόχρυσον φρένα,
τῷ Λυδικῷ πρόσελθε καὶ χρυσὸν λάβῃς.
εἰ ψυχικόν δε ῥύπον ἐκπλύναι θέλεις,
φιλῶν μάλιστα τὰς φιλοχρίστους φρένας,
τούτῳ προσελθὼν ἀρύου χρυσοῦς λόγους.
τοιοῦτος ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ χρυσορρόας.

In this poem, similar topics are mentioned: the river carrying gold dust, Kroisos and the Lydians. In the context of a manuscript containing John Chrysostom, however, the reference to the Paktolos has another function. In the poem, it is said that there are two rivers. The first one is, without explicitly mentioning its name, the Paktolos. It is the material river for those who long for gold. The other river is the spiritual river of golden words, referring of course to Chrysostom's homilies, and is to be found by them who long for Christ. Although its context is different from that of the passage from Poem 2, both texts convey the same message: the material world is opposed to the spiritual one. In the case of the above quoted book epigram, the Paktolos is opposed to Chrysostom. In

²⁰² Bryce (2009: 438).

²⁰³ Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/4230.

the case of Poem 2, material wealth is opposed to *something incorruptible and greater than anyone could put into words* (= v. 18), which is the Word (v. 20).

2-8: Compared to *Carmen* II,2,1, these verses are somehow interjected, having v. 2 as a transitional verse, in which **Πακτωλὸν** is the concretisation of ποταμοῦ ὀλβοδότιο (*Carmen* II,2,1, v. 264). The content of these verses is also based on other literature. This passage can be separated into two parts vv. 2-5 (based on Strabo, or Eustathios of Thessalonike) and vv. 6-8 (inspired by John Chrysostom).

2-5: These verses go back to Strabo's *Geographica* 13.4.5 (ed. Meineke 1913):

ῥεῖ δ' ὁ Πακτωλὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τμώλου, καταφέρων τὸ παλαιὸν ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ πολὺ,
ἀφ' οὗ τὸν Κροίσου λεγόμενον πλοῦτον καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ διονομασθῆναί
φασι· νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπε τὸ ψῆγμα, ὡς εἴρηται.

Maybe vv. 2-5 are not directly based on Strabo, since there is also a paraphrase of these lines by Eustathios of Thessalonike (12th c.) in his *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (ed. van der Valk 1971: 577, ll. 14-16):

ῥεῖ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥηθέντος Τμώλου ὁ Πακτωλὸς καταφέρων, φησί, τὸ παλαιόν, ψῆγμα
χρυσοῦ πολὺ, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Κροίσου πλοῦτος. νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπε τὸ ψῆγμα.

The similarities with Poem 2 are significant. In these passages, contrary to all previous parallel passages mentioned, three crucial names are present: the River Paktolos, Mount Tmolos and king Kroisos. The same notion of the river running down from the mountain, although being obvious, is explicitly mentioned here, as is the case in v. 2 of Poem 2. The Paktolos is mentioned as the source of Kroisos' wealth. Moreover, it is mentioned that the gold-dust has given out. This last piece of information is clearly mentioned in v. 5. There, **ῥεῦσις** (cf. PGL) does not only function as a reference to the flow of the river, but also as a symbol of *transience*. In this case, **τοῦδε ῥεῦσις** must refer to the fact that at a given moment the banks of the River Paktolos did not contain any more gold, and, since the River Paktolos can be equated with the Sart Çay, not to the whole river drying up.

An important element, however, remains unmentioned in this passage from Strabo: the pride of Kroisos as a result of his earthly and vain richness. We can of course say that the wealth of Kroisos was proverbial and that his pride is already present in Herodotos. When king Kroisos asks Solon who is the most blessed person, he thinks that the Greek will declare him to be the most blessed man on earth.²⁰⁴ When Solon mentions

²⁰⁴ Besides, ὀλβοδότιο in v. 264 of Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carmen* II, 2, 1 is a clear reference to this passage.

Tellos in the first place and Kleobis and Biton in the second, Kroisos was irritated and sent Solon away. Interestingly, in Herodotos, Kroisos repented when he was placed on the pyre by the order of Kyros. This evolution in Kroisos' mentality is not referred to in Poem 2.²⁰⁵ Kroisos is simply an example of a heathen who strives for material wealth.²⁰⁶

4: ψαφαροῖς ἠρεισμένος: After the example of Lydia, taken from Antiquity, these two words remind us of the Christian character of the poem. They refer to the famous passage from Mt. 7:26:²⁰⁷

καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ μὴ ποιῶν αὐτοὺς ὁμοιωθήσεται ἀνδρὶ μωρῷ, ὅστις ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον.

βλακάς, ἄνους can then be seen as synonyms of μωρῷ from *Matthew*. **βλακάς**, besides, standing as an asyndeton next to **ἄνους**, has to be a masculine nominative singular as well. **βλακάς** is indeed attested in that form in an anonymous lexicon, the *Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων* (ed. Cunningham 2003): βλακάς· μωρός τις, μὴ εἰδὼς τὰ πράγματα διακρίναι. Further on, the lexicon also mentions a synonym: βλάξ· μωρός.

ψαφαροῖς is, regarding its content, related to **Ψήγματα** (v. 1) and to **ψάμμων** v. 10. The sand on which the foolish man built his house in Mt. 7:26 is equal to the sand containing gold by which Kroisos became rich and to the Indian sand containing gold.

Also in the *Ladder* (PG 88.637, ll. 16-18), there is an allusion to Mt. 7:26:

Εἰσὶ τινες οἱ ἐπάνω λίθων πλίνθους οἰκοδομοῦντες· καὶ εἰσὶν ἕτεροι, οἱ ἐπάνω γῆς στύλους ἐδραίωσαν.

6-8: These verses are based on a passage of John Chrysostom's 7th Homily, which is part of his *In epistolam ad Colossenses commentarius* (PG 62.350, ll. 18-24):

Εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖτε καὶ νομίζετε γελῶντά με λέγειν, ἐγὼ διηγῆσομαι ὅπερ ἤκουσα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἔστι νῦν. Ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρυσοῦν ἔχει τὸ γένειον, τῶν περὶ ταῦτα δεινῶν, καθάπερ τῇ κρόκη, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνου θριξίν ἐνελίσσόντων τὰ πέταλα τοῦ χρυσοῦ· καὶ ἀνάκειται καθάπερ τέρας.

²⁰⁵ See also Midas who repents and is saved by praying to Bacchus (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.127-145).

²⁰⁶ In the theological literature, Kroisos even today continues to be used as an example. For example, Basil (2009: 8), prohigoumen of the Monastery of Megistes Lavras on Mt. Athos, writes: Ἀκόμη κι ἄν ἔχει ἄφθονα τὰ ὑλικά ἀγαθά. Κι ἄν εἶναι Κροῖσος.

²⁰⁷ This quotation from *Matthew* is also used in the context of the transitory wealth of kings in *I used to be a King*. Cf. Nash (1971).

The homily, mostly, deals with luxury and its pernicious effects. In this passage, John Chrysostom explicitly speaks of the contemporary (vūv) Persian kings. This implies that he means the Sasanian kings, who, just as their predecessors, had a beard. The last word of this quoted passage (τέρας, meaning *prodigy*; Montanari) might be the trigger for v. 8 of Poem 2. One might interpret that the golden beard would have been perceived by his subjects as a prodigy, which is, in Chrysostom's view, a false one, of course. This sign of wealth then would have caused his subjects to bring him honour. In this 7th homily, Chrysostom indeed discusses the honour (which is in fact dishonour) granted to a wealthy person (PG 62.347-349). Chrysostom stresses furthermore that wealth leads to madness (PG 62.349, ll. 43-44): ὄντως ἀνοήτους ποιεῖ τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ μαινομένους. This corresponds thus to Kroisos' case in v. 4. Interestingly, in this homily, Chrysostom also alludes to a Herodotean story. He writes (PG 62.348, l. 60 – 349, l. 6):

Λέγεται τις πρότερον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀδομένων τὸν λόγον πιστώσομαι· λέγεται τις παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς τοσοῦτον ἐνυβρίσαι τῇ τρυφῇ, ὥστε πλάτανον ποιῆσαι χρυσοῦν, καὶ οὐρανὸν ἄνωθεν, καὶ οὕτω καθίσαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιστρατεύων ἀνθρώποις πολεμεῖν μεμαθηκόσιν.

This golden plane tree likely refers to Herodotos 7.27 (Schaff 2004⁴: 291 n. 3). It might just be a coincidence, but Herodotos seems to be constantly present behind the scenes in this opening of Poem 2 and in its sources.

8: εἶδε is a correction suggested by my colleague Rachele Ricceri. The readings of the manuscripts (ἦδε **M** and ἦδε **N**) do not make any sense here and a main verb is needed. Another reading might be οἶδε, but we think that this reading is less plausible.

9-10: From v. 9, the poet returns to *Carmen* II,2,1 (vv. 265-266). The story of the Indian ants is also found in Herodotos (3.102-105), where some fantastic details are given on how the Indians take the gold of the ants. Herodotos (3.102) also gives a description of the ants which is not retained in Gregory of Nazianzos (ed. Rosén 1987: 319):

ἐν δὴ ὧν τῇ ἐρημίῃ ταύτη καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύρμηκες μεγάθρα ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα, ἄλωπεκέων δὲ μέζονα· εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλεί τῶν Περσέων ἐνθεῦτεν θηρευθέντες. οὗτοι ὧν οἱ μύρμηκες ποιούμενοι οἴκησιν ὑπὸ γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον, κατὰ περ οἱ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι μύρμηκες καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιότατοι· ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσίτις.

Interestingly, this story seems to have its origin in the Indian tradition. The word *pipīlika* appears in the Mahābhārata and can be understood as *ant-gold*.²⁰⁸

Since Antiquity, the story of the gold digging ants was commonly known in the Greek world.²⁰⁹ It appears for example also in John Chrysostom, *In epistulam ad Philippenses* (PG 62.237, ll. 16-17): Ἄλλὰ χρυσοφορεῖς; ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως, ὡς οἱ Ἰνδικοὶ μύρμηκες.

9: The appearance of **βαθέων** might be influenced by the above mentioned paraphrases of *Carmen* II,2,1 in *Barocc.* 96 and *Barocc.* 34.

11-13: These verses are again based on *Carmen* II,2,1 (vv. 267-268) and faithfully translate its content into dodecasyllables. **ὥριος** (v. 11) clearly refers to the seasonal flood of the Nile, bringing fertility to the Egyptian land. The flood of the Nile, and the many theories about its cause, are described by Herodotos (2.19-27). Of course, the Nile is a well-known symbol of wealth.

12: **ἐκ τῶν ὠρίων** is the reading of **N**, ἐκ τῶν ὀρίων the one of **M**. There are different possible explanations of these variants. At first sight, one could say that ὠρίων (**N**) is derived from τὰ ὠρία (*the season*), which is derived from the adjective ὠριος (*in due season* LSJ). In this case, the reading of **N** would repeat the seasonal aspect of the Nile's flooding. The reading of **M**, on first sight, can be interpreted as derived from τὸ ὄριον (*boundary, limit; in plural boundaries, frontier* LSJ). This would then point to the fact that the water of the Nile, and thus the wealth of Egypt, comes from abroad. The readings of both **N** and **M** remain unsatisfactory. It seems quite redundant to repeat the seasonal aspect (**N**) and the omicron of ὀρίων (**M**) does not fit the meter. The solution might be found in PGL, where several Greek loans of the Latin word *horreum* are given: ὄριον, ὄριον, ὄριον, ὄρειον, ὠρίον, ὠρειον, ὠρειον, ὠραῖον (τό, *granary*). This reading has three advantages: 1) It explains the variant reading between **M** and **N**. 2) As pun it refers to **ὥριος** (v. 11) and gives the poem an extra poetic flavour. 3) Throughout Antiquity and the early Byzantine period, Egypt was known as the granary of the empire. This interpretation would fit the content: grain is the richness of Egypt, which is only possible by the Nile. Besides, this word is not the only Latin loan in the cycle. In Poem 4, v. 20, **ταβερναλῆς** is derived from *tabernaculum* (see commentary Poem 4).

13: **Φαραωνίτας** functions here as a synonym of *Egyptians*, as it corresponds to Αἴγυπτον in *Carmen* II,2,1. The word Φαραωνίτης in several cases also appears to show a more tight connection to the Pharaoh, thus meaning *Pharaonian* (PGL). It refers then to soldiers, or in general to people who hierarchically function under a more direct

²⁰⁸ See also Monier-Williams (1899) who gives as an explanation: a kind of gold supposed to be collected by ants". According to Srinivasa Iyengar (2001⁶: 25) the gold is called ant-like, referring to the seize of the gold particles. For other references and folktales related to ants in India see Tarn (1966: 106-108).

²⁰⁹ See also Strabo 15.1.44, who refers to Nearchos and Megasthenes.

command of the Pharaoh than a normal civilian does.²¹⁰ If one wishes to interpret this shift from *Egypt* from Gregory of Nazianzos to *Pharaonians* in Poem 2 as significant, one might interpret that in Poem 2 the author stresses the fact that the wealth of Egypt was only reserved for an elite class and not for the masses.

14-15: These verses continue to be based on *Carmen* II,2,1 (vv. 269-270). **ὄρνισιν** and **φυτοῖς** are the de-Homerised forms of ὀρνίθεσσιν and φυτοῖσιν. Both Poem 2 and the paraphrase of *Barocc. 96* have these unmarked forms. Since they are unmarked, this might as well be a coincidence.

Precious stones and *pearls* (v. 15), of course, refer to jewels. I think that the *birds* and *plants* of v. 14 also, although metonymically, stand for ornaments.²¹¹ The birds refer to feathers and the plants to leaves. The ornaments of v. 14 are cheap, in contrast to the expensive jewels of v. 15. The common feature of these four elements is that they are all material (contrasting to v. 16).²¹² Whereas *Carmen* II,2,1 presents three geographical regions (Lydia, India and Egypt) and three elements (birds, plants and precious stones), Poem 2 presents four geographical regions (Lydia, Persia, India and Egypt) and four elements (birds, plants, precious stones and pearls). I am not sure if this parallelism was made on purpose. In any case, it does not seem to be the case that each element refers to a specific region.

16-18: These verses are inspired by *Carmen* II,2,1, vv. 271-272. In this case the vague resemblance to the verses of Gregory announces the end of the reference to the Theologian. Both in Poem 2 and in *Carmen* II,2,1, transient ornaments (vv. 14-15 in Poem 2; vv. 269-270 in *Carm. II,2,1*) are contrasted with a more elevated object (**ἄφθιτον καὶ κρεῖττον** v. 18 in Poem 2; περιώσιον εὖχος v. 271 in *Carmen* II,2,1). In the case of Poem 2, this object is *cherished* by you (**σοί** v. 16), referring to Klimax.²¹³ In the case of *Carmen* II,2,1, this object is given to *me* (**ἐμοῖ** v. 271). In Poem 2, more than is the case in *Carmen* II,2,1, the object longed for is described as something incorruptible and everlasting.

Compare also with a book epigram on the *Ladder* edited by Bentein et al. (2009: 289-290), inc. Εἴπερ κατέγνωσ ἀτρεκῶς ἀμαρτάδος.²¹⁴ V. 11 of this poem runs: ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀμείψοις τὰ φθορᾶς τῶν κρειπτόνων.

²¹⁰ See for example John of Damascus (PG 96.653A) or Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46.844, l. 51).

²¹¹ This interpretation seems consistent with PG's translation of εὖχος in v. 271 of *Carmen* II,2,1 as *decus*.

²¹² **Ἀγάλλεται** (v. 14) also appears in step 16 of the *Ladder* (Sophr. 16.15; PG 88.928 Gr. 17, l. 22) in the context of indulging in material objects.

²¹³ In the title of Poem 2, it is announced that there would follow an encomium of the *Ladder* or *Klimax*. Therefore Klimax, as author of the *Ladder*, is mentioned here, and not the reader in general or, for instance, John Komnenos in particular.

²¹⁴ The oldest manuscript that preserves this poem is *Ambros. gr. A 152 sup. f. 213r* (a. 1070). See also <http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/47>, which mentions an occurrence that was not mentioned by Bentein et al. (2009: 289). Cf. also Schroeder (2014: 225).

14-18: A similar idea of mentioning several material objects which are strived for by some, but rejected by the persona, in order to strive for an immaterial or spiritual goal is presented in a book epigram found in *Vat. Reg. gr. 18 f. 2v* (a. 1073):²¹⁵

Ἄλλος μὲν ἄλλα συλλέγει καὶ συνέχει
χρυσόν, λίθους, μάργαρον, ἔσθη ποικίλα·
ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς σοὺς ὡς μέγαν πλοῦτον λόγους,
μέγιστε Βασίλειε, θαῦμα τῶν λόγων,
ἔχω συνάξας ἄλλον ἄλλοθεν πόθῳ·
κατατρυφῶ τε τῶν σοφῶν νοημάτων
καὶ τέρπομαι μάλιστα ταῖς θεωρίαις.
ναὶ μὴν τυποῦμαι καὶ ῥυθμίζομαι τρόπους
τοῖς ἠθικοῖς σου τοῖς παραινέταις λόγοις,
Γεώργιος σὸς ἐν μονασταῖς οἰκέτης.

19: The question is posed by the narrator, as if it would be a real question of a non-specified auditor or reader who does not understand what this incorruptible and everlasting object mentioned in v. 18 is. Since **Ὅποῖον** is clear as a question, there is no question mark in the manuscripts.

20: **παρέσχε** (...) **Λόγος** corresponds to ἔδωκε Χριστὸς of Gregory's *Carm.* II,2,1 (vv. 271-272) and concludes the intertextual reference. **σοι** (v. 20), just as **σοί** (v. 16), probably addresses Klimax again. Another option would be that the implied reader, the one who asked the question in v. 19, is addressed. **σοι** (v. 20) corresponds again to ἐμοὶ (*Carm.* II,2,1, v. 271).

In v. 20, the answer to the question of v. 19 is given: the word (**λόγος**). This verse is hard to interpret because of two reasons:

- 1) **syntax:** **λόγος** appears twice in this verse: first as the answer to the question of v. 19, and once at the end as the subject that gives you an object. This object is **τὸ μείζον**, referring to the first **λόγος**. One could interpret **ῶν** as a partitive genitive, indicating that **λόγος** is bigger than 'those things' (i.e. the transient things of vv. 14-15). In this case, however, **τὸ** is hard to explain. Moreover, the *Binnenschluß* separates **μείζον** from **ῶν**. So perhaps it is better to interpret **ῶν** as τούτων ἅ.
- 2) **Logos/logos:** It is not entirely clear if both **λόγοι** are meant with a capital or not. Since **λόγος** appears at the beginning and at the end of the verse, the poet was likely ambiguous on purpose. However, we could interpret the first **λόγος** as

²¹⁵ Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/25, trans. Bentein et al. (2009: 282). For a poem expressing a similar idea see inc. Ἔσπευσαν ἄλλοι χρυσὸν εὐρεῖν ἐν βίῳ (www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/64). For a discussion see Demoen (2012: 92 n. 14).

referring to the literary qualities of Klimax, because of which he was praised. Christ (**Λόγος**) granted him the gift of the word. Just as λόγους in v. 3 of the above quoted poem from *Vat. Reg. gr. 18* refer to the words of Basil and not to the divine Word.

21-33: All these verses give adjuncts referring to **Λόγος**, or perphas referring both to **λόγος** and **Λόγος**.

21-22: The Word that is given to someone can be strengthened by that mortal person (**νοῦς βρότειος**) by means of a lot of sweat, toil and faith. Besides, **ιδρώς** and **πόνος** are typically used for the labour executed by a scribe. See for example a book epigram, inc. Ἰδρωτάς ὧδε καὶ πόνους καὶ σκάμματα.²¹⁶ More generally, sweat, toil, endurance and suffering are Christian virtues. By following the example of the crucified Jesus, thus by pain, one can obtain heaven. A clear example is the small catalogue of the sufferings of Paul in 2 Cor. 11:23-28. The combination of faith with sufferings is also present in Phil. 1:29:

ὅτι ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσθη τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν

A passage which clearly declares what the Christian faith has as its core can be found in 1 Cor. 1:18-23:

Ὁ Λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν, (...) 22 ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι σημεῖα αἰτοῦσιν καὶ Ἕλληνες σοφίαν ζητοῦσιν, 23 ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρίαν.

The knowledge of the Christians is derived from their faith, which is to preach the crucified Jesus. Λόγος for the Christians is far away from the Stoic or humanistic notion of *ratio*.

23: The Word is described as *the cure for both passions*. To me, it is not clear where exactly **τῶν ἐκατέρων** refers to. It might be interesting to look to Rom. 7:25:

ἄρα οὖν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τῷ μὲν νοῦ δουλεύω νόμῳ θεοῦ, τῇ δὲ σαρκὶ νόμῳ ἁμαρτίας.

Because of the Fall, the human body is subjugated to sin because of fleshly passions. Maybe one can say that one can sin against the flesh, but also, with the spirit, against

²¹⁶ Preserved in a manuscript from Patmos, *Mone Hagίου Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου 239* (a. 1200). Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/5488.

the law of God. This would mean that there are passions of the body and passions of the spirit. See 2 Cor. 7:1:

ταύτας οὖν ἔχοντες τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἀγαπητοί, καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, ἐπιτελοῦντες ἀγιωσύνην ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ.

It might also be the case that τῶν ἑκατέρων has something to do with the duality of the light τὸ δισσοὺν ἔργον (...) τοῦ φάους (v. 26).

24: The Word is further described as light. The link between Word and light is, of course, well attested. See for example Joh. 1:4 and Ps. 118:105.

25: Syntactically there is some friction, or at least ambiguity in this verse. I think φῶς (v. 24) is the subject of v. 25. The subject of v. 25 is thus the Word as light. Certainly, this verse has theological implications. Probably, when interpreting v. 25, the phrase φῶς ἐκ φωτός from the *Symbolon* has to be taken into account (PG 152.1102, l. 18). As φῶς ἐκ φωτός describes the relation between the Father and the Son, we could interpret that ἐμμέσως φῶς (light that shines indirectly / mediately) refers to the Son, whereas ἀμέσως φῶς (light that shines directly / immediately) refers to the Father.²¹⁷

26-33: To me, it is hard to fathom all implications of these verses. The beginning of v. 26 (δι' οὗ) is parallel to the one of v. 31. This indicates that these verses are separated into two parts, each presenting something that is caused by the Word (v. 20).

26 ἔγνωσ: Likely the second person in ἔγνωσ, just as σοι (v. 20) and σοί (v. 16), refers to Klimax as an eulogy (cf. ἐγκωμίου in the title), and not to the reader.

φάους is the uncontracted variant of φωτός, which would not fit the meter. The form φάους appears frequently in poetic language. In **N**, a *scholion* appears in the margin: Ἦγουν τοῦ Λόγου. In this way the light is equated again with the Word.

²¹⁷ Cf. also Joh. 8:12. Perhaps, the direct and indirect light also correspond to the visible and nourishing light of Poem 1 (respectively Τούτω μὲν v. 45 and καὶ τῷδε v. 49). Besides, the terms ἐμμέσως and ἀμέσως are also used by Niketas “of Maroneia”, a 12th-c. Metropolitan of Thessalonike. In a description of the internal relation between the Father, the Son and the Spirit, he writes (*Orationes de processione spiritus sancti*, Or. 4; ed. Festa 1912-1915: 72): ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ παρηγάγομεν ἥλιον ἀκτίνα καὶ φῶς τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀκτίνων εἰς τὸν ἀέρα δηλονότι χεόμενον πρὸς παράδειξιν τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, φάσκοντες ὅτι καθάπερ ἀμφοτέρων ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου ὄντων, τοῦ φωτὸς φημὶ καὶ τῆς ἀκτίνος, τὸ φῶς ἐκ τῆς ἀκτίνος ἀμέσως προέρχεται, ἐμμέσως ὡς ἐκ πρώτης πηγῆς καὶ αἰτίας τοῦ ἡλίου διὰ τῆς ἀκτίνος φανερώς προχεόμενον, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἀμέσως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὡς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὡς ἐκ πρώτης πηγῆς καὶ αἰτίας ἐκπορευόμενον. Interestingly, this passage describes what is known as the *filioque* in the Catholic Church. The passage is part of a dialogue between a Latin and a Greek. Niketas supported the tendency to unite the Churches and even defended the Western dogma. Cf. ODB s.v. Niketas “of Maroneia”. On the *filioque* see e.g. Bobrinsky (2008: 56-58).

26-28: The Word, which is Light, is described as responsible for the transient (v. 27) and for the intransient (v. 28) world (i.e. earth and heaven = τὸ δισσὸν ἔργον).²¹⁸ Moreover, it is said that you can understand this creation because of the Light. This probably means that through the incarnation of the Word and through His lessons in the Gospels, man is enabled to understand these two worlds.

V. 30 serves as an explanation of v. 29: τέκμαρ seems to correspond to τέλη; whereas ἀρχὴν seems to correspond to φύσιν. The terms of v. 30 fit the context of a creation better. δύο, probably, refers again, just as vv. 27-28, to the two worlds.

In N, a scholion appears next to vv. 30-31: Ἦγουν τοῦ ἑνός. The manuscript does not make it explicitly clear to which word this scholion refers. Probably, it is an explanation of τῶν δύο (v. 30). A dyad is then explained as a unity. In that case, it would be meant that there is not a strict separation between the two worlds created by the Light, which also is a unity (cf. φῶς ἐκ φωτός).

31-33: In these verses, a second effect of the Word is presented, namely that it teaches what is useful for good conduct. In the Gospels, Christ is frequently presented as a teacher and He is the initiator of the new covenant. The second person in ἔμαθες and ἠγάπησας refers again to Klimax. This knowledge and love enabled Klimax to compose the *Ladder*.

Structure of the proem: On a second level we could say that vv. 27-28, on the transient and on the everlasting world, also represent the structure of this proem preceding the metrical summary of the *Ladder*. Vv. 1-15 represent the transient wealth of the earth; vv. 16-33 deal with the immaterial world and the Word. Klimax, mentioned in v. 16 (σοί), is then the central hinge, the central leverage, which enables the transition of the material to the immaterial world. The fact that this proem of 33 verses ends with the Word, likely has a symbolic meaning, referring to the age of Christ when he died upon the cross.

The meaning of this preface to the metrical summary of the *Ladder* is obvious. It is an exhortation (cf. παραίνεσιν in the title) to the reader to abandon all vain materiality and to strive for God only. To climb the ladder means to abandon the (transient) world. Klimax (σοί v. 16) is an example to follow. It is implied that everyone is gifted with λόγος (v. 20) and if you allow your mind to be enlightened, by toil, sweat and faith, you can reach the end of the ladder.

²¹⁸ A close parallel, though from a later date, is found in the 4th Homily (section 12, l. 18) of Gregory Palamas (13th - 14th c.) (ed. Chrestou 1985): Δεῦτε οὖν φησι, κληρονομήσατε καὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καὶ μένοντα καὶ ἐπουράνιον κόσμον, οἱ τῷ ἐπιγείῳ καὶ φθαρτῷ καὶ παραρρέοντι κόσμῳ καλῶς κατ' ἐμὴν χρῆσάμενοι γνώμην. Cf. Joh. 8:12: ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. See also Mt. 24:35; 1 Joh. 2:17; 1 Cor. 7:31.

Metrical Summary

Structure: As already mentioned in chapter 3.1.4 (*Pinakes*), the structure of Poem 2 agrees with that of Sophr.

In order to present the similarities and the differences between the *Ladder* and its metrical summary in Poem 2, I will present a summary myself of the *Ladder* at the beginning of each step.²¹⁹ This allows to see on which parts of a step the poet of Poem 2 focuses in his summary.

Step 1 of the Ladder: On renunciation of the world

The *Ladder* opens with a short praise of God. Mankind is divided into groups according to their relation to God (the true servants; the worthless servants; those who are estranged from God; and the opponents of God). Of each of these four groups a short description is given (Sophr. 1.1-2; PG 88.632, ll. 9-28). Thereafter Klimax announces the beginning of his work (Sophr. 1.3; PG 88.632, l. 29 - 633, l. 3). Klimax states that God is the saviour of all, of just and unjust, of monks and seculars (Sophr. 1.4; PG 88.633, ll. 4-10). He presents some short definitions of the irreligious man, of the lawless man, of the Christian, of the lover of God, of the continent man, of the monk, and finally also of withdrawal from the world: Ἀναχώρησις κόσμου ἐστὶν ἐκούσιον μῖσος ἐπαινουμένης ὕλης, καὶ ἄρνησις φύσεως δι' ἐπιτυχίαν τῶν ὑπὲρ φύσιν (PG 88.633, ll. 32-35). Thereafter, Klimax advises those who wish to leave the earth to mourn constantly and to strive for dispassion (Sophr. 1.13; PG 88.633, ll. 42-53). In the next part, Klimax implicitly places 'to leave Egypt' on the same level as to renounce the world: Ὅσοι ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ τοῦ Φαραῶ ἐξελθεῖν, καὶ φυγεῖν βουλόμεθα, πάντως Μωσέως τινὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς μεσίτου πρὸς Θεὸν, καὶ μετὰ Θεὸν δεόμεθα (PG 88.633, ll. 54-55 - 636, l. 1). Klimax explicitly stresses the need of a spiritual father. Moses lead his people out of Egypt, an angel guided those who fled from Sodom. This guidance is compared to a medical treatment (Sophr. 1.15; PG 88.636, ll. 7-16). Great toil and suffering are required to overcome the fleshly passions in the early stages of renunciation (Sophr. 1.16-17; PG 88.636, ll. 16-33). The foundation of asceticism is innocence, fasting and temperance (Sophr. 1.20; PG 88.636, ll. 45-46).

Submission to God is compared to the loyalty of a soldier to his king. Also fear of God and love of God are stressed as essential (Sophr. 1. 26-28; PG 88.637, ll. 23-38). The beginning of the struggle for virtues is hard, but the longer you persevere the easier it gets. Especially sinners are incited to enter the monastery. The healthy do not go to a hospital (Sophr. 1.31-34; PG 88.637, l. 49 - 640, l. 9). Again Klimax compares God to an earthly king. We would immediately follow the commands of a king and we would join him on his campaign. Concerning the commands of God, however, we try to find excuses in order not to follow them (Sophr. 1.35; PG 88.640, ll. 9-18).

²¹⁹ The English titles accompanying our summary are taken from Moore (2012⁴).

Thereafter Klimax briefly compares a married man to an unmarried man; the first being of course more bound to earth and thus more hindered when running towards God. Although, when a married man leads a pious life, he will not be far from the Kingdom of Heaven (Sophr. 1.36-38; PG 88.640, l. 18 - 641, l. 1). The beginning of renunciation is a struggle that one should face with joy and fear. The intensity of the struggle is determined by God. Klimax advises to start the struggle at a young age and warns for the demons (Sophr. 1.39-45; PG 88.641, ll. 1-39). Those who have determined to withdraw themselves from the world have to go to a place that suits their need. For some this means a community, for others solitude. Klimax divides monasticism into three types: anachoretic, semi-eremitic and cenobitic monasticism. Of these three, the second one is slightly preferred as middle course (Sophr. 1.46-47; PG 88.641, l. 39 - 644, l. 3). The step is concluded by a short encouragement: Ὁ ἐπιβεβηκῶς μὴ στραφῆς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω (PG 88.644, l. 3).

34-39, step 1:

Αἴγυπτον ἐξέφυγες ἔσκοτισμένην, α περὶ ἀποταγῆς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως οὐ τοπικῆς
 ἠδὲπάθειαν, ἀνάπαυσιν σαρκίου
 καὶ Φαραῶ, τύραννον αὐτῆς τὸν μέγαν,
 τὸ σαρκικὸν φρόνημα, τὸν κενὸν βίον
 ἐπιστάτας τε τοὺς βαρεῖς ἔργων δότας,
 λογισμορέκτας, παθοσυγκαταθέσεις.

περὶ ἀποταγῆς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως οὐ τοπικῆς (title): The first words ἀποταγῆς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως appear in the same order as part of a larger title in Sophr. (1970: 13), PG 88.629, **M** f. 3r and **N** f. 9v: Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ματαίου βίου βιαίας ἀποταγῆς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως.²²⁰ In Sophr. (1970: 185) a shorter version is given: Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ματαίου βίου βιαίας ἀποταγῆς. Also PG (88.631) gives a shorter version: Περὶ ἀποταγῆς βίου. In **M** f. 320v another title is given: Πρώτη ἀνάβασις, φυγὴ κόσμου. **οὐ τοπικῆς** is a new element. It probably means that the withdrawal of the world has not to be interpreted as a spatial, as a geographical flight, but as a spiritual one.

Interestingly, already Origen, in his *Fragmenta in Psalmos 1-150* [Dub.], expresses the idea that ἀναχώρησις is the first step of a ladder (commentary on Ps. 1:1-2; ed. Pitra 1883-1884):

Ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίμακος πρώτη ἀνάβασις ἢ τῆς γῆς ἀναχώρησις, οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν προκοπῆς, ὁ χωρισμὸς τοῦ κακοῦ.

²²⁰ In PG (88.629) there is an omission of βιαίας.

Also John Chrysostom gives a brief explanation of the first step (PG 55.340, ll. 18-29):

Εἰ τοίνυν βούλει τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς ἀναβαίνειν τούτους, περικοψὸν τὸ διαλελυμένον καὶ χαῦνον τοῦ βίου, σύσφιγξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἐπιπόνῳ τῆς πολιτείας, ἀπόστησον τῶν γηίνων πραγμάτων. Αὕτη πρώτη ἀνάβασις. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁμοῦ καὶ κλίμακα ἀναβαίνειν, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἔχεσθαι. Ὅρᾳς πόσον τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· οἶσθα τοῦ χρόνου τὴν βραχύτητα· οἶσθα τὸ ἄδηλον τοῦ θανάτου. Μὴ τοίνυν μέλλε, μηδὲ ἀναβάλλου, ἀλλὰ πολλῇ τῇ σφοδρότητι ταύτης ἄψαι τῆς ἀποδημίας, ἵνα ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα καὶ εἴκοσι ἀναβαίνης ἀναβαθμούς.

In this passage, John Chrysostom clearly bears an embryonic notion of a ladder on which one can ascend by spiritual progress. In his notion the first step consists of leaving all material, earthly things behind. Chrysostom, in fact, speaks more of detachment (ἀπροσπάθεια) than of withdrawal (ἀναχώρησις) and therefore his description of the first step seems to have some similarities with step 2 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.653C). Of course, to leave the earth when ascending the ladder is an act of withdrawal, but this topic is less thematised in this passage where only the word ἀποδημίας hints to a spatial withdrawal.

Besides, the exhortation of Chrysostom to ascend several steps a day (2, 3, 10 or 20) implicates that he does not yet have the concept of a ladder divided into 30 steps. Chrysostom simply looks up and notices that it is a long way to heaven and that death comes closer every day. The paradox of the *Ladder* reaching heaven in only 30 steps is thematised in Poem 1 (vv. 1-5) of *Barocc. 141* (see chapter 5.4.1).

34-39: In this step, and throughout the entire metrical summary, the ascender of the *Ladder* is addressed in the second person. He is presented as the ideal ascender, a model for the reader. Stylistically, this step is divided into three distichs (vv. 34-35, vv. 36-37, vv. 38-39). Each time the first verse introduces a negative object (**Αἴγυπτον** v. 34, **Φαραῶ** v. 36, **ἐπιστάτας** v. 38). In each second verse, a further (metaphorical) explanation is given.

34 Αἴγυπτον: In the patristic tradition, Egypt is a symbol of the earthly life as opposed to the spiritual. Immediately, it calls to mind Moses, the flight from Egypt and *Exodus*. As presented in our summary of step 1 above, also Klimax mentions Egypt in this metaphorical way (see also commentary on v. 38). When Klimax refers to ‘those who want to leave Egypt’ he does of course not mean geographical Egypt – remember **οὐ τοπικῆς** in the title of this step. Whether or not the Byzantine Empire already lost Egypt by the time Klimax wrote the *Ladder*, it has become a symbol of luxury and earthly passions. This is already shown in Rev. 11:8:

καὶ τὸ πτώμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, ἣτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη.

In this passage from *Revelation*, both places are explicitly used in a metaphorical way. This is further stressed by the mention that Christ was crucified in those places, which can of course only make sense if they are meant metaphorically. Also in the *Ladder* (PG 88.636, ll. 7-16), Sodom appears next to Egypt as a similar symbol of earthly corruption:

Οἱ μὲν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξιόντες, Μωσέα· οἱ δὲ ἐκ Σοδόμων ἐκφυγόντες, ἄγγελον τὸν καθηγοῦντα ἐκέκτηντο. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῖς τὰ ψυχικὰ πάθη ἰωμένοις δι' ἐπιμελείας ἰατρῶν ἐοίκασιν, οἵτινές εἰσιν οἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκπορευόμενοι. Οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ δυστήνου σώματος ἀκαθαρσίαν ἐπιποθοῦσιν ἐκδύσασθαι. Διὸ καὶ ἄγγελου, ἢ γοῦν ἰσαγγέλου, ἵνα οὕτως εἴπω, τοῦ συμβοηθοῦντος ἐπιδέονται. Καὶ γὰρ τὴν σηπεδόνα τῶν τραυμάτων, τεχνίτου λίαν, καὶ ἰατροῦ ἐπιδεόμεθα.

ἐξέφυγες: Withdrawal from earth is commonly described as a flight. The same compound is used in the passage referred to above (PG 88.636, l. 8). This main verb is also used in the phrase from the *Ladder* (PG 88.633, ll. 54-55) already quoted above:

Ὅσοι ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ τοῦ Φαραῶ ἐξελθεῖν, καὶ φυγεῖν βουλόμεθα

See also Poem 1, v. 74:

ὦ κοσμικὴν θάλασσαν ἐκφυγῶν πάλαι

ἐσκοτισμένην: σκότος, in general, is opposed to light, as the devil is opposed to God. See for example Joh. 3:19:

αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ κρίσις, ὅτι τὸ φῶς ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἠγάπησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ φῶς, ἦν γὰρ αὐτῶν πονηρὰ τὰ ἔργα.

In step 26 of the *Ladder*, Egypt is placed on the same level as a darkened heart (PG 88.1069, ll. 24-29):

Ἴδου Κύριος κάθηται ἐπὶ νεφέλης κούφης, πάντως ψυχῆς γηΐνης πάσης ἐπιθυμίας ὑψωθείσης, καὶ ἥξει εἰς Αἰγυπτίαν, καρδίαν τὴν πρῶην ἐσκοτισμένην, καὶ σειςθήσονται τὰ χειροποίητα εἶδωλα, καὶ ἐνθυμήματα τοῦ νοός.

35 ἡδυπάθειαν: In step 1 of the *Ladder*, ἡδυπάθεια is presented as an argument used by those who do not want to withdraw from the earth (PG 88.640, ll. 2-6).

Μηδεὶς βάρως καὶ πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν προφασιζόμενος ἀνάξιον ἑαυτὸν τοῦ μοναχικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος ἀποκαλοῖτο· καὶ διὰ ἡδυπάθειαν ἑαυτὸν εὐτελίζει νομιζέτω, προφασιζόμενος προφάσεις ἐν ἀμαρτίαις.

ἀνάπαυσιν σαρκίου: The *laziness*²²¹ of the flesh is traditionally a negative thing. See for example Barsanouphios (died ca. 545) and John (6th c.), *Quaestiones et responsiones* (Epist. 96, l. 38; ed. Neyt – de Angelis-Noah 1997):

Μισήσωμεν τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τῆς σαρκός, βδελυκτὴ γάρ ἐστι τῷ Θεῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἀπαλλοτριώσῃ ἡμᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ.

A similar negative connotation of ἀνάπαυσις is also found in the *Ladder*, at the beginning of step 2 (PG 88.653 Gr. 2, ll. 19-21):

Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐκοπίασα κατακολουθῶν σοι, καὶ ἡμέραν, ἢ ἀνάπαυσιν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἐπεθύμησα, Κύριε.

This passage is an intertextual reference to Jer. 17:16:

ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐκοπίασα κατακολουθῶν ὀπίσω σου καὶ ἡμέραν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἐπεθύμησα, σὺ ἐπίστη· τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα διὰ τῶν χειλέων μου πρὸ προσώπου σου ἐστίν.

Interestingly, Klimax replaces ἡμέραν by **ἀνάπαυσιν**.

36 Φαραώ: The Pharaoh appears next to Egypt in step 1 of the *Ladder* in the above quoted passage PG 88.633, ll. 54-55 (see also commentary on v. 38), and reminds again of *Exodus*.

37 τὸ σαρκικὸν φρόνημα: This expression is based on Rom. 8:5-9 (see also commentary on v. 53):

οἱ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς φρονοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. 6 τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς θάνατος, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος ζωὴ καὶ εἰρήνη· 7 διότι τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν, τῷ γὰρ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ὑποτάσσεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται· 8 οἱ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες θεῷ ἀρέσαι οὐ

²²¹ Cf. PGL s.v. ἀνάπαυσις (H.) with a reference to the *Aprophthegmata Patrum* (PG 65.85C): σαρκικὴν ἀνάπαυσιν.

δύνανται. 9 ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ ἐν πνεύματι, εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ.

Klimax, in the opening of the *Ladder*, defines *friends of God* as ἀσωμάτων οὐσίας (PG 88.632, l. 18). Furthermore, a monk is defined as follows: Μοναχός ἐστιν τάξις καὶ κατάστασις ἀσωμάτων ἐν σώματι ὑλικῶ καὶ ῥυπαρῶ ἐπιτελουμένη (PG 88.633, ll. 24-25). Clearly, to get rid of the defilements of the flesh is one of the main points in living an ascetic life.

τὸν κενὸν βίον: *The vain life* also appears in Poem 3, v. 9. Also the titles of this step as presented by Sophr. (1970: 2, 185), PG 88.629, M f. 3r and N f. 9v contain a similar notion: τοῦ ματαίου βίου (cf. commentary on the titles above).

38 ἐπιστάτας: Just as ‘Egypt’ and ‘Pharaoh’, these commanders remind of *Exodus*. They appear in Ex. 1:11 and 5:14 as the Egyptian slave drivers that oppress the Israelite workers.

34, 36, 38: These three verses are probably inspired by a passage from *Oratio* 1 of Gregory of Nazianzos which concerns *Pascha* (PG 35.397, ll. 9-12):²²²

σήμερον καθαρῶς ἐφύγομεν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Φαραῶ τὸν πικρὸν δεσπότην, καὶ τοὺς βαρεῖς ἐπιστάτας, καὶ τοῦ πηλοῦ καὶ τῆς πλινθείας ἠλευθερώθημεν

In this passage, even the word **βαρεῖς** occurs agreeing with **ἐπιστάτας**. Besides, δεσπότην from Gregory seems to be replaced by **τύραννον** in Poem 2.

One might also interpret **τοὺς βαρεῖς ἔργων δότας** as contrasting with Mt. 11:30: ὁ γὰρ ζυγός μου χρηστὸς καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου ἐλαφρόν ἐστιν. The yoke of God is easy, that of the worldly kings is heavy. In step 1, it is furthermore stressed that one should only serve the Lord, who is the King of kings, as a *miles Christi* (PG 88.637, ll. 23-26):

Εὐαρεστήσωμεν Κυρίῳ ὡς στρατιῶται βασιλεῖ. Μετὰ γὰρ στρατείαν τότε τὴν ἀκριβῆ δουλείαν ἀπαιτούμεθα.

ἐπιστάτας: In the *Ladder*, this word is not used in a negative context. There it is used as referring to a spiritual superior. It does not seem to be a coincidence that the word only appears in step 4 which concerns obedience.²²³ The fact that the word in Poem 2 is used in a similar context as in *Oratio* 1 of Gregory of Nazianzos is an argument in favour of interpreting vv. 34, 36 and 38 as referring consciously to Gregory.

²²² This passage is also quoted by Michael Psellos, *Theologica*, Opusculum 102, l. 105 (ed. Gautier 1989).

²²³ Cf. PG 88.692, l. 2; 700, l. 1; 717, l. 38; 720, ll. 34, 39, 46; 721, l. 16.

39 λογισμορέκτας, παθουσγκαταθέσεις: This verse consists of two *hapax legomena*.²²⁴ Both compounds can be understood by looking at their parts. **λογισμορέκτας** consists of *ὁ λογισμός* (*thought, especially evil thoughts, desires* PGL) + *ὁ ῥέκτης* (= *ὁ ῥεκτήρ* (*ῥέζω*) *worker, doer* LSJ).²²⁵ As a whole the word means thus something like *someone who arouses evil thoughts*. **παθουσγκαταθέσεις** consists of *τὸ πάθος* (*passion* PGL) + *ἡ συγκατάθεσις* (*approval, assent* PGL). As a whole the word thus means something like *assent to passions*. In this context, it is of course meant as a second substantive on the same level as **λογισμορέκτας**. Both words are an explanation to v. 38. The rulers of the world are described as commanders who incite others to evil thoughts and passions.

Step 2 of the Ladder: On detachment

Whereas step 1 concerns withdrawal (*ἀναχώρησις*) from the world, step 2 considers detachment (*ἀπροσπάθεια*) of earthly matters. It opens by mentioning that those who are fully aware of the Judgement and really want to follow Christ have to be unconcerned about their family, friends, money and glory. They have to hate their own flesh (Sophr. 2.1; PG 88.653C). It is important not to look back to the world (referring to Lc. 9:62) (Sophr. 2.2; PG 88.653C). Klimax also refers to Mt. 19:21, Mc. 10:21 and Lc. 18:22, where Jesus says to a rich young man that he has to give all his possessions to the poor and to become a beggar, to which Klimax adds that his wealth, by contrast, did not prevent the young man from being baptized (Sophr. 2.6-8, PG 88.656, ll. 9-25). Klimax furthermore mentions that in some cases those who practise asceticism while living in the world seem to come to a better result than when they go to a monastery. This he explains by comparing those ascetics to a plant watered by the water of vainglory which withers when transplanted to the desert (Sophr. 2.9-10; PG 88.656, ll. 26-40). To hate the world results in being free from sorrow (Sophr. 2.11-12; PG 88.656, ll. 41-52). Thereafter Klimax describes the narrow way (referring of course to Mt. 7:13-14) as the ascetic life, both physically (by fasting) and mentally (by enduring dishonour and by cutting out one's own will) (Sophr. 2.13; PG 88.656, l. 51- 657, l. 8). Renunciation (*ἀποταγή*) is divided into three kinds: 1) renunciation of all concerns, people and parents, 2) the cutting out of one's own will, and 3) renunciation of vainglory and the pursuit of obedience (Sophr. 2.14; PG 88.657, ll. 8-15).²²⁶ Monks, contrary to laymen, are granted to work miracles because of renunciation (Sophr. 2.15; PG 88.657, ll. 15-22). After we have renounced the world, demons remind

²²⁴ The reading of **M**: *παθῶν συγκαταθέσεις*, is easily explained as a *lectio facilior*. Since the cycle, and v. 39 itself, has other long *hapax legomena*, the reading of **N** is preferable.

²²⁵ See also *δεινορέκτας* < *ὁ δεινορέκτης*, which is a similar compound. Cf. Ephoros' *Fragmenta*, fragm. 93, l. 3 (ed. Jacoby 1923-1958, 2a, 70, F).

²²⁶ At first sight, this division into three parts of renunciation does not seem to coincide with the division presented by the first three steps of the *Ladder*. Steps 1 to 3, however, concern withdrawal, renunciation and exile. Thereafter follows the 4th step which concerns obedience. So both in the structure of the *Ladder* and in this passage, renunciation (in a broad sense) is followed by obedience.

us of our parents and family (Sophr. 2.16; PG 88.657, ll. 22-31). Klimax advises asceticism and prayer especially to young monks since they are prone to desires and physical love. Again, Klimax warns that a monastery is not a safe place for all. He states that 'a monastery is a safe harbour, but some suffer shipwreck in harbour after having sailed the deep sea'. The step is closed by a short exhortation saying that we have to follow the example of Lot, rather than that of his wife (Sophr. 2.17-18; PG 88.657, ll. 31-43).

40-45, step 2:

Οὐ πρὶν μισήσας, ὕστερον μεταμέλη,
ὡς Λῶτ γύναιον· κἂν γὰρ ἐν μέσοις στρέφη,
ἄκραν ἀπροσπάθειαν ἐν μέσοις ἔχεις.
Ἐγκάρδιον λείψανον οὐκ ἔστι λύπης
ἐπὶ στερήσει πραγμάτων μοχθηρίας
καὶ τὰ προσόντα παρέχεις χωρὶς βίας.

β περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας

περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας (title): This title consists of the first part of the title of this step as given in the *pinakes* of **N** f. 9v and Sophr. (1970: 185): Περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας, ἡγουν τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ λύπης. In PG (88.629) and in **M** f. 3r we find: Περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας, ἡγουν τῆς λύπης. In the text itself, PG (88.653) has a variant title: Περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας, ἡγουν ἀλυπίας. Also Sophr. (1970: 20) gives an alternative title: Περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας, καὶ περὶ ἀποταγῆς. In **M** f. 320v, we find Περὶ τῆς ταπεινοποιουῦ ἀπροσπαθείας. As we will see, the title of **N** and Sophr. (1970: 185) resembles the content of step 2 in Poem 2 best.

40-41: In v. 41, v. 40 is compared to the actions of the wife of Lot as told in Gen. 19:15-26:²²⁷

ἠνίκα δὲ ὄρθρος ἐγένετο, ἐπεσπούδαζον οἱ ἄγγελοι τὸν Λωτ λέγοντες Ἐναστὰς λαβὲ τὴν γυναῖκά σου καὶ τὰς δύο θυγατέρας σου, ἃς ἔχεις, καὶ ἔξελθε, ἵνα μὴ συναπόλη ταῖς ἀνομίαις τῆς πόλεως. 16 καὶ ἐταράχθησαν· καὶ ἐκράτησαν οἱ ἄγγελοι τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν δύο θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ φείσασθαι κύριον αὐτοῦ. 17 καὶ ἐγένετο ἠνίκα ἐξήγαγον αὐτοὺς ἔξω. καὶ εἶπαν Σῶζων σῶζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν· μὴ περιβλέψῃς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω· μηδὲ στήῃς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ· εἰς τὸ ὄρος σῶζου, μήποτε συμπαραλημφθῆς. (...) 23 ὁ ἥλιος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ Λωτ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Σηγωρ, 24 καὶ κύριος ἔβρεξεν ἐπὶ Σοδομα καὶ Γομορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ παρὰ κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 25 καὶ κατέστρεψεν τὰς πόλεις ταύτας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν περίοικον καὶ

²²⁷ See also Lc. 17:32-33: μνημονεύετε τῆς γυναικὸς Λῶτ. 33 ὃς ἐὰν ζητήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ περιποιήσασθαι ἀπολέσει αὐτήν, ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ ζωογονήσῃ αὐτήν.

πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀνατέλλοντα ἐκ τῆς γῆς. 26 καὶ ἐπέβλεψεν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ἐγένετο στήλη ἀλός.

Here, **μεταμέλη** does not mean that you repent, but rather that you change your mind (cf. *change one's purpose or line of conduct* LSJ s.v. *μεταμέλομαι*). The object of **μισήσας**, which is not expressed, is the material world in general, as in the first step. Compare also with the exhortation at the end of step 1 (PG 88.644, l. 9): Ὁ ἐπιβεβηκῶς μὴ στραφῆς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω. V. 40 means thus that when you have started to hate the world, which is a positive thing, you should not change your mind and turn back to it, just as Lot's wife did.

41 κὰν γὰρ ἐν μέσοις στρέφη:²²⁸ The concept of renouncing the world without looking back is also expressed in step 2 of the *Ladder*, which functions as a confirmation and continuation of step 1 (PG 88.653 Gr. 2, ll. 21-28):²²⁹

Αἰσχύνη μεγίστη ὑπάρχει τὸ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα καταλιπόντας μετὰ τὴν κλῆσιν ἡμῶν, ἣν ὁ Κύριος κέκληκεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, τινὸς φροντίζειν μὴ δυναμένου ἡμᾶς εὐεργετῆσαι ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἡμῶν, ἧγουν τῆς ἐξόδου. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅπερ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, στραφῆναι εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, καὶ μὴ εὐρεθῆναι εὐθετον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.

This passage of the *Ladder* refers to Lc. 9:62:

εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Οὐδεὶς ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ' ἄροτρον καὶ βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω εὐθετός ἐστὶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.

In the *Ladder*, Lot's wife is also mentioned in the exhortation at the end of step 2 (PG 88.657, ll. 42-43):

Δευτέρα ἀνάβασις· ὁ τρέχων μὴ τὴν σύζυγον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Λῶτ μιμούμενος φεύγη.

Also in step 3, Lot's wife is mentioned in a similar context (PG 88.665, ll. 23-29):

²²⁸ It seems that **N** reads ἐμμέσις, although it has to be said that that the first *mu* is written without much conviction. In any case, the meaning *intermediate* (LSJ s.v. *ἐμμεσος*) does not make sense here. Therefore the reading of **M** is preferable.

²²⁹ Cf. also the metrical summary of the *Ladder* by M. Philes (*Carm.* 2.211, v. 130; ed. Miller 1855: 388): Καὶ γῆθεν ἀρθεὶς μὴ στραφῆς βλέψαι μάτην.

Μὴ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν Λῶτ μιμεῖσθαι σπουδάσωμεν· ψυχὴ γὰρ στραφεῖσα ὄθεν ἐξῆλθεν, ὡς τὸ ἄλας μωρανθήσεται, καὶ ἀκίνητος λοιπὸν μένει. Φεῦγε Αἴγυπτον ἀμεταστρεπτί. Αἶ γὰρ στραφεῖσαι καρδίαι ἐκεῖ τὴν γῆν τῆς ἀπαθείας Ἱερουσαλήμ οὐκ ἐθεάσαντο.

In this passage from step 3, we see that themes of step 1 (Egypt) and step 2 (Lot) return. This stresses the close relationship between the first three steps which as a whole deal with withdrawal, detachment and exile.

A similar passage which refers to Lot's wife is found in Gregory of Nazianzos *Oratio* 40, *In sanctum baptisma* (PG 36.384, ll. 7-18):

Ἄλλ' ἐν μέσῳ στρέφῃ, καὶ μολύνη τοῖς δημοσίοις· καὶ δεινὸν, εἴ σοι δαπανηθήσεσθαι τὸ φιλάνθρωπον; Ἀπλοῦς ὁ λόγος· Εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε, φύγε καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ τῆς καλῆς συνοδίας, πτέρυγας ἀετοῦ σεαυτῷ περιθεῖς, ἢ περιστερᾶς, ἴν' οἰκειότερον εἶπω (τί γὰρ σοι καὶ Καίσαρι, ἢ τοῖς Καίσαρος;). Ἔως οὗ καταπαύσης, οὗ μὴ ἔστιν ἀμαρτία, μηδὲ μελάνωσις, μηδὲ δάκνων ὄφεις ἐφ' ὁδοῦ, κωλύων σου τὰ κατὰ Θεὸν διαβήματα. Ἄρπασον τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου· φύγε Σόδομα· φύγε τὸν ἐμπρησμόν· ὀδυσσον ἀμεταστρεπτί, μὴ παγῆς λίθος ἄλός

The beginning of this passage from Gregory is a close verbal parallel to v. 41 of Poem 2.

40-43: Interestingly, in v. 41 the option is left open not to follow the command of the angels of Gen. 19:15-26. *Because even when you turn back along the way, / you have, along your way, the highest dispassion.* This reminds us of the attempts of the demons to call someone who recently entered the monastic way of life back to the world by reminding the young monk of his family (PG 88.657, ll. 22-31):

Ὅπταν οἱ δαίμονες μετὰ τὴν ἀποταγὴν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς ἡμῶν μνήμη, καὶ ἀδελφούς, καὶ καρδίαν ἡμῶν ἐκθερμαίνουσι, τότε ἡμεῖς τῇ προσευχῇ κατ' αὐτῶν ὀπλισώμεθα, καὶ τῇ τοῦ αἰωνίου πυρὸς μνήμη ἑαυτοὺς πυρώσωμεν, ἵνα τῇ τούτου ὑπομνήσει τὸ ἄκαιρον τῆς καρδίας πῦρ κατασβέσωμεν. Εἴ τις ἀπροσπαθῶς πρὸς οἶον οὖν [οἰονοῦν] πρᾶγμα διακεῖσθαι νομίζει. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τούτου ἀποστερήσει τὴν καρδίαν λελύπηται, ὁ τοιοῦτος τελείως ἑαυτὸν ἠπάτησεν.

As is shown in the passage above, the young monk should arm himself with prayer and face the memory of home not only without affection (ἀπροσπαθῶς) but also without being grieved (λελύπηται) at its loss. In Poem 2, it is implied that, if you are armed with prayer and if you are free from affection (**ἄκραν ἀπροσπάθειαν** v. 42) and grief (**Ἐγκάρδιον λείψανον οὐκ ἔστι λύπης** v. 43), you are able to (mentally) look back to

the world. The two aspects, ἀπροσπάθεια and λύπη, are also both present in the above mentioned titles of step 2 in **N f.** 9v, Sophr. (1970: 185), **M f.** 3r and PG 88.629, 653.

The idea presented in Poem 2 that, if you are strong enough to face the world, you are able to look back, however, contradicts a passage from step 3 (PG 88.665, ll. 7-12):

Μηδὲ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος, καὶ δόλος τῶν κλεπτῶν λανθανέτω σε· ὑποβάλλουσι γὰρ ἡμῖν τῶν κοσμικῶν μὴ χωρίζεσθαι, πολὺν τὸν μισθὸν ἡμᾶς λέγοντες κομίζεσθαι, εἴπερ ὀρῶντες τὸ θῆλυ ἑαυτῶν κρατήσωμεν, οἷστισιν οὐ πείθεσθαι δεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ τούναντίον ποιεῖν.

In this passage, it is said that some people try to persuade us that an even greater reward is waiting for us when we are capable of looking at a woman, which is of course the symbol of the most seductive aspect of the material world, and still remain continent. Klimax explicitly denies this theory, implicating that for someone who has left the world it is best not look at a woman any more.

Besides, in step 5 of the *Ladder*, it is implied that λύπη is not yet entirely defeated (PG 88.777, ll. 43-49):

οὐ γὰρ συγχωρεῖ ὁ παραδούς, ἐπεὶ πολὺ κρατεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς τὸ τῆς λύπης δαίμονι. Οἱ πεσόντες πρὸ πάντων μαχησώμεθα πρὸς αὐτόν· αὐτὸς γὰρ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς προσευχῆς ἡμῶν παριστάμενος, καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἡμῶν παρῶρησίας ὑπομιμνήσκων καταργῆσαι ἡμᾶς τῆς εὐχῆς βούλεται. Μὴ θαμβηθῆς καθ' ἡμέραν πίπτων

Since, at the end of this quotation, it is said that you should not be surprised to fall daily, you should, by consequence, also not be surprised if you have to wrestle with the demon of grief.

42-44: Another passage from step 2 of the *Ladder* where ἀπροσπάθεια and λύπη figure is (PG 88.656, ll. 40-44):²³⁰

Εἴ τις κόσμον ἐμίσησεν, οὗτος λύπην διέφυγεν· εἰ δέ τις πρὸς τι τῶν ὀρωμένων προσπάθειαν κέκτηται, οὐδέπω λύπης λελύτρωται. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ μὴ λυπηθῆσεται ἐπὶ τῇ στερήσει τοῦ ἀγαπωμένου;

In this passage, it is mentioned that to hate the world leads to freedom of grief. If, however, you remain attached to the world, you will not be delivered from grief. In

²³⁰ See also *Sacra Parallela* (PG 96.237, l. 3-5): Ἀπροσπαθῶς χρὴ διοικεῖν τὴν κτῆσιν, καὶ ἐπὶ συμβαίνοντός τινος μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν, μηδὲ λυπεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ἐπιθυμεῖν κτήσασθαι.

Poem 2, the meaning of this passage quoted above is inverted. In Poem 2, the ideal ascender is able to resist grief and affection. Therefore, it results in *deprivation of matters of depravity* (στερήσει πραγμάτων μοχθηρίας v. 44) and not of *something we love* (ἐπὶ τῆ στερήσει τοῦ ἀγαπωμένου PG 88.656, ll. 43-44).

45 καὶ τὰ προσόντα παρέχεις χωρὶς βίας: This verse is reminiscent of Mt. 19:21 and Mc. 10:21 quoted in step 2 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.656, ll. 9-14):

Ἀκούσωμεν οὖν τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν νεανίσκον, τὸν πάσας σχεδὸν τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐργασάμενον εἰρηκότα· ὅτι Ἐν σοι λείπει, τὸ πωλῆσαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ δοῦναι πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἑαυτὸν πτωχὸν καταστήσαι ἐλεημοσύνην δεχόμενον.

Contrary to the young man to whom Christ spoke these words, one should leave all earthly possessions without grief or affection. The vanity which is derived from earthly wealth was already thematised in vv. 1-18 of Poem 2. Also in the opening of step 2, detachment of earthly matters is thematised (PG 88.653, ll. 3-17):

Ὁ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τὸν Κύριον ἀγαπήσας· ὁ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐπιζητήσας· ὁ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ πόνον περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πταισμάτων ἐσχηκώς· ὁ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ μνήμην κολάσεως κτησάμενος, καὶ κρίσεως αἰωνίου· ὁ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ φόβον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξόδου ἀναλαβὼν οὐκ ἔτι ἀγαπήσει, οὐκ ἔτι φροντίσει, ἢ μεριμνήσει, οὐ χρημάτων, οὐ κτημάτων, οὐ γονέων, οὐ δόξης τοῦ βίου, οὐ φίλου, οὐκ ἀδελφῶν, οὐδενὸς ἐπιγείου τὸ παράπαν· ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν σχέσιν, πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τούτου φροντίδα ἐκτιναξάμενος, καὶ μισήσας· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα· πρὸς τούτων γυμνός, καὶ ἀμέριμνος, καὶ ἀόκνως Χριστῷ ἀκολουθεῖ, πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀεὶ βλέπων, καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν βοήθειαν ἀναδεχόμενος.

Step 3 of the Ladder: On exile or pilgrimage

Step 3 concludes the section on withdrawal and detachment, which is the central theme of the first three steps. In the beginning of the step, Klimax gives short explications of *ξενιτεία* (exile PGL). He stresses humility and living a hidden life, while constantly loving God (Sophr. 3.1; PG 88.664B). Furthermore, he speaks of the separation of oneself, of the world and of the relationships with people who live in the world (Sophr. 3.2-5; PG 88.664BD). He also links step 2 to step 3 by stating that *ξενιτεία* is the mother of *ἀπροσπάθεια* (Sophr. 3.7; PG 88.664D).

Thereafter Klimax contrasts the forced exile of Eve from Paradise to the voluntary exile from the world by monks (Sophr. 3.9; PG 88.665, ll. 1-5). Exile of the world implies the absence of women. Klimax mentions that some people believe that it is a great achievement if you can look at a woman and still remain continent. Klimax, however, denies this (Sophr. 3.11; PG 88.665, ll. 7-12). After some years in exile, the danger, the vain thought, might arise that one should return to the world as an example for those who were left behind. This, however, is a bad idea, since one should

follow the example of Lot and not of Lot's wife, as was already stressed at the end of step 2 (Sophr. 3.12-13; PG 88.665, ll. 12-26). Thereafter Klimax exhorts again to leave Egypt. He mixes the story of Lot's wife with that of Exodus when he says that those who turn back (στραφεῖσα) their heart to Egypt will not see Jerusalem (Sophr. 3.14; PG 88.665, ll. 27-29).

It is better to grieve your parents than to grieve God, but this does not imply that you have to hate them. You just have to avoid the harm that is hidden in relationships with people from the world (Sophr. 3.16-18; PG 88.665, ll. 36-40). Klimax reminds us of Jesus denying the importance of biological family (Mt. 12:47-50). Therefore Klimax advises to take immaterial virtues as relatives, for example, to take the remembrance of death as your wife (Sophr. 3.20; PG 88.665, l. 51 - 667, l. 4). You have to serve God and not your parents because "No one can serve two Lords" (Mt. 6:24). Klimax reminds us that Christ will come to separate lovers of God from lovers of the world (Mt. 10:34). He also advises us not to be moved by the tears of friends, because then we would weep eternally. Your soul has to focus on your mortality. Therefore, a place of exile should be a place of humility and you should hide your noble birth (Sophr. 3.21-27; PG 88.668, ll. 4-30).

Thereafter Klimax gives the example of two excellent exiles: the one of Abraham to the Holy Land (Gen. 12:1) and the one of Christ to the world (Sophr. 3.28-30; PG 88.668, ll. 33-46). Klimax again stresses that one should avoid attachment to people living in the world while longing for heaven, for "it is impossible to look at the sky with one eye and at the earth with the other". This devotion to heaven is a hard labour, but it is important to constantly work on it, since a single fault can destroy all good works (Sophr. 3.31-34; PG 88.668, l. 46 - 669, l. 7).

At the end of step 3, a short treatise on dreams is inserted. Dreams are related to exile because the demons try to let us return to the world by giving us dreams about our relatives whom we left in the world (Sophr. 3.35-38; PG 88.669, ll. 8-33). Some people believe that these demons are prophets, which Klimax of course denies. Demons, since they are spirits, can see what happens in lower air and therefore can see when someone is already dying. This, however, does not mean that demons know something of the future, on the contrary (Sophr. 3.39-41; PG 88.669, l. 33 - 672, l. 8). Nevertheless, there are also angels who give us real prophecies in dreams. Klimax learns us a trick to distinguish between dreams that come from angels and those that come from demons: a dream given by an angels reveals torments and you will wake up trembling and sad (Sophr. 3.42-45; PG 88.672, ll. 8-21). At the end of step 3, a short exhortation to the reader follows, in which the number 3 is associated with the Holy Trinity.

46-51, step 3:

Ἄλλοτριοῖς πως σαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίωv,
ἀποξενοῖς πως σαυτὸν ἐξ ἀλλοτρίωv
ὅπως ξενισθῆς ἐν ξένοις, ξένος γίνῃ
ἀποξενούντων τοὺς ξένους σφῶν ἐκ ξένωv
ἄγνωστον, ἀπόκρυφον εὖ βιοὺς βίον,
δυσδιάκριτον, λανθάνοντα μυρίους.

γ περὶ ξενιτείας προαιρετικῆς

περὶ ξενιτείας προαιρετικῆς (title): The first part of this title coincides with the title given by Sophr. (1970: 23) and PG 88.664: *Περὶ ξενιτείας*, and with the first part of the title given in Sophr. (1970: 185): *Περὶ ξενιτείας, ἐν ἧ καὶ περὶ ὄνειρων*. In **N** f. 9v, **M** f. 3r and PG 88.629 the title reads: *Περὶ ξενιτείας, ἐν ἧ καὶ περὶ ὄνειρων νέων*, and in **M** f. 320v: *Περὶ τῆς θεοδρόμου ξενιτείας*. The new aspect in this title is **προαιρετικῆς**. This coincides with a passage from step 3 (PG 88.664, l. 42 - 665, l. 2): *Ἐξορίζεται ἀκουσίως ἡ Εὐὰ τοῦ παραδείσου, καὶ μοναχὸς ἐκουσίως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος*.

46-47: These two verses are constructed as a parallel. The first verse deals with the alienation from oneself, the second one with the estrangement of others. In step 3 of the *Ladder*, both aspects of exile are expressed (PG 88.664 Gr. 3, ll. 23-24): *Ξένος ἐστὶν ὁ πάσης ἰδίων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων σχέσεως φυγᾶς*. See also PG (88.664 Gr. 3, ll. 12-13): *λέγω δὲ ὁ τῶν ἰδίων [A.²³¹ οἰκείων] μακρισμὸς*.²³²

Both in **M** and in **N**, **πως** is written as **πῶς** in v. 46 and v. 47. It seems that in this context there is no need of an interrogatory aspect. Also for the meter the accent on the fifth syllable is not necessary, since, both in v. 46 and in v. 47, the 4th syllable is accentuated. It might be that the manuscripts accentuated **πως** as an indirect question.

48-51: **ὅπως** introduces a final clause which depends on the main verb **γίνη** (v. 48). The goal of alienation as presented in this step of Poem 2 is in fact alienation itself. The word **ξένος**, or derived forms, appear all over this step: cf. already **ἀποξενοῖς** in v. 47; **ξενισθῆς**, **ξένοις**, and **ξένος** in v. 48; **ἀποξενούντων**, **ξένους**, and **ξένων** in v. 49.²³³

48 ὅπως ξενισθῆς ἐν ξένοις: This phrase is reminiscent of a passage from step 3 (PG 88.665, ll. 38-40):

ξένος ἐκεῖνός ἐστι· ὁ ὡς ἀλλόγλωσσος ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις [ἔθνεσι] ἐν γνώσει καθήμενος.

To become a stranger amongst strangers means that you estrange yourself from those in the world. This is compared to living in a foreign country where they speak another language. This hinders communication and might, by consequence, lead to a more

²³¹ I.e. *alii*.

²³² Cf. also step 4 (PG 88.705, l. 55 - 708, ll. 3-4): *Κἂν νεκρὸς ὁ εὐγνώμων ὑπήκοος ἀναστήσῃ· κἂν δάκρυον κτήσῃται κἂν ἀπαλλαγὴν πολέμων, λογίζεται πάντως, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ πατρὸς εὐχή τοῦτο ἐποίησε· καὶ μένει αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς ματαίας οἰκίσεως ξένος, καὶ ἀλλότριος*. The reading of Sophr. 4.48, however not having **ξένος**, seems to be preferable. The last part in his edition reads: *καὶ αὐτὸς μένει ἀλλότριος ἀπὸ τῆς ματαίας οἰκίσεως*. In any case, *οἰκίσεως* seems to fit better in with the context than *οἰκήσεως*.

²³³ Cf. step 3 in the metrical summary of the *Ladder* by Manuel Philes (ca. 1275 - ca. 1345) (ed. Miller 1855: 380): *Ἄν ὁ κτίσας ἅπασαν ἐντέχνως φύσιν / Ξένος διὰ σὲ μετριάσας εὐρέθη, / Τί καὶ σὺ, ταλαίπωρε, μὴ γίνη ξένος, / Πρὸς τὴν παλαιὰν εὐδρομῶν σου πατρίδα;* For a discussion of this summary by Philes see chapter 4.1 (Manuel Philes).

distant relationship towards people. In this passage from the *Ladder*, the stranger, since he has γνῶσις, is someone who is estranged from the world. In Poem 2, ξενισθῆς similarly refers to estrangement from the world. ἐν ξένοις, by consequence, refers to another kind of strangers, namely those who are estranged from heaven. Those are meant when Klimax speaks of the ἐτερόγλωσσοι.

48-49: The many repetitions of ξένος are slightly confusing. This effect of estrangement is probably what the author had in mind. ἀποξενούντων, as a genitive, is caused by ξένος (v. 48) + gen. The preposition ἐκ is placed in a postposition, being responsible for the genitives in σφῶν and ξένων.

50-51: The participle βιούς depends on γίνη (v. 48). In these verses, it is stressed that you should live a hidden life. This is also stressed at the beginning of step 3 (PG 88.664 Gr. 3, ll. 5-10):

Ξενιτεία ἐστὶν ἀπαρρήσιαστον ἦθος, ἄγνωστος σοφία, ἀδημοσίευτος σύνεσις, ἀπόκρυφος βίος, ἀθεώρητος σκοπὸς, ἀφανὴς λογισμὸς, εὐτελείας ὄρεξις, στενοχωρίας ἐπιθυμία, πόθου θεοῦ ὑπόθεσις, ἔρωτος πλήθος, κενοδοξίας ἄρνησις, σιωπῆς βυθός.

ἄγνωστον, ἀπόκρυφον (..) βίον is clearly inspired by the above quoted passage. δυσδιάκριτον and its synonym λανθάνοντα μυρίουσ have a similar meaning as the other adjectives I underlined with dots in the passage above.

Step 4 of the Ladder: On blessed and ever-memorable obedience

Klimax opens this long step by implicitly comparing monks to fighters. Again, the relationship between this step and the previous one is stressed. “As the flower precedes the fruit, so exile, either of body or will, always precedes obedience.” With these two virtues one “steadily ascends to heaven as upon golden wings”. Klimax returns to the military comparison by describing the equipment: faith is a shield; the soldier’s sword cuts out their own will; their armour is patience, etc. (Sophr. 4.1-2; PG 88.677CD). Thereafter, several definitions of obedience (ὕπακοή) are given: a.o. the mortification of your limbs, the tomb, fearlessness of death. Obedience is voluntary slavery until death which in the end will lead to eternal freedom (Sophr. 4.3-6; PG 88.680AC). When you decide to accept the yoke of Christ you need a spiritual superior. Before entering that life you need to test him, and to critically examine him, but after you accepted him as your superior you must no longer judge him. A superior can have some failings, but you should remember his good deeds. These memories help as a preventive measure against demons who give you the false idea of your superior being inferior (Sophr. 4.7-9; PG 88.680CD – 681A). Being obedient implies to confess your sins to your superior (Sophr. 4.13; PG 88.681, ll. 24-28).

Thereafter follows a series of anecdotes. Klimax tells the first story as an eye witness. In the first story, a thief wants to become a monk in a monastery. He confesses his sins to the abbot. The abbot commands the repenting thief to confess his sins to all monks. When he wants to enter the

church next Sunday, the abbot rebukes him, on which the thief falls to the earth and confesses his sins again for everyone to hear. When Klimax asks the abbot why he performed such a show, the abbot's reply is twofold: 1) present shame will banish future shame, 2) it incites other monks to confess.

Klimax describes the discipline in the monastery and the personal motivation of the monks. Brothers remind others of the virtue of silence with a secret nod. If someone sinned, other brothers want to be blamed for the sin and say that they committed it, hoping that they might suffer the sentence as an exercise in humbleness. When Klimax asks a monk why he has lived for more than fifty years in obedience, the monk answers that he has reached humility, insensibility and that he is not touched any more by insults (Sophr. 4.14-20; PG 88.681C - 688D).

The next anecdote tells the story of Isidore who entered the monastery where the previous anecdote took place. Isidore was a magistrate of Alexandria who wanted to renounce the world. The abbot commands him to stand at the gate and to pray to everyone who enters and leaves: "Pray for me, father. I am an epileptic." After seven years the abbot allows Isidore to be a full member of the monastery, but Isidore prefers to stay praying at the gate. The abbot grants him this favour and after ten days Isidore dies (Sophr. 4.21-22; PG 88.689). The third anecdote concerns Laurence. The abbot says to Klimax that he wants to show him a great example of obedience. He calls the old monk Laurence and, after blessing him, he lets him simply stand for two hours (Sophr. 4.23; PG 88.692AC).

Another anecdote tells the story of Abbakyros who is a bit too talkative, for which he was punished every day. Abbakyros accepts the daily penalty and sees it as a test. When he dies, he is buried amongst the saints (Sophr. 4.25; PG 88.693.C - 969A). The next anecdote tells the story of the deacon Makedonios, who asked his abbot the permission to leave the monastery for two days to go to Alexandria. Makedonios returns too late and the abbot downgrades him to the lowest rank. After forty days, the abbot wants to restore Makedonios' rank, but he prefers to stay in the lowest rank since he sinned terribly in Alexandria. The abbot sees that he is lying out of humility, but grants him the extension of the punishment (Sophr. 4.26; PG 88.696BD). Then follow the stories of Menas, out of whose corpse myrrh flows (Sophr. 4.29; PG 88.697B - 700A). Furthermore, it is said of the abbot that he encouraged the monks to write their evil thoughts down (Sophr. 4.32; PG 88.701BC).

Thereafter the first mention of the Prison follows (The account of the Prison will be continued in step 5). There monks who sinned after they entered the monastery are shut up under very strict conditions. The prisoners have to braid baskets. Total self-humiliation is a blessing. Klimax further gives some tricks for attaining perfect obedience: for example, having in mind the face of your superior watching you constantly (Sophr. 4.47; PG 88.705CD).

Obedience allows for humility. These two virtues are said to be unattainable to hesychasts (ἡσυχαστής), which in Klimax refers to anchoritic monks. All examples of obedience mentioned in step 4 are indeed situated in a cenobitic context. By contrast, also the cenobitic life has its risks, because it sometimes happens that a monk loses track when his superior falls away (Sophr. 4.52; PG 88.708, ll. 25-35). Some paragraphs further on, another disadvantage of the cenobitic monastic life is mentioned. Those who live in ἡσυχία (the anchorites) are only attacked by demons,

whereas someone living in *συννοδία* (the cenobites, or the semi-eremites) is bothered both by demons and by people (Sophr. 4.72; PG 88.712C). In the next paragraphs, Klimax touches upon humility towards your brothers when you are progressing spiritually and he discusses how to avoid conflict in a brotherhood (Sophr. 4.76-89; PG 88.713A - 716A).

Klimax retells a story he heard from John the Sabbaite concerning Akakios who is physically mistreated by his superior and blessed because of his endurance (Sophr. 4.111; PG 88.720A - 721A). Thereafter follows another story of John the Sabbaite, this time on the endurance of Antiochos, who might be John the Sabbaite's alter ego (Sophr. 4.112; PG 88.721). Towards the end of step 4, the story of three young monks is told who want to become John the Sabbaite's pupils (Sophr. 4.113; PG 88.721D - 724B).

In the final paragraphs of this step, Klimax returns to some essential aspects of obedience. Typical of Klimax' point of view is that, for everyone who strives for dispassion, a day without being reviled is a great loss (Sophr. 4.131; PG 88.728, ll. 16-21).

52-57, step 4:

Μάρπτεις, διώκεις τὴν ἀνυποταξίαν,
καθυποτάττων σάρκα τῷ πνεύματί σου.
Ἔχεις ἔλεγχον τὴν συνείδησιν μόνην·
πρὸ τοῦ βαδίσει τήνδε τὴν ὀρωμένην
ὑπακοήν, ἔφθασας εἰς νοουμένην.
Τρέχεις ἀδήλως· ἔσταως ἄνω τρέχεις.

δ περὶ ὑποταγῆς νοητῆς

περὶ ὑποταγῆς νοητῆς (title): ὑποταγή, as a synonym of ὑπακοή, is the common point of the titles preserved in **M**, **N**, Sophr. and PG. In their titles, however, different aspects are stressed. **N** f. 9v and Sophr. (1970: 28, 185) have the same title: Περὶ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀειμνήστου ὑπακοῆς. **M** f. 320v reads: Περὶ τῆς Χριστοῦ μιμήσεως μέχρι θανάτου ὑπακοῆς. In PG 88.728, accompanying the step of the *Ladder*, a short title is given: Περὶ ὑπακοῆς. The *pinax* at the beginning of PG 88.629 and **M** f. 3r read: Περὶ μαρτυρίου τῆς ἀνδρείας ὑπακοῆς.²³⁴

52: The words μάρπτω and ἀνυποταξία do not occur in the *Ladder*. ἀνυποταξία occurs also in v. 189 of Poem 2.

53: The inferiority of the flesh is a typical aspect of asceticism.²³⁵ The escape from τὸ σαρκικὸν φρόνημα in v. 37 expresses a similar idea. The contrast between flesh and spirit is already present in Rom. 8:5-9 (see commentary on v. 37).

²³⁴ **M** f. 3r has Περὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου etc.

²³⁵ For a discussion of the body in Klimax see Chryssavgis (2004: 53-60).

καθυποτάττων, of course, refers to **ὑποταγῆς** of the title of this step. This might imply that for the author of Poem 2 the act of submitting the flesh to the spirit is the true goal of obedience.

A similar concept is widespread in theological and ascetic literature. See for example Maximos the Confessor, *Scholia in Ecclesiasten*, sect. 2, ll. 31-33 (ed. Lucà 1983):²³⁶

Τουτέστι, καὶ ἐσκόπησα ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἰ δυνηθῆ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπικρατεστέρα τῆς σαρκὸς γενέσθαι καὶ καθυποτάξαι ταύτην τῷ πνεύματι.

See also *Barlaam et Joasaph* (ed. Volk 2006: sect. 38, ll. 89-90):²³⁷

τὸ φρόνημα δὲ τῆς σαρκὸς οὕτω καθυπέταξε τῷ πνεύματι.

54: Both ἔλεγχος,²³⁸ and συνείδησις are present in step 4, but they do not appear together. ἔλεγχος, or derived forms, appears three times in step 4. The first occurrence reads (PG 88.681, ll. 17-20):

Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τισιν ἐκπληροῖ θέλημα, ἢ καὶ δόξει ὑπακούειν, αὐτὸς τὸ φορτίον ἐπιφέρεται· εἰ μὲντοι αὐτὸν ἐλέγχων ὁ προεστὼς οὐκ ἐπαύσατο, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι.

Here, the verb ἐλέγχω (*to convict* PGL) is used, having ὁ προεστὼς (*the superior*) as its subject.

The second passage reads (PG 88.704, ll. 28-32):

Δακνόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλέγχοις τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀμαρτημάτων μνημονεύσωμεν, ἄχρις οὗ ὁ Κύριος τὴν βίαν ἡμῶν τῶν βιαστῶν αὐτοῦ ὁρῶν [ἀμαρτίας] ταύτας ἐξαλείψει, καὶ τὴν δάκνουσαν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὀδύνην εἰς χαρὰν μεταποιήσει.

Although not explicitly mentioned in this passage, it seems that also here ἔλεγχος (*condemnation, reproof, examination* PGL) has an external cause.

The third passage reads (PG 88.704, l. 45 - 705, l. 3):

²³⁶ See also Maximos the Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, sect. 62, l. 233 (ed. Laga – Steel 1980 / 1990); id., *Ambigua ad Joannem*, sect. 30, par. 2, l. 5 and sect. 56, par. 2, l. 13 (ed. Constatas 2014).

²³⁷ This work is traditionally, but incorrectly, ascribed to John of Damascus.

²³⁸ As may be clear from the context, in this case, the form mentioned derives from ὁ ἔλεγχος (*testing, scrutiny* LSJ) and not from τὸ ἔλεγχος (*reproach, disgrace, dishonour* LSJ).

μακάριος ὃς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ θέλημα εἰς τέλος ἐνέκρωσε, καὶ τῷ ἐν κυρίῳ διδασκάλῳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκδέδωκεν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἐκ δεξιῶν γὰρ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος σταθήσεται. Εἴ τις ἔλεγχον δίκαιον, ἢ ἄδικον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπερῥίψατο, οὗτος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἤρνήσατο. Εἰ δέ τις τοῦτον μετὰ πόνου, ἢ καὶ ἀπόνως κατεδέξατο, ταχέως τῆς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πταισμάτων ἀφέσεως τεύξεται.

It is clear that, also in this passage, the spiritual superior (here τῷ ἐν κυρίῳ διδασκάλῳ) is the implied giver of ἔλεγχον.

Also of συνείδησις (*consciousness* PGL), or derived forms, three occurrences are found in step 4. The first one reads (PG 88.685, ll. 1-6):

Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἀγάπη παρ' αὐτοῖς δεσμός ἄλυτος· καὶ τὸ δὴ θαυμαστότερον, πάσης παρῥησίας καὶ ἀργολογίας ἀπηλλαγμένη. Ἦσκουν δὲ πρὸ πάντων τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ πληῖσαι ἀδελφοῦ τὴν συνείδησιν ἐν τινι. Εἰ δέ που ἐφάνη τις μισάλληλος, τοῦτον ὁ ποιμὴν ἐν τῷ ἀφοριστικῷ μοναστηρίῳ ὡς κατάκριτον ἐξώριζεν.

Clearly, συνείδησις, as something personal, was something which was respected amongst the brothers. Also the second occurrence mentions συνείδησις as being an individual / internal aspect (PG 88.705, ll. 23-29):

Εἴ τις τὸ ἑαυτοῦ συνειδὸς καθαρὸν εἰς ἄκρον εἰς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποταγὴν ἐκτήσατο· οὗτος λοιπὸν τὸν θάνατον ὡς περ ὕπνον, μᾶλλον δὲ ζωὴν, καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκδεχόμενος οὐ πτοεῖται· γινώσκων ἐν βεβαίῳ, ὡς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ χωρισμοῦ, ἀλλὰ προεστῶς λογοθετηθήσεται.

In this passage, it is said that if your consciousness is pure regarding the submission to your superior, then you are free from fear of death.

The third passage reads (PG 88.712, ll. 21-23):

Τὸ συνειδὸς σοι ἔσοπτρον τῆς ὑποταγῆς ἔστω, καὶ ἀρκετόν ἐστιν.

In this passage, συνείδησις and ἔλεγχος are implicitly connected. To make conscience the mirror of your submission means that your internal consciousness reflects the external signs of your submission (ὑποταγή). ἔλεγχος, as we have seen in the passages above, is clearly something which comes from the superior, and is thus an external sign of submission. I think that the important connection between interior and exterior obedience is stressed in v. 54 of Poem 2, where it is said that *you have only your*

consciousness (συνείδησιν) as control (ἔλεγχον).²³⁹ This implies that your συνείδησις, which I interpret as ‘internal obedience’, is in fact ἔλεγχος, which I interpret as ‘external obedience’. In vv. 55-56, internal obedience precedes external obedience.

Another relevant passage from the *Ladder* is found in step 26 (PG 88.1013, ll. 26-29):

Σκοπῶ καὶ κανόνι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κατὰ Θεὸν συνειδότι πρὸς πάντα χρησώμεθα, ἵνα γνόντες τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων πνοὴν πόθεν ἔρχεται, πρὸς αὐτὸ λοιπὸν, καὶ τὰ ἰστία ἀνατείνωμεν.

55-56: We might interpret these two verses as an explanation of v. 54. Here, **ὀρωμένην ὑπακοήν** contrasts with **νοουμένην** <ὑπακοήν>. The implicit metaphor of the road (**βαδίσαι**) stands for two kinds of obedience you can follow. **ὀρωμένην ὑπακοήν** can be equated with **ἔλεγχον** (v. 54) and **νοουμένην** <ὑπακοήν> with **συνείδησιν** (v. 54). To obey your superior is something external, it is visible by bystanders, it is *the road of visible obedience*. To have your own consciousness is something internal, it is the road of *mental obedience*. In our translation, we added *road* in v. 55 in order to maintain the metaphor which is evoked by **βαδίσαι**.

The metaphor of obedience as a path to follow is clearly present in step 4 (PG 88.680, ll. 20-34):

Ὅσοι πρὸς τὸ στάδιον τῆς νοερᾶς ὁμολογίας ἐπεχειρήσατε ἀποδύσασθαι· ὅσοι τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐχένα ἄραι βούλεσθε· ὅσοι ἐκ τούτου τὸ ἑαυτῶν φορτίον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ ἑτέρου τράχηλον ἐπιθεῖναι σπουδάζετε· ὅσοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ὠνάς γράψαι ἐκουσίως σπεύδετε, καὶ ἀντ’ ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίαν γραφῆναι ὑμῖν βούλεσθε· ὅσοι χερσὶν ἑτέρων ἀνυψούμενοι νηχόμενοι τὸ μέγα τοῦτο περαιοῦσθε πέλαγος, γνῶτε ὡς σύντομόν τινα, καὶ τραχεῖαν ὁδὸν βαδίζειν ἐπεχειρήσατε, μίαν πλάνην καὶ μόνην ἐν αὐτῇ κεκτημένοι, αὕτη δὲ καλεῖται ἰδιορρυθμία· ὁ γὰρ ταύτην εἰς ἅπαν ἀπαρνησάμενος, ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ εἶναι καλοῖς, καὶ πνευματικοῖς, καὶ θεαρέστοις πρὸ τοῦ βαδίζειν ἔφθασεν. Ὑπακοή γάρ ἐστὶν ἀπιστία ἑαυτῷ ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἅπασι μέχρι τέλους ζωῆς.

In this passage, we see that the metaphor of the road occurs twice, once as a race in the stadium and once as the rough road. At the end of this passage also the concept of reaching the finish before even starting the race is mentioned. πρὸ τοῦ βαδίζειν is clearly echoed at the beginning of v. 55. In Poem 2, vv. 55-56, mental obedience is

²³⁹ See also step 12 (PG 88.856, ll. 25-27): ὁ φόβον Κυρίου κτησάμενος, ἐξενίτευσε ψεύδους, δικαστὴν ἀδέκαστον ἔχων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν.

reached before visible obedience (**ἔφθασας**).²⁴⁰ As already mentioned, I interpret mental obedience as something internal, and visible obedience as external. When we look back to the passage from step 4, quoted above, we see that in the final line, ὑπακοή is defined as something internal. It is distrust of oneself. This implies that both Klimax and the author of Poem 2 found the internal aspect of obedience (ἡ νοουμένη ὑπακοή) more important than the *visible obedience*. Moreover, also the title of this step in Poem 2 (**περὶ ὑποταγῆς νοητῆς**) stresses this mental aspect.

Furthermore, I think it is useful to look at a passage from step 4, which immediately follows upon the previous one. This passage might lead to a better understanding of the notion that *mental obedience* is reached before *visual obedience* (PG 88.680, ll. 34-49):

Μέλλοντες ἐν Κυρίῳ τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχένα κλίνειν, σκοπῶ μὲν καὶ λόγῳ ταπεινοφροσύνης, καὶ κυρίως τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν ἐτέρῳ, ἐν Κυρίῳ πιστεύειν· πρὸ μὲν τῆς εἰσόδου, εἴπερ τις πονηρία, καὶ φρόνησις παρ' ἡμῖν τυγχάνει, τὸν κυβερνήτην ἀνακρίνωμεν, καὶ ἐξετάσωμεν, καὶ, ἴν' οὕτως εἴπω, πειράσωμεν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ ναύτῃ ὡς κυβερνήτῃ, καὶ τῷ νοσοῦντι ὡς ἰατρῷ, καὶ τῷ ἐμπαθεῖ ὡς ἀπαθεῖ, καὶ τῷ πελάγει ὡς λιμένι περιπεσόντες, ἔτοιμον ἑαυτῆς εὐρήσωμεν ναυάγιον. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ λοιπὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ ὑποταγῆς εἴσοδον, μηκέτι τὸν καλὸν ἡμῶν ἀγωνοθέτην ἔν τινι τὸ σύνολον ἀνακρίνωμεν, κἄν τινα ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἴσως ἔτι βραχέα πλημμελήματα θεασώμεθα. Εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὑποταγῆς οἱ ἀνακρίνοντες ὠφελούμεθα.

In this passage, Klimax mentions that before bending your neck to Christ and before accepting someone as your spiritual superior, you should “question, examine and even, so to speak, test” him. But from the moment you accepted him, there is no point of return. This implies, I think, that at a first stage you have to address your consciousness and reach an internal, a mental obedience. Once you have reached this kind of obedience, from that moment you have to execute your mental obedience and to follow your superior. This will result into visual obedience. Since, however, as Klimax mentioned – and I repeat – ‘Ὑπακοή γάρ ἐστὶν ἀπιστία ἑαυτῷ ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἅπασι μέχρι

²⁴⁰ The same concept appears in Makarios Makres (15th c.), *Encomium in Gabrielem archiepiscopum Thessalonicae*, ll. 216-220 (ed. Argyriou 1996): Κάντεϋθεν εἰς ἀπαθείας ὕψος ἡρμένος, ῥαδίως ὑπερίπτατο τῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ παγίδων, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ μάλα τὸ τῷ σχολαστικῷ Ἰωάννῃ δοκοῦν τελεῖσθαι, ἐξ ὑπακοῆς ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἀπάθειαν διὰ μέσου τῆς μετριοφροσύνης, ἐφθακῶς εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς κορυφὴν πρὶν βαδίσαι. In this passage, which explicitly refers to Klimax (Ἰωάννης σχολαστικός, cf. PG 88.596A; Chryssavgis 2002: 16), it is said that you can go from obedience to dispassion by means of restraint and reach this supreme virtue before starting your race.

τέλους ζωῆς, the internal conviction of the need to be obedient is the condition for perseverance.

57 Τρέχεις ἀδήλως: There is a disagreement in the manuscripts. Whereas **M^{ac}** and **N^{pc}** have **ἀδήλως** (*unseen, uncertain* LSJ; here *unseen*), **M^{pc}** and **N^{ac}** have **ἀδείλως** (*fearless* LSJ, PGL). Since both readings make sense it is not easy to decide which reading could have been the original one. I prefer the reading **ἀδήλως**, based on parallels with Poem 2 and with the *Ladder* itself.

ἀδήλως confirms the precedence of the *internal* obedience. Besides, it corresponds to the notion of living *an unknown, hidden life* (vv. 50-51). The concept of ascending *secretly* implies humility and restraint. Moreover, also in step 4 it is advised to ascend secretly (PG 88.713, ll. 3-8):

Γίνου σπουδαῖος ψυχῆ, μηδὲ ὁλως σώματι τοῦτο ἐμφαίνων, μὴ σχήματι, μὴ λόγῳ, μὴ αἰνίγματι· καὶ τοῦτο εἶπερ τοῦ ἐξουθενεῖν τὸν πλησίον πέπαυσαι. Εἰ δὲ πρόχειρος εἰς τοῦτο καθέστηκας, γίνου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς σου ὅμοιος, καὶ μὴ τῇ οἰήσει ἀνόμοιος.

Also in step 11, on talkativeness and silence, this concept of ascending secretly is briefly mentioned (PG 88.852, ll. 16-24):

σιωπὴ ἐν γνώσει· μήτηρ προσευχῆς, αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνάκλησις, πυρὸς φυλακῆ, (...) θεωρημάτων δημιουργὸς, ἀφανῆς προκοπῆ, λεληθυῖα ἀνάβασις.

The comparison between striving for spiritual progress and a race is already present in Paul, 1 Cor. 9:24-26:

Οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἷς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτως τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε. 25 πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον. 26 ἐγὼ τοίνυν οὕτως τρέχω ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως, οὕτως πυκτεύω ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων·

Interestingly, at the end of this passage, Paul mentions that he does *not* run aimlessly, “*not with uncertainty*” (τρέχω ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως). Paul means that you have to run the race to the full, that you do not have to hesitate while running.²⁴¹ Similarly he says that you do not have to beat the air, you should rather hit the target.

²⁴¹ Compare also with John Chrysostom, *In epistulam ad Hebraeos* (PG 63.64, ll. 36-45): Σπουδάσωμεν οὖν· καὶ γὰρ Παῦλος φησιν· Οὕτω τρέχω, ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως. Δρόμου χρεῖα, καὶ δρόμου σφοδροῦ. Ὁ τρέχων οὐδένα τῶν ἀπάντων ὄρα, κἂν διὰ λειμῶνων, κἂν δι’ αὐχμηρῶν τόπων διαβαίνει· ὁ τρέχων οὐ πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς ὄρα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ βραβεῖον· κἂν πλούσιοι, κἂν πένητες ὦσι, κἂν σκόπτη τις, κἂν ἐπαινῆ, κἂν ὑβρίζῃ, κἂν λίθοις βάλλῃ,

Besides, Athanasios, in his *De morbo et valetudine* (ed. Diekamp 1938: 5, l. 24 - 6, l. 4), associates this passage from 1 Cor. with the ascent to heaven:

καὶ εἰς μὲν τὸ περιπατεῖν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔχει τοὺς σωματικούς πόδας, τῆς δὲ εἰς οὐρανοῦς χάριν ἀναβάσεως ἔχει τοὺς πόδας, οὓς ὁ Παῦλος εἶχεν λέγων οὕτως: “Τρέχω ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως”, περὶ ὧν καὶ ἡμῖν προσέταττεν, ὥστε “ὑποδεδεμένους ἔχειν” τούτους “τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἐτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου”.²⁴²

It is not sure whether the passage from 1 Cor. 9:24-26 was deliberately used as a source by the author of Poem 2. If it was indeed meant a reference to Paul, then there is a clear discrepancy between the passages: **Τρέχεις ἀδήλως** (v. 57) is the opposite of *τρέχω ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως* (1 Cor. 9:26). This discrepancy should not be problematic since *ἀδήλως* does not have the same meaning in both passages: *secretly* in v. 57; *aimlessly* in 1 Cor. 9:26. If, on the other hand, one argues that the author was consciously imitating the passage of 1 Cor. 9:26 and did not want to contradict Paul, the reading *ἀδείλως* in v. 57 could be interpreted as a modification of *ἀδήλως* in Paul. In this case, *ἀδείλως* corresponds to *οὐκ ἀδήλως* of 1 Cor. When you run without uncertainty (*οὐκ ἀδήλως*), you run confidently, without fear (*ἀδείλως*).

It will be clear that both **ἀδήλως** and *ἀδείλως* make sense. However, in the context of Poem 2 as the summary of the *Ladder*, I think the link with the passages from the work of Klimax is more important. Of course, due to iotacism, both readings sound the same, and independently from which reading one wishes to adopt in the edition, both the reference to Klimax and the one to Paul can work at the same time. This also explains the confusion in the manuscript tradition.

Step 5 of the Ladder: On painstaking and true repentance which constitutes the life of the holy convicts; and about the Prison

At the beginning of this step the relation to the previous step is explained by a comparison: Just as John outran Peter (Joh. 20:4), obedience (ὕπακοή; step 4) precedes repentance (μετάνοια; step 5) (Sophr. 5.1; omittit PG 88.764).²⁴³ After this short intro, several definitions of repentance and penitents are given. In the first definition, it is said that “repentance is the renewal of baptism”.

κἂν τὴν οἰκίαν διαρπάξῃ, κἂν παῖδας ἴδῃ, κἂν γυναῖκα, κἂν ὄτιοῦν, οὐδαμῶς ἐπιστρέφεται, ἀλλ’ ἐνὸς γίνεται μόνου, τοῦ τρέχειν, τοῦ λαβεῖν τὸ βραβεῖον.

²⁴² Cf. Eph. 6:15.

²⁴³ John is said to be a symbol of obedience and Peter one of repentance. Cf. Mt. 26:75 where it is said of Peter that he wept bitterly after denying Christ three times.

This implies that it is “the daughter of hope”. A penitent is “an undisgraced convict” (Sophr. 5.2; PG 88.764BC).

Klimax thereafter incites all sinners to listen to his story (Sophr. 5. 3-4; PG 88.764C). When he still lived in the monastery (the one in which the anecdotes of step 4 took place) he asked the permission to visit the Prison (cf. Sophr. 4.47; PG 88.705CD). In the next paragraphs, it is described how the penitent monks repent. Some stand still all night. Others cry and look to heaven. Others have their hands tied as criminals and do not regard themselves worthy of looking up to heaven and remain silent. Others sit on the ground and strike the earth with their foreheads. Others weep. Others, incapable of tears, strike themselves. Some pray and ask for punishment and forgiveness. Others live in darkness. Others roar like lions. They eat ashes with their bread and drink tears with water. They are all skin and bone. Since they sinned they do not regard themselves as men but as animals and wish to be treated that way. They do not want proper meals and renounce to be buried in a grave. They regard their prayers unworthy to reach God, but they rely on their guardian angels to take them to Him. They voluntarily suffer (Sophr. 1970:51-55; PG 88.764 – 772, l. 36).

When one of the convicts is dying, the brothers of the Prison gather around him and ask him about the judgement. Sometimes a dying monk answers that he thanks God for listening to his prayers, sometimes the answer is: “Woe to the soul that has not kept his vow intact!” (Sophr. 1970:55; PG 88.772C – 773B).

Klimax briefly mentions that the Prison was a filthy and squalid place, which made it an excellent place for teaching repentance and mourning (Sophr. 1970: 55; PG 88.773, ll. 20-25). After thirty days, he leaves the Prison and returns to the monastery. When the abbot asks him about his experiences, Klimax answers that he considers “those fallen mourners more blessed than those who have not fallen and are not mourning over themselves; because as a result of their fall, they have risen by a sure resurrection”.

Thereupon the abbot tells a story which took place ten years earlier. A monk was so zealous that the abbot feared that he would “trip his foot against a stone”. The abbot’s fear was not in vain and the brother indeed lost track. After his fall he asked the abbot to enter the Prison. Eight days after he arrived there, he died. Klimax concludes his account of the Prison by mentioning that he is aware that these stories might seem incredible to some. “But to the courageous soul they will serve as a spur” (Sophr. 1970: 56-57; PG 88.776, l. 18 – 777, l. 16).

Near the end of this step, Klimax gives some general advise to the reader. Inter alia, Klimax says that you should “not be surprised if you fall every day”, as long as as you get up again. He also mentions that a fresh wound (referring to a recent sin) is healed more easily than an old one (Sophr. 5.12; PG 88.777, ll. 44-51). A day on which you do not mourn (πενθεῖ) is a lost day (Sophr. 5.15; PG 88.780, ll. 5-8).

At the end, Klimax warns against the heresy of Origen. It is namely a mistake to think that all will eventually be saved, as this interpretation would lead to hedonism, rather than to asceticism. In the final lines, Klimax refers again to those living in the Prison as an example to follow (Sophr. 5.29-30; PG 88.780, l. 47 – 781, l. 3).

58-63, step 5:

Ἐπιγινώσκεις τῶν παθῶν τὰς αἰτίας, εἰς ἐπεὶ μετανοίας μεμεριμνημένης
καταγινώσκεις Ναυάτου φλυαρίας,
καταισχύνεις ἐκεῖνον ἐν ταῖς αἰσχύναις
καὶ ταύτας αὐτὰς αἰσχύνεις ἐν αἰσχύνῃ,
διαδιδράσκων τὴν μένουσαν αἰσχύνην
ἢ πᾶσι πάντα φαίνεται κεκρυμμένα.

περὶ μετανοίας μεμεριμνημένης (title): This title coincides with the first part of the title as given in **N** f. 9v and Sophr. (1970: 185): *Περὶ μετανοίας μεμεριμνημένης καὶ ἐναργοῦς*. This title, in its turn, coincides with the first part of the title as given in PG 88.629: *Περὶ μετανοίας μεμεριμνημένης καὶ ἐναργοῦς, ἐν ἧ καὶ περὶ τῆς θεαρέστου φυλακῆς τῶν καταδίκων*. PG 88.764 and Sophr. (1970: 51) also present an alternative title: *Περὶ μετανοίας μεμεριμνημένης καὶ ἀληθῶς²⁴⁴ ἐναργοῦς, ἐν ἧ καὶ βίος τῶν ἀγίων καταδίκων καὶ περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς*. A variant is preserved in **M** f. 3r: *Περὶ μετανοίας μεμεριμνημένης καὶ ἐναργοῦς ἐν ἧ καὶ περὶ τῆς θεαρέστου φυλακῆς, τῶ ἀγίων καταδίκων*. **M** f. 320v, however, preserves a different title: *Περὶ τῆς θεοδιδάκτου μετανοίας*.

58: This expression also occurs in Mark the hermit (ca. 4th-6th c.), *De his qui putant se ex operibus justificari* (par. 83, ll. 1-10; ed. de Durand 1999):

Τρεῖς εἰσι νοητοὶ τόποι εἰς οὓς ὁ νοῦς ἐκ μεταβολῆς εἰσέρχεται· κατὰ φύσιν, παρὰ φύσιν, ὑπὲρ φύσιν. Καὶ ὅταν μὲν εἰς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν εἰσέλθῃ, εὕρισκει ἑαυτὸν αἴτιον τῶν πονηρῶν λογισμῶν καὶ ἐξομολογεῖται τῷ Θεῷ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐπιγινώσκων τὰς αἰτίας τῶν παθῶν. Ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὸν παρὰ φύσιν γένηται, ἐπιλανθάνεται τῆς δικαιοσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διαμάχεται ὡς ἀδικοῦσιν αὐτόν. Ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ φύσιν εἰσαχθῇ, εὕρισκει τοὺς καρποὺς τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος, οὓς εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, “ἀγάπην, χαράν, εἰρήνην”, καὶ τὰ ἕξῃς.

Also in this paragraph, to *recognise the causes of the passions* is mentioned as something positive. In the passage quoted above, it is said that if you reason according to nature, you know that you are responsible yourself for evil thoughts. So when you confess your sins to God, you recognise the causes of the passions.

58-59: Ἐπιγινώσκεις (v. 58) clearly contrasts with καταγινώσκεις (v. 59).

59: The form **Ναυάτου** (v. 59) is shorter as its Latin original (*Novatianus*) and also appears in Gregory of Nazianzos (PG 35.1208, l. 44; 36.233, l. 41; 36.356, l. 27; 36.357, l. 24). This

²⁴⁴ ἀληθῶς om. PG (88.764).

form appears to be a variant of Νουάτου in Gregory of Nyssa's *In sanctum Ephraim* (PG 46.825, l. 50) and of Νοουάτου in Eusebios' *Historia ecclesiastica* (6. Pin., sect. 1, l. 46; ed. Bardy 1984²).²⁴⁵

Novatian was a so-called antipope in Rome (died 257/278). He refused post-baptismal repentance. The historical context in which Novatian came to this point of view was the discussion of the *lapsi*, those who renounced their faith under the persecution of Decius. Contrary to Pope Cornelius, Novatian was not inclined to grant forgiveness to the *lapsi*.²⁴⁶ The ideas of Novatian lived on in Novatianism, which was rather a sect than a heresy. The sect was strong in Constantinople, Asia Minor and Africa. Novatianism remained quite close to the Orthodox church, but held on to their doctrine that severe sins after baptism could not be forgiven. Novatianism survived at least until the early 7th c.²⁴⁷

Neither Novatian nor Novatianism appear in the *Ladder*. I think, however, that two arguments can be found in the *Ladder* which triggered the author of Poem 2 to include him:

1) At the end of step 5, Origen is mentioned (PG 88.781, ll. 47-51):

Πρόσχωμεν πάντες, ἐπὶ πλείω δὲ οἱ πεπτωκότες, μὴ νοῆσαι ἐν καρδίᾳ τὴν τοῦ Ὁριγένους τοῦ ἀθέου νόσον· τὴν γὰρ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἢ μισὰ προβαλλομένη, εὐπαράδεκτος ἐν τοῖς φιληδόνοις γίνεται.

Origen's view that all will eventually be saved was declared a heresy.²⁴⁸ I think that the occurrence of one heretic triggered the author of Poem 2 to mention another heretic. The heresies of Origen and Novatian are extremes at opposite sides. Whereas Novatian denies forgiveness for the *lapsi*, Origen believes that eventually all will be saved. τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποκλείοντες (from Socrates' account on Novatianists),²⁴⁹ contrasts, but possibly just by accident, with τὴν γὰρ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἢ μισὰ προβαλλομένη (from the *Ladder*, PG 88.781, l. 50). Whereas Novatianists cut away God's clemency, Origenists use God's clemency as an excuse not to repent.

2) The second argument might explain why specifically Novatian is mentioned in Poem 2, and not another heretic, or simply Origen himself. For this matter we have to return to the opening lines of step 5 (PG 88.764, ll. 5-6):

²⁴⁵ See also Hirschmann (2015: 2 n. 7).

²⁴⁶ Cf. Hirschmann (2015: 1-7); Coxe (1886: 607-609).

²⁴⁷ Cf. ODB s.v. *Novatianism*; RGG⁴ s.v. *Novatian / Novatianer*.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Crouzel (1999), Trigg (1998: 62-66), ODB s.v. *Origen*. See also Augustinus, *De civitate Dei* (21.17).

²⁴⁹ Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.22, ll. 29-31 (ed. Périchon 2006): Ὑμεῖς, φησὶν, οἱ Ναυατιανοὶ οὐκ ὀφείλετε ἐκκλησίας ἔχειν, τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀναιροῦντες καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποκλείοντες.

Μετάνοιά ἐστὶν ἀνάκλησις βαπτίσματος. Μετάνοια ἐστὶ συνθήκη πρὸς Θεὸν δευτέρου βίου.

Here, repentance is explicitly explained as the renewal of baptism.²⁵⁰ Repentance allows to make a new contract with God. It is exactly this concept which Novatian's heresy denies. Besides, Novatian received a so-called clinical baptism. This means that he was only baptized on his deathbed. For the opponents of Novatian, this kind of baptism was inferior. Cornelius, the bishop of Rome, considered him even to be hardly baptized.²⁵¹ Interestingly, in step 6, Klimax also argues against clinical baptism. He says that it is a good thing that mankind does not know the hour of death, because otherwise men would only proceed to baptism and repentance at the end of their life, after living in sin.²⁵²

The common point between Novatian's heresy and the one of Origen is that they both lead to the contempt of repentance.

60-63: The rest of this step focuses on Novatian's heresy and especially on the fact that someone who ascends the *Ladder* has to reject it. Clearly, in this step, Poem 2 draws more attention to condemning those who are opposed to repentance than to describe the act of repentance itself. To build up this step, the author of Poem 2, as demonstrated above, took his inspiration of the opening and the end of step 5 and ignored the tales about the Prison, which is in fact the core of this step in the *Ladder*. It is said that you should not only condemn Novatian's heresy, but also that you should put him to shame. The word αἰσχύνη, or derived forms, are the *Leitmotiv* of vv. 60-63: **καταισχύνεις** (v. 60), **αἰσχύναις** (v. 60), **αἰσχύνεις** (v. 61) **αἰσχύνῃ** (v. 61), **αἰσχύνῃν** (v. 62). It is not a coincidence that the three nouns stand at the same metrical position, the end of the verse. Just as was the case with ξένος in step 3, one theme is repeated frequently to stress it.

60: **καταισχύνεις**²⁵³ is the third verb in line which stands at the beginning of the verse (after Ἐπιγινώσκεις (v. 58) and καταγινώσκεις (v. 59)).

60-61: You should both dishonour Novatian himself (**ἐκεῖνον** v. 60) and his foolery (**ταύτας αὐτάς** v. 61), which is his heresy.

²⁵⁰ In step 7, also tears are described as the renewal of baptism (Sophr. 7.8; PG 88.804, ll. 14-22), based on Gregory of Nazianzos' 40th *Oratio* (PG 36.369). Cf. Chrysavgis (2004: 151); Zecher (2015: 151). See also the title of step 7 in **M** f. 320v: Περὶ τοῦ καθημερινοῦ βαπτίσματος τοῦ πένθους.

²⁵¹ Cf. Eusebios, *Hist. Eccles.* 6.43.14-15; Hirschmann (2015: 3).

²⁵² Cf. Sophr. 6.10; PG 88.793D - 796A; Zecher (2015: 148).

²⁵³ Cf. also 1 Cor. 1:27: ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα **καταισχύνῃ** τοὺς σοφοὺς, καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα **καταισχύνῃ** τὰ ἰσχυρά. This reference implies that it is a positive thing to put the 'wise' to shame.

61-63: Probably, ἡ̅ is simply a *relativum* to αἰσχύνῃν (v. 62). In that case, v. 63 would mean that it is by persistent shame, which likely refers to the Last Judgement, that all hidden things (*in casu sins*) will be disclosed to all. In step 4 of the *Ladder*, however, there is an interesting passage which the author might have had in mind. I refer to the anecdote of the thief who repented. When Klimax asks the abbot why he rebuked the thief in public, the first answer is (PG 88.684, ll. 33-35):²⁵⁴

πρῶτον μὲν ἴν' αὐτὸν ἐξομολογησάμενον διὰ τῆς παρούσης αἰσχύνῃς, τῆς μελλούσης ἀπαλλάξω, ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν.

The thief, by overcoming the shame of telling his sins in public, will overcome also future (i.e. eternal) shame. τὴν μένουσαν αἰσχύνῃν (v. 62) corresponds thus to τῆς μελλούσης <αἰσχύνῃς>. αἰσχύνῃ (v. 61) corresponds then to τῆς παρούσης αἰσχύνῃς. Comparing with Poem 2, we could say that the thief, by overcoming the shame of telling his sins in public, will overcome also future shame, which is the shame by which everything remains hidden. In the *Ladder*, your sins are disclosed by temporary shame (i.e. a public confession); whereas in Poem 2, it is said that the eternal shame will disclose them. One could consider ἡ̅ as a *relativum* to αἰσχύνῃ (v. 61), which refers to the shame in which Novatian is submerged by monks on earth. In this way, one could try to harmonize the passage from the *Ladder* with that of Poem 2. However, this reading, I think, would needlessly complicate the syntax.

Step 6 of the Ladder: On remembrance of death

Again, Klimax justifies the order of the steps: Just as a word is preceded by thought, so remembrance of death (= μνήμη θανάτου: step 6) precedes mourning (= πένθος: step 7) (Sophr. 6.1; PG 88.793B). “The remembrance of death is a daily death” (Sophr. 6.2; PG 88.793B). Fear of death, by contrast, is a consequence of disobedience (~ step 4) and of unrepented sins (~ step 5) (Sophr. 6.3; PG 88.793B). Further on it is said that detachment of the material world (= step 1, 2 and 3) and the cutting out of one’s own will (= step 4) are a sign of being conscious of death (Sophr. 6.8; PG 88.793C).

Thereafter, Klimax mentions that not all desire for death is good. An example is to invoke death out of despair, because you do not want to repent (Sophr. 6.9; PG 88.793D). Therefore, the hour of our death is not known to us. Otherwise, says Klimax, men would only proceed to baptism and repentance at the end of their life, after living in sin (Sophr. 6.10; PG 88.793D - 796A). Do not

²⁵⁴ Compare also with PG 88.708, ll. 48-50: Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐκτὸς αἰσχύνῃς, αἰσχύνῃς ἀπαλλαγῆναι. Γύμνου σὸν μῶλωπα τῷ ἱατρῷ· εἰπέ, καὶ μὴ αἰσχυνθῆς. To show your wound to a physician, which is to confess your sins to your superior, is of course an act of repentance, which is after all the topic of step 5.

“accept that cur which suggests to you that God is tender-hearted”, since by that thought you will be thrust from mourning.²⁵⁵

The next paragraph is an example of Klimax’ excellent use of comparisons: “Anyone who wishes to retain within him continually the remembrance of death and God’s judgment, and at the same time yields to material cares and distractions, is like a man who is swimming and wants to clap his hands” (Sophr. 6.12; PG 88.796, ll. 10-14).

The remembrance of death, of course, also leads to asceticism concerning food, which in its turn cuts out the passions (Sophr. 6.13, PG 88.796, ll. 13-16). Klimax tells three anecdotes on remembrance of death. The first two are very short ones, the first concerning an Egyptian monk, the second a monk from Thola (Sophr. 6.18-19; PG 88.796, ll. 34-44). The third anecdote is a bit longer. It tells the story of the monk Hesychios the Horebite who lived his life negligently. When he, however, became ill and had death before his eyes, he shut himself up in his cell and stayed there for twelve years without uttering a word, eating only bread and drinking only water. When he died, he was buried by his brothers. When after some days they looked for his remains, they did not find them. They seemed to have disappeared mystically (Sophr. 6.20; PG 88.796, l. 44 - 797, l. 17).

At the end of this step, Klimax warns that it is “impossible to spend the present day devoutly unless we regard it as our last”. Finally, he remarks with a certain astonishment that also the Greeks defined philosophy as the meditation of death (Sophr. 6.26; PG 88.797, ll. 39-41).²⁵⁶

64-69, step 6:

Τέγγεις, ὑγραίνεις, τὰς παρειάς σου βρέχεις, ς περὶ μνήμης θανάτου
μνήμη θανάτου καὶ τελευταία κρίσει,
καὶ τονθορύζεις ἡρέμα σαυτῷ, λέγων·
“νῦν εὐτρεπίζου πάντοτε πρὸς τὸν τάφον·
καὶ γὰρ προπέμπων τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἔτι
οὐκ οἶδας εἰ σπάσειας ἄλλην συρμάδα”.

περὶ μνήμης θανάτου (title): Exactly the same title of step 6 is found in **N** f. 9v, **M** f. 3r, Sophr. (1970: 59, 185) and PG 88.629, 793. In **M** f. 320v a variant title, already looking forward to the next step, is found: περὶ τῆς πενθοποιοῦ μνήμης θανάτου.

64: Weeping occurs frequently in the *Ladder* (and in Byzantine ascetic literature in general) as a sign of repentance and mourning, often related to the remembrance of death.²⁵⁷ In step 6, it only appears once explicitly, when of Hesychios it is said (PG 88.797, ll. 3-4):

²⁵⁵ This passage is reminiscent of the mention of Origen at the end of step 5 (Sophr. 5.29; PG 88.780, ll. 47-51).

²⁵⁶ Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 67e; Zecher (2015: 66-68).

²⁵⁷ Zecher (2015: 117); Chryssavgis (2004: 133-163).

δάκρυα θερμὰ ἀψοφητὶ καθ' ὅλου προχεόμενος

Also in step 1, there is a beautiful example of the function of weeping in a monastic context (PG 88.633, ll. 42-53):

Μιμείσθω ὁ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ φορτίον τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων σκορπίσαι τοῦ κόσμου ἐξεληλυθῶς, τοὺς πρὸ τῶν τάφων καθημένους ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ μὴ παύσεται τῶν θερμῶν, καὶ διαπύρων σταγόνων, καὶ ἀφώνων ὀλολυγμῶν τῆς καρδίας, ἕως οὗ ἴδη καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐληλυθότα, καὶ τὸν λίθον τῆς πυρώσεως ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ἀποκυλίσαντα· καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἡμῶν Λάζαρον τῶν σειρῶν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων λύσαντα, καὶ τοῖς ὑπουργοῖς ἀγγέλοις. Λύσατε αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν παθῶν, καὶ ἄφετε ὑπάγειν πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ἀπάθειαν, κελεύσαντα.²⁵⁸ Εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, οὐδὲν ὠφέλημα.

Since this passage is placed in the step on renunciation and also deals with attaining dispassion, we see that weeping is a pivotal element in the monastic way of life. Besides, we also see that the funeral context in which this weeping takes place is already implied.

64-65: At the beginning of step 6, Klimax writes (PG 88.793, ll. 3-5):

Παντὸς λόγου προηγεῖται ἔννοια. Μνήμη δὲ θανάτου καὶ πταισμάτων προηγεῖται κλαυθμοῦ καὶ πένθους.

In this passage, Klimax says that remembrance of death (= step 6) precedes mourning (= step 7). In Poem 2, weeping (which is of course a sign of mourning) is similarly said to be caused by remembrance of death.

Also in step 7, the link between weeping and the remembrance of death is explicitly mentioned. There even seems to be a verbal parallel with this passage (PG 88.809, ll. 12-16):

Μακάριος μὲν μοναχός, ὁ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμασιν ταῖς νοεραῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐνατενίζειν δυνάμενος ἄπτωτος δὲ ἀληθῶς ὁ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ παρειὰς [τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὄμμασιν om. Sophr.] ἐκ μνήμης θανάτου καὶ πταισμάτων διηνεκῶς καταβρέχων τοῖς ζῶσι δάκρυσι.

²⁵⁸ Cf. Joh. 11:44.

65: Of course, the remembrance of death is closely related to the remembrance of the Judgement. An example is also found in step 6 (Sophr. 6.12):²⁵⁹

Ὁ μνήμην θανάτου, καὶ κρίσεως Θεοῦ διαπαντὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχειν βουλόμενος,
καὶ φροντίσι καὶ περισπασμοῖς ὕλικοις ἑαυτὸν ἐκδιδούς, ὅμοιός ἐστι τῷ νηχομένῳ,
καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας κροτεῖν βουλομένῳ.

Especially Barsanouphios accentuated that death is the natural boundary of ascetic progress, of trying to appease the Lord and to hope for a mild judgement. A monk lives as if he is already dead, because he has cut away his individual will (Zecher 2015: 167, 171-175). Already at the beginning of step 1, the importance for monks of the remembrance of death is stressed. One of the definitions of a monk given by Klimax runs as follows (PG 88.633, ll. 31-33):

Μοναχός ἐστιν κατώδυνος ψυχὴ ἐν διηνεκεῖ μνήμη θανάτου ἀδολεσχοῦσα, καὶ ὑπνώττουσα, καὶ γρηγοροῦσα.

66-69: V. 66 announces the direct speech which follows in v. 67. The same imperative (**εὐτρεπίζου**) can be found in a similar context in Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* I,2,33, vv. 229-232 (PG 37.945):²⁶⁰

Ἄεὶ μὲν ἐργάζοιο τὴν σωτηρίαν·
Καιρὸς δὲ δὴ μάλιστα, ἢ βίου λύσις.
Τὸ γῆρας ἦλθεν· ἕξοδον κήρυξ βοᾶ.
Πᾶς εὐτρεπίζου· πλησίον γὰρ ἡ κρίσις.

In this passage, the person who is addressed has to prepare himself for the Judgement. In Poem 2, the addressee has to prepare himself for the grave. Both elements are explicitly equated by the *scholion* in **N** accompanying the word **τάφον: γράφεται: πρὸς**

²⁵⁹ In this case, I quote Sophr. and not PG (88.796, ll. 10-14). Rader mentions that he changed κροτεῖν, which he found in the manuscripts, into κρατεῖν. His translation of the last part of the phrase runs: atque is qui vult vinctis manibus natare. This correction is not necessary. The reading of the manuscripts makes perfect sense. Klimax describes an impossible action. To swim while clapping your hands is as impossible as to swim with tied hands. Also Moore (2012⁴: 109) and Luibheid et al. (1982: 133) follow the reading of Sophr., and thus the reading of the manuscripts, in their translations.

²⁶⁰ This passage is also quoted in the *Sacra Parallela* (PG 96.440, ll. 44-47).

τὴν κρίσιν. Regarding the familiarity of the poet with the poems of Gregory of Nazianzos, this parallel might not be due to accident.²⁶¹

The idea that you have to be *prepared at any moment for the grave* is frequently implied in the *Ladder*. An example can be found in step 4, when referring to a monastery (PG 88.716, ll. 19-20):

Μνημὰ σοι πρὸ μνήματος ὁ τόπος ἔστω.

Of course, this idea is already present in the Gospels. See for example Mt. 24:43-44, Mc. 13:35, Lc. 12:40. *Matthew* has:

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι εἰ ἦδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποία φυλακῆ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, ἐγρηγόρησεν ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴασεν διορυχθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ. 44 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι, ὅτι ἢ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.

The Second Coming of Christ refers to the Judgement and is thus also related to death. In the passage from *Matthew* quoted above, it is explicitly advised to always be ready for the coming of the Lord. In a similar way vv. 67-69 of Poem 2 state that you always have to be ready for death, because you never know when it will come. Also Klimax thematised this aspect of death in step 6 (PG 88.793, l. 35 - 796, l. 5):

Ζητοῦσί τινες καὶ διαποροῦσι, τίνος ἔνεκεν οὕτως εὐεργετούσης ἡμᾶς τῆς τοῦ θανάτου μνήμης, τὴν τούτου πρόγνωσιν ὁ Θεὸς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀπέκρυψεν, μὴ γινώσκοντες ὅτι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τούτου εἰργάσατο θαυμασίως. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον προγνοῦς πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου τῷ βαπτίσματι, ἢ τῇ μοναδικῇ πολιτείᾳ προσέτρεχεν· ἀπάσας δὲ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἡμέρας ἐν ἀνομίαις διέτριβεν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς ἐξόδου εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ εἰς τὴν μετάνοιαν προσήρχετο.

In this passage, it is explained that God did not give us the foreknowledge of our death, so that we would repent all life long and not only at the moment of our death. In Poem 2, the uncertainty of the moment of death appears in vv. 68-69.²⁶²

67-69: The direct speech was clearly announced in v. 66. Probably, all three verses are part of the direct speech. The second persons **οἶδας** and **σπάσειας** are then applied

²⁶¹ *Carm.* I,2,33 is part of Werhahn's poem group X (Höllger 1985: 30). However, this group seems not to be of high importance when analysing the influence of Gregory on the cycle (see chapter 3.5.4 Werhahn's Poem Groups).

²⁶² See also commentary on Poem 2, vv. 58-59.

because the addressee addresses himself (σαυτῷ). Another option would be that only v. 67 is in direct speech. In that case, **καὶ γὰρ** could introduce an explanation of the narrator. οἶδας would then address the ascender in a similar way as **τονθορούζεις** does (v. 66).

69 συρμάδα: In LSJ, *συρμάς* (, ἄδος, ἦ) is translated as *snowdrift*. This is clearly not the meaning which is meant here. LSJ further on indicates that this substantive is derived from the verb *σύρω* (*drag by force* LSJ). Via the meaning of this verb we translated it as *breath*. Also in Anna Komnene's *Alexias* (15.11.6, ll. 11-15; ed. Kambylis –Reinsch 2001) *συρμάς* appears in the context of an approaching death, in this case the one of the emperor himself:

ὄρθιος γὰρ ἠναγκάζετο δι' ὅλου ἀνακαθήμενος ἀναπνεῖν, εἰ δέ που καὶ ὕπτιος κέοιτο ἢ κατὰ θατέραν πλευράν, φεῦ τότε τοῦ βρόχου. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνήν *συρμάδα* μικράν τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἀέρος εἰσρυῆναι τὲ καὶ ἀπορρυῆναι κατὰ γε τὴν ἀναπνοὴν τε καὶ ἐκπνοὴν.

Step 7 of the Ladder: On joy-making mourning

This step opens by presenting two variant definitions of mourning (πένθος). In the first one, mourning is defined as “sadness of soul and the disposition of a sorrowing heart”. The variant definition states that it is “a golden spur in a soul” (Sophr. 7.1-2; PG 88.801D). Thereafter follows a definition of compunction (κατάνυξις), confession (ἐξομολόγησις) and repentance (μετάνοια) (Sophr. 7.3-5; PG 88. 801D).

The progress in mourning is divided into three stages: 1) those who are still progressing, who are characterized by silence; 2) those who made progress, who are free from anger; 3) those who have reached perfect mourning, who have reached humility and the thirst for dishonours (Sophr. 7.6; PG 88.804, ll. 1-10).

Tears are the renewal of baptism and wash away sins (Sophr. 7.8; PG 88.804, ll. 14-22).²⁶³ Humility is the companion of mourning, whereas laughter is its opposite (Sophr. 7.10; PG 88.804, ll. 26-28). You should strive for gladdening sorrow (χαρμολύπην) (Sophr. 7.11; PG 88.804, ll. 28-31).²⁶⁴ You should constantly picture the dark pit of hell in order to remain chaste (Sophr. 7.12; PG 88.804, ll. 31-41).

The following paragraphs present several short advices concerning mourning. Interesting lessons are for example: You should pray as a convict standing before a judge (Sophr. 7.13; PG 88.804, 41-46). Mourn constantly and be consistent in it (Sophr. 7.14-20; PG 88.804, l. 47 - 805, l. 13).

²⁶³ Also repentance is said to be the renewal of baptism (Sophr. 5.2; PG 88.764B).

²⁶⁴ The *contradictio in terminis* is reminiscent of the title of this 7th step: Περὶ τοῦ χαροποῦ πένθους (Sophr. 1970: 62).

Think of your bed as of a grave, in order that you sleep less (Sophr. 7.21; PG 88.805, ll. 13-25). Be dressed in black as a sign of mourning (Sophr. 7.24; PG 88.805, ll. 30-36).²⁶⁵ God takes your effort to mourn into account, rather than the actual quantity of tears (Sophr. 7.25; PG 88.805, ll. 36-42). Theology does not fit a mourner, since “the theologian is like one who sits in a teacher’s seat, whereas the mourner is like one who spends his days (...) in rags” (Sophr. 7.26; PG 88.805, ll. 42-50). Those who have obtained mourning hate their life and flee from their body as from an enemy (Sophr. 7.31; PG 88.808, ll. 16-18). Tears can have many origins (e.g. from vainglory or from remembrance of death) (Sophr. 7.34; PG 88.25-31). “All our tears according to God are profitable. But we shall only know at the time of our death what the profit is.” (Sophr. 7.37; PG 88.808, ll. 42-47). To mourn according to God is a daily feast, but to feast bodily will result in eternal weeping (Sophr. 7.38; PG 88.808, ll. 47-50). God does not want us to mourn from sorrow, but rather to “rejoice with spiritual laughter” (Sophr. 7.45; PG 88.809, ll. 31-34). There were no tears before the Fall, and there will be none after the resurrection (Sophr. 7.46; PG 88.809, ll. 34-40). “Mourning and grief should contain joy (...) in it, like honey in the comb” (Sophr. 7.50; PG 88.812, ll. 2-12).

Then follows the story about Stephen the hermit, who had a cell on the mountain where Elias once lived. On the day before he died, the bystanders saw that he went into ecstasy of mind. They heard him saying, as if he was called to account by someone: “Yes, it is quite true; but I wept” and again: “No, you are slandering me.”²⁶⁶ and also: “Yes, it is true. Yes, I do not know what to say to this. But in God there is mercy.” Thereafter Stephen dies, leaving the bystanders in uncertainty as to his judgement (Sophr. 7.50; PG 88.812, ll. 12-57).

After this anecdote again follow some shorter advices and statements concerning mourning, for example: Mourning is the precursor of dispassion (Sophr. 7.51; PG 88.813, ll. 11-13). “Tears over our departure produce fear. But when fear gives birth to fearlessness, joy dawns (Sophr. 7.54; PG 88.813, ll. 29-32). Again Klimax warns for the demons, who “turn even the mother of virtues into the mother of vices” by making tears into a cause of pride (Sophr. 7.69; PG 88.816, ll. 32-36). In a similar way, tears from crowds in the city are dangerous to us, since they try to draw us nearer to the world (Sophr. 7.71; PG 88.816, ll. 40-44).

The step is concluded by stating that when we die “we shall not be blamed for not having worked miracles, or for not having been theologians (...). But we shall certainly have to give an account to God of why we have not unceasingly mourned” (Sophr. 7.73; PG 88.816, ll. 44-50).

70-75, step 7:

Στένεις βύθιον, ἀνατυποῖς κραδίη
 χάος καταχθόνιον, ἄποσον βάθος,
 ἄσβεστον, ἀφώτιστον, ἄπλετον φλόγα
 καὶ καταδύσεις ὑπογείων σχισμάτων,

ζ περὶ πένθους

²⁶⁵ Cf. the black monk’s habit in the Orthodox world.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Job 9:20.

οϊκτράς, σκοτεινάς, χαλεπάς, τεθλιμμένας
 πασῶν βασάνων εἰκόνας αἰωνίων.

περὶ πένθους (title): N f. 9v, Sophr. (1970: 62, 185) and PG 88.801 give as a title: Περὶ τοῦ χαροποιοῦ πένθους. In their *pinax*, PG 88.629 and M f. 3r have: Περὶ τοῦ καθαρσίου πένθους. M f. 320v has: Περὶ τοῦ καθημερινοῦ βαπτίσματος τοῦ πένθους. Clearly, both the title of M f. 320v (explicitly) and the title of PG 88.629 and M f. 3r (implicitly) are reminiscent of the passage in step 5 where repentance is described as the renewal of baptism,²⁶⁷ and of the passage in step 7, where tears are described as the renewal of baptism (PG 88.804, ll. 14-22). The title of Poem 2, by contrast, simply mentions that the step concerns mourning. As we will see, in the summary of this step there are no hints to the joy-making aspect of mourning, nor to its relation with baptism.

70 Στένεις βύθιον: These two first words are reminiscent of the following passage from step 7 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.809, ll. 45-52):

Πέφυκε πολλάκις τοὺς κουφοτέρους καὶ τὸ δάκρυον ἐπαίρειν· διόπερ καὶ τισιν οὐ δίδονται· οἷτινες ἐπὶ τῇ τούτου ζητήσῃ, ἑαυτοὺς ταλανίζουσι, καὶ καταδικάζουσι, στεναγμοῖς καὶ κατηφείᾳ καὶ λύπη ψυχῆς καὶ βαθεῖᾳ σκυθρωπότητι, καὶ ἔξαπορία, ἅπερ ἀναπληροῦν τὸν τοῦ δακρύου τόπον ἀκινδύνως πεφύκασιν, εἰ καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς συμφερόντως λογίζονται.

In this passage, it is said that some people are not able to weep, but they sigh and lament instead. Although they do not think that lamenting is profitable, it can safely take the place of tears. Clearly, weeping and moaning are both connected to mourning.

70-75: With the exception of the first two words, which not accidentally form the first five syllables before the *Binnenschluß*, the whole summary of this step seems to be based on one particular passage from step 7 (PG 88.804, ll. 31-37):

Poem 2, vv. 70-75	PG 88.804, ll. 31-37
<p>Στένεις βύθιον, ἀνατυποῖς κραδίη χάος καταχθόνιον, ἄποσον βάθος, ἄσβεστον, ἀφώτιστον, ἄπλετον φλόγα καὶ καταδύσεις ὑπογείων σχισμάτων, οἰκτράς, σκοτεινάς, χαλεπάς, τεθλιμμένας πασῶν βασάνων εἰκόνας αἰωνίων.</p>	<p>ἀνατυπῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ μὴ παύση καὶ διερευνῶν πυρὸς σκοτεινοῦ ἄβυσσον· καὶ ἀνελεεῖς ὑπηρέτας, ἀσυμπαθῆ κριτὴν καὶ ἀσυγχώρητον, χάος τε ἀπέρατον καταχθονίου φλογός, καὶ ὑπογείων, καὶ φοβερῶν τόπων, καὶ χασμάτων τεθλιμμένας καταβάσεις, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντων εἰκόνας</p>

²⁶⁷ Cf. PG 88.764, ll. 5-6. See also commentary on Poem 2, vv. 58-59.

The whole summary of step 7 in Poem 2 is one long phrase, with vv. 71-75 as the object of ἀνατυποῖς. The adjectives in v. 74 could theoretically agree with καταδύσεις (v. 73) or with εἰκόνας (v. 75). The parallel with the passage from the *Ladder*, however, clearly indicates that the adjectives of v. 74 accord with καταδύσεις.

ἀνατυποῖς is clearly taken from ἀνατυπῶν. In Poem 2, it is transformed into a second person singular, corresponding to Στένεις. κραδίη is the equivalent of ἐν ἑαυτῷ, both meaning that the reflection on the topics that follow should be interior. χάος and καταχθόνιον appear together in Poem 2. In the passage from the *Ladder*, however, χάος agrees with ἀπέρατον and καταχθονίου with φλογός. ἄποσον is a synonym of ἀπέρατον. In **N**, there is a red sign above ἄποσον. The sign reappears in the margin, accompanied by a *scholion*: Γράφεται ἄμετρον, which is yet another synonym of ἀπέρατον. βάθος is a synonym of ἄβυσσον.

ἄσβεστον does not seem to have a corresponding term in the passage as presented in PG. Sophr., however, has a variant reading: καὶ διερευνῶν αἰωνίου πυρὸς ἄβυσσον. So in this version, αἰωνίου replaces σκοτεινοῦ. We might hypothesize that αἰωνίου, agreeing with πυρὸς, meaning “eternal fire”, might correspond to ἄσβεστον φλόγα (*inextinguishable flame*). ἀφώτιστον might then correspond to σκοτεινοῦ in the version of PG, which also there corresponds to fire. A “dark fire” seems indeed to be similar to an *unilluminated flame*. Nevertheless, it seems quite strange to me if Poem 2 would for one word be inspired by a similar reading as given by PG and for the next one by a reading as given by Sophr. Perhaps there might have been versions of the *Ladder* reading both αἰωνίου and σκοτεινοῦ, or having one of the words as a gloss, but this is only speculation. Besides, the correspondence between ἄσβεστον and αἰωνίου, and the one between ἀφώτιστον and σκοτεινοῦ are not so close and maybe the author of Poem 2 could come up with these terms without necessarily having a version of the *Ladder* reading both αἰωνίου and σκοτεινοῦ.

ἄπλετον, just as ἄποσον, is a synonym of ἀπέρατον. φλόγα evidently corresponds to φλογός. καταδύσεις is the equivalent of καταβάσεις. Why the author opted to replace καταβάσεις by καταδύσεις is not clear to me. The words are metrical equivalents and both result in a light fourth syllable in the verse, a prosodic defect which in both cases concerns a *dichronon*.

ὑπογείων appears in the same form in the passage from the *Ladder*. σχισμάτων corresponds to χασμάτων. οἰκτράς, although it fits in with the context of the passage from the *Ladder*, does not seem to have a clear correspondent. σκοτεινάς obviously corresponds to σκοτεινοῦ. χαλεπάς, just as οἰκτράς, does not have a clear correspondent. τεθλιμμένας appears in the same form in the passage from the *Ladder*. πασῶν βασάνων, referring to the preceding verses, is a concretisation of τῶν τοιούτων πάντων. εἰκόνας appears in the same form in the passage from the *Ladder*. αἰωνίων

might correspond to αἰωνίου from the reading of Sophr. (see supra commentary on ἄσβεστον).

Step 7 in Poem 2, then, is a metaphrasis of the words of the passage from the *Ladder* into dodecasyllables. As shown above, the agreement of the words is sometimes changed (for example, καταχθονίου, which goes with φλογός in Klimax, agrees with χάος in Poem 2). It seems that the author of Poem 2 wanted to preserve as many of the words as possible and therefore sometimes had to switch antecedents. Nevertheless, the meaning of the passage is almost the same. Of course, since the summary consists of six verses per step, the author has to condense the passage. This being the case he skipped one phrase: καὶ ἀνελεεῖς ὑπηρέτας, ἀσυμπαθῆ κριτὴν καὶ ἀσυγχώρητον (PG 88.804, ll. 33-34). This can be explained because in these lines persons are mentioned (servants and the judge), whereas the other lines of this passage deal with the ‘landscape’ of hell. So it is indeed quite logical to skip those particular lines which do not concern the outlook of hell.

Regarding the content, this summary of step 7 is closely linked to the previous one concerning the remembrance of death. As already said, the remembrance of death involves the remembrance of the Judgement and by consequence the picture of hell which is the result of a negative judgement. In step 7 from the *Ladder*, there is also another passage where this point is mentioned (PG 88.805, ll. 28-30):

Πυρὸς αἰωνίου²⁶⁸ μνήμη καθ’ ἑσπέραν συγκοιμηθήτω σοι, καὶ συναναστήτω σοι· καὶ οὐ μὴ σου ῥαθυμία ἐν καιρῷ ψαλμωδίας κυριεύση ποτέ.

In a wider context, we could say that the step as presented in Poem 2, and of course also as presented in the passage from the *Ladder* quoted above (PG 88.804, ll. 31-37), follows the advice given in another passage from step 7 (PG 88.805, ll. 8-13):

Τινὲς δακρύνοντες, μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῷ μακαρίῳ λογιζέσθαι ἑαυτοὺς ἀκαίρως βιάζονται, μὴ λογιζόμενοι, ὅτι δάκρυον ἀνέννοιον ἀλόγου φύσεως ἴδιον, καὶ οὐ λογικῆς γέννημα ἐννοιῶν δάκρυον· πατὴρ δὲ ἐννοίας λογισμὸς καὶ νοῦς.

In this passage, it is said that it is only proper to an irrational nature to think of nothing when weeping, since tears are a product of thought. The final line of this quotation is reminiscent of the opening of step 6 (PG 88.793, ll. 3-5):

²⁶⁸ See also, for example, *Jude* 1:7: ὡς Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὰς πόλεις τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον τούτοις ἐκπορνεύσαι καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι ὀπίσω σαρκὸς ἐτέρας, πρόκεινται δεῖγμα πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι.

Παντὸς λόγου προηγεῖται ἔννοια. Μνήμη δὲ θανάτου καὶ πταισμάτων προηγεῖται κλαυθμοῦ καὶ πένθους.

If we take these two passages together, we can then say that, you should mourn with death in mind. In fact, we might even say that mourning and the remembrance of death have a circular relationship towards each other rather than a simple consecutive one. Once remembrance of death has initiated the process of mourning, mourning again reflects on death and hence keeps the process running.

72 ἀφώτιστον (...) φλόγα: In his *Commentary on the Apocalypse 19:11-12*, Andrew, archbishop of Caesarea (6th-7th c.) gives an explanation (ed. Schmidt 1955):

ἀφορίζων φλόγα πυρός, δίκαιοις μὲν φωτιστικὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ καυστικὴν, ἁμαρτωλοῖς δὲ καυστικὴν, ἀλλ' ἀφώτιστον.

The shining, but not burning light is reserved for the righteous people. By contrast, the dark, but burning light is meant for the sinners (see also commentary on Poem 1, vv. 49-55). This parallel thus also places the 'dark light' in the context of hell, just as is the case in Poem 2.

73 καταδύσεις: In Theodore of Stoudios' *Μεγάλη κατήχησις* (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1904: 552-553), the word *κατάδυσις* also appears next to *χάσμα*, which also appears in the passage from the *Ladder* and of which *σχισμάτων* is the equivalent:

ὅταν ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ, τούτων πάντων τελουμένων, ἐξενεχθῆ ἡ μεγάλη καὶ φοβερὰ ἀπόφασις, καλοῦσα τοὺς μὲν δίκαιους εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, τοὺς δὲ ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἀποπέμπουσα εἰς πῦρ ἐξώτερον καὶ σκώληκα ἰοβόλον, καὶ εἰς σκότος ἀφεγγές καὶ εἰς χάσμα μέγα καταδύσεως ἄδου καὶ τάρταρα ψύχους ἀνυποστάτου, καὶ εἰς πάσας τὰς ἀπειλουμένας φρικωδεστάτας κολάσεις;

Step 8 of the Ladder: On freedom from anger and on meekness

The step opens by stating that just as water can extinguish a fire, tears of mourning are able to quench the flame of anger and irritability (Sophr. 8.1; PG 88.828C). Two alternative definitions of freedom from anger (*ἀοργησία*) follow. The first one reads: "Freedom from anger is an insatiable appetite for dishonour"; the second one: "Freedom from anger is victory over nature and insensibility to insults, acquired by struggles and sweat" (Sophr. 8.2; PG 88.828C). Thereafter follow definitions of meekness, wrath, irascibility and anger. Interestingly, wrath (*ὀργή*), the opposite of *ἀοργησία* (step 8), is defined as remembrance of wrongs (*μνησικακία*), the opposite of *ἀμνησικακία* (step 9) (Sophr. 8.3-7; PG 88.828CD).

Klimax then gives several short advices and warnings concerning anger. He compares the process of erosion of sharp stones, when constantly rubbed against each other, with the growth of

patience amongst hot-tempered men living together in a monastery (Sophr. 8.12; PG 88.829, ll. 10-20). Silence is an important means for reaching freedom from anger. You should, however, be conscious that you do not nourish rancour when being silent (Sophr. 8.17; PG 88.829, ll. 46-49).

Thereafter follow some general examples of anger and disagreement amongst monks living in a monastery. Klimax not only gives advice to the monks on how to behave, but also to the spiritual fathers on how to deal with irregularities (Sophr. 8.20; PG 88.832, ll. 8-26).

An angry person is described as a greater threat than a person who is fond of pleasure, since the latter only harms himself and perhaps his closest friends, the first, however, might, like a wolf, wound an entire flock (Sophr. 8.21; PG 88.832, ll. 26-30).

In order to prevent anger, you should, when you want to remove a splinter out of someone, use a lancet and not a balk (clearly referring to Mt.7:1-5; Lc. 6:41-42). This means that you should use gentle words, instead of provoking reproaches (Sophr. 8.23; PG 88.832, ll. 36-42).

Klimax returns to the image of the wolf, stating that just as “a single wolf with the help of a demon can trouble a flock”, one “wise brother with the help of an angel” can realize complete calmness (Sophr. 8.25; PG 88.832, ll. 47-54).

Just as was the case with mourning in step 7, the progress that can be made is divided into three stages. In this case ἀνεξικακία (forbearance LJS), as a synonym of ἀοργησία, is said to have its beginning in the acceptance of dishonour. “The middle stage is to be free from pain” and perfection is “to regard dishonour as praise” (Sophr. 8.26; PG 88.832, l. 26 - 833, l. 1). In the following paragraphs, Klimax develops this idea and illustrates the three stages of progress in freedom from anger giving the example of three monks, whom he claims to have seen himself, each representing one of the stages (Sophr. 8.29; PG 88.833, ll. 25-36).

Near the end of this step, Klimax discusses the fact that anger can have many causes. Therefore it is impossible to prescribe one single treatment. Everyone should look for a treatment which fits one’s own disease. To find this treatment you should first diagnose your disorder. You should interrogate your anger like a judge would do in court. When you ask who his father, mother and relatives are, your anger will answer: “Many are my origins (..) my mothers are vainglory (step 22), love of money (step 16), greed (step 14) and sometimes lust. My father is called conceit. My daughters are: remembrance of wrongs, enmity, self-justification, and hatred”. This passage clearly links the different steps of the Ladder. Remembrance of wrongs (step 9), for example, is presented as a daughter of anger (step 8).

76-81, step 8:

Ὁξυχολίας καὶ θυμοῦ δι’ ὧν φλόγα
καταπραΰνεις καὶ μαραίνεις, σβεννύεις.
Ἐν οἷς ἀκούεις, οὐ θυμαλγεῖς ὡς Νάβαλ·
ἐν οἷς σὺ λαλεῖς, ὡς Ἀβιγαία λέγεις.
Οὐδέν τι δυσάντητον, ἐστυγημένον
λαλεῖς καχλάζων, εἰσορᾶς ἀναζέων.

ἠ περὶ ἀοργησίας

περὶ ἀοργησίας (title): This title coincides with the first part of the title as given by **N** f. 9v, Sophr. (1970: 70, 185) and PG 88.828: *Περὶ ἀοργησίας καὶ πραότητος*, and with the alternative title given by PG 88.629 and **M** f. 3r: *Περὶ ἀοργησίας ἡπίας*. **M** f. 320v gives the following title: *Περὶ τῆς δυσπορίστου ἀοργησίας ψυχῆς*.

76-77: Just as was the case with step 7, the two first verses of this step are clearly based on a particular passage from the *Ladder*, in this case the very beginning of step 8 is the source of inspiration (PG 88.828 Gr. 8, ll. 3-6):

Poem 2, vv. 76-77	PG 88.828 Gr. 8, ll. 3-6
Ὁξυχολίας καὶ θυμοῦ δι' ὧν φλόγα καταπραΰνεις καὶ μαραίνεις, σβεννύεις.	Ὡσπερ ὕδατος ἐν φλογὶ κατὰ μικρὸν προστιθεμένου, τελείως ἢ φλόξ ἀποσβέννυται, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ πένθους τὸ δάκρυον πᾶσαν τὴν φλόγα τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ ὀξυχολίας ἀποκτείνειν πέφυκε·

From this parallel, we could conclude that **δι' ὧν** corresponds to τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ πένθους τὸ δάκρυον from *Klimax*. Since **δι' ὧν** would then refer to mourning as the cure for the fire, this step would (different from the previous steps) grammatically continue the previous step. Mourning is indeed the topic of step 7.

σβεννύεις (v. 77) is reminiscent of ἀποσβέννυται. V. 77 is completed by two other verbs, which are more or less synonyms of σβεννύεις. Besides, the verbs μαραίνω and σβέννυμι appear together in the context of burning anger in Manasses (12th c.), *Aristarchus et Callithea*, fragm. 11, ll. 3-7 (ed. Mazal 1967):

ὁ γὰρ τοῦ κάλλους ὀχετὸς δι' ὀφθαλμῶν εἰσρέων εἰς τὴν καρδίαν κάτεισι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν θηλύνει, κἂν εὖρη κάμινον θυμοῦ καὶ πῦρ ὀργῆς παφλάζον, δροσίζει τὸ θυμούμενον καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν μαραίνει καὶ σαλαμάνδρα γίνεται καὶ σβέννυσι τὴν φλόγα.

78-81: These four verses compare the model ascender to Abigail, and mention Nabal as a counterexample.

78-79: These verses are built up in a parallel way. Both verses have **ἐν οἷς** as their beginning. I think that these words do not refer to a specific element already mentioned in the text. They could rather be understood as: “on such occasions that”. So we translated it simply as *when*. Both verses have their *Binnenschluß* after the fifth syllable. In the first half the action is given: to hear, in the case of v. 78; to speak, in the case of v. 79. In the second half of the verses, the names of the one you are compared with appear: Nabal in v. 78; Abigail in v. 79. The example of Nabal is a negative example and it is thus negated that you follow this path. Abigail is, of course, a positive example.

The reference to Nabal and Abigail is based on 1 Regn. 25. Nabal was a rich and callous man, who was married to the fair and clever Abigail. When David crosses the land of Nabal, he sends his servants in advance to Nabal to ask for a friendly welcome. Nabal refuses bluntly. When the servants tell the answer to David, the future king orders his men to take up their arms. In the meantime, the servants of Nabal went to Abigail to give her an account of what happened. Abigail immediately orders to prepare food for David and his men. Without telling Nabal, she goes to David and begs him to be merciful by giving a long speech. David is appeased and concludes the peace with her. When Abigail returns home she finds her husband drunk. After ten days he dies and she remarries David.

The story of Nabal and Abigail is not mentioned in the *Ladder*, but the poet adds it to his summary of step 8, because it is a clear example of anger and of the freedom of anger / meekness.²⁶⁹

80-81: Grammatically, v. 80 can be taken as the object of **λέγεις** (v. 79) or of **λαλεῖς** (v. 81). Regarding the content, it logically goes with **λαλεῖς**. V. 81 could grammatically stand on its own, but its meaning in that case cannot agree with the message of this step. It is meant that you *say nothing unpleasant when you seethe*, not that you *speak when you seethe*.

In **N**, there is a red sign above **δυσάντητον**. This sign reappears in the margin accompanied by a *scholion*: **Γράφεται· δυσάκουστον**, which obviously gives a synonym.

When taking v. 80 together with v. 81, we see that the summary of this step can be divided in three equal parts (vv. 76-77, vv. 78-79 and vv. 80-81). Also v. 81 has a balanced structure, having two equal parts. **λαλεῖς** clearly refers to **λαλεῖς** (v. 79). On Kristoffel Demoen's advice, **εἰσορᾶς** was translated as *you put in your gaze*. In this case, it is meant indeed that Abigail has a 'non-resentful gaze'. Compare with a passage from step 8 (PG 88.832, ll. 30-34):

χαλεπὸν μὲν τὸν τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκ θυμοῦ ταραᾶσαι, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα·
Ἐταράχθη ἀπὸ θυμοῦ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς μου.²⁷⁰ χαλεπώτερον δὲ τὸ διὰ χειλέων τὴν τῆς
ψυχῆς ὀρμὴν ἐνδείξασθαι.

Abigail is said to be restrained both regarding her gaze (**εἰσορᾶς** ~ ὀφθαλμὸν) and her speech (**λαλεῖς** ~ χειλέων). Compare also with another passage from step 8, in which the concept that you do not rage when you boil inside is implicitly present (PG 88.828, ll. 12-15):

²⁶⁹ Compare with the title of step 8 in **N** f. 9v, Sophr. (1970: 70, 185) and PG 88.828: Περὶ ἀοργησίας καὶ πραότητος.

²⁷⁰ Ps. 6:8.

Ἀρχὴ μὲν ἀοργησίαις, σιωπὴ χειλέων ἐν ταραχῇ καρδίας· μεσότης δὲ σιωπὴ λογισμῶν ἐν ψιλῇ ταραχῇ ψυχῆς· τέλος δὲ πεπηγμένη γαλήνη ἐν πνοῇ ἀνέμων ἀκαθάρτων.

In this passage, the progression in freedom from anger is described. In the beginning, it is indeed possible that your heart is still agitated. Only when you reach perfection you live in an “imperturbable calm”. Some paragraphs later on, the same idea of progression is presented (PG 88.833, ll. 30-36):

Τρεῖς ἔγωγε ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἑώρακα μοναχοὺς ἀτιμασθέντας· καὶ ὁ μὲν δέδηκται [δέδηκτο, al. δέδακται], καὶ ἐσιώπησεν· ὁ δὲ ἐχάρη ἑαυτοῦ χάριν, λελύπηται δὲ περὶ τοῦ λοιδορήσαντος· ὁ δὲ τρίτος τὴν τοῦ πλησίον βλάβην ἀνατυπώσας ἐδάκρυσεν θερμῶς· καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν φόβου, καὶ μισθοῦ, καὶ ἀγάπης ἐργάτας.

In this case, the first monk represents the one who is in the first stages of reaching freedom from anger. Although he is still hurt (δέδηκται), he remains silent (ἐσιώπησεν). We could thus say, that vv. 80-81 similarly present the situation of someone who is at the beginning of reaching freedom from anger. He is still agitated, but he remains silent, or, at least, says nothing resentful.

Step 9 of the Ladder: On remembrance of wrongs

This step is the first one of which the topic is a vice and not a virtue.²⁷¹ This seems to be why Klimax opens the step with the following comparisons: “The holy virtues are like Jacob’s ladder, and the unholy vices are like the chains that fell from the chief Apostle Peter. For the virtues, leading from one to another, bear him who chooses them up to heaven; but the vices by their nature beget and stifle one another.” Thereafter it is said that anger (~ step 8) is the origin of the remembrance of wrongs (μνησικακία = step 9) (Sophr. 9.1; PG 88.840D - 841, l. 8).

Remembrance of wrongs is equated with several negative things, a.o. “the keeper of sins, ruin of virtues, worm of the mind”. Since remembrance of wrongs has no offspring, Klimax announces that he does not intend to say much about it (Sophr. 9.2; PG 88.841, ll. 8-18).

If you are free from anger, you are also free from remembrance of wrongs. When you obtain love, you banish revenge (Sophr. 9.3-4; PG 88.841, ll. 18-21). You should have remembrance of wrongs against the demons and against your body, which is an enemy (Sophr. 9.8; PG 88.841, ll. 31-34). Klimax also compares remembrance of wrongs to one who explains the words of the Scripture

²⁷¹ One could say that already step 8 had a vice as its topic, namely remembrance of wrongs. However, in the case of step 8 all titles still positively formulate the topic as ἀοργησία (see titles of step 8 quoted above).

Τὸ δὲ τῶν καμήλων μνησίκακον, καὶ βαρύθυμι, καὶ διαρκὲς πρὸς ὀργήν, τί ἂν μιμήσασθαι τῶν θαλαττίων δύναιτο; Πάλαι ποτὲ πληγεῖσα κάμηλος, μακρῷ χρόνῳ ταμειυσαμένη τὴν μῆνιν, ἐπειδὴν εὐκαιρίας λάβηται, τὸ κακὸν ἀντιδίδωσιν. Ἀκούσατε, οἱ βαρύθυμοι, οἱ τὴν μνησικακίαν ὡς ἀρετὴν ἐπιτηδεύοντες, τίνοι ἐστὲ ἐμφερεῖς, ὅταν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον λύπην, ὥσπερ τινὰ σπινθῆρα κεκρυμμένον ἐν σποδιᾷ, μέχρι τοσοῦτου φυλάσσετε, ἕως ἂν ὕλης λαβόμενοι, οἷον φλόγα τινὰ τὸν θυμὸν ἀνακαύσητε.

The passage is part of a passage which discusses the inferiority of creatures that live in the sea. Basil says that they are not only dumb, but also that it is impossible to tame them. Then he briefly discusses some animals that you can tame, as the ox, the ass and finally the camel.

Also John Chrysostom presents the camel as vindictive animal. See for example his *In Matthaeum* (PG 57.48, l. 46 – 49, l. 3):²⁷⁵

Πόθεν οὖν, εἶπέ μοι, δυνήσομαί σε ἐπιγνῶναι τὸν πιστὸν, τῶν εἰρημένων ἀπάντων τάναντία ψηφιζομένων; Καὶ τί λέγω τὸν πιστόν; Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ ἄνθρωπος εἶ, σαφῶς δύναμαι μαθεῖν. Ὅταν γὰρ λακτίζης μὲν ὥσπερ ὄνος, σκιρτᾷς δὲ ὥσπερ ταῦρος, χρεμετίζης δὲ ἐπὶ γυναιξίν ὥσπερ ἵππος· καὶ γαστριμαργῆς μὲν ὥσπερ ἄρκτος, παινήης δὲ τὴν σάρκα ὥσπερ ἡμίονος· μνησικακῆς δὲ ὥσπερ κάμηλος· καὶ ἀρπάξης μὲν ὡς λύκος, ὀργίζῃ δὲ ὡς ὄφις, πλήττης δὲ ὡς σκορπίος, ὕπουλος δὲ ἥς ὥσπερ ἀλώπηξ, ἰὸν δὲ πονηρίας διατηρῆς ὥσπερ ἀσπίς καὶ ἔχις, πολεμῆς δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὥσπερ ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων ἐκεῖνος· πῶς δυνήσομαί σε μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀριθμεῖν, οὐχ ὀρῶν ἐν σοὶ τῆς τοιαύτης φύσεως τοῦς χαρακτῆρας;

²⁷³ Some recent facts seem to prove that camels are rancorous animals. In India, May 2016, a camel was left in the heat with its legs tied all day. When his owner at night realized that he forgot about his camel, he went to release the animal. When he tried to untie the camel, the animal attacked him and bit off his head. Cf. timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/jaipur/Tied-in-heat-all-day-angry-camel-severs-owners-head/articleshow/52392651.cms. In Mexico, October 2014, a camel killed the owner of a wildlife park. The reason why the camel acted so aggressively is not entirely clear. One of the theories is that the American owner forgot to give his camel a coke, something he always did on other days. Cf. www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/15/us-man-killed-camel-tulum-resort.

²⁷⁴ The first lines of the following passage from Basil seem to be quoted in Michael Glykas (12th c.) *Annales* (ed. Bekker 1836: 93, ll. 5-18).

²⁷⁵ For a similar passages in the works of John Chrysostom, see *In epistulam II ad Corinthios* (PG 61.439, ll. 44-50); *De angusta porta et in orationem dominicam* [Sp.] (PG 51.44, ll. 38-44); *Eclogae I-XLVIII ex diversis homiliis* [Sp.] (PG 63.27-35); *De siccitate* [Sp.] (PG 61.723, l. 58). See also Theodore of Stoudios, *Parva Catachesis* (5, l. 43; ed. Auvray 1891).

As the passage quoted above shows, rancour seems to be the most characteristic (negative) feature of a camel. In another passage of Chrysostom, a rich man is compared to a camel (*In epistulam II ad Thessalonicenses*, PG 62.483, ll. 20-33):

Τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὁ πλοῦτος· οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐ φέρει καρπὸν αἰώνιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους κατέχων ἐμποδίζει. Ἀλόγων εἰσὶ τροφαὶ αἱ ἄκανθαι καμήλων. πυρὸς εἰσὶ βρῶσις καὶ δαπάνη πρὸς οὐδὲν χρήσιμοι. Τοιοῦτον καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος, πρὸς οὐδὲν χρήσιμος, ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς τὸ καῦσαι κάμινον, πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀνάψαι ἐκείνην τὴν ὡς κλίβανον καιομένην, πρὸς τὸ θρέψαι τὰ ἄλογα πάθη, μνησικακίαν καὶ ὀργήν. Τοιοῦτον γὰρ καὶ ἡ τρώγουσα κάμηλος τὰς ἀκάνθας. Λέγεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰδόντων μηδὲν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσιν οὕτω βαρῦμηνι καὶ δύσθυμον καὶ μνησικακόν, ὡς ἡ κάμηλος. Τοιοῦτον ὁ πλοῦτός ἐστι· τὰ ἄλογα πάθη τρέφει τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ δὲ λογικὰ κεντεῖ καὶ τιτρώσκει, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκανθῶν.

83-84: In these verses, further examples of evil hiding inside other things are given. **λύκον**, **ὄφιν**, **σκώληκα** and **μῆνιν** can be interpreted as standing on the same level as **κακίαν** (v. 82), and are thus appositions. **ἐν κωδίῳ**, **ἐν κόλποις**, **ξύλῳ** and **πράῳ** are the objects that function as the 'hiding-places' of the aforementioned accusatives.

Some of these metaphors are taken from the *Ladder*. In step 9, even an extra example can be found which is not mentioned in Poem 2 (PG 88.841, ll. 28-31):

Μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἀγάπης στερβῶς φυσικῆς μνησικακία, εὐχερῶς δὲ πορνεία πλησιάζει αὐτῇ· καὶ λεληθότως ὀρᾶς ἐν περιστερᾷ φθειραν.

In this case a louse is hidden in a dove, just as fornication hides in natural love. The reason why it was not borrowed by the author of Poem 2 might be that it expresses the relationship between love and fornication, rather than the one between love and the remembrance of wrongs.

83 ἐν κωδίῳ τὸν λύκον: This phrase is borrowed from Mt. 7:15:

Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασιν προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰσὶν λύκοι ἄρπαγες.

The word κώδιον is used, referring to the same passage from *Matthew* by Clemens of Alexandria (2nd – 3rd c.) in his *Protrepticus* 1.4.3, ll. 5-7 (ed. Mondésert 1949):²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ See also Clemens' *Stromata* 8.40.5, ll. 1-2 (ed. Stählin et al. 1970²).

“Λύκους” δὲ ἄλλους ἀλληγορεῖ προβάτων κωδίοις ἡμφιεσμένους, τοὺς ἐν ἀνθρώπων μορφαῖς ἀρπακτικοὺς αἰνιττόμενος.

ἐν κόλποις ὄφιν: In origin, this expression goes back to an Aesopic fable (ed. Perry 1980²: 390, nr. 176).²⁷⁷

Ὁδοιπόρος χειμῶνος ὀδεύων, ὡς ἐθεάσατο ἔχιν ὑπὸ κρύους διαφθειρόμενον, τοῦτον ἐλεήσας ἀνείλατο καὶ βαλὼν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κόλπον θερμαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο. ὁ δὲ μέχρι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους συνείχετο, ἠρέμει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐθερμάνθη, δᾶξ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα αὐτοῦ ἐνῆκε. καὶ ὅς ἀποθνήσκειν μέλλων ἔφη “ἀλλ’ ἔγωγε δίκαια πέπονθα· τί γὰρ τοῦτον ἀπολλύμενον ἔσωζον, ὃν ἔδει καὶ ἐρρωμένον ἀναιρεῖν;”

I think, however, as I will explain, that the reference in Poem 2 is not necessarily taken directly from Aesop. In the fable, the meaning also is not exactly the same as in Poem 2. The fable warns against compassion with villains. In Poem 2, by contrast, the snake is an example of rancour. In step 4 of the *Ladder* (on obedience), the expression is used referring to sins or spiritual fall in general (PG 88.697, ll. 1-13):

Ὁ τὴν διακονίαν τῆς μονῆς πεπιστευμένος [τοῦτό μοι] τεθάρρηκε· Νέου μου ὄντος, φησὶ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀλόγων φροντίδι διάγοντος, συνέβη πτώμα κατενεχθῆναι [εἰς πτώμα πεσεῖν] βαρύτερον ψυχῆς· ἐμοῦ δὲ σεσυνηθηκότος μηδέποτε κρύπτειν ὄφιν ἐν φωλεῷ καρδίας, τῷ ἰατρῷ τοῦτον τῆς κέρκου κρατήσας ἐστηλίτευσά· κέρκον δὲ λέγω τὸ τέλος τῆς πράξεως· ὁ δὲ μειδιῶν τῷ προσώπῳ φησὶν πρὸς με· Παίσας μου τὴν σιαγόνα μετρίως, ἄπιθι, τέκνον, ἔχου τῆς διακονίας σου, ὡς τὸ πρὶν, μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν δεδιώς. Ἐγὼ δὲ πίστει διαπύρω πεισθεὶς ἐν βραχεῖαις ἡμέραις τῆς ἰάσεως πληροφορίαν εἰληφώς, ἔτρεχον τὴν ὁδὸν μου χαίρων ἅμα καὶ τρέμων.

In fact, in this passage the young monk does exactly what is written in vv. 82-83 of Poem 2: he does not hide a snake at his breast. Instead, he takes the snake by its tail and shows it to the physician, which means to his spiritual father, whose orders he strictly follows.

Also in step 9, a passage can be found which might be reminiscent to the Aesopic fable (PG 88.841, ll. 47-49):²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ See also Theognis’ *Elegiae* 1.601-602 (ed. Young 1971²): ἔρρε, θεοῖσιν τ’ ἐχθρὲ καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἄπιστε, ψυχρὸν ὃς ἐν κόλπωι ποικίλον εἶχες ὄφιν.

²⁷⁸ In step 15, Klimax refers again to this snake (PG 88.900, ll. 19-24): Σκοπεῖτωσαν τοίνυν, καὶ πάση σπουδῇ τὸν προειρημένον ὄφιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν καρδίας διὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης πολλῆς νεκρῶσαντες ἀποπεμπέσθωσαν, ὅπως τούτου ἀπαλλοτριωθέντες, δυνήσωνται ἴσως ποτὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς δερματίνους χιτῶνας ἐκδύσασθαι. Besides, the end of this quotation is also relevant for the interpretation of vv. 7-9 of Poem 3.

Μνησικάκος ἡσυχαστῆς ἐμφωλεύουσα ἄσπις, ἰὸν θανατηφόρον ἐν ἑαυτῇ περιφέρουσα.

In this passage, a hesychast who remembers wrongs is compared to an adder which hides in itself deadly poison. Contrary to the fable, here a person is equated with a snake / adder. He does not hide the viper at his breast. He is a viper, and his interior rancour is as the poison of the viper. Clearly, this passage from step 9 is further removed from the Aesopic fable than from the passage quoted from step 4. The appearance of an adder in the context of remembrance of wrongs in step 9, might have been the trigger for the poet to insert an allusion to the passage in step 4, of which he was aware, or not, that it goes back to the Aesopic fable.

Beyond Klimax and Aesop, the author of Poem 2 possibly also took his inspiration from Chrysostom, who uses the expression in his *Ascetam facetiis uti non debere* [Sp.] (PG 48.1057, ll. 17-22):

Ἐκβαλε τὸν ὄφιν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου σου, ἔκβαλε τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ· εἰ ἐπιποθεῖς ὑπὸ θηλειῶν διακονεῖσθαι, διὰ τί ἀρχαῖον νόμον οὐκ ἐφύλαξας, καὶ γάμῳ νομίμῳ συνήφθης; Ὁ γάμος κόλασιν οὐκ ἔχει, ἡ μοιχεία κόλασιν ἔχει ἀπαραίτητον· μοιχεία γάρ ἐστι καὶ μεγάλη μοιχεία ἢ σὺν γυναιξὶ συνοίκησις.

In this case, the expression is used in the context of the seductiveness of women, who are a tool of the devil (ὄφις). Chrysostom alludes again to the expression in his *In epistulam II ad Corinthios* (PG 61.587, ll. 31-37):

Βέλτιον ὄφιν ἔχειν τοῖς σπλάγχνοις ἐγκαλινδούμενον, ἢ βασκανίαν ἔνδον συρομένην. Ἐκεῖνον γὰρ καὶ ἐμέσαι πολλάκις ἔνι διὰ φαρμάκων, καὶ διὰ τροφῆς παραμυθῆσασθαι· ὁ δὲ φθόνος οὐκ ἐν σπλάγχνοις καλινδεῖται, ἀλλὰ τῷ κόλπῳ στρέφεται τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ δυσεξάλειπτόν ἐστι πάθος.

In this passage, Chrysostom changes the meaning of the expression and states, by contrast, that it is better to have a snake inside yourself than envy. Since those illnesses provoked by a snake are in most cases easy to cure. Illnesses provoked by envy, since they are in the soul, are much harder to cure.

Chrysostom adapts the expression again in a similar way in his *In Acta apostolorum*. In this case, he also includes μνησικακία (PG 60.294, ll. 53-57):

Βέλτιον ὄφιν ἢ ἔχιν ἐγκεῖσθαι τῇ καρδίᾳ, ἢ θυμὸν καὶ μνησικακίαν· ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ εὐθέως ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀπήλλαξεν, οὗτος δὲ μένει διαπαντός, τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐμπηγνύς, τὸν ἰὸν ἐντιθεῖς, τοὺς χαλεποὺς ἐπιστρατεύων λογισμούς.

Again, Chrysostom warns that it is better to have a snake in your heart than vices, in this case anger and the remembrance of wrongs. In Poem 2, however, the meaning of the expression is not changed.

The passages quoted above show that the theme of ‘hiding a snake at your breast’ was a well-known expression which was used on many occasions when speaking of vices, and sometimes when speaking on the remembrance of wrongs in particular.

84: This verse is directly based on a passage from step 9 from the *Ladder*.²⁷⁹

Poem 2, v. 84	Sophr. 9.13
ξύλω σαθρῷ σκώληκα, τὴν μῆνιν πράω·	Ξύλω σαθρῷ ἐναποτίκτονται σκώληκες, καὶ πραοτάτοις ἤθεσι, καὶ ἡσυχίοις νόθοις συγκεκόλληται μῆνις· ὁ ἀποβαλὼν αὐτήν, εὗρεν ἄφεισιν· ὁ δὲ προσκολλώμενος αὐτῇ, ἐστερήθη οἰκτιρμῶν.

The first half of v. 84 is almost a quotation from Klimax, but also the second half is clearly based on it. The first half of this verse is still a metaphor, following that of the camel, the wolf and the snake. The second half, however, presents in fact a definition of μνησικακία. It is to hide something evil inside something good. A similar expression is found in the part on blasphemy, which is (part of) step 23 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.976, ll. 28-29):

ὥσπερ σκώληξ ἐν ξύλω, πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐξαναλώσας ὁ ἀνοσίος

This passage refers to the fact that blasphemy is not easily confessed. In that way, it eats into us like a worm.²⁸⁰

85-86: These verses give a further explanation of the previous verses of this step, and of τὴν μῆνιν πράω (v. 84) in particular. They are reminiscent of *Iliad* 9.313 (ed. Allen 1931):

ὅς χ’ ἕτερον μὲν κεύθη ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶπη.

²⁷⁹ For this passage, I follow the reading of Sophr. (1970). PG (88.841, ll. 51-55) reads: Ξύλω σαθρῷ ἐνδοθεν ἐναποτίκτονται σκώληκες· καὶ πραοτάτοις καὶ ἡσυχίοις νόθοις συγκεκόλληται μῆνις. Ὁ ἀποβάλλων αὐτήν εὗρεν ἄφεισιν, ὁ δὲ προσκολλώμενος αὐτῇ. Ἐστερήθη οἰκτιρμῶν. As far as I can see, I think it is better to continue the sentence as is given by Sophr. (1970). For ξύλω σαθρῷ σκώληκα, see also Theodoret of Cyrrihus (5th c.), *Commentaria in Isaiam* (sect. 12, ll. 389-390; ed. Guinot 1982).

²⁸⁰ Cf. PG 88.976, ll. 24-27; see also Poem 2, vv. 170-171.

In a *Vita* of Homer (ed. Kindstrand 1990: l. 2308), which is ascribed to Plutarch, this verse is quoted together with another Homeric verse having a similar meaning, *Odyssey* 18.168 (ed. von der Mühl 1962):

οἱ τ' εὖ μὲν βάζουσι, κακῶς δ' ὄπιθεν φρονέουσι

Porphry, in his *Quaestionum Homericarum liber I (recensio V)* (sect. 95, l. 8; ed. Sodano 1970) and Eustathios, in his *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (ed. van der Valk 1976: 713, ll. 18-19), quote *Iliad* 9.313 differently:

ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ βάζει

In any case, the verse from Homer clearly became a known expression throughout the ages, containing both κεύθω and βάζω. Some examples are:

- 1) Themistios (4th c.), *Βασανιστῆς ἢ φιλόσοφος* (Harduin page 258, sect. d, l. 2; ed. Downey et al. 1971): ἀνὴρ δ' ἄλλα κέκευθεν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλα δὲ βάζει.
- 2) Germanos II (13th c.), *Epistulae duae ad Cyprios* (Ep. 1; ed. Sathas 1873: 10-11): Λατῖνοι ἄλλα μὲν βάζουσιν, ἄλλα δ' ἐν φρεσὶ κεύθασιν.
- 3) Michael Choniates (12th-13th c.), *Epistulae* (Ep. 69; ed. Kolovou 2001: 94, l. 33: ἀλλά τις ἕτερα μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἕτερα δὲ βάζει.
- 4) Niketas Choniates (12th-13th c.), *Historia* (ed. van Dieten 1975: 133, ll. 16-19): ἄνδρα δὲ κακὰ τῷ πλησίον βυσσοδομεύοντα καὶ ἄλλα μὲν ἐν φρεσὶ κεύθοντα ἕτερα δὲ βάζοντα σοφίας δεῖ πολλῆς ἐκφυγεῖν καὶ χρεῖα τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐφάψεως.

Besides, there is also a passage in step 10 from the *Ladder* which expresses a similar idea (PG 88.845 Gr. 10, ll. 10-17):

Ὡσπερ εἰσὶ νεάνιδες ἀπηρυθριασμένως τὰ κακὰ πράττουσαι· εἰσὶ δὲ ἕτεραι λεληθότως καὶ αἰδεστικωτέρως χαλεπώτερα τῶν προτέρων ἐπιτελοῦσαι· οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παθῶν τῆς ἀτιμίας ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. Αἱ πλείους ὑπουλοὶ νεάνιδες ὑπόκρισις, πονηρία, λύπη, μνησικακία, καταλαλιά καρδίας, ἄλλα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν ὑποτιθέμεναι, ἄλλα δὲ ἀποβλέπουσαι.

87: This verse is again clearly based on a passage from step 9 of the *Ladder*.²⁸¹

²⁸¹ Again, I follow the reading of Sophr. PG (88.841, ll. 12-13) reads ἀνόδουος (ἀνώδουος in the version on TLG) instead of ἀνήδουος. I think in this case the context needs a negative term in order to fit in with the other negative terms equated with remembrance of wrongs. Besides, ἀνήδουος implies a pun regarding ἠδύτητι and thus fits the context better.

Poem 2, v. 87	Sophr. 9.2
ἐν ἡδύτητι πικρίας ἀμαρτάνων.	Μνησικακία ἐστὶ (...) ἀνήδονος αἴσθησις ἐν ἡδύτητι πικρίας ἀγαπωμένη· διηνεκῆς ἀμαρτία

The passage from the *Ladder* is part of a long list of things which are equated with remembrance of wrongs. The fact that the first three words are a quotation from this passage from the *Ladder* leads to a less frequent accent position on the third syllable, whereas the *Binnenschluß* is placed after the fifth syllable. ἀμαρτάνων is a participle on the same level as κεύθων (v. 85) and βάζων (v. 86). It seems likely that the appearance of ἀμαρτάνων is triggered by ἀμαρτία.

Step 10 of the Ladder: On slander or calumny

The step opens by stating that slander (καταλαλιά) is the offspring of hatred and remembrance of wrongs.²⁸² Thereafter Klimax defines slander as “a subtle yet coarse disease, a leech lurking unfelt (...). It is the simulation of love” (Sophr. 10.1; PG 88.845C).

Klimax learns that you may not slander, even if you say that you slander out of love. That is slandering someone who made a mistake in order to point out to him that he sinned. This is what Klimax means by the hypocrisy of love (Sophr. 10.3; PG 88.845CD). To overcome slander, you should blame the demon who pushed someone to sin, rather than the sinner himself (Sophr. 10.5; PG 88.845D). You should not slander, because you “fall into graver sins every day” (Sophr. 10.7-8; PG 88.848, ll. 2-13). You should be aware that someone can sin in public, but repent secretly and thus become purified (Sophr. 10.9; PG 88.848, ll. 13-18). “With what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged” (Mt. 7:2). If you blame someone for his sins, you shall suffer from the same sins (Sophr. 10.10; PG 88.848, ll. 18-23). If you judge others, you did not yet examine your own sins enough, because if you did, and if you would live a hundred years, then you would have wept as many tears as there is water in the River Jordan (Sophr. 10.11; PG 88.848, ll. 23-33). To judge others is in fact blasphemy since only God may judge (Sophr. 10.15; PG 88.848, ll. 46-47).

Near the end of the step, Klimax warns that slander alone can ruin a man. A good man sees the virtues in his fellow brothers, a fool sees their sins (Sophr. 10.16-17; PG 88.848, l. 47 - 849, l. 1).

88-93, step 10:

Λαλεῖς δὲ λοιπὸν ὡς ἔχεις ἐν κρυφίῳ,
κἂν μικρὸν ἐκστῆς, συντόμως ἐπανάγη,

ι περὶ καταλαλιᾶς

²⁸² This contradicts Klimax' own statement in step 9 that remembrance of wrongs has no offspring. Cf. Sophr. 9.2; PG 88.841, ll. 8-18.

οὐκ ἐκδαπανῶν ἐν νόθοις ἡσυχίοις
τὴν ἀγκαλίδα, τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Λόγου,
εἴτ' αὖ̃ μαιίνων ἀγάπης ὑποκρίσει
καὶ τῇ μελήσει τοῦ καταλαλουμένου.

περὶ καταλαλιᾶς (title): This title is exactly the same as the one given in Sophr. (1970: 76, 185), PG 88.629, 854, **M** f. 3r and **N** f. 9v. **M** f. 320v has a different title: Περὶ τοῦ μὴ κρίνειν τοὺς ἀξιεπαίνους. Interestingly, the content of the summary in Poem 2 has in fact the reverse of slander as its topic. It is therefore not entirely clear why the poet did the effort to change the title of step 9, which in his summary also dealt with the opposite theme as the one given in the *Ladder*, but, in the case of step 10, simply took over the title from the *Ladder*.²⁸³

88: ἐν κρυφίῳ seems reminiscent of κρύπτεις (v. 82). In any case, step 10 continues the previous step. This is emphasized by δὲ, which indicates that Λαλεῖς introduces a way of speaking which is the opposite of the one of vv. 85-86. You do not hide anything inside, but you say everything just as it is in your heart.

λοιπὸν, is used as an adverb, as it is in present day Greek, meaning: so (compare with Dutch *overigens* or German *übrigens*).

89: This verse means that, if you feel that you get the intention of slandering someone, you immediately recapture yourself. In step 10, there does not seem to be a clear verbatim parallel. One passage in particular might have served as a general inspiration for this verse (PG 88.848, ll. 2-10):

μηδέποτε αἰδεσθῆς τὸν πρὸς σὲ τοῦ [τὸν] πλησίον καταλαλοῦντα μᾶλλον δὲ λέγε·
Παῦσαι, ἀδελφέ· ἐγὼ καθημέραν ἐν χαλεπωτέροις πταίω, καὶ πῶς ἐκεῖνον
κατακρίνειν δύναμαι; Δύο γὰρ ταῦτα κερδανεῖς ἐν μιᾷ ἐμπλάστρω, καὶ σεαυτὸν, καὶ
τὸν πλησίον ἰασάμενος μία καὶ αὕτη τῶν συντόμως ὁδῶν πρὸς τὴν ἄφεισιν τῶν
πταισμάτων καθέστηκεν ὁδηγουσῶν· λέγω δὲ τὸ μὴ κρίνειν· Εἴπερ μὴ κρίνετε, καὶ
οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε.

In this passage, it is said that, if you hear someone slandering his brother, you should urge him to stop immediately. There is a clear interaction between two persons. In v. 89, by contrast, there is only one person. We might, however, say that in this verse the two voices of the passage from the *Ladder* are integrated into one person who retains himself when he feels that he gets the intention to slander.

²⁸³ One could perhaps suggest that in the case of step 9 the topic is easily rendered negative by an *alpha privativum*, which is not possible in the case of the topic of step 10.

90-92: These verses contain two clear references to the *Ladder*. **νόθοις ἡσυχίοις** is taken from the passage from step 9 which was also used in the summary of that step in Poem 2 (PG 88.841, ll. 51-54):²⁸⁴

Ξύλῳ σαθρῷ ἔνδοθεν ἐναποτίκτονται σκώληκες· καὶ πραοτάτοις καὶ ἡσυχίοις νόθοις συγκολλᾶται μῆνις. Ὁ ἀποβάλλον αὐτὴν εὗρεν ἄφρῆσιν, ὁ δὲ προσκολλώμενος αὐτῇ.

In step 9, in the context of remembrance of wrongs, this expression means that some people are falsely silent and hide rancour inside. In v. 90, the negation **οὐκ** indicates that you do not have such a hypocrite soul.

Another parallel with the *Ladder* is found in step 10 and concerns **ἐκδαπανῶν** (v. 90) and **ἀγάπης ὑπόκρισει** (v. 92) (PG 88.845 Gr. 10, ll. 6-10):

Καταλαλιά ἐστὶν ἀποκύημα μίσους· λεπτὴ νόσος, παχειά, κεκρυμμένη καὶ λανθάνουσα βδέλλα, ἀγάπης ἐκδαπανῶσα καὶ ἐξαφανίζουσα αἷμα· ἀγάπης ὑπόκρισις· καρδίας ρύπου καὶ βάρους πρόξενος· ἀφανισμὸς ἀγνείας.

Slander is as a leach which sucks blood unfelt. In this way it wastes the blood of love. This implies that it is “simulation of love” (ἀγάπης ὑπόκρισις). To understand what Klimax exactly means by ἀγάπης ὑπόκρισις we should read some lines further (PG 88.845, ll. 17-25):

Ἦκουσα καταλαλούντων, καὶ ἔπληξα, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀπολογίαν οἱ τοῦ κακοῦ ἐργάται ἀπεκρίναντο· ὡς ἐξ ἀγάπης καὶ φροντίδος τοῦ καταλαλουμένου τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν. Ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτοῖς· Παύσασθε, ἔφην, τῆς τοιαύτης ἀγάπης· ἵνα μὴ ψεύσηται ὁ εἰρηκῶς· Τὸν καταλαλοῦντα λάθρα τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ, τοῦτον ἐξεδίωκον. Εἰ λέγεις ἀγαπᾶν, εὐχου λεληθότως, καὶ μὴ σκῶπτε τὸν ἄνδρα· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ τρόπος δεκτὸς παρὰ Κυρίῳ.

In this passage, Klimax rebukes someone who says that he slanders someone else out of love, which means, to slander someone in order to point someone to his sins. This kind of love is no real love, but only a simulation of it, only hypocrisy.

In Poem 2, **ἐκδαπανῶν** and **ἀγάπης ὑπόκρισει** are separated from each other. **ἀγάπης ὑπόκρισει** is not governed by **ἐκδαπανῶν**, but to **μιαίνων** (v. 92), another participle which stands on the same level. The fact, however, that in vv. 90-92 the poet

²⁸⁴ See for a discussion of Nikephoros' and Elias' commentary on this passage Antonopoulou (2007: 158-159).

refers to step 9 and 10 proves that he understood the interpenetration and the close relationship of these steps towards one another.

91: Grammatically, when compared to the parallel passage from the *Ladder* (PG 88.845, ll. 6-10), this verse, as the object, has the same function as the blood of love which is sucked by a leech and is thus wasted. In both the *Ladder* and Poem 2, the object is something positive which can be wasted. Furthermore, it seems that v. 91 functions not only as an object to **ἐκδαπανῶν**, but also to **μιαίνων**, which as a transitive verb would otherwise be deprived of an object.

ἀγκαλίδα is used as a synonym of **μερίδα**, as is implied by the *asyndeton*. LSJ gives: ἀγκαλῖς, ἡ, in pl., = ἀγκάλαι, *arms*, and refers to *Iliad* 18.555, 22.503. As a second meaning LSJ mentions *armful*. LSJ also mentions two derived forms that may explain how ἀγκαλῖς can be a synonym of μερίς: 1) ἀγκάλισμα, ατος, τό, *that which is embraced or taken in the arms*, 2) ἀγκαλισμός, ό, *making into bundles*.²⁸⁵ Montanari (2015) also mentions ἄγκαλος (ό, *armful, bundle*) and refers to the 4th Homeric Hymn, v. 82. It seems thus that the meaning shifted from *arms*, over *what you can take in your arms*, to *bundle*. A bundle is a specification of ‘what you can take in your arms’ and implies that there is more material than what you can take in your arms. This means thus that you can only take a bundle, which is a part (μερίς). In any case, Eudemos (2nd c. ?) in his *Περὶ λέξεων ῥητορικῶν* (excerpta) (ed. Niese 1922: f. 3b, l. 13), Photios (9th c.) in his *Lexicon* (A-Δ, lem. 179, l. 4; ed. Theodoridis 1982), the *Suda* (10th c.) (ed. Adler 1928: α, lem. 243) and the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (11th c.) (ed. de Stefani 1909: 13, l. 11) clearly equate both words: “ἀγκαλίδα: μερίδα”. Also in the *Lexicon* of Ps.-Zonaras (13th c.) both terms are equated (Tittmann 1808: 24, l. 22): Ἀγκαλίδας. μερίδας ἢ δράγματα.²⁸⁶ PGL translates μερίς as *portion* and δράγμα as *sheaf*, which is a synonym of *bundle*.

τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Λόγου: See Act. 8:21:

οὐκ ἔστιν σοι μερίς οὐδὲ κληῖρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, ἡ γὰρ καρδιά σου οὐκ ἔστιν εὐθεῖα ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ.

In this passage, Peter answers Simon Magus that he cannot buy knowledge to work miracles. He is simply unable to work them because he has “neither part nor portion in this matter”, or: neither part nor portion of this word.

See also Eusebios, *Generalis elementaria introductio* (ed. Gaisford 1842: 188, ll. 17-20):

²⁸⁵ Montanari (2015: s.v. ἀγκαλισμός) has: *assembling into bundles*.

²⁸⁶ A different explanation is given by Hesychios’ *Lexicon* (A-O) (α, lem. 533; ed. Latte 1953): ἀγκαλῖς ἄχθος, καὶ δρέπανον Μακεδόνες.

οὕτω δὲ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πρωτοτόκων τῶν ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πάντας ἡγοῦμαι τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν μερίδα τοῦ λόγου τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγεννημένους ἁγίους χρηματίζειν.

See also Eusebios' *Commentaria in Psalmos* (PG 24.32, ll. 17-27):

Ὅς ἐπάταξε τὰ πρωτότοκα Αἰγύπτου. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ καθόλου καὶ οὐράνια φασὶ τινες προνοία διοικεῖσθαι μόνῃ Θεοῦ, δείκνυσιν ὡς μέλει καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων αὐτῶ, καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς κολάζονται καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν οἰκείουμένῳ τὸ γένος. Ἄλλὰ πάλαι μὲν ἦν μερὶς Κυρίου, δηλαδὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ δι' ἣν ἔδρασεν ἀσέβειαν ἐκεῖνος ἐκπέπτωκεν, ἐνανθρωπήσαντι λέλεκται· Αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου.

In this passage, just as in the *scholion* next to v. 91, preserved in **N**, Λόγου is equated with Κυρίου in a similar context. In the context of a step on καταλαλιά, **Λόγου**, probably not only stands for the Word, but also for a word.²⁸⁷ **τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Λόγου** can then be interpreted as the power of speech, which is the gift from the Lord. In vv. 90-91, it is said that we should not waste this gift by slanderous words.

93: This verse gives a further explanation of **ἀγάπης ὑποκρίσει**. The *care for the person whom you slander* refers clearly to the (false) argument given by someone who slanders out of love in the above quoted passage from the *Ladder* (PG 88.845, ll. 17-25).

Step 11 of the Ladder: On talkativeness and silence

At the beginning of this step, Klimax briefly recaptures the previous one, and announces that this step will deal with the cause of the vice of the previous step, thus with the cause of slander (Sophr. 11.1; PG 88.852, ll. 3-8). Thereafter, Klimax defines talkativeness (πολυλογία) as “the throne of vainglory” and “the door to slander”, as ψεύδους ὑπουργός (= step 12) and ἀκηδίας κλήτωρ (= step 13) (Sophr. 11.2; PG 88.852, ll. 9-16). Then Klimax gives a definition of silence (σιωπή), which is of course the opposite of talkativeness. He defines it as, a.o.: “the mother of prayer” (= step 28), “a prison of mourning” (= step 5 / 7), “effective remembrance of death” (= step 6), “an enemy of free speech” (παρρησίας ἔχθρα), “unseen progress, secret ascent”. Silence drives away vainglory (Sophr. 11.3-4; PG 88.852, ll. 16-29).

Also in this case, Klimax mentions that he did not write much about the topic of this step, which is indeed quite short. Since the topic of this step is talkativeness and silence, this seems

²⁸⁷ Compare also with Poem 2, v. 20.

- 2) Hesychios (5th / 6th c.), *Lexicon (A-O)* (λ, lem. 340; ed. Latte 1953): λαρόν· ἡδύ, προσηνές.
- 3) Photios (9th c.), *Lexicon (E-M)*, λ, lem. 101; ed. Theodoridis 1998): λαρόν· {χλιαρόν}, προσηνές, ἡδύ.
- 4) *Suda* (10th c.) (ed. Adler 1933b: λ, lem. 126): Λαρόν: χλιαρόν, προσηνές, ἡδύ.
- 5) Ps.-Zonaras, *Lexicon* (13th c.)²⁸⁸ (ed. Tittmann 1808: 1288, l. 15- 1289, l. 3):
 Δαμυρόν. κομψόν, λαμπρόν.
 Λαξευτήριον. ἐργαλεῖον οἰκοδομικόν ἢ λιθοξοϊκόν.
 Λαρόν. προσηνές, ἡδύ. παρὰ τὸ ἰλαρόν, λαρόν. ἢ παρὰ τὸ λῶ, τὸ θέλω καὶ ἀπολαύω.

In the last example of Ps.-Zonaras, the three words which form the first seven syllables of v. 95 appear two lines below λαμυρόν.

We could cautiously reconstruct the composition process of vv. 94-95 as follows: the author takes **Εὐτράπελόν** from the passage in the *Ladder* and finds synonyms in one or several lexica and even possibly borrows a phrase which by accident could fit into a verse, with a *Binnenschluß* after, and a stress on, the 5th syllable.

94-96: The syntax of these verses is opaque to me. One might wonder whether the text is sound. **αὐτὸ** (as an object of **πλατύνων**) seems to recapture **ἔπος** and vv. 94-95 (the object of **πλέκων**). If this is the case, we miss a subject and a *verbum finitum* in this step. One could consider to take the second person of **λαλεῖς** and **ἔχεις** (v. 88), which was continued in **ἐκδαπανῶν** (v. 90) and **μιαίνων** (v. 92), as the subject. In this case, **οὐκ** (v. 90) should still be valid, otherwise it would be implied that the ideal ascender commits the sin of talkativeness, which seems unlikely. Regarding the content, these verses indeed refer to talkativeness (see below).

96 πλατύνων κρασπέδοις: These words seem to be inspired by Mt. 23:5:

πάντα δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ποιοῦσιν πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· πλατύνουσιν
 γὰρ τὰ φυλακτήρια αὐτῶν καὶ μεγαλύνουσιν τὰ κράσπεδα

In this passage, Jesus criticises the Pharisees. He says that they act out of vainglory and that “they make their phylacteries broad and enlarge the borders of their garments”. The phylacteries are “small leather boxes containing scripture quotations (e.g. Deut. 6:4-9)” (Coogan 2001: Mt. 23:5). The fringes are “blue twisted threads at the four corners of a

²⁸⁸ As Hunger (1978: 42) argues the *Lexicon* is dated between 1204 and 1253, which is thus later than **M** and **N**, which are dated to the 12th c. On the one hand, a gloss on the altar in the Hagia Sophia has the imperfect ἦν, implying that the gloss originated after the destruction of the altar in 1204. On the other hand, the oldest manuscript preserving the *Lexicon*, *Vat. gr. 10*, is dated to 1253.

garment, a reminder to obey the commandments (Num. 15:38-40)” (Coogan 2001: Mt. 23:5). The meaning of this passage in *Matthew* is that the Pharisees know the Words from God, but that they do not act according to them. They only show them. In Poem 2, the act of broadening fringes is compared to the broadening of words (= πολυλογία). In both cases, the act does not lead to pious behaviour, but to vainglory: cf. step 11 (PG 88.852, l. 9): Πολυλογία ἐστὶ κενοδοξίας καθέδρα. Chrysostom, in his *In Matthaeum homiliae* (PG 58.669, ll. 3-7), comments on the passage from *Matthew* as follows:

Πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ποιῶσι, φησί, πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Εἰς κενοδοξίαν αὐτοὺς διαβάλλων ταῦτα λέγει, ὅπερ αὐτοὺς ἀπώλεσε.

96 ἐκ λίνου: The word λίνον can have several meanings. Basically, it refers to *anything made of flax* (LSJ). Derived meanings are *thread*, *cord* and therefrom *fishing-line* (LSJ). PGL also mentions *fishing net* and *snare*, which is derived from the first meaning. Again, it seems useful to look at Chrysostom’s *In Matthaeum homiliae* (PG 58.669, ll. 28-41):

Καὶ τίνα ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ τὰ κράσπεδα; Ἐπειδὴ συνεχῶς ἐπελανθάνοντο τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐκέλευσεν ἐγγραφῆναι βιβλίους μικροῖς τὰ θαύματα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξηρητῆσθαι αὐτὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν· (διὸ καὶ ἔλεγεν· Ἔσται ἀσάλευτα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου) ἃ φυλακτήρια ἐκάλουν· ὡς πολλὰ νῦν τῶν γυναικῶν Εὐαγγέλια τῶν τραχήλων ἐξαρτῶσαι ἔχουσι. Καὶ ἵνα καὶ ἐτέρωθεν πάλιν ὑπομιμνήσκωνται, ὃ πολλοὶ πολλάκις ποιῶσιν, ὡς ἐπιλανθανόμενοι λίνῳ ἢ κρόκῃ τὸν δάκτυλον ἀποδεσμοῦντες, τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς ὡσπερ παιδίῳ ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν, κλωσμά ὑακίνθινον ἐπὶ τῶν ἱματίων περὶ τὴν ῥάβδον τὴν περὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀπορῥάπτεισθαι, ἵνα προσέχοντες ἀναμιμνήσκωνται τῶν ἐντολῶν· καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο κράσπεδα.

After explaining the phylacteries, Chrysostom explains the fringes: Just as you bind a thread (λίνῳ ἢ κρόκῃ) around your finger to prevent you from forgetting something, the Jews had threads (κλωσμά) at their clothes to constantly remember God’s commandments, and these are called fringes (κράσπεδα).²⁸⁹ In this way Chrysostom explains that κράσπεδον is in fact a synonym of λίνον. *In se*, in Poem 2, it is not explicitly specified if ἐκ λίνου describes the fringes as *linen* or as *consisting of threads*.

²⁸⁹ In Deut. 22:11-12 there are some prescriptions regarding linen and fringes: 11 οὐκ ἐνδύση κίβδηλον, ἔρια καὶ λίνον, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ. 12 Στρεπτὰ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων κρασπέδων τῶν περιβολαίων σου, ἃ ἐὰν περιβάλη ἐν αὐτοῖς. In this passage, however, vv. 11 and 12 seem to stand next to each other and it is not explicitly prescribed out of which material the fringes should be made.

96: After the passage quoted above, Chrysostom gives a further explanation (PG 58.669, ll. 41-43):

Ἐν τούτοις τοίνυν ἦσαν σπουδαῖοι, τοὺς τελαμῶνας τῶν βιβλίων πλατύνοντες, καὶ τὰ κράσπεδα μεγαλοποιῦντες· ὅπερ ἐσχάτης κενοδοξίας ἦν.

Chrysostom thus mentions that some of them were too eager and thereby broadened (πλατύνοντες) their fringes, which resulted in vainglory.

Another interesting passage, found in Athanasios' *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* (9.3, ll. 3-6; ed. Hansen et al. 1996) presents a link between talkativeness and fringes:

διὰ τοῦτο, κἂν “ἐνεοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ποιῶσι” κἂν μείζονα κράσπεδα τῶν Φαρισαίων περιδήσωσιν ἑαυτοῖς, κἂν πλατύνωσιν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς φθέγμασι καὶ τὸν τόνον ἀσκήσωσι τῆς φωνῆς, οὐκ ὀφείλουσι πιστεῦεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἡ λέξις, ἀλλ’ ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἡ μετ’ εὐσεβείας ἀγωγή συνίστησι τὸν πιστόν.

Here, Athanasios speaks of heretics. He implicitly compares them to the Pharisees of Mt. 23:5. Interestingly, directly after this comparison, he mentions that they also broaden (πλατύνωσιν) their words, meaning that they give long speeches. In this way, he links πολυλογία to the κράσπεδα.

97-99: These three verses refer back to a passage from step 10 (PG 88.848, ll. 23-33):

Οἱ ὀξεῖς καὶ ἀκριβεῖς λογοθέται τῶν τοῦ πλησίον πλημμελημάτων ὑπάρχοντες, τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ὑφίστανται, ἐπειδὴ μήπω περὶ τῶν οἰκείων πταισμάτων τελείαν καὶ ἀρέμβαστον μνήμην καὶ φροντίδα ἐποιήσαντο.* Εἰ γὰρ τις τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κακὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς φιλαυτίας περικαλύμματος ἀκριβῶς θεάσοιτο, οὐδενὸς λοιπὸν ἄλλου τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ φροντίδα ποιήσοιτο, λογιζόμενος μηδὲ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον πένθος ἐξαρκεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χρόνον, κἂν ἑκατὸν ἔτη ζήσειεν· κἂν τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν ὅλον δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν ἴδοι ἐκπορευόμενον.

In this passage, it is said that, if you are able to consider your own failures without “the veil of self-love”, you will focus on what is important in life, namely mourning and weeping and you will not judge others. This passage thus presents a similar idea as expressed in v. 98: **παρεκτροπὰς ἑάσας ἰδίας βλέπειν**. It seems, however, that these three verses were not directly based on the passage from the *Ladder*. Their wording is remarkably similar to a *scholion* on the passage from the *Ladder* (accompanying the *, which I added). The *scholion* is edited in Sophr., but not in PG.

εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἔξω νοῦς γένηται τῆς ἔδρας παρεκτροπᾶς ἑάσας ἰδίας βλέπειν, ἄλλως ἐς ἄλλων οὐ παρακύπτει κρίσιν.	Ἀληθῶς γάρ· εἰ μὴ ὁ νοῦς ἔξω ἑαυτοῦ γένηται, τὰ οἰκεῖα ἑάσας, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων σκοπῶν, ἄλλως εἰς τὸ κρίνειν οὐκ ἔρχεται.
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Poem 2, however, does not faithfully preserve the meaning of the *scholion*. There it is said that, *unless you are out of your mind (which means that you do not care for your own sins, but pay attention to those of others), otherwise you will not judge*. The meaning of vv. 97-99 is different: *unless you are out of your mind (which allows you to see your own sins), otherwise you will not judge others*. It seems that the poet meant that *you can be conscious of your own sins, when you are not out of your mind*. Clearly the meaning of v. 98 contradicts that of the corresponding passage in the *scholion*. One could cautiously interpret that this is the result of the poet contaminating the passage from the *Ladder* and the *scholion*. It seems that he took the meaning from *Εἰ γὰρ τις τὰ ἑαυτοῦ (...) θεάσοιτο* and inserted this into his metrical transformation of the *scholion*.

Also in **N**, a *scholion* is preserved. It refers to **οὐ παρακύπτει** and runs: **Γράφεται οὐκ ἀποκλίνει**. PGL translates ἀποκλίνω as *turn away from, avoid*. At first sight this meaning seems to be the opposite of **παρακύπτει** which is translated by LSJ as *stoop sideways or lean over*. These meanings rather correspond to ἐπικλίνω than to ἀποκλίνει. Therefore, I translated **παρακύπτει** as *inclined*. I think thus that **παρακύπτει**, just as ἔρχεται in the *scholion* from Sophr. means “to go to”.

Vv. 97-99 are clearly a metrical paraphrase of the *scholion* edited in Sophr. (1970: 77 n. 2). Of course, this raises the question why the poet quoted a *scholion* from step 10 in his summary of step 11. The answer is not easy to find, but I think that a look at the (opaque) syntax might help.

94-99 syntax: The summary of step 11 in Poem 2 seems to consist of two equal parts. The first part (vv. 94-96) seems to continue the syntactical structure of the previous step. This syntactical link might explain why a *scholion* on step 10 appears in step 11. If we can assume that also this step, just as all previous steps, presents the pious behaviour of the ascender, then I suggest that **οὐκ** (v. 90) has to be still valid. Just as was the case with **ἐκδανῶν** (v. 90) and **μιαίνων** (v. 92), **πλέκων** (v. 94) and **πλατύνων** (v. 96) express a negative action which is negated, and is thus said to not be executed by the ascender. The second part (vv. 97-99) has, just as is the case in the *scholion*, **νοῦς** as its subject. Syntactically and semantically it seems rather hard to consider this step as a unity. It consists of two individual parts which were placed together as one step. The poet did not succeed to integrate his sources into a unity. The summary of step 11 seems to be rather clumsy patchwork from *lexica*, a reminiscence of Mt. 23:5 and a *scholion* on the *Ladder*.

Step 12 of the Ladder: On lying

Lying is described as “the offspring of chatter and joking”, which explains its order in the Ladder. It is furthermore described as “the destruction of love” (Sophr. 12.1; PG 88.853). Lying is a severe sin. A false oath, however, is even worse. Lying destroys mourning (Sophr. 12.2-3; PG 88.856, ll. 1-10).

Klimax warns us that, when we hear someone jesting in public, demons give us two false ideas: 1) “Do not offend the story-teller”, 2) “Do not appear to love God more than they do”. Klimax opposes himself to both ideas and advises to interrupt the story-teller and to recall the remembrance of death (Sophr. 12.4; PG 88.856, ll. 10-22). The mother of lying is hypocrisy (Sophr. 12.5; PG 88; 856, ll. 22-23).

Interestingly, Klimax says that there are, as in all passions, different degrees of harm in lying. The one who lies “through fear of punishment” will be judged differently than the one who lies “when no danger is at hand”. The liar lies “under the pretext of prudence” thinks that he acts rightly, but in fact destroys his soul. Some of these people falsely claim to be an imitator of Rahab. Paradoxically, Klimax adds that you can be an imitator of Rahab, but only when you are entirely free from lying.

100-105, step 12:

Τὸ ψεῦδος ἐξ ὧν λαμβάνει παρρησίαν,
 ὃ τὴν ἀγάπην ἀποκόπτει ριζόθεν·
 ἐγκρίς, γλύκασμα, δόρπος, ἀπάτη, βέλος.
 Ὁ γοῦν ἀγάπην καὶ κατάνυξιν ἔχων
 ψεῦδος τὸ κακὸν ὑπαλύξειν ἰσχύει,
 ἐν οἷς ὅτε χρὴ πρὸς Ῥαάβ ἀποβλέπων.

ιβ̄ περὶ ψεύδους

περὶ ψεύδους (tit.): This title is exactly the same as the one in Sophr. (1970: 79, 185); PG 88.629, 853; **N** f. 9v; **M** f. 3r. In the *pinax* at the end of **M** f. 320v we find a longer title: Περὶ τῆς ἰάσεως τοῦ λεπτοτάτου ψεύδους.

100-105: In this step, the ascender is not addressed directly any more. The subject of vv. 100-102 is **ψεῦδος**. In vv. 103-105, the subject is a good person in general.

100: Although there is no verbatim resemblance, this verse seems to allude to the opening lines of step 12 in the *Ladder* (PG 88.853 Gr. 12, ll. 3-4):

Γέννημα μὲν σιδήρου καὶ λίθου πῦρ· γέννημα δὲ πολυλογίας καὶ εὐτραπείας
 ψεῦδος.

As suggested by this passage, **ἐξ ὧν** (v. 100) refers in general to πολυλογία of the previous step (with **ὧν** as an *ad sensum* plural). From these things, **ψεῦδος** receives παρρησία. In the *Ladder*, παρρησία is used as a negative term. See, for example step 9 (PG 88.841, ll. 21-22): τράπεζα ἀπρόσεκτος μήτηρ παρρησίας, or step 11 (PG 88.852, ll. 16-21):

σιωπὴ ἐν γνώσει· μήτηρ προσευχῆς, αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνάκλησις, πυρὸς φυλακὴ (...) παρρησίας ἔχθρα, ἡσυχίας σύζυγος.²⁹⁰ παρρησία appears also to πολυλογία in the list of gluttony's daughters given in step 14 (PG 88.869, ll. 49-55):

Ἐμοῦ θυγατέρες ὀκνηρία, πολυλογία, παρρησία, γελωτοποιία, εὐτραπελία, ἀντιλογία, σκληροτραχηλία, ἀνηκοΐα, ἀναισθησία, αἰχμαλωσία, μεγαλαυχία, θρασύτης, φιλοκοσμία, ἣν διαδέχεται προσευχὴ ῥυπαρὰ, καὶ ῥεμβασμοὶ λογισμῶν. Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συμφοραὶ ἀνέλπιστοι καὶ ἀπροσδόκητοι, αἷς προσωμίλησε ἀνελπιστία ἢ πάντων χαλεπωτέρα

We translated παρρησία as *boldness in speech*.²⁹¹ The verse means that because of πολυλογία also **ψεῦδος** gets the opportunity to speak. When taking the etymology of παρρησία into account it is indeed related to πολυλογία.

101: This verse contains the same idea as a phrase at the beginning of step 12 (PG 88.853 Gr. 12, ll. 4-5): Ψεῦδός ἐστιν ἀγάπης ἀφανισμός.

102: The first three words of this verse clearly refer to gluttony. In step 12, there is no mention of gluttony. In step 11, gluttony is mentioned as one of the three possible sources of talkativeness (PG 88.852D). Since, at the beginning of step 12, it is mentioned that talkativeness leads to lying, gluttony indirectly leads to lying.

ἐγκρίς is *a cake made with oil and honey* (LSJ).²⁹² It seems that also in this passage the author was inspired by several lexica. It does not seem to be a coincidence that in several lexica, the first word after the lemma ἐγκρίς, is **γλύκασμα**.²⁹³

- 1) Hesychios (5th / 6th c.), *Lexicon* (A-O) (ε, lem. 264; ed. Latte 1953): ἐγκρίς· γλύκασμα ἐξ ἐλαίου ὕδαρές.
- 2) Photios (9th c.), *Lexicon* (E-M, ε, lem. 59; ed. Theodoridis 1998): ἐγκρίς· γλύκασμα ἐξ ἐλαίου ὕδαρές.
- 3) *Suda* (10th c.) (ed. Adler 1928: ε, lem. 128): Ἐγκρίς: γλύκασμα ἐξ ἐλαίου ὕδαρές.
- 4) Ps.-Zonaras, *Lexicon* (13th c.) (ed. Tittmann 1808: 600, l. 24): Ἐγκρίς. γλύκασμα ἐξ ἐλαίου ὕδαρές.

²⁹⁰ In the exhortation at the end of step 9, παρρησία is used, however, in a positive way (PG 88.844, ll. 10-12): Βαθμὸς ἔννατος ὁ κτησάμενος, παρρησία λοιπὸν τὴν λύσιν τῶν πταισμάτων αἰτεῖτω παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ.

²⁹¹ Moore (2012⁴: 139) translates παρρησία as *familiarity in speech*. See also PGL s.v. παρρησία (in bad sense *impudence, familiarity*).

²⁹² Cf. Ex. 16:31; Num. 11:8.

²⁹³ See also Psellos, *Poem*. 6, v. 319 (ed. Westerink 1992): Ἐγκρίς ἐλαίου γλύκασμα εὐχυτον ὕδαρῶδες.

The fact that γλύκασμα appears in the lexica, instead of its synonym γλύκυσμα, led us to preferring the reading of **M** in this case.

δόρπος is a synonym of δεῖπνον. Contrary to **ἐγκρίς**, it appears frequently in the surviving corpus of Greek literature from Antiquity and Byzantium.

ἀπάτη, at first sight, does not fit in with the three substantives already mentioned in this verse. A passage from step 14 might give an explanation (PG 88.864 Gr. 14, ll. 12-13): Γαστριμαργία ἐστὶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπάτη. In this phrase, gluttony is clearly equated with treachery, albeit restricted to the eyes.

βέλος has a negative connotation. See for example Eph. 6:16:

ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναλαμβάνοντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ [τὰ] πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι.

The word appears in a similar negative context in Poem 4, v. 35 and v. 86.

103-105: Whereas vv. 100-102 discuss **ψεῦδος** as a vice, vv. 103-105, by contrast, describe how it can be defeated by a pious man.

103: **ἀγάπην** in this verse contrasts with **ἀγάπην** in v. 101. The one who has love is opposed to the lie which cuts love away.

103 κατάνυξιν: Compunction is, of course, a central aspect of the ascetic life and is related to πένθος (Chryssavgis 2004: 133-137). It appears frequently in the *Ladder*. In step 12, it appears only once (PG 88.854, ll. 44-46):

Ὁ οἴνω εὐφρανθεὶς ἀκουσίως ἀληθεύσει εἰς πάντα· καὶ ὁ μεθυσθεὶς κατανύξει οὐ δυνήσεται ψεύσασθαι.

In this passage, it is said that someone who is drunk says the truth involuntarily, but someone who is full of compunction cannot lie, implying that he voluntarily tells the truth.

104-105: Rahab is known from Jos. 2:1-14: The prostitute Rahab hides two Israelite spies in the city of Jericho. When the king of the city asks her to hand them over, she says that they already left. She lies, because in reality she has hidden them on the roof. When the coast is clear, she explains to the spies that she knows that they are protected by God and that she was afraid when she heard that the sea yielded for the Israelites when they left Egypt. She asks the spies to protect her and her family. The spies agree on the condition that she does not betray them. Here, the lie of Rahab has no negative connotation, on the contrary, she supports God's people.

Also in the New Testament, Rahab appears as a positive figure: Hebr. 11:30-31:

Πίστει τὰ τεῖχη Ἱεριχῶ ἔπεσαν κυκλωθέντα ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας. Πίστει Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη οὐ συναπόλετο τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν δεξαμένη τοὺς κατασκόπους μετ' εἰρήνης.

This passage even does not mention Rahab's lie, she is simply mentioned as a faithful person. Another passage is found in Jc. 2:24-26:

ὁρᾶτε ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων δικαιούται ἄνθρωπος καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη ὑποδεξαμένη τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ ἑτέρα ὁδῶ ἐκβαλοῦσα; ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα χωρὶς πνεύματος νεκρὸν ἐστίν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ πίστις χωρὶς ἔργων νεκρά ἐστίν.

Here, the lie is implicitly mentioned. Contrary to the passage in Hebr. 11:31, she is praised not for her faith, but rather for her works.

Also Clemens of Alexandria (*Stromata* 4.17.105.4, l. 3; ed. Stählin et al. 1985⁴) and Clemens of Rome (*Epistula I ad Corinthios* 12.1; ed. Jaubert 2011) praise Rahab for her faith. They even use exactly the same words: διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώθη Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη.

Hence, Rahab's lie was not perceived as a sin. It was, so to speak, a good lie. In fact, a good lie is not a lie, it is an act of faith. I think that this idea of the good lie is also (implicitly) present in the *Ladder* and in Poem 2. Rahab appears at the end of step 12 (PG 88.856, ll. 27-43):

Ὡσπερ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πάθεσι διαφορὰν βλάβης γνωρίζομεν, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ψεύδους. Ἄλλο μὲν γὰρ τὸ κρῖμα τοῦ διὰ φόβον κολάσεως ψευδομένου· καὶ ἕτερον τὸ κινδύνου μὴ προκειμένου ψεύδεσθαι. Ἄλλος διὰ τρυφήν ἐψεύσατο, ἕτερος διὰ φιληδονίαν· ἄλλος ἵνα τοῖς παροῦσι προξενήσῃ γέλωτα, ἕτερος δὲ ἵνα τῶ ἀδελφῶ ἐπιβουλεύσῃ, καὶ τοῦτον κακοποιήσῃ. Ἐκ βασάνων ἀρχόντων ἐξαλείφεται ψεῦδος· ἐκ δὲ δακρύων πλήθους εἰς τέλος ἀπόλλυται προφασίζεται οἰκονομίας ὁ ψεῦδος προβολεὺς, καὶ δικαιοσύνας πολλάκις λογίζεται τὰς ψυχῆς ἀπωλείας. Τῆς Ῥαὰβ μιμητὴν ἑαυτὸν τεκμαίρεσθαι ψευδοπλάστης ἀνήρ, καὶ δι' ἀπωλείας οἰκειίας τὴν ἑτέραν σωτηρίαν λέγει πραγματεύεσθαι. Ὅποταν ψεῦδος εἰς ἅπαν καθαρεύσωμεν, τότε αὐτὸ μετὰ φόβου καὶ καιροῦ καλοῦντος ὑπέλθωμεν.

Here, it is said that there are different levels in lying. Some people who lie defend themselves by saying that they lied in order to effect the salvation of others. This self-destruction is not mentioned as something positive. Some people use Rahab as an excuse to lie. This does not mean that Rahab is a negative model, on the contrary. Klimax just means that some people say that they lied as Rahab did, so without any bad intention and without losing faith, whereas they in fact did lose their faith and lied in a bad way. In the next lines (PG 88.856, ll. 41-43), Klimax says that if you are completely free from lying, then you can lie as Rahab, "but only with fear and as occasion

demands”. Thus, as was the occasion in Jos. 2:1, where the fear of Rahab was clearly expressed. The lie of Rahab is thus a good lie.

Also Poem 2 implicitly has this notion of the good lie. At the beginning of v. 104, we read **ψεύδος τὸ κακόν**. This could be interpreted as the bad lie, opposed to the good lie of Rahab. **τὸ κακόν** is then a further specification of **ψεύδος**. V. 105 is almost a paraphrase of the last lines of the passage from the *Ladder*: **ἐν οἷς** corresponds to **τότε**, and **ὅτε χρῆ** to **καιροῦ καλοῦντος**. V. 103, mentioning the condition for applying a good lie, corresponds more or less to the condition mentioned in the *Ladder*: **Ὅποταν ψεύδους εἰς ἅπαν καθαρεύσωμεν**. So, in those specific circumstances, as was the case in Jos. 2:1-14, you can lie in a good way, avoiding lying in a bad way.

105 ἀποβλέπων: Also Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Catechesis ad illuminandos* 2 (PG 33.416, ll. 9-14) presents Rahab as model, in this case not for liars but for whores:

Ἐλθὲ λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐκ μετανοίας σωθέντας, κἂν ἐν γυναιξίν.
Ἐπόρνευσας, ἐμόλυνας τὸ σῶμα, ἄχρηστος γέγονας· ἄρα ἔστι σωτηρία; ἐρεῖς.
Ἀπόβλεψον, ὦ γύναι, εἰς τὴν Ῥαὰβ, καὶ θάρσησον εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν. Ἡ φανερωῶς
καὶ δημοσίᾳ πορνεύσασα σώζεται.

A similar advise is found in Theodore Prodromos' *Epigrammata in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (Jos. 81, ll. 1-4; ed. Papagiannis 1997):

Σώσασα Ῥαὰβ Ἰσραηλίτας δύο
ἀντεπρίατο παγγελῆ σωτηρίαν·
μιμεῖσθε, πόρνοι, τῆς Ῥαὰβ τὴν καρδίαν,
ὡς ἂν τύχητε ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας.

Step 13 of the Ladder: On despondency

At the beginning of this step, ἀκηδία, which can be best understood as a (melancholic) distraction of ascesis, is described as “one of the branches of talkativeness”.²⁹⁴ Klimax even mentions that it is “its first child”, and gives it therefore “its appropriate place in this chain of vices”.²⁹⁵ Thereafter follow some definitions of ἀκηδία, e.g. “a paralysis of soul, and enervation of the mind, neglect of asceticism” (Sophr. 13.1; PG 88.857 Gr. 13, l. 3 – 860, l. 7).

When you are obedient, you are free from ἀκηδία (Sophr. 13.2; PG 88.860, ll. 7-9). Hence, cenobitic monks are free from it, but for anachoretetes it is a constant threat (Sophr. 13.3; PG 88.860, ll. 9-14). Klimax warns for ἀκηδία as it is the demon of noonday. It is a pretext to visit people, but in fact it is mere distraction of ascesis (Sophr. 13.4; PG 88.860, ll. 14-24). During prayer, ἀκηδία may steep you in sleep, and by untimely yawns it may snatch the verse of prayer from your mouth (Sophr. 13.5; PG 88.860, ll. 24-31).

Ἀκηδία has a specific status, since, contrary to other passions, it does not have an opposite virtue by which it is destroyed. For a monk ἀκηδία is “a general death” (Sophr. 13.6; PG 88.860, ll. 31-35). Ἀκηδία is one of the eight capital vices (Sophr. 13.8; PG 88.860, ll. 35-41).²⁹⁶

Just as was the case in step 8, the vice is interrogated as a criminal would be in court. Also here, it is asked who are the parents and who are the offspring of the vice. Again the vice answers that it has many origins and admits that it does not thrive in obedient people. Its offspring is a.o. disobedience and the “forgetfulness of the judgement”. Its opponents are psalmody and manual labour. Its enemy is the remembrance of death (Sophr. 13.10; PG 88.860, l. 47 - 861, l. 10).

106-111, step 13:

Ἐντεῦθεν εἰπέ χρήσομαι πῶς τῷ λόγῳ
εἰς ἐξέτασιν τῆς ἀκηδίας φθάσας.
Πενθεῖς σὺ σαυτόν, ὡς ἔφην ἀνωτέρω.
Πενθικὸν ἦτορ οἶδε τὴν ἀκηδίαν,
μνήμη παλαῖον κρίσεως τῆς ἐσχάτης;
Ἕκιστα συμφήσειε πᾶς μνημημόρος.

ιγ περὶ ἀκηδίας

²⁹⁴ Cf. Poem 1, v. 20.

²⁹⁵ The claim that it is the first child of talkativeness seems to contradict the fact that step 13 is separated from step 11 by step 12 (on lying).

²⁹⁶ In this case, the reading of Sophr. (13.8) is to be preferred: ψαλμωδίας μὲν παρούσης, ἀκηδία οὐ φαίνεται. PG (88.860, ll. 39-40) reads: ψαλμωδίας μὴ παρούσης, ἀκηδία οὐ φαίνεται. Clearly, μὴ cannot be part of this sentence since it gives the opposite meaning of what is said at the end of this step, when ἀκηδία itself says (PG 88.861, ll. 6-7): αἱ ἐμοῦ ἀντίδικοι, ὑφ' ὧν δέδεμαι νῦν, ψαλμωδία σὺν ἐργοχείρῳ. In the *Ladder*, Klimax in fact presents fourteen vices. For the correspondence between Klimax and Evagrius, who also speaks of eight capital vices, see Chryssavgis (2004: 183-187).

περὶ ἀκηδίας (title): This title is exactly the same as the one given in Sophr. (1970: 80, 185), PG 88.629, 857, **N** f. 9v and **M** f. 3r. **M** f. 320v has a longer title: Περὶ τῆς ἰάσεως τῆς παρειμενης ἀκηδίας. This last title is similar to the one of the previous step in **M** f. 320v. παρειμένης is written without accent in **M**. In this case, the word is derived from παρήμι and means *sluggish, benumbed* (PGL).

106-107: The subject of **χρήσομαι** (v. 106) is probably the same as that of **ἔφην** (v. 108), which is in both cases the narrator. Both **εἰς ἐξέτασιν (...)** **φθάσας** (v. 107) and **ὡς ἔφην ἄνωτέρω** (v. 108) refer to the composition process of Poem 2. The narrator asks himself how he should apply the word in this step. Of course, there is some ambiguity between ‘the Word’ or ‘words’ in general, after three steps that dealt with three ways how the word can be abused (step 11: καταλαλιά, step 12: πολυλογία, step 13: ψεῦδος).

108-111: The poet answers his own question. The verb **ἔφην** as a first person singular confirms that it is the author who speaks, since he is the one who has described all previous steps. He repeats (**ὡς ἔφην ἄνωτέρω**) that *you* mourn (cf. step 7). Since the ascender has already reached step 13, it is implied that he has also trained himself in mourning. It is thus implied that mourning chases despondency away.

109-110: a rhetorical question. In **N**, there is clearly a question mark written both after v. 109 and after v. 110. It is implied that by **πένθος** you can overcome ἀκηδία. V. 110 is a further explanation of **πένθος**.

111: This verse does give the explicit answer to the rhetorical question. Someone who remembers death will not agree at all that **πένθος** knows, or, has part in, ἀκηδία.

111: **μνημημόρος** is a *hapax*. It is a compound clearly consisting of two parts: **μνήμη** (*remembrance* LSJ) + **μόρος** (*fate, death* LSJ). Here, it refers thus to someone who remembers death.

108-111: The fact that the poet comes back to **πένθος** in this step on ἀκηδία, can be easily explained by looking at Klimax’ step 13. Some passages clearly stress the importance of mourning to overcome despondency. A first passage is (Sophr. 13.9):²⁹⁷

Ὁ ἑαυτὸν πενθῶν, ἀκηδίαν οὐκ οἶδεν.

This passage seems to be the inspiration for the indirect question of v. 109: **Πενθικὸν ἦτορ οἶδε τὴν ἀκηδίαν**. The verb is clearly taken from the *Ladder*, and we could say that the phrase from the *Ladder* is in fact the answer to the question of v. 109. Also ἑαυτὸν from the quotation agrees with **Πενθεῖς σὺ σαυτόν** in v. 108.

²⁹⁷ In this case, the reading of Sophr. is to be preferred. PG (88.860, ll. 46-47) reads: ὁ ἑαυτοῦ πενθῶν ἀκηδίαν οὐκ οἶδεν.

Another relevant passage from step 13 is found in the answer of despondency itself to the question who is its offspring (PG 88.861, ll. 3-5):

ἔμοῦ ἀπόγονοι μεταβάσεις τόπων σὺν ἐμοὶ γινόμεναι· παρακοὴ πατρὸς,
ἀμνημοσύνη κρίσεως; ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ κατάλειψις τοῦ ἀπαγγέλματος

μνήμη (...) **κρίσεως** (v. 110) is the opposite of the forgetfulness of judgement, which is one of the children of despondency. In step 13, remembrance of death is furthermore described as the enemy of despondency (PG 88.861, l. 7):

ἔμοῦ ἐχθρὸς, θανάτου ἔννοια

The two last words of this phrase seem to correspond to **μνημημόρος** (v. 111).

Step 14 of the Ladder: On that clamorous mistress, the stomach

Klimax opens the step by introducing its subject (γαστήρ). It is quite impossible to overcome your stomach before dying (Sophr. 14.1; PG 88.864 Gr. 14, ll. 4-7). Thereafter follows a definition of γαστριμαργία, which is in fact the real topic of the step. It is defined as “hypocrisy of the stomach”. It is a deceiver which is hard to tame and “the father of fornication” (Sophr. 14.2-3; PG 88.864, ll. 7-14).

Thereafter, the Jew is compared to a monk who is a glutton. Both exult in feasts and food. The slave of the belly is opposed to the servant of God (Sophr. 14.4; PG 88.864, ll. 18-27). In many cases, vanity is an enemy of gluttony, but both vices try to deceive the monk (Sophr. 14.5; PG 88.864, l. 27 - 685, l. 2).

Klimax rejects the advice of the heretic Evagrius: “when our soul desires different foods, then confine it to bread and water”. Klimax compares this prescription with “saying to a child: ‘Go up the whole ladder in one stride’.” For Klimax, it is fine if you avoid fattening and then heating foods, for those things make eating pleasant (Sophr. 14.8-9; PG 88.865, ll. 12-32).

A glutton dreams of food; a mournful heart dreams of the judgement (Sophr. 14.13; PG 88.865, ll. 48-50). You have to “master your stomach before it masters you”. Since gluttony leads to fornication, you can control yourself with the aid of shame, but eunuchs cannot (Sophr. 14.14; PG 88.865, ll. 48-52). The stomach is furthermore described as “the cause of all human shipwreck” (Sophr. 14.15; PG 88.865, ll. 52-57). Satiety is opposed to weeping (Sophr. 14.16; PG 88.865, l. 57 - 867, l. 3). Fasting also leads to silence. Your stomach is like a leather bag. If you often use it, it becomes supple and can contain more. By contrast, if it is not used frequently, it cannot hold that much. You can also fight against gluttony by vigil. Klimax recommends manual labour, when you become sleepy. Interestingly, Klimax discourages manual labour when you are not sleepy, because it is impossible to think both of God and mammon (Lc. 16:13), which he equates with manual labour (Sophr. 14.17-23; PG 88.865, ll. 3-26).

It happens that a devil in your belly does not allow you to be satisfied, even if you “devour a whole Egypt and drink a River Nile”. When the demon of gluttony leaves, he sends you the demon of lust, saying: “Catch, catch, hound him; for when the stomach is full, he will not resist much.” This demon comes when we sleep and causes wet dreams (Sophr. 14.24; PG. 88.868, ll. 30-43).

Klimax explains the narrow gate of Mt. 7:13-14 as the way of fasting (Sophr. 14.25-26; PG 88.868, ll. 43-52). Also, when you see a table laden with food, you should remember death, and when you drink, think of the gall of the Lord (Sophr. 28; PG 88.868, l. 54 - 869, l. 3). You should (metaphorically) eat bitter herbs and unleavened bread (Sophr. 14.29; PG 88.869, ll. 3-7).

Fasting is a.o. defined as “the cutting out of everything that delights the palate, the excision of lust (= step 15), deliverance from incontinence in dreams (~ step 3), a cause of stillness (= step 27), a guard of obedience (= step 4), and even the gate of Paradise.” Again, this list of equations shows that the steps of the Ladder are intertwined with each other (Sophr. 14.31; PG 88.869, ll. 12-20).

Also at the end of this step the vice is questioned about its parents, offspring, and enemies. Gluttony defends itself: ‘I am bound to men by nature. I am caused by habit and forgetfulness of death. I have more children than there are grains of sand. “My first-born son is a minister of fornication, the second after him is hardness of heart, and the third is sleepiness.” My daughters are (a.o.): laziness, talkativeness (= step 11), disobedience (~ step 4), and despair, the most evil of all.’ Gluttony answers further that remembrance of death (= step 6) is her enemy, but she cannot be entirely conquered by it (Sophr. 14.32; PG 88.869, l. 20 - 872, l. 5).

112-117, step 14:

Χαῦνον, πλαδαρόν, ὑγρόν, ἐκλελυμένον
 βίον διώκεις, ἀπελαύνεις μακρόθεν
 καὶ τὸν σκοτεινὸν ἐκτελοῦντα τὸν νόα
 δειλὸν τε δυσκίνητον ἕξ ἀσιτίας,
 στυγνόν, κατηφῆ, δεινόν, ἄφιλον λόγοις.
 Ἐπερ γινώσκων τὴν μέσην στείβεις στίβον.

ιδ̄ περὶ ἐγκρατείας

περὶ ἐγκρατείας (title): This title does not correspond directly to those of the *Ladder*. Sophr. (1970: 82) and **N** f. 9v have: Περὶ τῆς παμφήμου καὶ²⁹⁸ δεσποίνης γαστρούς. Sophr. (1970: 185): Περὶ τῆς παμφάγου δεσποίνης πονηρᾶς γαστρούς. PG 88.863: Περὶ τῆς παμφίλου καὶ δεσποίνης πονηρᾶς γαστρούς. PG 88.629 and **M** f. 3r: Περὶ γαστριμαργίας. **M** f. 320v mentions, by contrast, the opposite of gluttony as the topic of the step: Περὶ τῆς δυσκότητος νηστείας.

²⁹⁸ καὶ om. **N**.

As we will see, the summary of this step has few explicit references to gluttony. V. 102 (step 12), for example, seems to be much closer to the topic of step 14 of the *Ladder*. Of course, as we already mentioned in our summary of step 14, at the end of this step, it is stressed again how close different topics are related with each other in the *Ladder*. Since gluttony is strongly connected with fornication (PG 88.844, ll. 14-18), **ἐγκρατείας** might indeed stress that the battlefield is not limited to one area and that the stomach is not an independent enemy. From a brief discussion of ἐγκράτεια in step 14, it is clear that this word for Klimax also referred to sexual abstinence (PG 88.865, ll. 35-42):

Ἄλλη ἢ τοῖς ἀνευθύνοις, καὶ ἑτέρα τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις, ἀρμόζουσα ἐγκράτεια· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κίνησιν εἰς σημεῖον κέκτηνται· οἱ δὲ μέχρι θανάτου καὶ τέλους πρὸς τοῦτο ἀπαρακλήτως καὶ ἀδιαλήκτως διάκεινται· οἱ μὲν πρότεροι τὴν σύγκρασιν τοῦ νοῦς ἀεὶ φυλάττειν ἐθέλουσιν· οἱ δὲ δεύτεροι διὰ τῆς ψυχικῆς σκυθρωπότητος καὶ τήξεως τὸν Θεὸν ἐξευμενίζονται.

In this passage, it is said that there is a different kind of abstinence for those who are irreproachable and for those who are not. Further on in step 14, it is written (PG 88.865, ll. 48-49):

Κράτει κοιλίας, πρὶν αὐτὴ σοῦ κρατήσῃ· καὶ τότε μέλλεις μετ' αἰσχύνῃς ἐγκρατεύεσθαι

This passage stresses again that fasting and abstinence from food are related to sexual abstinence. A final passage from step 14 dealing with abstinence is PG 88.868, l. 54 - 869, l. 3:

ἐν τραπέζῃ ἐδεσμάτων ἀνακλινόμενος, μνήμην θανάτου καὶ κρίσεως εἰς μέσον ἄγε· μόλις γὰρ, κἂν οὕτως μικρὸν πάθος ἐμποδίσῃς. Τὸ πόμα πίνων, τοῦ ὄξους καὶ τῆς χολῆς τοῦ σοῦ Δεσπότης μὴ παύσῃ ἐννοῶν· καὶ πάντως ἢ ἐγκρατεύσῃ, ἢ στενάξῃς, ἢ καὶ ταπεινότερον ποιήσῃς τὸ φρόνημα.

In this passage, it is said that when you see a table laden with food, you should remember death, and when you drink, think of the gall of the Lord. When you do this, you will “either be abstinent, or you will sigh and humble your mind”. This passage clearly mentions abstinence in the context of food and gluttony.

Klimax, then, indeed mentions abstinence in the context of gluttony in step 14. When the poet of Poem 2 mentions **περὶ ἐγκρατείας** as the title of this step, it does not appear out of the blue. It is, however, not the most obvious choice.

112-117: In the summary of this step, the ideal ascender is again addressed in the second person. In general, the step can be divided into two parts: one long sentence (vv. 112-116) and an afterthought (v. 117). The long phrase can be divided into two parts: **διώκει** governs **βίον** and the adjectives of v. 112; **ἀπελαύνεις**, as a synonym of **διώκει**, governs vv. 114-116. V.114 can be understood as **καὶ τὸν <βίον τὸν> σκοτεινὸν ἐκτελοῦντα τὸν νόα**. Then **σκοτεινὸν** functions as a predicate to **νόα**. It seems that the two verbs stand for two extremes. On the one hand, you should *banish the languid life* (which, in the context of step 14, could stand for the consequence of gluttony) (vv. 112-113); on the other hand, you should also chase away the life which darkens your mind because of a too extreme fasting (v. 113-116). V. 117 explains that, if you understand that you should avoid both extremes, you walk the middle path. This plea for moderation is likely inspired by a passage from step 14 (PG 88.865, ll. 12-32):

Ἐδόκησεν ὁ θεήλατος Εὐάγριος τῶν σοφῶν σοφώτερος τῆ τε προφορᾷ καὶ τοῖς νοήμασι γενέσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐψεύσθη ὁ δειλῆιος, τῶν ἀφρόνων φανείς ἀφρονέστερος· ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν πλήν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ· φησὶ γάρ· Ὅσπητικά διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡμῶν ἢ ψυχῆ, ἐν ἄρτῳ στενοῦσθω καὶ ὕδατι· ὅμοιον δέ τι προστέταχε τῷ εἰπόντι τῷ παιδί ἐν [al. τῷ] ἐνὶ βήματι πᾶσαν ἀνελθεῖν τὴν κλίμακα· τοίνυν ἀποτρέποντες αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄρον, ἡμεῖς φήσομεν· Ὅσπητικά διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡμῶν ἢ ψυχῆ, φύσεως ἴδιον ἐπιζητεῖ· διὸ μηχανῆ πρὸς τὴν παμμήχανον χρῆσόμεθα· εἴπερ μὴ, βαρύτερος παρέστη [al. πάρεστι] πόλεμος ἢ πτώματος εὐθύναί. Περικόψομεν τέως τὰ λιπαίνοντα· εἶτα τὰ ἐκκαίοντα, εἶθ' οὕτως τὰ ἡδύνοντα· εἰ δυνατόν, δίδου τῆ σῆ κοιλῆ τροφήν ἐμπιπλῶσαν καὶ εὐπεπτον· ἵνα διὰ μὲν τῆς πλησμονῆς τὴν ἄπληστον αὐτῆς γνώμην ἀποστήσωμεν· διὰ δὲ τῆς ταχειᾶς διαπνεύσεως, τῆς πυρώσεως ὡς μάστιγος λυτρωθῶμεν. Ἐπισκεψώμεθα καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν πνευματούντων, καὶ κινουῦντα εὐρήσομεν.

Extreme fasting, promoted by Evagrius, was rejected by Klimax. He allows a moderate meal in order to avoid excessive desire and prescribes a gradual progress towards a more perfect fasting. Compare also with the opening of step 18 (i.e. PG's step 19), where it is said that extreme fasting leads to sleep (PG 88.937, ll. 4-10):

Ὕπνος ἐστὶ φύσεως ποσῶς σύστασις εἰκῶν θανάτου, αἰσθήσεων ἀργία. Εἰς μὲν ὁ ὕπνος, πλείστας δὲ τὰς ὑποθέσεις, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἔχει. Λέγω δὲ ἐκ φύσεως, ἐκ βρωμάτων, ἐκ δαιμόνων, ἢ τάχα που καὶ ἐξ ἄκρας ἐπιτεταμένης νηστείας· ἐξ ἧς ἐξασθενοῦσα ἡ σὰρξ, δι' ὕπνου λοιπὸν ἑαυτὴν παραμυθεῖσθαι βούλεται.

Sleep, just as food, is natural. However, any excess should be avoided.

112: This verse has four words in an asyndetic construction, qualifying **βίον** (v. 113). Again, just as was the case with **λαρόν, προσηγές, ἡδὺ** of v. 95, three consecutive words are found in several lexica. See for example:

- 1) Hesychios (5th / 6th c.), *Lexicon (Π-Ω)* (π, lem. 2421, 2422; ed. Schmidt 1861-1862): (2421) **πλαδαρόν**: νοτερόν, ὑπομβρον. **χαῦνον**, ἀσθενές, **ύγρόν** (2422) **πλαδαρώτερος**: ἐκλυτώτερος, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.
- 2) Photios (9th c.), *Lexicon (Ν-Φ)* (π, lem. 906; ed. Theodoridis 2013): **πλαδαρόν**: **χαῦνον**: **ύγρόν**: **πλάδος** γὰρ καὶ **πλάδωσις**.
- 3) *Suda* (10th c.) (ed. Adler 1935: π, lem. 1679): **Πλαδαρόν**: **χαῦνον**, **ύγρόν**. **πλάδας** γὰρ καὶ **πλαδώσεις**. καὶ **Πλαδαρώματα**. καὶ **Πλαδῶσιν**, **ύγροῖς**, **χαύνοις**, **ἀσθενέσιν**. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ὀρέγεσθαι τροφῆς, **πλαδῶντος** αὐτῷ τοῦ **στομάχου**. **τουτέστιν** **ύγροῦ** καὶ **ἀσθενοῦς** ὄντος. οὕτω φησὶ **Δαμάσκιος**. καὶ **αὔθις** **Πολύβιος**: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα **καλῶς** ἔχειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν **χρεῖαν**, τὸ δὲ **δόρυ** **πλαδαρόν** εἶναι. καὶ **Πλαδόωσαν**.
- 4) Ps.-Zonaras, *Lexicon* (13th c.) (ed. Tittmann 1808: 1555, l. 19): **Πλαδαρόν**. **χαῦνον**, **σσημιμένον**, ἢ **ύγρόν**.

The *lexica* 2) and 3) mention the first three words of v. 112 in a row. If the poet indeed based v. 112 on (one of) the above mentioned lexica, he changed the position of the first two words in order to avoid a heavy third syllable.

Interestingly, Hesychios, explaining **πλαδαρώτερος** (lem. 2422), also mentions **ἐκλυτώτερος**, which is similar to **ἐκλελυμένον**.²⁹⁹ In the explanation given in the *Suda*, the lemma is connected with the stomach. Unfortunately, the *Vita Isodori*, from which the fragment from Damaskios is quoted, is only preserved fragmentarily, and this line only survives in the *Suda* (ed. Zintzen 1967: fragm. 246). In this passage, it is said of someone that he does not have any appetite, since his stomach is ‘splashty’ (compare with **πλαδάω** 2. π. τὸν στόμαχον *have a ‘splashty’ stomach* LSJ), apparently because he is sick to his stomach. It seems, however, that, in Poem 2, the adjectives of v. 112 are used with a different meaning, which might go back to a passage from step 14 (PG 88.868, ll. 17-18):

Μαλασσόμενοι ἄσκοι ἐπιδιδοῦσι τῇ χωρήσει, περιφρονούμενοι δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον δέχονται.

²⁹⁹ Yet another lexicon, Ailius Dionysios’ *Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα*, reads (β lem. 16*; ed. Erbse 1950): **βλάξ**: μαλακός, **χαῦνος**, **ἐκλελυμένος** ἢ **μωρός**.

A leather bag which is softened, which means that it is frequently used, can contain more than a bag which is despised. In the context of gluttony, the bag is of course a metaphor for the stomach. The four adjectives of v. 112 might fit in with this meaning: **χαῦνος** can mean *loose* (LSJ); **πλαδαρόν**: *flabby* (LSJ, PGL); **ὕγρον**: *supple* (LSJ); **ἐκλελυμένον**: *loose*. If we accept the interpretation that the first three words were taken from the lexica, we can thus state that the fourth word of this verse is added since it has a similar meaning.

Besides, the first three words of v. 112 might also refer to a wet condition: **χαῦνος**: *porous, spongy* (LSJ); **πλαδαρόν**: *moist* (LSJ), *watery* (PGL); **ὕγρον**: *wet* (LSJ). This corresponds to yet another passage from the *Ladder* (PG 88.868, ll. 2-3):

κοιλίας κόρος ἐξήρανε πηγάς· αὕτη δὲ ξηρανθεῖσα ἐγέννησεν ὕδατα.

Here it is said that ‘moistening’ dries up the sources (of mourning), whereas the ‘drying’ of the stomach results in water, which are tears. It is possible that the adjectives of v. 112 also refer to the negative act of ‘moistening’ your stomach. Since, however, **ἐκλελυμένον** does not fit this interpretation it seems of a lesser importance.

Of course, the adjectives of v. 112 qualify **βίον** (v. 113). They thus do not directly refer to the stomach, although it seems that **βίον** is used to implicitly refer to an exuberant way of life, also concerning food. Also in John Chrysostom’s *Ad populum Antiochenum* (hom. 6; PG 49.85, ll. 20-26), several of the adjectives of v. 112 appear, being governed by **βίον**:

Οὐ ζῶμεν μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς σκληραγωγίας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑγρὸν τοῦτον καὶ διαλελυμένον καὶ χαῦνον ἐζηλώσαμεν βίον· διὸ καὶ εἰκότως τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐμφιλοχωροῦμεν πράγμασιν. Ὡς εἶ γε ἐν νηστεύειαις καὶ παννυχίαις καὶ εὐτελείᾳ διαίτης τὴν ζωὴν διηνύομεν ταύτην, τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἡμῶν ἐκκόπτοντες τὰς ἀτόπους.

In this passage, **ὕγρον** and **χαῦνον** appear. **διαλελυμένον** is similar to **ἐκλελυμένον**. Chrysostom says that ‘we’, by which he means his addressees, the people of Antioch, follow the easy and indolent life. If we would lead a life of fasting and vigils, we would be easily delivered from our present labours. In this passage, two of the adjectives and the participle of v. 112 are governed by **βίον**. It might not be a coincidence that one of the first remedies mentioned against this indolent life, is fasting. In this way, an implicit link with the stomach is present.

A similar passage from John Chrysostom is found in his *Expositiones in Psalmos* (PG 55.340, ll. 18-23):³⁰⁰

Εἰ τοίνυν βούλει τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς ἀναβαίνειν τούτους, περίκοψον τὸ διαλελυμένον καὶ χαῦνον τοῦ βίου, σύσφιγξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἐπιπόνῳ τῆς πολιτείας, ἀπόστησον τῶν γηίνων πραγμάτων. Αὕτη πρώτη ἀνάβασις. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁμοῦ καὶ κλίμακα ἀναβαίνειν, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἔχρεσθαι.

We already quoted this passage when discussing step 1. For Chrysostom, to leave the indolent life, is clearly part of the renunciation of the world, which is the first step.

113-116: The object of **ἀπελαύνεις** is τὸν <βίον τὸν> **σκοτεινὸν**, contrasting **Χαῦνον** (...) **βίου**. **ἐκτελοῦντα** is a *participium coniunctum* to τὸν <βίον τὸν> **σκοτεινὸν**. Its object is τὸν **νόα**. The adjectives of vv. 115-116 are predicates to τὸν **νόα**.

At first sight, the adjectives of vv. 115-116 could ambiguously have a positive or negative meaning. Negative: δειλός cowardly (LSJ); δυσκίνητος *inexorable* (LSJ) *stygynós hated* (LSJ); κατηφής *depressed, despondent* (PGL); δεινός *terrible* (LSJ). Positive: δειλός *reverent, fearing God* (PGL); δυσκίνητος *firm* (LSJ); *stygynós grave, serious* (PGL); κατηφής *sorrowful* (PGL); δεινός *marvellously strong, powerful* (LSJ). Since, in this context, the adjectives are the consequence of τὸν <βίον τὸν> **σκοτεινὸν**, they are likely meant negatively. **ἐξ ἄσιτίας** refers to extreme fasting, promoted by Evagrius (see above). Such extreme fasting makes your mind despondent and inexorable, which in this case means that you become *grumpy* because you have not eaten.

In se, also **ἄφιλον λόγους** is ambiguous. It could positively refer to someone who is opposed to πολυλογία (= step 11). Also in the *Ladder*, fasting is mentioned as a cure for talkativeness (PG 88.868, ll. 12-17):

Θλίβε κοιλίαν, καὶ πάντως κλείσεις καὶ στόμα· νευροῦται γὰρ γλῶσσα ὑπὸ πλήθους ἐδεσμάτων. Πυκτεύων πύκτεψε αὐτῇ [πρὸς αὐτήν], καὶ νήφων νῆψε αὐτῇ· ἂν γὰρ μικρὸν πονήσης, εὐθέως καὶ ὁ Κύριος συνεργήσει.

By contrast, λόγος in a Christian context is always somehow related to Λόγος. Moreover, prayers consist of words. Since **ἄφιλον λόγους** stands on the same level as the other adjectives of v. 115-116, it possibly has to be interpreted in a negative way as well.

³⁰⁰ See also Origen, *Fragmenta in Psalmos* [Dub.], Ps. 72, v. 2, ll. 16-18 (ed. Pitra 1883-1884): Τινὲς γὰρ ἐν ἀσκήσει καὶ πάσαις ἀρεταῖς διαλάμπαντες, ὕστερον ὑπεσύρησαν εἰς βίον χαυνώτερον.

117: This verse has the same function as the encouragements which are given at the end of each step in the *Ladder*. In this case, however, there is no parallel regarding the content with the exhortation given at the end of step 14 (PG 88.872, ll. 6-7):

Ἄνδρεία νίκη. Ὁ ἰσχύσας δῆλος πρὸς ἀπάθειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀκροτάτην ἐπειγόμενος.

In Poem 2, v. 117 refers to the middle course you should follow between two extremes, between gluttony and extreme fasting.

Step 15 of the Ladder: On incorruptible purity and chastity, to which the corruptible attain by toil and sweat.

In *Sophr.* 15.1, step 15 opens with a foreword, which in PG (88.880C) is presented as a scholion. If Adam had not been overcome by his stomach, he would not have known carnal love. If you cut away gluttony, then you will not fall into fornication and you will almost attain the level of angels.³⁰¹ Whether or not this foreword is a genuine part of the *Ladder*, the fact that, at the beginning of a step, the relation with the previous step is stressed, appears frequently in the *Ladder*.

After the foreword, a definition follows: purity (ἀγνεία) is a bodiless nature, “purity is a supernatural denial of nature”. It is in fact as if the immortal spirit battles to overcome the mortal body. Purity is to replace carnal love by spiritual love (*Sophr.* 15.2; PG 88.880 Gr. 15, ll. 4-8).

Thereafter follows a definition of chastity (σωφροσύνη): it is “the name which is common to all virtues”. A chaste person is free from a (sexual) ‘movement’ while sleeping (*Sophr.* 15.3; PG 88.880, l. 10-13 - 881, ll. 1-3).

When you are trained in purity, you may not attribute this attainment to yourself. “For it is impossible for anyone to conquer his own nature.”³⁰² Thereafter, three stages in the battle for purity are mentioned:³⁰³ the first one is to be free from bad thoughts and occasional ejaculations; the middle stage is to have sexual movements only when caused by excess of food. The perfection is the mortification of the body (*Sophr.* 15.4; PG 88.881, ll. 3-14).

If you attain purity while still living in the flesh, you have already risen from your coffin (*Sophr.* 15.8; PG 88.881, ll. 20-25). If you want to overcome your adversary (a vice), there are three strategies, which have an increasing effect: 1) by struggles (compared to the morning star), 2) by

³⁰¹ By practicing extreme asceticism and fasting the male genitals indeed atrophy and an infertile and sexless (angelic) body appears. Cf. Brown (1988: 328, 331); Zecher (2013).

³⁰² Like was the case with the stomach, sexuality is seen as part of the bodily nature which is not easy to overcome while being alive, although one has to strive for it.

³⁰³ A similar tripartite progress in a virtue is found in, for example, step 7 (PG 88.804, ll. 1-10) and step 8 (PG 88.832, l. 26 - 833, l. 1).

humility (compared to the moon), 3) by divine revelation (compared to the sun)³⁰⁴ (Sophr. 15.11; PG 88.881, ll. 36-43).

Abstinence is not sufficient to prevent a fall, since someone who has never eaten was cast from heaven (Sophr. 15.14; PG 88.881, ll. 47-49).³⁰⁵ Klimax mentions that some wise men have defined renunciation (ἀποταγή = step 1) as the struggle against the stomach (= step 14). He says that some extol eunuchs because they are delivered from the tyranny of the body. By contrast, Klimax himself praises rather “those who make themselves eunuchs by castrating their bad thoughts as with a knife” (Sophr. 15.17; PG 88.884, ll. 1-5).

You cannot win the struggle against the flesh before the destruction of “the house of the flesh” (Sophr. 15.21; PG 88.884, ll. 15-19). People who live for pleasures do not fear God and despise the remembrance of death. By nature, flesh and blood need flesh and blood, but you have to overcome nature. If you fall because of carnal desire, you will fall “far below those ascending and descending by the ladder” (Sophr. 15.23-24; PG 88.884, l. 22 - 885, l. 6). The sin of fornication is a kind of death which hides in all of us, especially in the young. Since it is a shameful topic, Klimax explicitly says that he only dares to write about it in guarded terms (Sophr. 15.28; PG 88.885, ll. 36-42). Klimax paradoxically calls the flesh his, and yet not his, enemy. Since the flesh is death, you will not die if you are able to overcome the passions of the flesh. For men it is, however, impossible to mortify the flesh except by death (Sophr. 15.29-30; PG 88.885, l. 42 - 888, l. 5). Before we commit a sin, the demons, in order to incline us to sin, tell us that God is very merciful. After we have sinned, the demons say to us that God is inexorable, in order to drown us in despair (Sophr. 15.31; PG 88.888, ll. 5-17).

Purity is further described as to become like God as far as it is possible for men. You can attain bodily dispassion by stillness or by obedience, the latter of the two options being the firmest (Sophr. 15.33-34; PG 88.888, ll. 23-29).

A fall can be an occasion for humility (Sophr. 15.35-36; PG 88.888, ll. 29-33). He who wants to overcome fornication by gluttony is like someone who tries to extinguish a fire with oil (Sophr. 15.37; PG 88.888, ll. 33-36).³⁰⁶ Furthermore, Klimax compares the one who wants to overcome fornication by temperance alone to someone who tries to escape the sea “by swimming with one hand”.³⁰⁷ You need humility as a second hand (Sophr. 15.38; PG 88.888, ll. 36-41). If you are tormented by passions, you should first battle fornication and if you overcome other passions this would not be of great help (Sophr. 15.39; PG 88.88841-51). Fornication is, contrary to other vices, a sin with the body (cf. 1 Cor. 6:18). When the devil wants to “tie two people to each other by a shameful bond”, he “lights the fire of passion” in them (Sophr. 15.42; PG 88.889, ll. 9-11).

³⁰⁴ Cf. Poem 1, vv. 45-55, where the sun is implicitly equated with God.

³⁰⁵ I.e. Lucifer. Cf. Moore (2012⁴: 142).

³⁰⁶ Klimax uses a similar expression in step 14 (PG 88.868, ll. 3-5): Ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεραπεύων γαστέρα, καὶ πνεῦμα πορνείας νικῆσαι βουλόμενος, ὁμοίός ἐστι τῷ μετὰ ἐλαίου σβεννύοντι ἔμπρησμόν.

³⁰⁷ A similar comparison including swimming appears in step 6 (Sophr. 6.12; PG 88.796, ll. 10-14). See commentary on Poem 2, v. 65.

Thereafter, Klimax relates a discussion between a wise man and himself. The learned man asked Klimax: "What is the gravest sin, apart from murder and denial of God?" Klimax answers: "heresy." The man replies: "Why then can heretics who sincerely anathematized their heresy partake in the Mysteries, whereas fornicators are excluded for some years?" (Sophr. 15.44; PG 88.889, ll. 15-27).

In the next part, Klimax gives some shorter advices. He warns a.o. that even one touch can result in bodily defilement (Sophr. 15.47; PG 88.889, ll. 36-38). When you sleep, the remembrance of death and the Jesus Prayer should be your company (Sophr. 15.51; PG 88.889, ll. 46-49). Klimax says that some people think that nocturnal ejaculations are caused by food. Klimax himself observed, however, that ill people and strict fasters are "very prone to these pollutions". An experienced monk once told Klimax that nocturnal ejaculations can have different causes: abundance of food; conceit; the judging of others. Sometimes God even allows demons to cause a nocturnal emission in order to spur you to humility (Sophr. 15.53; PG 88.889, l. 53 - 892, l. 13). Do not, during the day, think of the phantasies you had while sleeping, because thereby the demons try to defile you also when awake (Sophr. 15.54; PG 88. 892, ll. 13-16). Some monks can talk and eat together with women without any bad thought during the meal. However, when they are alone in their cell, they are suddenly attacked by bad thoughts. Some cures are then: all-night standing, fasting and humility (Sophr. 15.55; PG 88.892, ll. 20-36).

Thereafter, Klimax tells an anecdote on St. Nonnos, Bishop of Heliopolis,³⁰⁸ who had an "extraordinarily high degree of purity". He was able to look at a beautiful woman without falling into sin. He rather glorified the Lord (Sophr. 15.58; PG 88.892, l. 39 - 893, l. 2). Klimax repeats that hesychasts (= anachoretetes) are frequently attacked by demons. Demons attack those in the desert in order to drive them back to the world. By contrast, the demons do not bother those living in the world in order that they would stay in that sinful place (Sophr. 15.61-62; PG 88.893, ll. 7-16). When we have to return to the world "for some necessity", we are protected by the hand of God (Sophr. 15.63; PG 88.893, ll. 19-26).

Klimax warns for the forbidden fruit, which is clearly placed in a sexual context by referring to 4 Kingdoms 11, where David was seduced by Batseba (Sophr. 15.65; PG 88.893, ll. 40-46). Besides, Klimax does not agree with the statement that it is impossible that someone who tasted sin is called pure, because you can "graft a good olive on to a wild olive" (Sophr. 15.66; PG 88.894, l. 46 - 896, l. 2). "The snake of sensuality" tries to convince those who are inexperienced in sin to sin only once and then stop. Besides, many people sin because they do not know what is bad (Sophr. 15.67; PG 88.896, ll. 2-11). If we sleep well, it is because of angels; if we sleep bad, it is because of demons (Sophr. 15.68; PG 88.896, ll. 11-19). He who conquers his body, conquers nature and comes very close to the state of angels (Sophr. 15.70; PG 88.896, ll. 25-29). It is a sign of God's goodness that he gave women a kind of shyness. "For if the woman were to run after the man, no flesh would be saved" (Sophr. 15.72; PG 88.896, ll. 32-36).

³⁰⁸ Moore (2012⁴: 146).

Some say that bad thoughts lead to passions, whereas others state that passions lead to bad thoughts. Klimax, by contrast, says that such discussions do not have much value for those who practice “virtue in simplicity of heart” (Sophr. 15.74; PG 88.897, ll. 30-46). When you are free from impure thoughts, the next enemy is arrogance. By humility you can cast the snake out of your heart. You can also pray with your body against the demon of fornication. This means that you do not pray with words, but by, for example, stretching your hands to heaven, beating your breast, sighing and prostrating or holding your arms as a cross (Sophr. 15.76; PG 88.897, l. 51 - 900, l. 52).

Lust (which leads to procreation) is a part of mankind by nature and is thus (just as gluttony) hard to overcome. Again, at the end of the step, a short dialogue is given between the ascender and the concerning vice, in this case the flesh itself. You ask your flesh how you can be a friend and an enemy to yourself, and how you can remain unwounded by it, and how you can overcome its tyranny. The flesh answers: My father (‘mother’ in Sophr.) is self-love. When you want to know how you can defeat me, you should know your own weaknesses, because I am a part of you and I can be bound if you know these weaknesses. If you fast, you bind my feet. “If you take the yoke of obedience, you have thrown off my yoke. If you obtain humility, you have cut off my head.” (Sophr. 15.83; PG 88.901, l. 36 - 904, l. 26).

118-123, step 15:

Δηλοῖ δὲ ταύτην τὴν μεσόρροπον τρίβον ἡ σωφροσύνη, σαρκίου καθαρότης,
 ῥύψις τελεία σαρκικῶν μiasμάτων,
 ἀφθαρτοσωμάτωσις, ἀγνείας κράτος
 ἢ θλαδίαν δείκνυσι σιδήρου δίχα·
 τὸ Λευϊτικὸν ἀξίωμα Κυρίου.

περὶ σωφροσύνης (title): The title consists of the second part of the short title which is given in the upper margin of Sophr. (1970: 86): *Περὶ ἀγνείας καὶ σωφροσύνης*.³⁰⁹ PG 88.880, Sophr. (1970: 185) and **N** f. 9v read: *Περὶ ἀφθάρτου ἐν φθαρτοῖς ἐκ καμάτων καὶ ἰδρώτων ἀγνείας καὶ σωφροσύνης*. The title of **M** f. 320v has a similar opening: *Περὶ τῆς ἀφθάρτου καὶ εὐώδους ἀγνείας*. Also the title presented by PG 88.629 does not have any verbatim similarities with the title of Poem 2: *Περὶ πορνείας, ἐν ἧ̄ περὶ ἀγνείας*. **M** f. 3r has a similar title: *περὶ πορνείας*.

118: This verse continues the idea of v. 117. Together they form a hinge, between steps 14 and 15:

³⁰⁹ The title presented in Sophr. (1970: 86) above the main text is in fact the title of the foreword: *Προοίμιον τοῦ περὶ σωμάτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων ἀνθρώπων λόγου*.

Ἐπερ γινώσκων τὴν μέσῃν στείβεις στίβον.
Δηλοῖ δὲ ταύτην τὴν μεσόρροπον τρίβον

Vv. 117 and 118 are constructed in a parallel way. Both have their *Binnenschluß* after the 5th syllable. **στίβον** and its synonym **τρίβον** are deliberately placed at a final position in order to have rhyme. This stylistic effect does not appear frequently in Byzantine dodecasyllabic poetry. In this case, it is clearly applied to stress the fact that both steps go together and convey the same message. It is stressed that moderation in food (step 14) leads to chastity (step 15). In both verses, **τὴν μέσ-** is used as the 6th and the 7th syllable, which is not accidentally the middle of the verse.

μεσόρροπον is a *hapax*. It is an adjective constructed similarly as, e.g., *ἐτερόρροπος* (*inclined to one side* LSJ), *ἀντίρροπος* (*equivalent to PGL*) or *ἀνάρροπος* (*ascending PGL*). Here, it can be translated as *well-balanced*.

119-121: σωφροσύνη (together with its appositions **καθαρότης, ῥύψις, ἀφθαρτοσωμάτωσις** and **κράτος**) is the subject of **Δηλοῖ** (v. 118). Chastity (**σωφροσύνη**), as already indicated by its title, is the topic of the step. The appositions clearly show that **σωφροσύνη** has to be interpreted as chastity, and not, as would have been possible in Antiquity, in a more abstract way as, for example, *soundness of mind* (LSJ). **σωφροσύνη** is defined at the beginning of step 15 as follows (PG 88.880, ll. 10-13):

Σωφροσύνη ἐστὶν καθολικὴ πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπωνυμία. Σώφρων ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὕπνοις μηδεμίαν κίνησιν τῆς προσούσης αὐτῷ καταστάσεως αἰσθόμενος σώφρων ἐστὶν, ὁ τελείαν ἀναισθησίαν ἐπὶ διαφορᾷ σωματῶν διὰ παντὸς κτησάμενος.

As may be clear from this quotation, also in the *Ladder* **σωφροσύνη** refers to a sexual context.

119: The diminutive aspect of **σαρκίου** does not seem to have a specific meaning. It is used as a synonym of **σαρκός**, which is, of course, one syllable shorter.

120-121: σαρκικῶν μiasμάτων is reminiscent of a passage in step 15 (PG 88.888, ll. 17-22):³¹⁰

Καθόσον ἄφθαρτος καὶ ἀσώματος ὁ Κύριος, κατὰ τοσοῦτον τῇ ἀγνείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀφθαρσίᾳ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν εὐφραίνεται, οὐδενὶ οὕτως ἐτέρῳ ὡς τῇ δυσωδίᾳ τῆς

³¹⁰ See also step 15 (PG 88.892, l. 46 - 893, l. 2): Εἰ πάντοτε ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις αἴσθησιν καὶ ἐργασίαν κέκτηται, ἀνέστη ἄφθαρτος πρὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως.

πορνείας τινές φασιν ἐπιχαίρειν τοὺς δαίμονας· οὐκ οὖν οὐδὲ πάθει ἐτέρω, ὡς τῷ τοῦ σώματος μολυσμῷ.

To be cleansed from bodily defilements results in purity (cf. ἀγνείας v. 121).

The first words of this passage were possibly an inspiration for the *hapax* ἀφθαρτοσωμάτωσις (v. 121).³¹¹ Of the Lord it is said that he is ἄφθαρτος καὶ ἀσώματος (*incorruptible and incorporeal*) and “rejoices in the purity and incorruptibility of our body” (PG 88.888, ll. 17-19). Another passage that might be relevant is found in step 29 (PG 88.1148 Gr. 29, ll. 13-16):

Ἀπαθῆς μὲν οὖν κυρίως καὶ ὑπάρχει, καὶ γνωρίζεται, ὁ τὴν σάρκα μὲν ἄφθαρτον ποιήσας, τὸν δὲ νοῦν τῆς κτίσεως ἀνυψώσας, τὰς δὲ πάσας αἰσθήσεις τούτου ὑποτάξας.

Here, a dispassionate person is described as someone who made his flesh incorruptible. We also recall the titles of step 15 as given in PG 88.880, Sophr. (1970: 185) and **N** f. 9v: Περὶ ἀφθάρτου ἐν φθαρτοῖς ἐκ καμάτων καὶ ιδρώτων ἀγνείας καὶ σωφροσύνης; and in **M** f. 320v: Περὶ τῆς ἀφθάρτου καὶ εὐώδους ἀγνείας. The whole concept of the incorruptibility of the body is of course a central dogma in Christianity. See for example 1 Cor. 15:52:³¹²

σαλπίζει γὰρ καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἄφθαρτοι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγισόμεθα.

Concerning the ending of the *hapax* we may think, for example, of Seneca’s ἀποκολοκύντωσις, which means *transformation into a pumpkin* (LSJ). As a whole ἀφθαρτοσωμάτωσις can thus be translated as the *transformation of the body to an incorruptible state*.

121: ἀγνείας does not appear unexpectedly as it is part of the (above quoted) title of the step in PG 88.629, 880, Sophr. (1970: 86, 185), **N** f. 9v and **M** f. 320v. Except for **M** f. 320v and PG 88.629, ἀγνεία appears next to σωφροσύνη. Also in the *Ladder* itself, the definitions of ἀγνεία are followed by those of σωφροσύνη (PG 88.880 Gr. 15, l. 4 - 881, l. 3).

122-123: V. 122 is a relative clause, according with its subject σωφροσύνη (v. 119). V. 123 is an apposition to v. 122. In **N**, a *scholion* is written in the margin next to v. 122: Γράφεται· δέδειχε. This perfect form clearly offers an alternative to δείκνυσι. However, I

³¹¹ The reading of **M**, ἀφθαρτοσωμάτωσις, is obviously an error due to iotacism.

³¹² See also Händel (1741) *Messiah, The trumpet shall sound*.

do not directly see what the advantage of this perfect form is. The present form **δείκνυσι** seems to be fine. Theoretically, δέδειχε could also fit as a variant reading, for the 5th syllable is *anceps* in the dodecasyllable.

122: This verse is clearly based on a specific passage from step 15 (PG 88.884, ll. 1-5):

Τινές μεμακαρίκασι τοὺς φύσει εὐνούχους ἀποτεχθέντας, ὡς τῆς τοῦ σώματος τυραννίδος λελυτρωμένους. Ἐγὼ δὲ μεμακάρικα τοὺς καθημερινοὺς εὐνούχους οἵτινες λογισμῶ ὥσπερ μαχαίρα ἑαυτοὺς ἀκρωτηριάζειν πεφύκασιν.

In this passage, it is said that some praise eunuchs because they are delivered from the tyranny of the body. By contrast, Klimax himself praises rather those who are ‘daily’ eunuchs by cutting off their bad thoughts as with a knife. V. 112 clearly conveys a similar message. It is chastity which shows that you are a eunuch, not literally, but metaphorically, since also here it is a castration without a sword.

The whole theme of castration in early Christianity is a topic on its own. The theme goes back to a passage from Mt. 19:12:

εἰσὶν γὰρ εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἐγεννήθησαν οὕτως, καὶ εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες εὐνουχίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρεῖτω.

The whole question of this passage is of course if Matthew means literally that he encourages men to castrate themselves. As is famously known, Origen carried out this advice to the letter, as is told by Eusebios (*Historia ecclesiastica* 6.8.2-1; ed. Bardy 1984²):³¹³

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς κατηχήσεως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τοῦργον ἐπιτελοῦντι τῷ Ὀριγένηι πρᾶγμα τι πέπρακται φρενὸς μὲν ἀτελοῦς καὶ νεανικῆς, πίστεώς γε μὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ σωφροσύνης μέγιστον δεῖγμα περιέχον. τὸ γὰρ εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀπλούστερον καὶ νεανικώτερον ἐκλαβόν, ὁμοῦ μὲν σωτήριον φωνὴν ἀποπληροῦν οἰόμενος, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ νέον τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα μὴ ἀνδράσι μόνον, καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ τὰ θεῖα προσομιλεῖν, ὡς ἂν πᾶσαν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις αἰσχρᾶς διαβολῆς ὑπόνοιαν ἀποκλείσειεν, τὴν σωτήριον φωνὴν ἔργοις ἐπιτελέσαι ὠρμήθη, τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν γνωρίμων διαλαθεῖν φροντίσας.

³¹³ Cf. Trigg (1998: 14), Bostock (2009: 62-63). For a discussion of the historical context of Origen’s castration, see Marksches (2009: 255-271), Scheck (2001: 4).

Eusebios indicates that Origen took the passage from *Matthew* too literally (ἀπλούστερον), implying that this passage from the Gospels should be read metaphorically. Also Clemens of Alexandria refused to interpret the passage to the letter, he rather explains that it is a spur for celibacy.³¹⁴ Besides, the Council of Nicea (a. 325) explicitly anathematized self-castrated men (Hotchkiss 1996: 27).

Despite all these discouragements, eunuchs played an important role in Byzantium. They held important positions in church, for example some patriarchs were eunuchs: Germanos I (ca. 653~658 - 730/742?), Ignatios (ca. 797/798 - 877) and Eustratios Garidas (in function between 1081-1084), who was the last one. Another famous eunuch was general Narses (480/490 - 574) who served under Justinian. Until the 11th c., eunuchs also held important functions as courtiers. Interestingly the influence of the eunuch diminished during the Komnenian period and they were pushed out of the most important functions.³¹⁵ Thus the fact that Poem 2, which is dated to the Komnenian period, is also implicitly opposed to (real) eunuchs, fits in with history.

123: This verse is an apposition to the previous verses, referring to purity and bodily integrity. τὸ Λευϊτικὸν ἀξίωμα likely refers to the rank of the Levites, a class of temple servants.³¹⁶ Another option might be to interpret τὸ Λευϊτικὸν ἀξίωμα as the precept from *Leviticus*. One might then think of the prescriptions on purity in Lev. 18. Besides, the word θλαδίας³¹⁷ occurs indeed in Lev. 22:23-24:

καὶ μόσχον ἢ πρόβατον ὠτότμητον ἢ κολοβόκερκον, σφάγια ποιήσεις αὐτὰ σεαυτῶ, εἰς δὲ εὐχήν σου οὐ δεχθήσεται. (24) θλαδίαν καὶ ἐκτεθλιμμένον καὶ ἐκτομίαν καὶ ἀπεσπασμένον, οὐ προσάξεις αὐτὰ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν οὐ ποιήσετε.

As may be clear from the context, in this passage, θλαδίαν refers to an animal and not to a human person (Retief et al. 2005: 250). At least, it is clear that even for sacrificial animals castration is prohibited.

Another passage that might be relevant is Lev. 21:16-20:

Καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων (17) Εἰπὸν Ααρων Ἴανθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ γένους σου εἰς τὰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν, τίνι ἐὰν ἦ ἐν αὐτῷ μῶμος, οὐ προσελεύσεται

³¹⁴ Clemens of Alexandria, *Stromata* 3.6; cf. Bostock (2009: 63).

³¹⁵ Cf. ODB s.v. *eunuchs*; Messis (2014: 291, 367).

³¹⁶ Cf. e.g. 1 Chron. 6; Hebr. 7:11.

³¹⁷ Etymologically, this word refers to a castrate of whom the testicles were bruised, instead of cut off. Cf. θλάσις *crushing, bruising* (LSJ). Also in Deut. 23:2 there is a distinction between θλαδίας and ἀποκεκομμένος, the latter referring to some of whom the testicles are cut off.

προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ. (18) πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ὃν ἂν ἦ ἐν αὐτῷ μῶμος, οὐ προσελεύσεται, ἄνθρωπος χωλὸς ἢ τυφλὸς ἢ κολοβόρριν ἢ ὠτότμητος (19) ἢ ἄνθρωπος, ὃν ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ σύντριμμα χειρὸς ἢ σύντριμμα ποδός, (20) ἢ κυρτὸς ἢ ἔφηλος ἢ πτίλος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἢ ἄνθρωπος, ὃν ἂν ἦ ἐν αὐτῷ ψώρα ἀγρία ἢ λιχίν, ἢ μόνορχις.

In this passage, the Lord commands (cf. **ἀξίωμα Κυρίου** v. 123) Moses that priests cannot have any physical failures, amongst which μόνορχις is mentioned. Literally this word means *with one testicle* (LSJ). This implies that also castrated priests are forbidden.

There is, however, a reference in Deut. 23:2 which would also fit in with the context of v. 123 of Poem 2, since it does not refer to a specific group, as priests, or to animals, but to man in general:

Οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται θλαδίας καὶ ἀποκεκομμένος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου.

Step 16 = PG's step 16: On love of money, or avarice + step 17: On non-possessiveness (that hastens one Heavenwards)

Klimax opens the step by stating that many of his predecessors, whose names he does not mention, treat avarice "after the tyrant just described", i.e. fornication (~ step 15). Klimax deliberately follows this order (Sophr. 16.1; PG 88.924 Gr. 16, ll. 3-9).

Love of money (φιλαργυρία) is defined as to prostrate in front of an idol, as the daughter of disbelief and a forerunner of famine (Sophr. 16.2; PG 88.924 Gr. 16, ll. 9-12). Someone who loves money is defined as someone who opposes himself to the Gospels and who sins voluntarily. You cannot strive for love and money at the same time (Sophr. 16.3; PG 88.924, ll. 12-15).³¹⁸

Thereafter, Klimax gives general advice. Do not say that you collect money for the poor, because the Kingdom was purchased for two mites (Sophr. 16.5; PG 88.924 Gr. 16, ll. 17-19). If you overcome this vice, you will overcome concerns. Otherwise you cannot reach pure prayer (Sophr. 16.17; PG 88.924, ll. 21-22). The beginning of love of money is described as a pretext for almsgiving, and its end as hatred for the poor. Because when you gather money for the poor, you will become greedy in the end (Sophr. 16.8; PG 88.924 Gr. 16, l. 23 - 925, l. 3).

(Step 17 in PG)

³¹⁸ Also in step 15, for example, the topic is first defined, followed by a definition of the person who executes it (PG 88.880 Gr. 15, ll. 4-8).

Non-possessiveness is defined as a “life without anxiety”. Paradoxically, a monk who has no possessions is a “lord of the world”.³¹⁹ He is also “a son of detachment”, who considers what he has as nothing. “A non-possessive man is pure during prayer.”³²⁰ A possessive man, by contrast, prays to a material icon (Sophr. 16.11-13; PG 88.928 Gr. 17, ll. 4-20).

Someone who lives in obedience is free of love of money. Also pilgrims, because they wander around, are free from possessiveness (Sophr. 16.14; PG 88.928 Gr. 17, ll. 18-20). He who has tasted heaven easily despises earthly matters (Sophr. 16.15; PG 88.928 Gr. 17, ll. 20-22). Klimax warns, however, that those who are “senselessly non-possessive suffer a double harm, because they abstain from the present goods and are deprived of future ones”. Monks should “be as trustful as the birds are”, referring to Mt. 6:26 (Sophr. 16.16; PG 88.928, ll. 23-26).³²¹

In the next phrase, Klimax demonstrates his preference for comparisons, stating that just as waves cannot leave the sea, anger and grief cannot leave a possessive man (Sophr. 16.18; PG 88.829, ll. 2-3).

Job is presented as an example. Since he was free from avarice, he was also free from concerns when he lost everything (Sophr. 16.21; PG 88.829, ll. 7-9). “The love of money is the root of all evils”³²² because it leads to hatred, remembrance of wrongs (= step 9) and murder (Sophr. 16.22; PG 88.829, ll. 9-13). A small fire can burn much wood, similarly one virtue can free us of all the passions mentioned. This virtue is detachment (ἀπροσπάθεια = step 2) (Sophr. 16.23; PG 88.929, ll. 13-17).

At the end of the step, Klimax reminds us of the passage at the end of step 14 where gluttony itself says that insensibility is its second offspring.³²³ The “snake of idolatry”, however, prevented Klimax to follow the order.³²⁴ Klimax again refers to his patristic predecessors. They gave “the snake of idolatry (...) the third place in the chain of eight deadly sins”.³²⁵ Klimax explicitly admits that he does not know why they gave it the third place. He simply follows the tradition, mentioning that after avarice, he will now deal with insensibility (ἀναισθησία = step 17 (Sophr.)) and thereafter with sleep (= step 18).

³¹⁹ Thus, similarly as in the beginning of step 16, the topic is defined first and then the person related to the topic.

³²⁰ This concept already appeared in the first half of this step (PG 88.924, ll. 21-22).

³²¹ As already mentioned, this passage, together with the quotation from Mt. 6:26, is used as an inspiration for vv. 29-35 of Poem 1.

³²² See also 1 Tim. 6:10: ῥίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία, or *Christus patiens*, vv. 327-328 (ed. Tuilier 1969): Ἀλλ’ ἤγξεν ἀγχόνη σε φιλαργυρίας, ἡ ῥίζα πάντων τῶν κακῶν πέφυκέ πως.

³²³ Cf. PG 88.869, ll. 45-47: Υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου, πορνείας ὑπουργός, ἐκείνου δὲ δεύτερος σκληρότης καρδίας ὁ ὕπνος τρίτος. The first son of gluttony was a minister of πορνεία and fits in with step 15 concerning purity and chastity.

³²⁴ The snake of idolatry must refer to love of money. Cf. the preceding passage in step 16 where Klimax said that possessive people pray to material icons (Sophr. 16.11-13; PG 88.928 Gr. 17, ll. 4-20). He means thus that step 16 bursts through the structure given by gluttony itself in step 14.

³²⁵ This chain starts thus with gluttony, leading to fornication and then to avarice. Compare with Chryssavgis (2004: 184). See also Völker (1968: 69-153).

Remarkably, Klimax refers both at the beginning of step 16 and at the end of step 16 in Sophr. (= step 17 in PG) to his patristic predecessors, stating that he follows their example (to treat avarice directly after fornication) because he is unlearned and ignorant. These passages seem to be closely related and form a ring composition. Also the fact that in the chain of vices described by Klimax there is only one place for avarice as a whole, and not two separate ones (one for avarice and one for non-possessiveness), could be a strong argument for taking steps 16 and 17 of PG together as a whole. It might thus be that step 16 of Sophr. is the original one. In any case, Poem 2 follows this structure.

124-129, step 16:

Ἄρ' οὖν νικήσας τὴν φύσιν ὑπὲρ φύσιν, ις περὶ φιλαργυρίας
τὸν φυσικὸν κίνδυνον ὑπαλυσκάσας
φιλαργυρίας ἀγχόνῃ καταπνίγη;
Οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν· μάρτυρές μοι μυριοί
καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς τῆς ἀφιλαργυρίας,
κῆρυξ μέγιστος δωρεῶν ὑπερπόσων.

περὶ φιλαργυρίας (title): The title of this step coincides with that of step 16 in PG 88.629, 924. There the title, as already mentioned, refers only to the first part of step 16 as given by Sophr. Since the topic of step 17 in Poem 2 is περὶ αἰσθήσεως τῶν γινομένων and clearly corresponds to step 17 according to Sophr. (which is step 18 in PG), step 16 of Poem 2 covers step 16 of Sophr., or step 16 and 17 of PG. The title of step 16 in Sophr. (1970: 98) runs: Περὶ φιλαργυρίας ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης and thus clearly covers PG's steps 16 and 17, the latter of which in PG 88.629, 928 has as title περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης. At the end of his edition, Sophr. (1970: 185) gives a deviating title: Περὶ φιλαργυρίας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης (sic). The topic of almsgiving (ἐλεημοσύνη) is probably derived from a passage in step 16 (PG 88.924 Gr. 16, ll. 17-19):

Μὴ λέγε συνάγειν τῶν πτωχῶν ἕνεκα· δύο γὰρ λεπτὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἠγόρασαν.

See also PG 88.924, l. 23 - 925, l. 3:

Ἀρχὴ φιλαργυρίας ὑπόθεσις ἐλεημοσύνης, τέλος δὲ ταύτης μῖσος πρὸς πένητας.
Ἔως οὗ συνάξῃ, ἐλεήμων γίνεται τῶν χρημάτων δὲ παρόντων, τὰς χεῖρας
ἀπέσφιγξεν.

In **M**, both *pinakes* present the same structure of step 16 and 17 as PG. On f. 3r, **M** has: ις περὶ φιλαργυρίας (= Poem 2, PG 88.629, 924); ιζ περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης (= PG 88.629, 928). On f.

320v of **M**, the titles are a bit longer: ις Περὶ τῆς νίκης τῆς εἰδωλολατρου φιλαργυρί(ας) and ιζ Περὶ τῆς οὐ(ρα)νοδρόμου ἀκτημοσύνης. **N** structures steps 16 and 17 as Sophr. does. The title of step 16 in **N** f. 9v coincides with that of Sophr. (1970: 98).

124: As indicated by the concluding **οὖν**, this verse refers back to step 15. One passage from that step in particular seems to function as a source (PG 88.896, ll. 25-29):³²⁶

Ὅστις σῶμα ἐνίκησεν, οὗτος φύσιν ἐνίκησεν· ὁ δὲ τὴν φύσιν νικήσας, πάντως ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ οὗτος γενόμενος ἡλαττώθη βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλοις, ἵνα μὴ εἴπω, οὐδέν.

Here, it said that he who has “conquered his body has conquered nature” and has almost reached the state of the angels. **ὑπὲρ φύσιν** has an adverbial meaning, corresponding to **νικήσας**.

Another passage in step 15 also concerns the conquest of nature and the longing for rising above nature (PG 88.880 Gr. 15, ll. 4-7):

Ἄγνεία ἐστὶν φύσεως ὑπὲρ φύσιν ὑπερφυῆς ἄρνησις καὶ ἀσωμάτων σώματος θνητοῦ καὶ φθαρτοῦ παράδοξος ὄντως ἄμιλλα.

This passage, however, seems to have less verbatim correspondence to v. 124 than the previous quotation from step 15 (PG 88.896, ll. 25-29). Again, to overcome nature, in a supernatural way, is meant in respect of the body.³²⁷ Klimax gives further advice (PG 88.881, ll. 3-7):

Μηδεὶς τῶν ἀγνείαν ἐξησκηκότων ἑαυτῷ τὴν ταύτης κτῆσιν λογίσοιτο· τὴν γὰρ φύσιν αὐτὴν νικῆσαι τῶν οὐκ ἐνδεχομένων ἐστίν· ὅπου φύσεως ἦττα γέγονεν, ἐκεῖ τοῦ ὑπὲρ φύσιν παρουσία ἐπέγνωσται.

In this passage, Klimax explains, while implicitly spurring us to humility, that it is impossible for man to overcome nature without supernatural / divine help.

125: The participle **ὑπαλυσκάσας** stands on the same level as **νικήσας** (v. 124). It seems that v. 125 does not only stand on a similar grammatical level as v. 124, but also conveys a similar content. **τὸν φυσικὸν κίνδυνον** refers again to the trap of fornication as dealt with in step 15 (PG 88.904, ll. 6-9):

³²⁶ This passage is also quoted in the *Annales* by Michael Glykas (12th c.) (ed. Bekker 1836: 213, ll. 4-6).

³²⁷ Cf. also step 15 (PG 88.901, ll. 27-28): Τίς σῶμα ἐνίκησεν; Ὅστις καρδίαν συνέτριψεν.

Τί τὸ περὶ ἐμὲ μυστήριον; Τίς ὁ λόγος τῆς ἐμῆς συγκράσεως; Πῶς ἑαυτῷ ἐχθρὸς καὶ φίλος καθέστηκα; Λέγε μοι σὺ, λέγε μοι, ὦ ἡ ἐμὴ σύζυγος, ὦ ἡ ἐμὴ φύσις· οὐ γὰρ παρ' ἄλλου μαθεῖν περὶ σοῦ δεήσομαι· πῶς ἐκ σοῦ μείνω ἄτρωτος; πῶς δυνηθῶ τὸν φυσικὸν ἐκφυγεῖν κίνδυνον, ἐπειδὴ λοιπὸν ἐχθραίνειν πρὸς σε Χριστῷ συντέταγμα; Πῶς σου τὴν τυραννίδα νικήσω, ἐπειδὴ βιαστής σου γενέσθαι προήρηται;

In this passage, the soul of the ascender asks his flesh how he can overcome his own nature and escape from the 'physical danger'. **φυσικὸν κίνδυνον** seems to be directly inspired by this passage. Also **ὑπαλυσκάσας** seems to be based on it, since it is a synonym of ἐκφυγεῖν. Besides, the mystery (μυστήριον) which is supposed to hide inside the ascender is again a parallel for **ὑπὲρ φύσιν** (v. 124), just as νικήσω corresponds again to **νίκησας** (v. 124).

126: The author / narrator addresses the reader / ascender again by using a second person singular (**καταπνίγη**). Love of money is associated with strangling in the patristic and theological tradition. See for example:

- 1) *Christus patiens*, vv. 327-328 (ed. Tuilier 1969): 'Ἄλλ' ἤγξεν ἀγχόνη σε φιλαργυρίας, ἢ ρίζα πάντων τῶν κακῶν πέφυκέ πως.
- 2) John Chrysostom, *De paenitentia (sermo 2)* [Sp.] (PG 60.699, ll. 56-58): ἕως πότε πλοῦτος, ἕως πότε χρήματα, ἕως πότε χρυσός; ἕως πότε φιλαργυρία, τῶν ψυχῶν ἡ ἀγχόνη;
- 3) id., *De jejuniis (sermones 1-7)* [Sp.] (PG 60.717, ll. 72-74): Ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἰούδας ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς ἀπήλαυσε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων· ἀλλὰ φιλαργυρίαν ἀγαπήσας ἀγχόνην ἐδέξατο.
- 4) Antiochos (7th c.), *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*, Hom. 8 (PG 89.1457, ll. 15-19): Καί· «Πολλοὶ ἐφθάρθησαν εἰς πτώματα χρυσοῦ,» ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἰούδας διὰ τῆς φιλαργυρίας, οὐ μόνον τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξώκειλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδότης γέγονεν τοῦ Δεσπότη, καὶ δι' ἀγχόνης ἀπώλετο.
- 5) Philagathos (12th c.), *Homiliae*, hom. 29.10, ll. 1-4 (ed. Rossi Taibbi 1969): Οὕτως ἀπέσπασε τῆς ἱερᾶς χορείας τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰούδαν τὸν δειλαιοῦ, διὰ μὲν τῆς φιλαργυρίας κλέψας αὐτόν, θύσας δὲ διὰ τῆς προδοσίας, ἀπολέσας δὲ ἀγχόνη δι' ἀπογνώσεως.

The passage from 1) is spoken by the Theotokos, addressing Judas. Also examples 3), 4) and 5), refer to Judas' suicide and hence give the origin of the link between love of money and suffocation. See Mt. 27:5: καὶ ρίψας τὰ ἀργύρια εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀνεχώρησεν, καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο.

124-126: As a whole, these verses form a rhetorical question, introduced by **Ἄρ'** and, in **N**, also concluded by a question mark. It asks whether you, after you successfully overcame the vice of fornication (= step 15), will lose the battle against love of money (=

step 16) and suffer from suffocation just as Judas did. Of course, it is implied that the narrator expects you to cry out: “no!”. This rhetorical question implies that the battle against fornication is harder than the one against avarice.

127-129: Probably, the first half of v. 127 is the explicit answer to the rhetorical question of vv. 124-126.³²⁸ In the second half, the narrator mentions that he knows many witnesses who also did not suffer from avarice after overcoming carnal desires. In the case of **πρῶτος αὐτὸς** (v. 128), it seems that **μάρτυς** is implied. **πρῶτος αὐτὸς** is specifically the first witness of freedom from avarice. V. 129 as a whole then is an apposition to v. 128. The first witness of freedom from avarice is a proclaimer of numberless gifts. This expression is a typical Byzantine paradox. Freedom from love of money leads to many gifts. These gifts are of course not meant as material, but rather as spiritual, and thus more valuable, gifts. Moreover, vv. 127bis-129 are used as an exhortation to the ascender; as if the narrator wants to say: “Many people have gone this road before you and did not suffer from suffocation after they did overcome their body. Will you? Of course you won’t.”

It is not exactly clear to whom the subjects of these verses (**μάρτυρές** and **πρῶτος αὐτὸς**) refer. One option is to try to understand it metaphorically. The first proclaimer of freedom from avarice might then be chastity itself, as the topic of step 15 precedes that of step 16. The many witnesses might then refer to the many wise men, who preceded Klimax, who placed avarice after fornication in the chain of vices, as mentioned at the beginning of step 16 (PG 88: 924, ll. 3-8):

Πλεῖστοι ὅσοι τῶν σοφῶν διδασκάλων πεφύκασι μετὰ τὸν προγεγραμμένον τύραννον τὸν παρόντα μυριοκέφαλον δαίμονα φιλαργυρίας ἐντάττειν. Ἴνα μὴ οὖν τὴν τάξιν τῶν σοφῶν οἱ ἄσοφοι ἡμεῖς ἐναλλάξαιμεν, τούτῳ ὄρω καὶ κανόνι ἐξηκολουθήσαμεν.

Perhaps, the many witnesses / martyrs refer in general to all holy men who went before us who did not suffer from avarice after they triumphed over fornication.

Another option might be to interpret “the first proclaimer of freedom from avarice” as referring to one person in particular. If we follow this interpretation, I think, there are three possible candidates:

- 1) Job: he is the only person mentioned by name in step 16 (PG 88.929, ll. 7-9):

Οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰὼβ φιλαργυρίας ἵχνος· διὸ καὶ στερηθεὶς, ἀθόρυβος ἔμεινε.

³²⁸ Compare also with v. 111, which is also an explicit answer to a rhetorical question (*in casu* vv. 108-110).

Job is, of course, a great symbol of ἀκτημοσύνη. Job, as he already appeared in the Old Testament, is an old figure and might thus be “the first” proclaimer. In any case, Job does fit in with the paradox between reaching the state of being free of avarice and yet being granted many gifts. Although he lost all his riches, he remained pious and became rich again, even twice as rich (Job 42:10). This is also mentioned in step 5 (PG 88.780, 34-36):

Ὁ γνοὺς τὸ θεώρημα, οὐδέ ποτε ἑαυτοῦ ἀπογινώσκει. Πτωχεύει ὁ μέγας Ἰώβ, ἀλλὰ πάλιν διπλῶς ἐπλούτησεν.

However, I have to admit that I do not see how Job was victorious over fornication. As far as I know Job was not tempted by fornication. It might be that this victory is implied in his pious way of live.

- 2) John the Baptist: he is typically portrayed as a herald, a forerunner (πρόδρομος), a proclaimer, a precursor of Christ. See Mt. 3:1-2:

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις παραγίνεται Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστὴς κηρύσσων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας [καὶ] λέγων· μετανοεῖτε· ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

He is related to ἀφιλαργυρία since he lived his life in asceticism. See Mc. 1:6:

καὶ ἦν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσθίων ἀκρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον.

Also concerning John the Baptist, I do not know any story concerning fornication.

- 3) Christ, supernaturally conceived in the virgin Mary, is *the first* to be born from the victory over the vice of step 15. He can be “the first proclaimer” of step 16. Moreover, Christ proclaims ἀφιλαργυρία when He says to the wealthy young man (Mt. 19:21):

εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, ὕπαγε πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δός [τοῖς] πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἕξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι.

This last quotation from the Gospels is also mentioned in a *scholion* to step 16 in PG (88.925, ll. 39-45):

Σχόλιον γ'

Ἀκούων τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου λέγοντος· πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, ὡς ἀδύνατον τὴν ἐντολὴν μυκτηρίζει. Εἰ πάντες γὰρ, φησὶ, πωλοῦσι, τίς ὁ ἀγοράζων; Ὅμοίως ἀκούων· Μὴ μεριμνήσητε περὶ τῆς αὔριον.³²⁹ οὐ πιστεύει, ἀλλ' ἀντιβαίνει, καὶ ἐκουσίως παραβαίνει ἀντιλέγων.

129: ὑπερπόσων is a *hapax*. Both in **M** and **N**, there is a stroke under the word as to indicate that it forms a whole. This stroke reveals that, also for the contemporary reader, it was a rare word. Also the accentuation in both manuscripts indicates that it is meant as one word. The word is clearly a compound consisting of two parts: ὑπέρ + πόσος, resulting probably in the root word *ὑπέρποσος. It apparently means *beyond measure, numberless*.

Step 17 of the Ladder = PG's step 18: On insensibility, that is, deadening of the soul and the death of the mind before the death of the body

A definition of insensibility (= ἀναισθησία) opens this step. Insensibility can affect both the body and the spirit. It is the dying off of sense-perception, which, from sickness and negligence, might lead to complete insensibility (Sophr. 17.1; PG 88.932 Gr. 18, ll. 4-6). Thereafter follows a definition of ἀναληγσία, which is apparently used here as a synonym of ἀναισθησία. It is negligence, “ignorance of compunction, a door to despair, the mother of forgetfulness” (Sophr. 17.2; PG 88.932, Gr. 17, ll. 7-11).

After the definition of these two abstracta, the definition of someone who suffers from ἀναληγσία follows.³³⁰ He (ἀναληγτός) is “a witless philosopher”. In a long list of examples, his hypocritical behaviour is demonstrated. For example, it is said that he is “a blind man who teaches others to see”, that “he philosophizes about death, but he behaves as if he were immortal” and that “he repeats what he has learnt about vigil, and drops asleep on the spot”. He knows that he sins, he complains about it, and yet continues to live in sin (Sophr. 17.3; PG 88.932, l. 11 - 933, l. 6).

Klimax tells that he was amazed when he saw people who shed tears on hearing of death and the judgment and went immediately to a meal “with the tears still in their eyes”. This anecdote is told here because it is an example of the effect of insensibility (Sophr. 17.4; PG 88.933, ll. 7-13).

In the next paragraph, Klimax concludes this step saying that he described this vice as far as he could. He mentions that he does not want to expand much on this vice and admits his own powerlessness to do so. Interestingly, Klimax even admits that he suffered himself from

³²⁹ ≈ Mt. 6:34.

³³⁰ The same order of definitions also appears in step 15 (PG 88.880 Gr. 15, ll. 4-8) and 16 (PG 88.924, ll. 12-15; 928 Gr. 17, ll. 4-20).

insensibility. This gave him the opportunity to catch this vice and to observe and analyse it. He overcame the vice by fear of the Lord and by constant prayer. The vice itself said to Klimax that its “subjects laugh when they see corpses”, that they are hard as a rock when they pray, and that they eat the Holy Gift as ordinary bread. The vice of insensibility continues that it is “the mother of laughter, the nurse of sleep (= step 18), the friend of a full belly (= step 14)”. Klimax, astonished by these words, asks the vice about its father. The vice replies: “I have no single parentage”, I grow by satiety, time and bad habits. At the end of the step, the vice itself gives advice on how to conquer it: “Be constant in vigil”, and think of the judgement. Pray at the coffins, “and engrave an indelible image of them in your heart. For unless you inscribe it with the pen of fasting, you will never conquer me”.

130-135, step 17:

Οὐκ ἠγνόησα σὸν μακάριον πάθος,
φυλοκρινῶ σου φιλοτιμοδωρίας·
διδούς γέγηθας· μὴ διδούς ἀλγεῖς σφόδρα.
Πολλῶν ἐρᾶς, οὐχ’ ἴν’ ἀποκλείσης ἔσω,
ἀλλ’ ἵνα πολλοῖς πολλὰ πολλὰ σκορπίσης·
καὶ τοῦτο πολλῶν διολισθαίνει φρένας.

ιζ περὶ αἰσθήσεως τῶν γινομένων

περὶ αἰσθήσεως τῶν γινομένων (title): This title is the reverse of ἀναισθησία, the vice which is the topic of Klimax’ step. Just as was the case with the title of step 14 in Poem 2, here the positive opposite of the discussed vice is used in the title. In Sophr. (1970: 100) and in PG 88.932, Gr. 18 the title reads: Περὶ ἀναισθησίας· ἤγουν νεκρώσεως ψυχῆς, καὶ θανάτου νοός, πρὸ θανάτου σώματος.³³¹ Sophr. (1970: 185) and **N** f. 9v, Gr. 17 have a shortened version: Περὶ ἀναισθησίας, ἤγουν νεκρώσεως ψυχῆς. The titles in PG 88.629, Gr. 18 and **M** f. 3r, Gr. 18 are even shorter: Περὶ ἀναισθησίας. **M** f. 320v, Gr. 18 reads: Περὶ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τῆς πονηρᾶς ἀναισθησίας.

αἴσθησις τῶν γινομένων also appears in John Chrysostom’s *In Matthaëum homilia* 28 (PG 57.351, ll. 35-37):

Διὰ τοῦτο καθεύδει, διδούς καιρὸν τῇ δειλίᾳ, καὶ τρανοτέραν αὐτοῖς ποιῶν τὴν αἴσθησιν τῶν γινομένων.

In this passage, Chrysostom comments upon Mt. 8:24 where it is said that Christ was asleep on the boat that was covered with waves because of the tempest. Chrysostom

³³¹ The punctuation given is that of Sophr. (1970: 100); in PG it reads: Περὶ ἀναισθησίας ἤγουν νεκρώσεως ψυχῆς, καὶ θανάτου νοός πρὸ θανάτου σώματος.

says that by sleeping it was Christ's intention to let his disciples experience the storm in a more direct way and to allow them to become fearful. The sensation of what happens was a test for the disciples.

Also in Chrysostom's *In Acta apostolorum homilia* 26 the expression appears (PG 60: 199, ll. 18-23):

Διὰ τί δὲ γίνεται τοῦτο, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Πέτρος ἐν αἰσθήσει τῶν γινομένων, καίτοι ἤδη τοιαύτης ἀπολαύσας ἀπαλλαγῆς, ὅτε οἱ πάντες ἀπελύθησαν; Ἀθρόον βούλεται τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τότε τὴν αἴσθησιν λαβεῖν.

In this passage, Chrysostom comments upon Act. 12:7-11:

καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπέστη καὶ φῶς ἔλαμψεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι· πατάξας δὲ τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Πέτρου ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν λέγων· ἀνάστα ἐν τάχει. καὶ ἐξέπεσαν αὐτοῦ αἱ ἀλύσεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν. 8 εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς αὐτόν· ζῶσαι καὶ ὑπόδησαι τὰ σανδάλιά σου. ἐποίησεν δὲ οὕτως. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· περιβαλοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου καὶ ἀκολούθει μοι. 9 καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἠκολούθει καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἔστιν τὸ γινόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου· ἐδόκει δὲ ὄραμα βλέπειν. 10 διελθόντες δὲ πρώτην φυλακὴν καὶ δευτέραν ἦλθαν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τὴν σιδηρᾶν τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἣτις αὐτομάτη ἠνοιγῆ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξελθόντες προῆλθον ῥύμην μίαν, καὶ εὐθέως ἀπέστη ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. 11 Καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν ἑαυτῷ γινόμενος εἶπεν· νῦν οἶδα ἀληθῶς ὅτι ἐξαπέστειλεν [ὁ] κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς Ἑρώδου καὶ πάσης τῆς προσδοκίας τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

130-135: Contrary to the title of this step, the summary seems rather to continue the topic of the previous step. Step 17 of Poem 2 describes the generosity of the ideal ascender and expands thus on his victory over avarice (= step 16). In fact, one could almost say that the content of step 17 in Poem 2 would fit step 17 of PG (Περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης) better. However, the next step in Poem 2, step 18, on psalmody, clearly agrees with Sophronios' redaction. This would then imply that (ἀν)αισθησία is not discussed as a separate topic in Poem 2. Indeed, except from the title, (ἀν)αισθησία seems, at first sight, unmentioned in step 17 of Poem 2. Nevertheless, it is present; in this case, however, not in the ascender, but in the narrator. **Οὐκ ἠγγόησα** (v. 130, *I have come to know*),³³² the first two words of this summary, points to the fact that the senses of the narrator work. They allow him to reach αἴσθησις τῶν γινομένων (cf. title). The

³³² Cf. LSJ (s.v. ἀγνοέω) οὐκ ἠγνοίησεν *he perceived or knew well*; *Iliad* 2.807.

narrator does not suffer from the vice of insensibility. This might explain why the title of this step in *Klimax* was reversed in Poem 2. Also **φυλοκρινῶ** underlines the understanding of the narrator. Finally, also v. 135 refers to (ἀν)αισθησία. As an afterthought, this verse points to the fact that the notion of generosity, as described in vv. 132-134, escapes the notion of many (i.e. the non-ideal ascenders). Contrary to the narrator, they did not reach understanding. In this way, the poet deliberately intertwines the topics of step 16 and 17, again showing the steps of the *Ladder* as a continuum, and not as separate obstacles.

130 σὸν μακάριον πάθος: σὸν refers again to the ideal ascender. *In se*, πάθος has a negative connotation. However, by adding μακάριον, πάθος is emphasized as a positive thing.³³³ Here, σὸν μακάριον πάθος corresponds to σου φιλοτιμοδωρίας (v. 131). As I will explain below, also φιλοτιμοδωρίας (v. 131) has a positive meaning.

131 φυλοκρινῶ: Both φυλοκρινῶ (N) and φιλοκρινῶ (M) are existing forms. We preferred, however, the reading of N because this form is closer to the etymology of the verb. LSJ translates φυλοκρινέω as *make distinctions of tribe*, which obviously shows a connection with φῦλον (*race, tribe, or class* LSJ).

131: φιλοτιμοδωρίας is a *hapax*. Since φυλοκρινῶ has its object in the accusative, the word must be the accusative plural of the feminine noun *φιλοτιμοδωρία. This word is likely a compound, consisting of φιλότιμος + -δωρία. In this context, φιλότιμος should not be understood as *ambitious*, which is used mostly in bad sense, but rather as *generous* (LSJ). The extension -δωρία, derived from δῶρον, confirms this interpretation.³³⁴

σὸν and σου probably refer to the ideal ascender. Since φιλοτιμοδωρίας is a positive word, also μακάριον πάθος, as it stands on the same level, is probably meant positively.

132-134: These verses seem to contain the analysis which was announced by the verb φυλοκρινῶ. It is a further explanation of the φιλοτιμοδωρία of the ascender.

132: ἀλγεῖς contrasts with γέγηθας. As we understood φιλοτιμοδωρίας (v. 131) as a positive term, ἀλγεῖς refers to (negative) sufferings. However, these sufferings are not aimless. When the ascender is not generous, he feels pain. This pain spurs him to be generous again. The suffering is a warning, a sign of consciousness, of αἴσθησις, which is the topic of step 17 in the *Ladder*. Compare with the definition of ἀναληγία in step 17 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.932 Gr. 18, ll. 7-11):

³³³ See also, for example, a passage in Hippolytos (3rd c.), *De consummatione mundi* [Sp.] 1, ll. 10-11 (ed. Achelis 1897): καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ σταυροῦ μακάριον πάθος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμπαίγματα. This phrase clearly refers to Christ's passion upon the cross and μακάριον πάθος has thus a positive connotation. In v. 130, however, I do not think that the passion of Christ is meant.

³³⁴ See also μεγαλοδωρία which LSJ translates as *munificence*.

Ἄναλγησία ἐστὶ πεποιωμένη ἀμέλεια, ναρκῶσα ἔννοια· προλήψεως γέννημα, προθυμίας παγίς, ἀνδρείας βρόχος· κατανύξεως ἄγνοια· ἀπογνώσεως θύρα, λήθης μήτηρ, καὶ μετὰ τόκον μητρὸς οἰκείας μήτηρ, διάκρισις φόβου.

Clearly, ἄλγησις keeps the ascender right on track.

133-134: These verses continue the analysis of **φιλοτιμοδωρίας** (v. 131). **Πολλῶν** should be understood as a neutral plural, referring to “goods” in general. In these verses, it is said that the ideal ascender loves many goods, not to keep them for himself, but to distribute them to many people. The repetition of **πολλὰ** is applied as an effective way to stress the large quantity of ‘things’ given. Other examples of similar repetitions are for instance:

- 1) Euripides, *Alcestis* v. 442 (ed. Diggle 1984): πολὺ δὴ πολὺ δὴ γυναῖκ’ ἀρίσταν.
- 2) Sophocles, *Ajax* v. 414 (ed. Lloyd-Jones – Wilson 1990): πολὺν πολὺν με δαρὸν τε δὴ.
- 3) Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* v. 425 (ed. Wilson 2007): οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τούτου πολὺ πολὺ πτωχιστέρου.
- 4) Id., *Nubes* v. 1287-1288 (ed. Wilson 2007): τί δ’ ἄλλο γ’ ἢ κατὰ μῆνα καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν / πλέον πλέον τὰργύριον αἰεὶ γίγνεται.
- 5) Gregory of Nazianzos, *Carmina de se ipso* (PG 37.1290, l. 2): Ἦ πολλὰ, πολλὰ γίνεται.
- 6) *Digenes Acritas* (10th c.) (cod. Escorialense, v. 1586) (ed. Jeffreys 1998): πολλὰ πολλὰ μοῦ ἄργησες πιστεύω νὰ τὴν εἶχες.
- 7) *Ptochoprodromica*, *Carmina politica* (11th-12th c.) (ed. Eideneier 1991: poem 3, l. 100): καὶ εὐρίσκω ἐκεῖσε κείμενα πολλὰ πολλὰ χαρτία.
- 8) *Libistrus et Rhodamne* (13th-14th c.) (ed. Lendari 2007): Τὴν βλέπεις καὶ ξενίζεσαι, πολλὰ πολλὰ θαυμάζεις.

In the context of generosity, the verse possibly refers to almsgiving. In step 17, in the list of hypocritical acts by the person who suffers from insensibility, one short example related to almsgiving is mentioned (PG 88.933 Gr. 18, ll. 3-4):

Τοὺς ἐλεήμονας δοξάζει, καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ὄνειδίζει.

The hypocrite is said to “extol almsgivers, and revile beggars”. One could also think of a passage from the *Ladder* (PG 88.924 Gr. 16, ll. 17-19):

Μὴ λέγε συνάγειν τῶν πτωχῶν ἕνεκα· δύο γὰρ λεπτὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἠγόρασαν.³³⁵

Klimax warns that it is wrong to save money under the pretext of almsgiving. In v. 133, however, it is clearly stressed that the ideal ascender does not keep the money for himself.

Step 18 of the Ladder (= PG's step 19): On sleep, prayer, and psalmody with the brotherhood

This step opens with a definition of sleep (ὕπνος), which is the first of the three themes announced in the title quoted above. It is defined as “a particular state of nature, an image of death, inactivity of the senses (αἰσθήσεων ἀργία)³³⁶”. Just as many other vices, it is said to have many causes and occasions: “from nature, from food, from demons, or perhaps, sometimes, from extreme and prolonged fasting”. By putting extreme fasting in the same list as food and demons, Klimax again demonstrates his dialectical way of thinking. Virtues can turn into vices if you do not apply them correctly (Sophr. 18.1; PG 88.937 Gr. 19, ll. 4-10).

Klimax especially warns for over-sleeping (πολυῦπνία), just as he warns for over-drinking (πολυποσία). Both sleeping and drinking are necessary for man, but an excess leads to sin. Therefore, we have to struggle against it from the early stages of ἀποταγή (Sophr.) or ὑποταγή (PG) (Sophr. 18.2; PG 88.937 Gr. 19, ll. 10-14).

The “spiritual trumpet”³³⁷ is said to be not only “a signal for the gathering of the brethren”, but also for “the assembly of our foes”. Demons try to convince us to stay in bed and to skip the first part of the services. The link between sleep and prayer brings Klimax to the second topic of this step as presented in the title. Demons attack praying monks by making them sleepy. Some demons also incite us to laugh during prayer or to chat in church. Other demons “suggest that we should chant more slowly (σχολιότερον) for the pleasure of it”. Hereby, Klimax probably refers to psalmody, the third topic of this step as given in the title (Sophr. 18.3; PG 88.937, ll. 14-34). “He who reckons with feeling of heart (ἐν αἰσθήσει καρδίας = step 17) that he stands before God in prayer shall be an unshakable pillar” (Sophr. 18.4; PG 88.937 Gr. 19, ll. 35-41).

Klimax states that it is easier to pray with a congregation, than to pray alone. By contrast, when you chant with many people, you cannot pray “with the wordless prayer of the spirit” (= ἀῦλως). You have to contemplate the words which are sung, “or you should say some definite prayer while you are waiting for the alternate verse to be chanted” (Sophr. 18.5; PG 88.937, ll. 41-

³³⁵ Mc. 12:42.

³³⁶ This refers clearly to insensibility, which was the topic of step 17.

³³⁷ This refers to the σημαντήριον (PGL), a wooden gong which summons the monks. The knocking follows the tune: τὸ τάλαντον, τὸ τάλαντον, τὸ τά, τὸ τά, τὸ τάλαντον, referring to Mt. 25:14-30.

47).³³⁸ *When you pray, you should be completely focused on the prayer. This is what the angel taught Anthony the Great (Sophr. 18.6; PG 88.937, ll. 47-50).*

The step ends quite abruptly, by stating that “a furnace tests gold”, just as “the practice of prayer tests the monk’s zeal and love for God” (Sophr. 18.6; PG 88.937, ll. 50-52).

136-141, step 18:

Ὡσπερ τὸ χαίρειν ἐν καλάϊς μελωδίαις,
ψάλλειν, ἀνυμνεῖν, εὐλογεῖν τὸν δεσπότην
ἐν ἑσπεριναῖς, ἡμεριναῖς, ἐννύχοις
εὐχαῖς λιταῖς τε, παραστάσεσι ξέναις,
ὥς κορδακισμὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐν σοὶ τόπον,
ἀλλὰ μελισμὸν ἐν μελισμῶ Κυρίου.

ἡ περὶ ψαλμωδίας

περὶ ψαλμωδίας (title): Psalmody is mentioned as the third part of the title of step 18 in Sophr. (1970: 101) and in PG 88.937 Gr. 19: *Περὶ ὕπνου, καὶ προσευχῆς, καὶ τῆς ἐν συνοδίᾳ ψαλμωδίας.* In the *pinax* at the end, however, Sophr. (1970: 185 Gr. 18) mentions only psalmody as the topic of the step: *Περὶ τῆς ἐν συνοδίᾳ ψαλμωδίας.* **N** f. 9v Gr. 18 provides a variant of this title: *Περὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς συνοδίαις ψαλμωδίας.* Also PG 88.629 Gr. 19 gives a variant reading of this title: *Περὶ ψαλμωδίας τῶν ἐν συνοδίαις.* **M** (f. 3r Gr. 19) simply has: *Περὶ ψαλμωδίας.* **M** f. 320v Gr. 19 reads: *Περὶ τῆς ἐν κοινοβίοις ψαλμωδίας.*

As may be clear from our summary of step 18, the topic of this step is certainly not confined to psalmody. The step opens with sleep, discusses prayer thereafter, and only briefly mentions chanting at the end, without even mentioning the word *ψαλμωδία*. Hence, the titles of Sophr. (1970: 101) and PG 88.937 Gr. 19 correspond best to the content of this step. The fact that the title of Poem 2 only mentions psalmody as the content of this step, might thus be inspired by the other titles, as those of **M** and **N**. As we will see, also the summary of this step in Poem 2 focuses strongly, if not entirely, on psalmody.

136-141: Remarkably, there is no main verb in this step. It is divided into two parts, separated by *Ὡσπερ* (v. 136) and *ὥς* (v. 140). Since *σοὶ* (v. 140) refers to the ideal ascender, v. 136 was translated as if it would have a main verb taking the addressed ascender as its subject (*you enjoy*). The step as a whole means that, as long as you enjoy psalmody and prayer (vv. 136-139), you will be free from any inappropriate drollery (v. 140).

³³⁸ It seems that Klimax warns the monks that chanting as ‘material’ and acoustic prayer is inferior compared to silent prayer. Therefore he advises monks who sing hymns to pray silently while waiting for the next verse to be sung.

136 μελωδίας: As psalmody has musical aspirations, this word frequently appears referring to psalmody. See for example Chrysostom in his *Expositio in Psalmum 41* (PG 55.158, ll. 21-35):

Ἐνθα γὰρ ψαλμὸς, καὶ εὐχή, καὶ προφητῶν χορεία, καὶ διάνοια τῶν ἀδόντων θεοφιλῆς, οὐκ ἄν τις ἀμάρτοι τὴν σύνοδον ταύτην προσειπὼν ἐκκλησίαν. Κἂν μὴ εἰδῆς τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ῥημάτων, αὐτὸ τέως τὸ στόμα παιδεύσον τὰ ῥήματα λέγειν. Ἀγιάζεται γὰρ καὶ διὰ ῥημάτων ἢ γλῶττα, ὅταν μετὰ προθυμίας ταῦτα λέγηται. Ἐὰν εἰς ταύτην ἑαυτοῦς καταστήσωμεν τὴν συνήθειαν, οὐδὲ ἐκόντες, οὐδὲ ῥαθυμοῦντές ποτε προησόμεθα τὴν καλὴν ταύτην λειτουργίαν, τοῦ ἔθους καὶ ἄκοντας ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζοντος καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἐπιτελεῖν λατρείαν. Ἐπὶ τῆς μελωδίας ταύτης, κἂν γεγηρακῶς τις ᾗ, κἂν νέος, κἂν δασύφωνος, κἂν ῥυθμοῦ παντὸς ἄπειρος, οὐδὲν ἔγκλημα γίνεται.

In this passage, Chrysostom states that everyone should practice psalmody, on a daily base (καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν). Psalmody is referred to as a beautiful service (τὴν καλὴν (...) λατρείαν).

A similar example is found in Chrysostom's commentary on Ps. 150 (PG 55.498, ll. 3-14):

Τί δέ ἐστιν, Ἐν κυμβάλῳ σημασίας; Τοὺς ψαλμοὺς οὕτω φησίν. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἐκυμβάλιζον, οὐδὲ ἀπλῶς ἐκιθάριζον, ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν, καὶ διὰ τῶν κυμβάλων, καὶ διὰ τῶν σαλπίγγων, καὶ διὰ τῶν τῆς κιθάρας ψαλμῶν τὰς σημασίας ἐνδεικνύμενοι· καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς εἰς ταῦτα σπουδὴ καὶ πόνος πολὺ τὸ κέρδος φέρων. Πᾶσα πνοὴ αἰνεσάτω τὸν Κύριον. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἐπειδὴ διήγειρε τὸν δῆμον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ὄργανα ἅπαντα ἐκίνησεν, εἰς τὴν φύσιν πᾶσαν ἐκβαίνει λοιπὸν, πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν εἰς τὴν μελωδίαν καλῶν, πρεσβύτας, ἄνδρας, νέους, ἐφήβους, γυναῖκας, ἅπαντας τοὺς τὴν οἰκουμένην οἰκοῦντας.

See for example also a popular book epigram of 4 verses on the Psalms, the first two reading:³³⁹

Ἄκουε Δαυίδ, τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν Ὀρφέως.
Φόρμιγγα κινεῖ μυστικῆς μελωδίας,

³³⁹ Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/7. For a discussion see Meesters – Praet et al. (2016).

138-139: Although it was common for Byzantine monks to pray and to recite Psalms constantly, in the context of the *Ladder*, these two verses resemble quite closely a particular passage from step 19 (PG 88.940 Gr. 20, ll. 11-22):

φέρει δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴδωμεν πῶς τὴν ἡμετέραν παράστασιν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα ποιούμεθα, ἔν τε ταῖς ἑσπεριναῖς, καὶ ἡμεριναῖς, καὶ νυκτεριναῖς παραστάσεσι καὶ εὐχαῖς. Τινὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἑσπερινῇ διανυκτερεύσει ἄυλοι, καὶ γυμνοὶ πάσης φροντίδος, ἐπὶ προσευχὴν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνουσιν· ἕτεροι δὲ, μετὰ ψαλμωδίας ἐν ταύταις παρίστανται· ἄλλοι, τῇ ἀναγνώσει μᾶλλον προσκαρτεροῦσι· τινὲς δὲ, διὰ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν χειρῶν ἐξ ἀσθενείας ἀνδρείως τῷ ὕπνῳ μάχονται· ἄλλοι, τῇ τοῦ θανάτου ἐννοίᾳ προσασχολούμενοι, διὰ ταύτης κατάνυξιν προσλαβέσθαι βούλονται.

In this passage, several ways to resist sleep are mentioned, amongst which standing, praying and chanting psalms all night long. It seems that the words of vv. 138-139 are borrowed from this passage. *ἐν ἑσπεριναῖς, ἡμεριναῖς* is almost a quotation. *ἐννύχοις* is a synonym of *νυκτεριναῖς*. Also *εὐχαῖς* and *παραστάσεσι* are clearly borrowed from the passage quoted above. *λιταῖς* is a synonym of *εὐχαῖς*. Only *ξέναις* appears here as a new element. It has a positive connotation here, meaning *wonderful, marvellous* (PGL).³⁴⁰

Some lines further on in step 19, a similar expression appears (PG 88.941 Gr. 20, ll. 8-10):

πλοῦτός τε καὶ γνῶσις μοναχοῖς ἐν ἑσπεριναῖς, καὶ νυκτεριναῖς παραστάσεσι, καὶ ἐργασίαις νοός.

Here, it is implied that especially in the evening and at night it is fruitful for monks to stand up (in prayer).

PGL (s.v. *παράστασις*) refers explicitly to the passage mentioned above (PG 88.940 Gr. 20, ll. 11-22), explaining the word as: “of religious services or attendance at prayer”. Etymologically, this word can also be interpreted as meaning literally “to stand up”. It does then not only mean that you ‘attend’ prayer, but that you ‘stand up’ (while praying). *Παράστασις* appears here as a synonym of *στάσις* as it appears in a passage from step 15, where Klimax gives some cures for bad thoughts (PG 88.892, ll. 30-31):

³⁴⁰ *ξένος* appears having a similar meaning, combining admiration and wonder, in Poem 1 (v. 1) and Poem 2 (v. 1) of *Barocc. 141* (see chapter 5.4).

Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ καλὸν ἡμῖν βοήθημα σάκκος, σποδὸς, στάσις παννύχιος ἐπιθυμία ἄρτου.

140-141: κορδακισμὸν derives from κορδακισμός, a rare word. It refers to the *dancing of the κόρδαξ*, which is a *dance of the old Comedy* (LSJ). The word here appears as the opposite of serious prayer and psalmody. In Byzantium, the dance was known as a part of street festivals and was also associated with the licentious Slavic culture (Koder 2006: 119). There is one passage in step 18 that might have been an inspiration for these two verses (PG 88.937 Gr. 19, ll. 28-33):

τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν γέλωτα πολλάκις ἐν τῷ τῆς προσευχῆς καιρῷ γενέσθαι ἐποίησαν, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνου τὸν Θεὸν καθ' ἡμῶν εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν διεγείρωσιν· ἄλλοι σπεύδειν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐκ ῥαθυμίας βιάζονται· ἄλλοι σχολαιότερον ψάλλειν ἐκ φιληδονίας προτρέπονται.

In this passage, it is said that there are, amongst others, demons who try to make us laugh during prayer or who try to convince us to chant for pleasure. Laughter and pleasure are, just as the dancing of κόρδαξ, contradictory to prayer, psalmody or a song which suits God (**μελισμὸν ἐν μελισμῷ Κυρίου**).

Step 19 of the Ladder (= PG's step 20): On bodily vigil, and how to use it to attain spiritual vigil, and how to practice it.

This step opens by mentioning that some people stand unarmed in front of an earthly king, whereas others do wear arms. The first are superior, because they usually are the personal relations of the king. Therefore we stand, free from all concerns and materiality, in front of God the King during all-night vigils. Other ways to dispel sleep are psalmody, reading or manual labour (Sophr. 19.1; PG 88.940, ll. 5-27). This opening is rather unusual, as it does not explain the order of this step in the Ladder, nor does it give an explicit definition of its topic. However, since it concerns prayer, it has a link with the topic of the previous step.

Thereafter, it is said that the vigilant eye purifies the mind, whereas sleepiness leads to fornication. This is repeated in a definition of vigil. By vigil you can catch bad thoughts as a fish on the hook (Sophr. 19.2-4; PG 88.940, l. 27 – 941, l. 3). Vigil leads to a pure memory, whereas long sleep leads to forgetfulness (Sophr. 19.6; PG 88.941, ll. 5-6). “The farmer’s wealth is gathered on the threshing floor and in the wine-press.” The wealth of a monk derives from standing all night in prayer (Sophr. 19.7; PG 88.941, ll. 7-10).

Klimax warns for much sleep, as it can cost you half your life (Sophr. 19.8; PG 88.10-12). There is a hypocrisy amongst monks in that some of them are awake during conversation, but sleepy at the hour of prayer. The tyrant of sleep attacks us when we are hungry, but mostly leaves us in peace “when we are full of food”. Sleep advises us to do handwork during prayer, by which our prayers are destroyed (Sophr. 19.9; PG 88.941, ll. 12-28). “The hound is the enemy of the hares,

and the demon of vainglory is the enemy of sleep” (Sophr. 19.10; PG 88.941, ll. 28-29).³⁴¹ Psalmody, just as prayer before, is mentioned as the wealth of the monk (Sophr. 19.11; PG 88.941, ll. 29-31). After prayer, demons attack us trying to bring us to bad thoughts and to destroy “the first-fruits of the soul”.

At the end of the step, Klimax gives some positive aspects of sleep. “Continuous meditation on passages of the Psalms” can be prolonged during sleep. But this might also be a trap of demons trying to lead us to vainglory. Meditation on the words of the Lord during sleep protects against bad thoughts (Sophr. 19.13; PG 88.941, ll. 36-45).

142-147, step 19:

Ἦγνισε νοῦν ἄγρυπνον ὄμμα καὶ φρένας ἰθὺς περὶ ἀγρυπνίας
καὶ σάρκα δυσκάθεκτον εἶξε τῷ Λόγῳ,
λειτουργὸν εἰργάσατο καθηγνισμένον,
θεοῦ τραπέζης δεξιὸν παραστάτην
ἄλλοις μεταδιδόντα τῶν μυστηρίων,
πολλοῖς σὲ μυστήριον εὖ δεδειγμένον.

περὶ ἀγρυπνίας (title): This title consists of the first part of the title of this step as it appears in Sophr. (1970: 102): Περὶ ἀγρυπνίας σωματικῆς, καὶ πῶς δεῖ ταύτην μετιέναι. A longer variant appears in PG 88.940 as the title of step 20: Περὶ ἀγρυπνίας σωματικῆς, πῶς διὰ ταύτης γίνεται ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ πῶς δεῖ ταύτην μετιέναι. Sophr. (1970: 185 Gr. 19) presents yet another variant, having a different closing: Περὶ σωματικῆς ἀγρυπνίας, καὶ διαφορᾶς ἀγρυπνιῶν. This closing reappears as the title of step 20 in PG 88.629 and in **M** f. 3r: Περὶ διαφορᾶς ἀγρυπνιῶν. In **M** f. 320v, the title of step 20 runs: Περὶ τῆς φωτιστικῆς ἀγρυπνίας. The title of step 19 in **N** f. 9v consists of the first part of the title as presented in Sophr. (1970: 102) and PG 88.940: Περὶ ἀγρυπνίας σωματικῆς.

142: This verse is almost a quotation from a passage from step 19 of the *Ladder* which makes clear that ἄγρυπνον logically agrees with ὄμμα (PG 88.940 Gr. 20, l. 27):

ἄγρυπνον ὄμμα ἠγνισεν νοῦν.

Apparently the poet changed the order of this phrase. If you would take these 9 syllables at the beginning of a dodecasyllable, the *Binnenschluß* would be in a correct position. Also the accent position on the fourth syllable would be fine. However, the hiatus

³⁴¹ As Klimax mentions in step 9 (PG 88.840D - 841, l. 8), vices do not only beget one another, but they also stifle each other.

between the 5th and 6th syllables probably obliged the author to change the word order. Thereafter, the author added **καὶ φρένας**, the required remaining three syllables.

143: **εἶξε** is used transitively. **ῥῆμα** is still the subject. Here, it causes the flesh to yield to the Word. The flesh is not mentioned in step 19 of the *Ladder*. In the context of purity (**ἡγνισε**), it is of course not far-fetched to involve the flesh. One may think of the definition of the monk given in the first step (PG 88.633, ll. 29-31):³⁴²

Μοναχός ἐστιν ἡγνισμένον σῶμα, καὶ κεκαθαρμένον στόμα, καὶ πεφωτισμένος νοῦς.

The struggle against the body is already mentioned in v. 53 of Poem 2, where it was said that you should subjugate the flesh to your spirit (**καθυποτάττων**). Here, **δυσκάθεκτον**, expresses the same idea that you should temper your body, that you should control it. In both verses, a higher power appears: **τῷ πνεύματί σου** in v. 53; **τῷ Λόγῳ** in v. 143. The struggle against the body is of course a central theme in the Greek ascetic tradition which frequently appears in the *Ladder*. A detailed discussion of this theme would lead us too far.

144: **εἰργάσατο** is the third verb governed by **ῥῆμα** (v. 142). **καθηγνισμένον** echoes **ἡγνισε**. **λειτουργὸν** is a predicate to **σάρκα** (v. 143). It is implied that the body which appears after purification is that of a servant. One has to use the body mainly as an instrument to serve God.

145: This verse is an apposition to **λειτουργὸν** (v. 144). The collocation **δεξιὸς παραστάτης** also appears in Gregory of Nazianzos' *Oratio* 43 (ed. Bernardi 1992: 198, l. 14) and in his *Carm.* II,1,3, v. 6 (PG 37.1020), but there seems to be no further parallel with these passages.

146: **μεταδιδόντα** agrees with **παραστάτην** (v. 145) / **λειτουργὸν** (v. 144). This verse states that a servant of God also has the task to transmit the mysteries to others.

145-146: **μυστηρίων** refers of course to the breaking of the bread and is related to God's table (**Θεοῦ τραπέζης**) mentioned in v. 145. This implies that **παραστάτην** (v. 145) / **λειτουργὸν** (v. 144) refers to a priest. See for example the *Pseudo-Clementina* (*epitome de gestis Petri praemetaphrastica*) [Sp.], sect. 69, ll. 5-6 (ed. Dressel 1873²):

καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον ὁ Πέτρος εὐχαριστήσας καὶ κλάσας μετέδωκεν ἡμῖν τῶν ἀχράντων καὶ ζωοποιῶν μυστηρίων.

³⁴² This phrase (and its surrounding lines) are also quoted in Athanasios I (13th - 14th c.), *Constitutio Athanasii I patriarchae* (ed. Miller – Thomas 1996: 360, ll. 1-3).

See also Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* II,1,23, v. 17 (PG 37.1283):

Ἐγὼ τραπέζης μυστικῆς παραστάτης

147: πολλοῖς corresponds to ἄλλοις as it stands on the same metrical position. Just as ἄλλοις, it refers to an anonymous group of people. Probably, δεδειγμένον, just as μεταδιδόντα, agrees with παραστάτην (v. 145) / λειτουργὸν (v. 144). παραστάτην and λειτουργὸν are σάρκα (v. 143). The sanctified body is then said to show σὲ μυστήριον <όντα>. The construction is that of an *accusativus cum participio*, with an ellipsis of the participle. It seems thus that you, the ascender, becomes a mystery by the purity caused by the practice of ἀγρυπνία.³⁴³ By climbing higher on the ladder, the ascender comes closer to God. Hence, as the image of God on earth, he can become a mystery too. In any case, the syntax of this verse is uncommon. One might compare with a hymn for the 18th of July:³⁴⁴

Ἄντεχόμενος σοφώτατα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι
τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ κτίστου σου,
ἰσχὺν δεδειγμένος
ὑποθεν, συνέτριψας
τὰ ἄσεμνα εἶδωλα,
Αἰμιλιανὲ εὐσθενέστατε.

Also here the perfect participle (medial voice) has an object (ἰσχὺν).

Step 20 of the Ladder (= PG's step 21): On unmanly and puerile cowardice

The step opens by stating that cenobitic monks are not likely to be attacked by cowardice (δειλία). Anachoretic monks, by contrast, do have to struggle against cowardice, which is the “offspring of vainglory” (κενοδοξία), “the daughter of unbelief” (ἀπιστία) (Sophr. 20.1; PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 3-7). Klimax defines cowardice as: “a childish disposition in an old, vainglorious soul” (Sophr. 20.2; PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 7-9); fear as: “a rehearsing of danger beforehand”. A “proud soul” (ὑπερήφανος ψυχή) is said to “be a slave of cowardice”, as “it vainly trusts itself” and is afraid of any shadow (Sophr. 20.3; PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 9-15).

³⁴³ The *scholion* to v. 147 preserved in **N** (Γράφεται· εἰργασμένον) seems to support this reading. It would sound quite strange if a servant of God could make (εἰργασμένον) God (σὲ) a mystery. If the reading of this *scholion* is applied, it would seem best to interpret σὲ as referring to the servant himself.

³⁴⁴ *Canones Julii*, day 18, *In Sanctum Aemilianum martyrem*, canon 26, ode 4, ll. 2-7 (ed. Acconcia Longo – Schirò 1978). I thank Dries De Crom for communicating this occurrence.

If you mourn (= step 7) and if you are insensitive (*ἀπηληγηκότες*) (= step 17; PG's step 18), you will be free from cowardice.³⁴⁵ The proud are rightly condemned and this is a lesson for the others not to become arrogant (*Sophr.* 20.4; PG 88.945, ll. 15-19). Every coward is also vainglorious, but not everyone who is free from vainglory is humble. Also criminals are free from cowardice (*Sophr.* 20.5; PG 88.945, ll. 19-22).

Klimax advises us to go at night to scary places. There you have to pray and thereby to drive away your childish fears (*Sophr.* 20.6; PG 88.945, ll. 22-31). It is, however, impossible to overcome fear at once, but the more you mourn the sooner it will leave you (*Sophr.* 20.7; PG 88.945, ll. 31-36).

Fear sometimes creeps in via the body, sometimes via the soul. The soul can pass fear to the body and vice versa. When your body stops passing fear to your soul, "then deliverance from the disease is at hand". Acceptance leads to the final cure³⁴⁶ (*Sophr.* 20.8; PG 88.945 Gr. ll. 36-40). It is

³⁴⁵ Interestingly, *Klimax* says that you can overcome cowardice by a virtue (mourning) and by a vice (insensibility, here *ἀπηληγηκότες*). Cf. PGL s.v. *ἀπαλγέω*: "become devoid of feeling". In step 17 (PG's step 18), *ἀναληγσία* was indeed defined as negative. That you can overcome a vice by a virtue or by another vice is a sign of *Klimax*' dialectical approach. A *scholion* edited in *Sophr.* (1970: 104) indicates that this concept remained strange for the Byzantine reader: "Ἀπηληγηκότες ἴσως, οἱ μὴ φειδόμενοι τοῦ οἰκείου σώματος, καὶ ἀθλίπτως, καὶ ἀλύπως πρὸς πᾶν τὸ ἐπισυμβαῖνον αὐτοῖς διακεῖμενοι". In the *scholion*, *ἀπηληγηκότες* is explained as *ἀλυπία*, which, contrary to *ἀναληγσία*, was described as a positive thing in the *Ladder*. Cf. the title of step 2: Περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας, ἤγουν ἀλυπίας (PG 88.653). In fact, the explanation of the *scholion* does not explain the passage of the *Ladder*. *Klimax* means that, if you are subject to insensibility, you cannot feel any pain, simply because your senses do not work.

³⁴⁶ This last phrase does not appear in PG. PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 40-42 reads: ὅταν δὲ ὄντως δειλίας ἠλευθέρωθῃμεν, οὐ τόπων σκοτία καὶ ἐρημία ἐνισχύει καθ' ἡμῶν τοὺς δαίμονας, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ἀκαρπία. *Sophr.* (20.8-9) reads: ὅταν δὲ πάντα τὰ ἀδόκητα ἐκ συντριμμοῦ καρδίας προθύμως ἐκδεχώμεθα, τότε ὄντως δειλίας ἠλευθέρωθῃμεν. (9) Οὐ τόπων σκοτία καὶ ἐρημία τοὺς δαίμονας καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνισχύει, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ἀκαρπία. In the reading of PG, it is said that, 'when you are completely free from fear, our demons are not strengthened by shadows or desolate places, but by the barrenness of our soul'. This implies that when you are free from fear, you are free from external, scary things which give power to our enemies. It is only your own soul which strengthens demons. Possibly, however, the meaning of the reading of *Sophr.* conveys a stronger message. In his reading, acceptance is mentioned as the ultimate cure for fear. Acceptance is something internal, something you have to do yourself. If we follow this line of interpretation, it might be implied in the next phrase that you have to understand that fear is something internal, just as acceptance. Fear does not come from scary places, but from your own lack of understanding, from "barrenness of soul". In the reading of *Sophr.*, the phrase Οὐ τόπων σκοτία καὶ ἐρημία τοὺς δαίμονας καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνισχύει, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ἀκαρπία is valid before you have reached freedom from fear, whereas in PG, it is mentioned that it has to be understood after you overcame fear. I think that the reading of *Sophr.* is to be preferred. An argument can be found in the line that follows after this passage: ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ παιδείσιν (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, l. 42 – 948, l. 1) and ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ παιδείσιν οἰκονομικὴ (*Sophr.* 20.9). This refers to a lesson which comes from divine providence, which is reminiscent of PG (88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 17-19): Δικαίως γὰρ τοὺς ὑπερηφάνους ἐγκαταλιμπάνει Κύριος, ἵνα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παιδευθῶμεν μὴ ἐπαίρεσθαι, a phrase which appeared some paragraphs earlier in the same step, and which also referred to 'a lesson by divine providence'. The phrase points to the fact that God deliberately renders the vainglorious fearful as a lesson for others. Therefore, I think that it is plausible to interpret Οὐ τόπων σκοτία (...) ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ἀκαρπία, as it appears in a similar context of a divine lesson, as belonging to a state before complete freedom from fear. I think thus that the reading of *Sophr.* could be

not by scary places that the demons are strengthened, but by the barrenness of our own soul (Sophr. 20.9; PG 88.945, l. 41 - 948, l. 1). A true servant of God only fears God. He who does not fear God is afraid of his own shadow (Sophr. 20.10; PG 88.948, ll. 1-4). “In the presence of an invisible spirit, the body becomes afraid.” When an angel approaches, a humble soul will be filled with joy (Sophr. 20.11; PG 88.948, ll. 4-9).

148-153, step 20:

Διὰ τελείας πίστεως, ὀρθοῦ λόγου,	κ περὶ ἀνδρείας
δι' εὐσεβείας ὑγιοῦς ἡδρασμένης·	
δι' ἧς δεδίττεις κοσμοκράτορας σκότους,	
ἐχθρούς, ἀπίστους, δυσμενεῖς, ἀντιθέους,	
τὸ νηπιῶδες ἦθος ἐν γηραλέῳ	
ψυχῆς ἀναστήματι μὴ δεδεγμένος.	

περὶ ἀνδρείας (title): Again, just as was the case with the title of step 17, the title of the summary in Poem 2 is the reverse of the title of this step as it appears in the *Ladder*. The title of step 20 in Sophr. (1970: 104) reads: Περὶ δειλίας, τῆς ἀνάνδρου καὶ νηπιώδους. PG 88.945 has a variant title, in this case of step 21: Περὶ τῆς ἀνάνδρου δειλίας. Having a deviating word order, the same title also appears in **N** f. 10r Gr. 21 and in Sophr. (1970: 185 Gr. 20): Περὶ δειλίας τῆς ἀνάνδρου. PG 88.629 Gr. 21 and **M** f. 3r Gr. 21 simply have: Περὶ δειλίας. The *pinax* at the end of **M** f. 320v Gr. 21 reads: Περὶ τῆς λυτρώσεως τῆς ἀνάνδρου δειλίας. This title has a positive meaning, but also here δειλία appears. As we will see, the title of the summary of this step in Poem 2 indeed agrees with the content.

148-153: In this step the anonymous, ideal ascender is addressed again (**δεδίττεις** v. 150). **148-150:** ὀρθοῦ λόγου is an apposition to **τελείας πίστεως** and both refer to the perfect faith, the right word, which is the *orthodox* dogma. V. 149 is almost a paraphrase of the previous verse. ἧς (v. 150) appears to recapture vv. 148-149 as its antecedent. Syntactically, it can be taken as a *pseudo-relativum*. Then v. 150 can function as the main clause, which would otherwise be absent in step 20 of Poem 2.

Faith is of course a quintessential prerequisite when you want to ascend the *Ladder*. Klimax writes in step 20 (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 5-7):

preferred. However, the reading of PG, does of course make sense as well, and without a thorough analysis of the manuscript tradition this hypothesis can be nothing more than a mere guess.

Εἰ δὲ ἐν ἡσυχαστικωτέροις τόποις ἀγωνίζῃ, μὴ σου κυριεύσῃ τὸ τῆς κενοδοξίας γέννημα, καὶ ἀπιστίας θυγάτηρ.

Here, Klimax warns anachoretic monks for cowardice, which is the offspring of vainglory and the daughter of unbelief. This implies that, next to humility (as the reverse of vainglory), faith can prevent fear from creeping in. Also Klimax' pious advice to go to a scary place and to pray there in the name of Christ (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 22-29) fits in with **εὐσεβείας** (v. 149).

δεδίττεις derives from δεδίττω (LBG). This active form appears only first in Late Antique and Byzantine Greek. It goes back to δεδίττομαι / δεδίσομαι, which in its turn goes back to δειδίσομαι, and in fact to δείδω (LSJ).³⁴⁷ The meaning of both δεδίττω and δεδίττομαι can be transitive (*frighten*) or intransitive (*fear*). Here, the verb is clearly used transitively, being accompanied by the object **κοσμοκράτορας σκότους**. In this context, *the earthly rulers of darkness* clearly refers to the demons as they appear in Eph. 6:12:

ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.

In step 20 of the *Ladder*, the expression “the demons of darkness” does not appear as such. Both elements do, however, appear separately. Klimax, referring to Job 4:15, mentions (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 34-36):

Ἐφριζάν μου τρίχες, καὶ σάρκες, ὁ Ἐλιφάζ ἔφησε, τὴν τοῦ δαίμονος πανουργίαν διηγούμενος.

In this passage, Eliphaz expresses his fear, which is described by Klimax as a demon.

Also shadows, as they are related to darkness, appear in this step as a cause of fear (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 13-15):

Ἵπερήφανος ψυχὴ ἐστὶ δειλίας δούλη ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ πεποιθυῖα, καὶ κτύπους κτισμάτων καὶ σκιάς δεδιῶσα.

And see again PG 88.948 Gr. 21, ll. 1-4:

³⁴⁷ See for example the form δεδίττουσι, which already appears in Chrysostom's *De resurrectione mortuorum* (PG 50.423, ll. 15-16): αἱ σκιαὶ φοβοῦσι καὶ δεδίττουσι τὸν τοιοῦτον.

Ὁ δοῦλος Κυρίου γενόμενος τὸν οἰκεῖον Δεσπότην καὶ μόνον φοβηθήσεται· ὁ δὲ τοῦτον οὐπω φοβούμενος, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκιάν πολλάκις πεφόβηται.

In one passage in this step the darkness and the demons appear together (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 41-42):

οὐ τόπων σκοτία καὶ ἐρημία ἐνισχύει καθ' ἡμῶν τοὺς δαίμονας, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ἀκαρπία

By this phrase, Klimax seems to try to undermine a common idea that scary places strengthen demons, whereas in fact it lies in your own hands, in your own soul, to overcome the demons of fear.³⁴⁸

It may be clear that step 20 of the *Ladder* inspired the poet to use the expression **κοσμοκράτορας σκότους**, as it fits in with the context of fear. Clearly, he took it from Eph. 6:12, which is quite frequently quoted in the patristic tradition.³⁴⁹ Anyway, it is clearly part of the common metaphor of the struggle between light and darkness, between good and evil.

148-150: Compare with Eusebios' *Commentaria in Psalmos* (PG 23.237, ll. 31-36):

Εἰ μὲν μή μοι ὁ τοσοῦτος παρῆν βοηθὸς, φωτίζων μου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπερασπίζων μου τῆς ζωῆς, εἰκότως ἐφοβήθην ἂν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας καὶ τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, καὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας.

In this passage from Eusebios, the narrator explains that, if he did not have any help, he would certainly have become afraid of the rulers of darkness. The words in italics are a quotation from the aforementioned Eph. 6:12.

In Poem 2, by contrast, it is the ideal ascender who scares off the demons of darkness by his faith, just as the one who prays in the name of Jesus in step 20 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 25-27):

Πορευόμενος, προσευχῇ ὀπλίζου· καταλαβὼν, τὰς χεῖρας διαπέτασον, Ἰησοῦ ὀνόματι μάστιζε πολεμίους.

In Poem 2, the enemies, the demons, are not flogged but repelled by their own weapon, i.e. fear.

³⁴⁸ See also note 341 for a further discussion of this phrase.

³⁴⁹ Cf. e.g. J. Chrysostom, *In sanctum Barlaam martyrem* (PG 50.677, l. 18); Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (PG 70.97, l. 20; 361, l. 26; 405, l. 15; 741, l. 29; 1035, ll. 34-35); *Sacra parallela* (PG 96.176, l. 52).

151: This verse consists of four adjectives that agree with **κοσμοκράτορας** (v. 150). They are placed in a parallel structure: **ἐχθρούς** is a synonym of **δυσμενεῖς**, and **ἀπίστους** is a synonym of **ἀντιθέους**. **ἀπίστους** might be inspired by the above mentioned passage from step 20 (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 5-7). Of course, these four words are commonly attributed to demons. See also **πολεμίους**, as belonging to the same context, in the above quoted passage (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 25-27).

152-153: These verses belong together and give a further description of the ideal ascender's victory against the demons of fear. The participle **δεδεγμένος** (v. 153) depends on **δεδίττεις** (v. 150), which can be interpreted as a main verb, and the ascender is thus its subject. These two verses are clearly based on a specific passage from step 20 (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 7-8):

δειλία ἐστὶ νηπιῶδες ἦθος ἐν γηραλέᾳ κενοδόξῳ ψυχῇ.

In this phrase, which appears at the beginning of step 20, cowardice is defined as “a childish disposition in an old, vainglorious soul”. Cowardice (just as fear) is something for children, as they haven't reached complete understanding. To hang on to your childish behaviour when you grow old is of course ridiculous. A similar expression appears some paragraphs further on in step 20 (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 24-25):

Εἰ δὲ ὑποχαλάσεις ὀλίγον, συγγηράσει σοι τοῦτο τὸ νηπιῶδες πάθος καὶ γελοῖον.

This phrase appears in the context of Klimax' advice to go out at night to a scary place and to pray armed by Jesus' name in order to chase away your fears. It is said that if you yield a bit to fear, you will grow old with your childish behaviour.

The first quoted passage seems to be the closest parallel of vv. 152-153. As our ideal ascender is free from cowardice and fear, he, of course, does *not accept childish behaviour*.

Probably, **ἐν γηραλέῳ ψυχῆς ἀναστήματι**, is a periphrastic construction, literally meaning: “in an old condition of the soul”, which can be understood as “in an old soul”. The meaning of the abstract word **ἀναστήματι** is then heavily weakened. Since vv. 152-153 are based on the phrase from the *Ladder*, one could also consider to interpret **ἀναστήματι** in a negative way, corresponding to **κενοδόξῳ**. Both LSJ and PGL translate **ἀνάστημα** as *height*. This might lead to a negative connotation, *haughtiness*. LSJ mentions that the perfect participle of **ἀνίστημι**, the verb from which **ἀνάστημα** derives, can be used metaphorically meaning *lofty*. LSJ refers as an example to a passage from Eunapios (*Fragmenta historica*; ed. Dindorf 1870: 233, ll. 9-12):

Αίλιανός. Οὔτος ἐπὶ Οὐάλεντος ἐστρατήγησεν· ἦν δὲ ἐκ Συέδρων· ἐλεύθερος δὲ ὦν ἄγαν καὶ ἀνεστηκῶς ἐκ παιδὸς τὴν ψυχὴν γενόμενος, ἀφθόνως ἐχορηγήθη τὰ παρὰ τοῦ σώματος.

Also in a passage from Didymos the Blind (4th c.), ἀνάστημα appears in the context of ψυχή, having again a negative connotation. Here, it stands on the same level as γαῦρος (Didymos the Blind, *Commentarii in Psalmos* 40-44.4, Codex p. 325, ll. 13-16; ed. Gronewald 1970: 180):

ὡς ἂν τις, φέρε, πέδα<ς> λάβῃ παρὰ τυράννου | τινός, δοκεῖ τεταπεινῶσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐταπεινώθη· ἔχει γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀν[ά]στημα, ἔχει τὸ αὐτὸ γαῦρος. διὰ τοῦτο πτωχοὶ ἐσμεν καὶ θλιβόμεθα, ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν τὸ ἴδιον ἀνάστημα τέως φανερόν οὐκ ἔχει | ταπεινωθεῖσα εἰς τὸν χοῦν καὶ “ἡ γαστήρ ἡμῶν τῇ γῆ ἐκολλήθη”.

Another interesting passage in Didymos is found in his *Fragmenta in Psalmos*, Fr. (107) Ps 16,13.14a (ed. Mühlenberg 1975: 186, ll. 4-6):

οἱ γὰρ περὶ τὰ ὑλικά καὶ χοϊκά γινόμενοι προσπαθοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἀποβάλλουσιν τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀνάστημα καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ὃν εἶχον, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὑλικά προτέθειντο.

In this passage, it is said that persons who strive for material possessions, throw away their τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀνάστημα and the wealth they have, as far as it does not lead to material possessions. This implies that they keep the wealth that does lead to material possessions. The wealth they threw away must be interpreted as their spiritual, immaterial wealth. In a same way, τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀνάστημα is implied to have two sides: one side leading to materiality and one to spirituality.

In the *Suda* (10th c.) and in the *Lexicon* of Ps.-Zonaras a definition of ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς appears:³⁵⁰

Ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς, τὸ πρὸς ἀρετὰς ἐπιτεταμένον καὶ σύντονον ἰδίωμα.

Ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς is more or less defined as *zeal for virtues* and has thus clearly a positive meaning. Such a positive interpretation is less likely in Poem 2, since it has no correspondence in the passage from the *Ladder*.

³⁵⁰ The phrase quoted above comes from the *Suda* (ed. Adler 1928: α, lem. 2084, s.v. Ἀνάστημα ἡλικίας, ll. 2-3). The variant in Ps.-Zonaras reads (ed. Tittmann 1808: 189, ll. 4-5): Ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς. τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπιτεταμένον καὶ σύντονον ἰδίωμα.

Another passage from Didymos, in which ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς has a positive meaning runs (*Commentarii in Zacchariam* 2.281, ll. 1-5;³⁵¹ ed. Doutreleau 1962: 560):

“Ὡσπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀλούσης καὶ ἐσχάτην ἐρημίαν ὑπομενούσης, ἀδύνατον ἠγοῦντο οἱ ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔχοντες ἄνθρωποι τὸ ἀποκαταστήναι αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν προτέραν δόξαν καὶ εὐετηρίαν, καίτοι Θεοῦ ἐπαγγελιαμένου καὶ εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν δυναμένου τὰ προθεσπισθέντα.

Here, it is said that some people, at the sight of the destruction of the capital of Judea did not have ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς any more. They despaired and did not trust in God who promised that the city would be rebuilt. Doutreleau, the translator of the commentary on Zacharias, translates οἱ ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔχοντες ἄνθρωποι as “ceux dont l’âme était sans ressort”. In this context, ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς indeed means *resilience*.

Also in Anna Komnene, the expression ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς appears in a positive context. In the portrait Anna gives of Alexios’ mother Anna Dalassene, she writes (*Alexias* 3.8.3, ll. 12-15; ed. Kambylis – Reinsch 2001):

μέτρα γὰρ ἔγνω κατηφείας καὶ σεμνότητος, ὡς μήτε τὸ κατηφές ἄγριόν πως καὶ θηριῶδες δοκεῖν μήτε τὸ ἀπαλὸν κεχαλασμένον τὲ καὶ ἀκόλαστον (καὶ ὄρον οἶμαι τοῦτ’ εἶναι κοσμιότητος) κραθέντος τοῦ φιλανθρώπου τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναστήματι.

Based on the passages discussed above, we could say that τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀνάστημα *in se* is a neutral expression. You can use your ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς for good or for evil. In conclusion, it seems best to interpret it in a neutral way here, ἀναστήματι having a heavily weakened meaning.

152 νηπιῶδες ἦθος: It seems that this collocation, except from here in Poem 2, only appears in the above quoted passage from the *Ladder* (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 7-8) and in Ps.-Zonaras’ *Lexicon* (13th c.) (ed. Tittmann 1808: 479, l. 22):

Δειλία. νηπιῶδες ἦθος. ἐκτροπὴ πίστεως.

This definition of δειλία is clearly based on Klimax’ definition of it in step 20 (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 7-9):

δειλία ἐστὶ νηπιῶδες ἦθος ἐν γηραλέα κενოდόξω ψυχῇ· δειλία ἐστὶν ἐκτροπὴ πίστεως ἐπὶ προσδοκία ἀδοκίτων.

³⁵¹ Lines 1-5 according to TLG; ll. 7-11 according to Doutreleau (1962: 560).

The fact that a later lexicon borrows Klimax' definition is an indication of the influence of Klimax concerning this topic, or at least a sign of the popularity of the *Ladder*.

153 ψυχῆς: M reads εὐχῆς instead of ψυχῆς, an obvious mistake given the clear parallel with step 20.

Step 21 of the Ladder (= PG's step 22): On the many forms of vainglory

At the beginning of the step, Klimax mentions that some people opt to place vainglory (κενοδοξία) and arrogance (ὑπερηφανία) in separate chapters. Klimax, however, explicitly agrees with Gregory of Nazianzos not to separate them, and thus to accept not 8, but 7 capital vices. Klimax rhetorically asks how it would be possible to overcome κενοδοξία and yet to suffer from ὑπερηφανία. The only difference between the two vices is that κενοδοξία is the beginning, whereas ὑπερηφανία is the end (Sophr. 21.1; PG 88.948 Gr. 22, l. 3 - 949, l. 12).³⁵²

A definition of κενοδοξία is given: "With regard to its form" it "is a change of nature", "with regard to its quality" it is "a waste of sweat", "a child of disbelief,³⁵³ the precursor of pride,³⁵⁴ shipwreck in harbour³⁵⁵" (Sophr. 21.2; PG 88.949, ll. 12-19).

Just as "the ant waits for the gathering of the wheat", so vainglory waits for the gathering of wealth. Whereas despair rejoices when your vices increase, vainglory rejoices when your virtues increase (Sophr. 21.3; PG 88.949, ll. 19-26). Just as the sun shines on everything, vainglory is a constant threat. You can, for example, be attacked by vainglory both when you wear rich clothes and when you wear poor clothes (Sophr. 21.5; PG 88.949, ll. 28-36).

Thereafter follows a definition of a vainglorious person:³⁵⁶ an idolater, who worships men and not God. His fasting and prayer are futile (Sophr. 21.6; PG 88.949, ll. 36-43).

"God often hides from our eyes even those perfections that we have obtained", because otherwise we could fall into vainglory and our wealth would vanish (Sophr. 21.8; PG 88.949, ll. 46-50).

The flatterer is defined as the "servant of devils, a guide to pride". "Only the holy can pass through praise without harm" (Sophr. 21.9-10; PG 88.949, l. 50 - 951, l. 3). If you are reproached by

³⁵² It is, however, strange that, after Klimax admits to agree with Gregory of Nazianzos, he does separate both vices into two steps. As will be clear from our summary of these steps, both steps follow a typical order. For example, in both steps the topic is defined at the beginning of its step. Therefore the separation of κενοδοξία and ὑπερηφανία seems to be a genuine choice of Klimax.

³⁵³ In step 20, also δειλία was called ἀπιστίας θυγάτηρ (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 6-7).

³⁵⁴ ὑπερηφανία is indeed the topic of step 21 (PG's 22).

³⁵⁵ This metaphor already appeared at the end of step 2 (PG 88.657, ll. 40-41).

³⁵⁶ Also in step 15 and 16, for example, the topic is first defined, followed by a definition of the person who executes it.

someone, you should praise that person (Sophr. 21.13; PG 88.952, ll. 8-11). A humble man is someone who loves someone by whom he was slandered (Sophr. 21.15; PG 88.952, ll. 12-15).

It happens that a demon tells the thoughts of one brother to another, in order that the latter believes that he is a seer. Besides, Klimax also warns for demons that suggest you to accept a higher function or to return to the world as an example for the people living there (Sophr. 21.16; PG 88.952, ll. 15-28).

Klimax especially warns for worldly visitors. Some monks, out of mere vainglory, execute their monastic tasks with more attention, but only as long as the visitors stay (Sophr. 21.18; PG 88.952, ll. 31-47). Vainglory leads to shame and dishonour. Again, Klimax describes that one demon can be expelled by another.³⁵⁷ He gives the example of a hot-tempered monk who loses his temper by falling into vainglory by the visit of seculars (Sophr. 21.20; PG 88.952, l. 53 - 953, l. 4). A vainglorious monk is a hypocrite, who only outwardly lives as a monk (Sophr. 21.21; PG 88.953, ll. 4-7).

You need to “taste the glory that is above” in order to be motivated to leave earth entirely (Sophr. 21.22; PG 88.953, ll. 7-12). Klimax admits that vainglory can have a positive result. It happens that someone begins “spiritual activity out of vainglory”, but after a while loses his vainglory and yet continues the spiritual path (Sophr. 21.23; PG 88.953, ll. 12-17). To be proud of your inherent qualities leads to vainglory. Humility, rather than toil, is a highway to dispassion. Not someone who asks gifts from God will be rewarded, but someone who considers himself a debtor (Sophr. 24-25; PG 88.953, ll. 17-28).

Klimax tells the anecdote of a monk who was sitting in the assembly. Suddenly the demons of vainglory and pride sat next to him and the demon of vainglory spurred him to tell his brothers one of his victories in the desert. After the monk dispelled vainglory, the demon of pride complimented him: “Well done!”. Thereupon he chases also that demon away, using some verses from the Psalms. Thereafter a short dialogue between the monk and pride follows (Sophr. 21.27; PG 88.953, l. 37 - 956, l. 3).

Unexpected glory comes from God. Glory you hoped for comes from demons. Vainglory incites some persons to pretend to be virtuous based on the passage from Mt. 5:16: “Let your light so shine before man that they may see your good works” (Sophr. 21.28-29; PG 88.956, ll. 3-18). Again, the progress you can make is divided into three stages:³⁵⁸ 1) “custody of the mouth and love of being dishonoured”; 2) to chase away vainglorious thoughts; 3) to do things which lead to dishonour in the presence of others, without being bothered (Sophr. 21.30; PG 88.956, ll. 19-23).

Thereafter Klimax presents some cures for vainglory, e.g.: remembrance of death, fear of God, the remembrance of your departure from the world, the fear of shame (Sophr. 21.32; PG 88.956, ll. 26-39). When you are praised, you should remember your sins (Sophr. 21.33; PG 88.956, ll.

³⁵⁷ Cf. step 9 (PG 88.840D - 841, l. 8).

³⁵⁸ See, for example, also step 7 (PG 88.804, ll. 1-10), step 8 (PG 88.832, l. 26 - 833, l. 1) and step 15 (PG 88.881, ll. 3-14).

39-42). Some prayers of vainglorious persons probably “deserve to be heard by God”, but He mostly anticipates their prayers in order that their vainglory does not increase when they notice that their prayers were heard (Sophr. 21.34; PG 88.956, ll. 42-47).

At the end of the step, Klimax compares a caterpillar that turns into a butterfly, with vainglory that brings forth pride, which is said to be “the origin and consummation of all evils”.³⁵⁹

154-159, step 21:

Ἐπερ κυΐσκει τοὺς ἐχιδνώδεις τόκους· καὶ περὶ κενοδοξίας
 τὴν τῶν κακῶν θάλασσαν ἢ τὴν πλημμύραν,
 τὴν τοῦ Σατᾶν δίαιταν ἢ τὴν ἐστίαν,
 τὸ ναυάγιον, τὸν κλύδωνα, τὸν στρόφον,
 τὴν ἀπατουργὸν τῶν καλῶν ἀναιρέτιν,
 τὴν ᾧ καλεῖται δεικνύουσιν τὴν φύσιν.

περὶ κενοδοξίας (title): This short and straightforward title is exactly the same as the one given in the *pinakes* from Sophr. (1970: 185), PG 88.629, **N** f. 10r Gr. 21 and **M** f. 3r Gr. 22. In Sophr. (1970: 105 Gr. 21) and PG 88.948 Gr. 22 a longer variant of the title runs: Περὶ τῆς πολυμόρφου κενοδοξίας. This title seems to be expanded in **M** f. 320v: Περὶ τῆς φυγῆς τῆς πολυμόρφου κενοδοξίας.

154: Ἐπερ, as a neuter plural, could refer to the negative elements of the previous step in general (vv. 150-153). Klimax’ concept of vices bringing forth other vices is then stressed again. Another option would be that it refers to the topic of this step in general, as if the title would be τὰ περὶ κενοδοξίας, referring to κενοδοξία in general, or to its different aspects. Compare with the titles of Sophr. (1970: 105 Gr. 21), PG 88.948 Gr. 22 and **M** f. 320v mentioned above. In the *Ladder*, it is said on several occasions that vices give birth to other vices. In the opening of step 9, mentioned before, Klimax explains (PG 88.840 Gr. 9, ll. 3-5):³⁶⁰

Αἱ μὲν ὅσαι ἀρεταὶ, τῇ τοῦ Ἰακώβ κλίμακι παρεοίκασιν, αἱ δὲ ἀνόσιοι κακίαι, τῇ ἀλύσει τῇ ἐκπεσούσῃ ἐκ Πέτρου τοῦ κορυφαίου. Διὸ αἱ μὲν μία τῇ μιᾷ συνδεθεῖσαι εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸν προαιρούμενον ἀναφέρουσιν· αἱ δὲ ἕτερα τὴν ἕτεραν γεννᾶν καὶ συσφίγγειν πεφύκασιν.

Also in step 21, this theme appears (PG 88.957 Gr. 22, l. 51): καὶ κενοδοξία τελεσθεῖσα ὑπερηφανίαν ἔτεκε.

³⁵⁹ Also the love of money is said to be “the root of all evils” in step 16 (PG 88.829, ll. 9-13).

³⁶⁰ See for other examples: PG 88.845C; 853; 860, l. 47 - 861, ll. 3-5, 10; 869, ll. 45-47; 932, ll. 9-11; 945, ll. 5-7.

ἔχιδνώδεις, as it refers to an animal closely related to a snake (~ the devil), ensures that here vices, and not virtues, are concerned. In the *Ladder*, neither ἔχιδνώδης nor ἔχιδνα nor ἔχις appears. However, it appears in a *scholion* to step 21 (= PG's step 22), given in PG (88.961, ll. 48-53):

Σχόλιον τοῦ Ἰσαάκ ιθ'.

Ἐκάστη ἀρετὴ μήτηρ ἐστὶ τῆς δευτέρας· ἐὰν οὖν ἀφήσεις τὴν μητέρα τὴν γεννῶσαν τὰς ἀρετὰς, καὶ ἀπέλθης ζητῆσαι τὰς θυγατέρας πρὸ τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, **ἔχιδναι** εὐρίσκονται ἐνεῖναι τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐὰν μὴ ρίψῃς αὐτὰς ἀπὸ σοῦ.

Every virtue brings forth another. If you, however, send away the mother which bears virtues, you will notice that there will be viper-like offspring in your heart. ἔχιδναι appears thus in a similar context, concerning the creation of sinful offspring.

A probable source of inspiration for **ἔχιδνώδεις** can be found in Michael Psellos' Poem 21, v. 1, certainly if we take the next verses into account.

154-156: These three verses are clearly based on vv. 1-3 of Poem 21 by Michael Psellos.

Poem 2, vv. 154-156	Psellos, Poem 21, vv. 1-3 (ed. Westerink 1992)
Ἄπερ κυΐσκει τοὺς ἔχιδνώδεις τόκους· τὴν τῶν κακῶν θάλασσαν ἢ τὴν πλημμύραν, τὴν τοῦ Σατᾶν δίαιταν ἢ τὴν ἐστίαν,	Πρὸς τὸν σατᾶν σε, τὴν ἔχιδναν τοῦ βίου, τὴν τῶν κακῶν θάλασσαν ἢ τὴν πλημμύραν, τὴν τοῦ φθόρου δίαιταν ἢ τὴν ἐστίαν,

Poem 21 is entitled Τοῦ Ψελλοῦ πρὸς τὸν Σαββαΐτην and is indeed an invective poem in which Psellos takes revenge of a certain Sabbaites who insulted him first. In *Vat. Urbin. gr. 141* (14th c.), Psellos' poem is indeed preceded by an epigram consisting of two verses that can be understood as an insult towards Psellos (ed. Westerink 1992: 259):³⁶¹

Τοῦ Σαββαΐτου πρὸς τὸν Ψελλόν
Ἵλυμπον οὐκ ἦνεγκας, οὐδὲ κᾶν χρόνον·
οὐ γὰρ παρήσαν αἰ θεαί σου, Ζεῦ πάτερ.

This poem would refer to the fact that Psellos after a short stay in the monastery of Horaia Pege, which is situated on Mt. Olympos, returned to the world. Moreover, it

³⁶¹ As Bernard (2014: 282) showed, this epigram is related to another epigram of four verses on the same topic preserved before Poem 22 in *Marc. gr. 408* (14th c.), where it is ascribed to a certain Ἰάκωβος. See for an edition of this epigram Westerink (1992:270).

would hint at Psellos' supposed lack of chastity. Thereupon Psellos wrote what we know now as Poem 21, which opens with a list of insults at the address of Sabbaites.³⁶²

Returning to Poem 2, we observe that the similarities with this opening of Psellos' Poem 21 are indeed close. V. 155, which is the second verse of the summary of step 21, even entirely quotes v. 2 of Poem 21. **ἐχιδνώδεις** appears to be triggered by ἔχιδναν. **Σατᾶν** of v. 156 corresponds to σατάν of v. 1 of Poem 21.³⁶³ V. 156 of Poem 2 is almost an exact quotation of v. 3 of Poem 21, except for φθόρου, which is replaced by its alternative **Σατᾶν**.

Of course, we have to face the question: why does the author of Poem 2 quote Psellos' Poem 21 in the summary of step 21 concerning vainglory? There are, I think, two possible answers, depending on how much importance one attaches to this similarity. At first sight, it could be that the poet of Poem 2 looked for a list of elements that could be good examples of **ἐχιδνώδεις τόκους**. He, accidentally or not, remembers or finds Poem 21 by Psellos and quotes its opening. We can speculate that the fact that he refers to the opening of this poem, and not to any other of the 321 verses of Poem 21, might be a sign that he knew it by heart – as the opening of a text has mostly more chance to be known by heart – or that he found it by thumbing through a book, reading only the titles and the openings that follow. Maybe the poet came across Poem 21 because it mentions the ladder concept in vv. 237-238 (ed. Westerink 1992):

τὸν βαθμὸν ἔγνωσ τῶν ἀύλων κλιμάκων,
ἀνήλθες ἄχρι τῆς ὑπερτάτης πύλης,

155 τὴν τῶν κακῶν θάλασσαν: The sea also appears as a metaphor in Poem 1, v. 73-74 (see commentary Poem 1). A similar expression appears in step 1 (PG 88.633, ll. 54-55 - 636, ll. 1-5):

Ὅσοι ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ τοῦ Φαραῶ ἐξελθεῖν, καὶ φυγεῖν βουλόμεθα, πάντως Μωσέως τινὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς μεσίτου πρὸς Θεὸν, καὶ μετὰ Θεὸν δεόμεθα, ὅπως τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μέσος πράξεως καὶ θεωρίας ἐστὼς τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκτείνου, ἵνα οἱ καθοδηγούμενοι τὴν τε θάλασσαν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων περάσωσι, καὶ τὸν Ἀμαλήκ τῶν παθῶν τροπώσωνται.

³⁶² See for a further discussion Bernard (2014: 280-290).

³⁶³ As indicated by LSJ, both kinds of accentuation, Σατάν or Σατᾶν, occur.

In this passage, the “sea of sins” stands literally for the sea Moses and his people had to cross, but also metaphorically for the many sins that can prevent a monk to renounce the world.

155 πλημμύραν: Although LSJ only gives πλήμυρα as a lemma, a search on TLG learns that also πλήμυρα, with a double *mu* appears.³⁶⁴ Also the differently accentuated πλημμύρα, as it appears in Poem 2 and Psellos’ Poem 21, is found.³⁶⁵

156: This verse is built according to the same pattern as the previous verse. The words **δίαιταν** and **έστίαν** can have different meanings. **δίαιτα** can mean, amongst others: *way of living or dwelling, abode* (LSJ). **έστία**, in LSJ, is translated, amongst others, as *hearth of a house, home, altar*. PGL gives yet another interesting explanation, equating **έστία** to **έστίασις**, which is translated as *banquet, feast* as related to eucharist. Although the meaning “Satan’s way of living” could be an example of **έχιδνώδεις τόκους**, the passage of Psellos’ Poem 21 indicates that another interpretation is required. Just as in v. 155 **ἦ** indicates that **θάλασσαν** and **πλημμύραν** are synonyms, **ἦ** in v. 156 indicates that **δίαιταν** and **έστίαν** are meant as synonyms. Besides, also several Byzantine lexica show that both words are used synonymously. For example, in Photios’ *Lexicon*, **έστία** is explained as follows (ε, lem. 2025; ed. Theodoridis 1998): **έστία· δίαιτα, οἴκησις, βωμός, χυτρόπους, έσχάρα**.³⁶⁶ Hence v. 156 can be translated as *the abode or the dwelling of Satan*.

157-158: These verses do not go back to Psellos’ Poem 21 any more. However, they correspond to vv. 155-156. Moreover, v. 157 refers back to v. 155 as they both deal with sea storms. Similarly, v. 158 refers back to v. 156 as they both concern the devil. Contrary to vv. 155-156, vv. 157-158 do not seem to be taken from one specific source.

157: This verse, however, might be inspired by a passage from step 21 (PG 88.949 Gr. 22, ll. 12-17):

Κενοδοξία έστι κατά μέν τὸ εἶδος φύσεως έναλλαγή, καὶ ἡθῶν διαστροφή, καὶ παρατήρησις μέμψεως κατά δὲ τὴν ποιότητα, καμάτων σκορπιστήριον, ιδρώτων ἀπώλεια, θησαυροῦ ἐπιβουλή, ἀπιστίας ἔκγονος, ὑπερηφανίας πρόδρομος, ἐν λιμένι ναυάγιον.

In this definition, vainglory is, amongst others, compared to “a change of nature” and to “shipwreck in harbor”. Given the context, it seems likely that **ναυάγιον** (v. 157) is taken

³⁶⁴ E.g. *Septuaginta*, Job 40:23.

³⁶⁵ E.g. J. Chrysostom, *In Genesim* (PG 53.226, l. 20; 254, l. 27).

³⁶⁶ The same definition appears, amongst others, also in: Anonymus Lexicographus (8th / 9th c.) *Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων (Versio antiqua)* (ed. Cunningham 2003: ε, lem. 871); *Suda* (10th c.) (ed. Adler 1928: ε, lem. 3212); *Lexica Segueriana* (10th c.) *Collectio verborum utilium e differentibus rhetoribus et sapientibus multis (Σβ) (recensio aucta e cod. Coislin. 345)* (ed. Bachmann 1828: 237, l. 25); Ps.-Zonaras, *Lexicon* (13th c.) (ed. Tittmann 1808: 879, l. 15).

from this passage. Possibly also **στρόφον** is inspired by διαστροφή, although I have to admit that διαστροφή points to a change of character, whereas **στρόφον**, in this context, seems to refer to a vortex that appears in the sea. κλύδων does not appear in the *Ladder*, but it seems that **κλύδωνα** simply retakes **πλημμύραν** (v. 155) as a synonym.

158 άπατουργόν: This word seems, according to TLG, to appear only in Hesychios' *Lexicon (A-O)* (α, lem. 5843, l. 1; ed. Latte 1953): άπατουργός· λωποδύτης. LSJ and PGL translate λωποδύτης as *robber*. Remarkably, LSJ (s.v. άπατουργόν), also refers to Hesychios, but quotes differently: άπατουργόν· κωλυτικόν. In v. 158, it seems that **άπατουργόν** is used as an adjective, agreeing with **άναιρέτιν**. **άπατουργόν** clearly consists of two parts: άπάτη + έργον. Its form can be compared to that of κακοῦργος, which, according to LSJ, can also be used both as an adjective or as a substantive. I think it makes sense to look at the etymology of the word and to translate it here as *deceiving*. Also in the *Ladder*, the devil frequently appears as a deceiver. See for example in step 4 (PG 88.681, ll. 7-8): Φθέγγου δέ προς τόν δράκοντα· Ἦ άπατεών.

άναιρέτιν: As a feminine word, it possibly refers to κενοδοξία which is not explicitly mentioned in the summary of this step.

των καλών άναιρέτιν: A similar expression appears in Neophytos Enkleistos, *Liber catechesium* (a. 1198-1214) 2.29, ll. 49-51 (ed. Sotiroudis 1998):

Κλεψία δέ και ψευδος και ὄρκος φιλαργυρίας συνήγοροι, ήτις έστιν ή ρίζα των κακών, ή πλάνη των βροτών, ή των καλών άναιρέτις, ή των πολέμων αίτία, ή των πτωχών μισητρια.

This passage comes from a *catechesis* which is entitled Περὶ φιλαργυρίας. Not only regarding the content, but also regarding its style it resembles Klimax, but this is just a general observation. Also the expression ή ρίζα των κακών returns in v. 166 of Poem 2.

A similar notion appears in a passage from step 21 (PG 88.949, ll. 46-54):

Κρύπτει Κύριος έξ ὀφθαλμών ήμῶν πολλάκις, και ἄπερ κεκτήμεθα καλά. Ἐνήρ δέ έπαινέτης, μάλλον δέ πλανήτης, δια του έπαινου τους ὀφθαλμούς ήμῶν άνέωξε. Τούτων δέ άνοιγέντων άφαντος ὁ πλοῦτος έγένετο άφ' ήμῶν· κολακευτής έστι δαιμόνων· διάκονος, ύπερηφανίας χειραγωγός, κατανύξεως έξολοθρευτής, καλών άφανιστής, πλάνος ὁδοῦ· Οί γάρ μακαρίζοντες ύμᾶς, πλανῶσιν ύμᾶς,³⁶⁷ φησὶν ὁ προφήτης.

³⁶⁷ Cf. Is. 3:12.

In this passage, it is said that someone who praises us misleads us (πλανήτης ~ **ἀπατουργόν**). This results in the vanishing of our treasures (ἄφαντος ὁ πλοῦτος ἐγένετο ἀφ’ ἡμῶν ~ **τῶν καλῶν ἀναιρέτιν**). Also the flatterer, who is said to be an instrument of the devil (δαιμόνων διάκονος ~ **Σατᾶν**), is a destroyer of καλῶν, which can be understood here as “the spiritual goods we have assembled” and thus as “virtues”³⁶⁸ (καλῶν ἀφανιστῆς ~ **τῶν καλῶν ἀναιρέτιν**).

159: It seems that this verse is an apposition to **ἀναιρέτιν** (or perhaps to all feminine objects that appeared in vv. 155-158). Probably, it is a reference to **κενοδοξία. ᾧ καλεῖται** (by which she is called) can be interpreted as by her name. **κενο-δοξία** shows her nature by her name. *Nomen est omen*.

Step 22 of the Ladder (= PG’s step 23): On mad pride

Step 22, as it appears in Sophronios’ edition, corresponds to the first part of PG’s step 23. In PG, step 23 consists of two parts: a first part on ὑπερηφανία (= step 22 in Sophr.) and a second part which has its own subtitle *Περὶ τῶν ἀνεκφράστων λογισμῶν τῆς βλασφημίας*³⁶⁹ (= step 23 in Sophr.). Interestingly, both in PG and in Sophr. a short exhortation appears between the parts on ὑπερηφανία and βλασφημία:

Εἰκοστὸς τρίτος βαθμὸς· ὁ ἀναβεβηκῶς ἴσχυσεν, εἶπερ ἄρα καὶ ἀναβεβηκέναι δεδύνηται (PG 88.972, ll. 6-7).

Βαθμὸς εἰκοστὸς δεύτερος· ὁ ἀναβεβηκῶς, ἴσχυσεν· εἶπερ ἄρα καὶ ἀναβεβηκέναι δεδύνηται (Sophr. 1970: 111).

The position of this exhortation, both in PG and in Sophr., indicates that step 22 (PG’s step 23) only considered ὑπερηφανία. The part on βλασφημία then could then indeed be interpreted in two ways: 1) according to PG: as an encore, comparable to the part on dreams at the end of step 3; 2) according to Sophr.: as the beginning of a new step. Maybe the short exhortation given at the end of the part on blasphemy is an argument in favour of PG’s redaction (PG 88.980, ll. 20-21):³⁷⁰

Νίκην τοῦ πάθους ὁ εἰληφῶς ἀπώσατο ὑπερηφανίαν.

³⁶⁸ Cf. translation of Moore (2012⁴: 166).

³⁶⁹ PG (88.976, ll. 17-18). The part on blasphemy (PG 88.976-980) is not accessible on TLG (yet). On my request, the collaborators of TLG will add this part, together with the treatise *To the Shepherd*, to their immense corpus in the near future (personal communication, 3 August 2016).

³⁷⁰ This exhortation also appears in Sophr. (1970: 113), where it is written at the end of step 23.

Only after being victorious over blasphemy, you can chase away arrogance. This short phrase seems to conclude the diptych on both vices.

The step opens immediately with a definition of arrogance (*ὑπερηφανία*). It is said to be, a.o., “denial of God, an invention of the devil, the despising of men” and “a root of blasphemy” (= step 23) (Sophr. 22.1; PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 4-12). Again, the progress, or rather decline, one can make in a certain vice is divided into three stages: 1) arrogance begins where vainglory ends; 2) “humiliation of our neighbour” and “self-praise in the hearth”; 3) “denial of God’s help, the extolling of one’s own exertions” (Sophr. 22.2; PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 12-17).

Some people praise God with their lips, whereas they in fact praise themselves (Sophr. 22.4; PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 21-24). “A fall is an indication of pride” (Sophr. 22.5; PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 24-26). Pride is opposed to obedience (Sophr. 22.7; PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 29-33). If it was possible that someone³⁷¹ fell from heaven only because of pride, we may wonder if you can reach heaven by humility only (Sophr. 22.12; PG 88.968, ll. 8-11). Pride is a waste of sweat and wealth, because when you pray out of pride, you will not be heard (Sophr. 22.13; PG 88.968, ll. 11-16).

Klimax gives a short dialogue between an old wise monk and a proud monk. When the first admonished the latter, he replies “I am not proud”. The old monk reproaches the proud monk, saying that he could not have given a better proof of his pride (Sophr. 22.14; PG 88.968, ll. 17-27).

Do not be “proud of the adornments that are not your own”. A victory over your body does not belong to you, “because the body is not yours, but a work of God” (Sophr. 22.15-16; PG 88.968, ll. 27-36). “Do not be self-confident until you hear the final sentence passed upon yourself” (referring to Mt. 22:13) (Sophr. 22.17; PG 88.968, ll. 36-40).

The demon (of pride) sometimes appears to us in a dream in the form of an angel or a martyr and gives a false revelation of the mysteries (Sophr. 22.19; PG 88.968, ll. 42-48).

In the next part, Klimax gives some advices to stay humble: “Even if we endure ten thousand deaths for Christ, even so we shall not repay all that is due”. Compare yourself constantly to the Father, so that you are aware that you have not yet reached a similar level (Sophr. 22.20-21; PG 88.968, l. 48 - 969, l. 5). Thereafter follows, just as in step 1,³⁷² a list of definitions of the monk. In this case, the first (and the last) definition concern pride/humility: A monk is someone whose “soul’s eye does not look haughtily (..) A monk has an abyss of humility” (Sophr. 22.22; PG 88.969, ll. 6-14).

Thereafter, pride is described as “the illusion of wealth, imagining light in its darkness”. A proud man shines outwardly, but is rotten inside.³⁷³ “A proud monk has no need of a devil; he has become a devil and enemy to himself” (Sophr. 22.24-25; PG 88.969, ll. 16-22). Proud men think that

³⁷¹ I.e. Lucifer (Moore 2012⁴: 171).

³⁷² PG 88.633, ll. 24-33.

³⁷³ Although the topic was already defined at the beginning of this step, here again Klimax applies his common structure, explaining the topic first and then the person who is involved in it.

they attained dispassion, but they will realise their real situation in the hour of their death (Sophr. 22.27; PG 88.969, ll. 28-32).

At the end of the step, Klimax tells that he once caught pride in his heart.³⁷⁴ It was growing in his heart, “bearing on its shoulders its mother.”³⁷⁵ Klimax succeeded in chasing away the vice with the whip of obedience and humility. Again, as is typical in the Ladder, a dialogue with the vice follows. Remarkably, the vice answers, describing itself in plural (Ἡμεῖς PG 88.969, l. 37), saying that they have no beginning nor birth as they are the parents of all passions.³⁷⁶ Contrition and humility are their enemies and they often accompany virtuous acts as, a.o.: “dishonours, obedience, freedom from anger” (Sophr. 22.28; PG 88.969, l. 32 - 972, l. 5).

160-165, step 22:

Ἐξ ἧς Θεοῦ ἄρνησις, ἀνθρώπων φθόνος,
ἐξουδένωσις κρειπτόνων, οὐ κρειπτόνων
ἐκστάσεώς τε πρόδρομος καὶ μανίας,
πηγὴ θυμοῦ καὶ ῥίζα τῆς βλασφημίας,
πικρὸς δικαστῆς, ὑποκρίσεως θύρα,
στήριγμα, πύργος, λαβύρινθος δαιμόνων.

κβ περι ὑπερηφανίας

περὶ ὑπερηφανίας (title): This short and straightforward title is exactly the same as the title of step 22 in the *pinax* of Sophr. (1970: 185) and in **N** f. 10r. In Sophr. (1970: 109 Gr. 22), a longer variant appears: *Περὶ τῆς ἀκεφάλου ὑπερηφανίας*. As explained at the beginning of our summary of this step, PG takes the part on blasphemy as an encore to step 23. Therefore, PG 88.965 Gr. 23 has: *Περὶ τῆς ἀκεφάλου ὑπερηφανίας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ ἀκαθάρτων λογισμῶν τῆς βλασφημίας*. A slightly shortened and altered version of this title appears as the title of step 23 in PG 88.629 and in **M** f. 3r:³⁷⁷ *Περὶ ὑπερηφανίας, ἐν ἧ καὶ περὶ ἀκαθάρτων λογισμῶν τῆς βλασφημίας*. Only in the title of **M** f. 320v Gr. 23 ὑπερηφανία is not explicitly mentioned: *Περὶ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τῆς δαιμονιώδους οἰησέως*. Of course, οἴησις is a synonym of ὑπερηφανία, and it appears as such in step 22 (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 28).

160-165: As a whole the summary of step 22 in Poem 2 is strongly based on the step's opening in the *Ladder* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 4-12):

³⁷⁴ In step 17, Klimax admitted that he suffered himself also from insensibility (PG 88.933 Gr. 18, ll. 18-25).

³⁷⁵ I.e. vainglory. See Moore (2012⁴: 173) who added this explanation in his translation.

³⁷⁶ Pride was indeed described as the vice which caused Lucifer to fall (PG 88.968, ll. 8-11).

³⁷⁷ The version given in the main text is that of PG 88.629. **M** f. 3r reads: *Περὶ ὑπερηφανίας: ἐν ἧ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων λογισμῶν τῆς βλασφημίας*.

Poem 2, vv. 160-165	PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 4-12
<p>Ἐξ ἧς Θεοῦ ἄρνησις, ἀνθρώπων φθόνος, ἐξουδένωσις κρειττόνων, οὐ κρειττόνων</p> <p><u>ἐκστάσεώς τε πρόδρομος</u> καὶ μανίας, πηγὴ θυμοῦ καὶ <u>ρίζα</u> τῆς βλασφημίας, πικρὸς δικαστῆς, <u>ὑποκρίσεως θύρα</u>, <u>στήριγμα</u>, πύργος, λαβύρινθος <u>δαιμόνων</u>.</p>	<p>Ὑπερηφανία ἐστὶ Θεοῦ ἄρνησις, δαιμόνων εὐρημα, ἐξουδένωσις ἀνθρώπων, κατακρίσεως μήτηρ, ἐπαίνων ἀπόγονος, ἀκαρπίας τεκμήριον, βοηθείας Θεοῦ φυγαδευτήριον, <u>ἐκστάσεως πρόδρομος</u>, πτωμάτων πρόξενος, ἐπιληψίας ὑπόθεσις, θυμοῦ πηγὴ, <u>ὑποκρίσεως θύρα</u>, <u>δαιμόνων στήριγμα</u>, ἀμαρτημάτων φύλαξ, ἀσπλαγχνίας πρόξενος, συμπαθείας ἄγνοια, λογοθέτης πικρὸς, δικαστῆς ἀπάνθρωπος, Θεοῦ ἀντίπαλος, βλασφημίας <u>ρίζα</u></p>

160: Ἐξ ἧς, just as Ἄπερ in v. 154, has no clear antecedent. Similarly, it seems to refer to the previous step. In this case, ἧς probably refers to κενοδοξία as the topic of step 22. κενοδοξία, as the mother of ὑπερηφανία, brings forth the negative elements which in the opening of step 22 describe ὑπερηφανία. In this way, the poet follows Klimax' notion of vices as intertwined with each other.

160 Θεοῦ ἄρνησις: It seems that the denial of God (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 4) has its roots in the denial of God's help, which is of course an act of pride. That these words are not meant as an atheistic statement à la Feuerbach is clear from βοηθείας Θεοῦ φυγαδευτήριον which appears a bit further on in the definition of ὑπερηφανία (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 6-7). Moreover, there is also a *scholion* to Θεοῦ ἄρνησις in Sophr. (1970: 109 n. 1) which also explains denial of God as the denial of the help of God leading to pride:

Ὁ γὰρ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ δοκῶν τι κατορθοῦν, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν βοηθείας, ἀρνεῖται τὸν Θεόν, τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀντιλήπτορα αὐτοῦ· διὸ καὶ πίπτει, καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος, ἣν ἠθέτησεν.

A similar passage is found in Neophytos Enkleistos (12th-13th c.), *Πανηγυρική βίβλος*, *oratio* 14, ll. 64-67 (ed. Giagkou et al. 1999):

Καὶ πάλιν· γεννᾷ κενοδοξία ὑπερηφανίαν τὴν αὐτῆς μιαιωτέραν, ἣ δὲ ὑπερηφανία ἄρνησιν Θεοῦ βοηθείας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, ἅτινά ἐστιν ὄφεις καὶ ἀσπίδες καὶ πάλιν ὄφεις πετόμενοι.

ἀνθρώπων φθόνος: In the passage from the *Ladder*, ἀνθρώπων depends on ἐξουδένωσις (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 5). **φθόνος** does not appear in the definition of ὑπερηφανία given at the beginning of step 22. It does, however, appear near the end of step 22, in the passage

where the vice of pride itself explains that its (or *their*, as it considers itself as a plural entity) offspring consists amongst others of **φθόνος** (PG 88.969 Gr. 23, ll. 49-52):

ἡμῶν ἔκγονα πτώματα πνευματικῶν· ὀργή, καταλαλιά, πικρία, θυμὸς, κραυγή, βλασφημία, ὑπόκρισις, μῖσος, φθόνος, ἀντιλογία, ἰδιορυθμία, ἀπείθεια.

161: The syntax of this verse is somehow obscure. **ἐξουδένωσις** governs **κρειπτόνων, οὐ κρειπτόνων**, which is possibly an asyndeton, a stylistic feature frequently used by our poet. Another option is to place no comma after **κρειπτόνων** and to interpret it as a paradox (*stronger beings that are not stronger*).

162: **ἐκστάσεώς (...)** **πρόδρομος** is clearly based on the passage from the *Ladder* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, l. 7). **μανίας** seems to be added simply because it is a synonym of **ἐκστάσεώς**. **μανία** can be understood as blasphemy, as it is the topic of the following step. This interpretation is supported by a passage of step 23 where the following is said of blasphemy (PG 88.976, ll. 41-42):

Πολλοὺς ὁ ἀπατεῶν οὗτος καὶ ψυχοφθόρος εἰς **ἐκστασιν** φρενῶν ἤγαγε πολλάκις.

163: Both **πηγή θυμοῦ** and **ρίζα τῆς βλασφημίας** are clearly based on the passage from the *Ladder*. Compare also with a passage in Chrysostom's *De verbis apostoli, Habentes eumdem Spiritum* where both **πηγή** and **ρίζα** appear in the context of **θυμός** (and in fact of **φόνος**) (PG 51.283, ll. 43-48):

ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸν καρπὸν τῆς κακίας ἐξέτεμε, τὸν φόνον, οὗτος δὲ καὶ τὴν **ρίζαν** ἀνέσπασε, τὴν ὀργήν· ἐκεῖνος τὸ ῥεῦμα τῆς πονηρίας ἐξέκοψεν, οὗτος καὶ τὴν **πηγὴν** αὐτὴν ἐξήρανε. Πηγὴ γὰρ καὶ **ρίζα** τοῦ φόνου θυμὸς καὶ ὀργή.

It is not necessarily the case that the author of Poem 2 deliberately took his inspiration of this passage. However, it shows that his vocabulary, at least on this particular theme, was close to that of the Fathers.

ρίζα τῆς βλασφημίας explicitly refers to the topic of the next step.

164 πικρὸς δικαστής: In passage from the *Ladder*, **πικρὸς** does not accord with **δικαστής**, but with **λογοθέτης**. Of course, both words are more or less synonyms. As **δικαστής** is one syllable shorter, it was probably easier to fit it in the verse. The expression appears quite frequently in the Fathers. See for example, Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum* (PG 57.411, ll. 50-51): **Μὴ δὴ γίνου πικρὸς δικαστής**.

ὑποκρίσεως θύρα: Besides in v. 164, this collocation is only found in the passage from the *Ladder*. In step 23, **ὑπόκρισις** appears again in the same passage where we encountered **φθόνος**, quoted above (PG 88.969 Gr. 23, ll. 49-52).

165: πύργος and λαβύρινθος are added as appositions to στήριγμα, which indicates that the author of Poem 2 interpreted στήριγμα architecturally as a support, as a buttress.

In **N**, πύργος is written with an acute. By contrast, in **M**, it is written πῦργος, which is a Byzantine orthographical variant. Also in step 25 of the *Ladder*, the word appears as a metaphor (PG 88.993, ll. 49-50):

Ταπεινοφροσύνη ἐστὶ πύργος ἰσχύος ἀπὸ προσώπου ἐχθροῦ.

Although πύργος is used here in a positive context, the metaphor is similar.

λαβύρινθος does not appear in the *Ladder*. A labyrinth is of course well known as the building Daidalos built in Knossos to lock up the Minotaur. The demons may be considered to be implicitly compared to that monster.

Step 23 of the Ladder: Concerning unmentionable blasphemous thoughts

“A troublesome root and mother” leads to troublesome offspring. Therefore, arrogance (ὑπερηφανία) leads to blasphemy (βλασφημία). The vice of blasphemy is hard to describe and it is not easy “to expose these thoughts to a spiritual physician.” It leads to despair, which destroys our hope from within “like a worm in a tree” (Sophr. 23.1; PG 88.976, ll. 19-29).³⁷⁸ Especially during the services, the devil blasphemes the Lord. Klimax explicitly states that the blasphemous thoughts come from the devil and are not our own (Sophr. 23.2; PG 88.976, ll. 30-41). The devil of blasphemy leads to madness. Since blasphemous thoughts are hard to confess, they grow old with the sinner and hence the demons are strengthened (Sophr. 23.3; PG 88.976, ll. 41-48).

Klimax repeats that blasphemous thoughts come from demons and not from us (Sophr. 23.4; PG 88.976, ll. 48-52). He also repeats that the demon of blasphemy especially appears when we pray. However, if we are perseverant in prayer, the demon will cease his attacks (Sophr. 23.6; PG 88.976, l. 55 - 977, l. 3). The demon of blasphemy tries to bring both monks and people living in the world to despair (Sophr. 23.7; PG 88.977, ll. 3-16).

In the following passage, Klimax warns us that, if you want to fight blasphemy, you should battle against an exterior demon, since (as Klimax repeats) blasphemy comes from a demon and not from our own soul. You should set the demon to naught by praying to God (Sophr. 23.8; PG 88.977, ll. 17-28). If you fight the demon in any other way, you will be like someone who tries to hold a lightning, because the demon of blasphemy appears and disappears as fast as lightning (Sophr. 23.9-10; PG 88.977, ll. 29-40). If you stop judging your neighbour, you will be free of blasphemous thoughts, “for the former is the occasion and root of the latter” (Sophr. 23.12; PG 88.977, ll. 46-49).

³⁷⁸ Cf. Poem 2, v. 84.

At the end of the step, Klimax tells an anecdote about a monk who was troubled by blasphemous thoughts. The monk tried to fight the demon by fasting and vigil. After a while he realises that these actions do not work. Therefore, he starts to write down his thoughts and gives them to a holy man. After reading the notes, the holy man says to the monk: “Lay your hand on my neck.” Hence, the sin is transferred to the neck of the holy man and the monk is free from his evil thoughts (Sophr. 23.14; PG 88.980, ll. 3-19).

166-171, step 23:

Ῥίζης κακῆς ἤκουσας ὄρηκας ἴσους,
καρπούς ἀχρήστους καὶ σαπρούς καὶ παγκάκους
τῆς ὑπερηφανίας· ἡ βλασφημία,
κρύψις ἀμαρτήματος, ἀπρεπεῖς λόγοι.
Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω κρατύνει τοὺς δαίμονας
καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὡς τὸ λαθραίους ἔχειν.

κγ περὶ βλασφημίας

περὶ βλασφημίας (title): As already mentioned at the beginning of our summary of step 22, this part on blasphemy is an encore to step 23 on arrogance (ὑπερηφανία) in PG, whereas in Sophr. step 23 consists only of this part on blasphemy. The title of Sophr. (1970: 112) reads: Περὶ τῶν ἀνεκφράστων λογισμῶν τῆς βλασφημίας. A variant title appears in Sophr. (1970: 185) and in **N** f. 10r: Περὶ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων λογισμῶν τῆς βλασφημίας.³⁷⁹ In PG 88.965, the part on blasphemy is announced as a part of step 23 on arrogance: Περὶ τῆς ἀκεφάλου ὑπερηφανίας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ ἀκαθάρτων λογισμῶν τῆς βλασφημίας. A variant of this title also appears in the *pinax* at the beginning of PG 88.629 and in **M** f. 3r:³⁸⁰ Περὶ ὑπερηφανίας, ἐν ἧ καὶ περὶ ἀκαθάρτων λογισμῶν τῆς βλασφημίας. As already mentioned in the commentary on the title of step 23, the title of **M** f. 320v mentions οἴησις as the topic of the step, without mentioning blasphemy.

166, 168: These verses are clearly based on the opening of (Sophronios’) step 23 (PG 88.976, ll. 19-22):

Χαλεπῆς ρίζης καὶ μητρὸς χαλεπώτατον ἀπόγονον εἶναι ἐν τοῖς φθάσαι
ἀκηκόαμεν, λέγω δὴ τῆς μιραῶς ὑπερηφανίας ἄρρητον τῆς βλασφημίας ἀπόγονον.

³⁷⁹ One could argue that the title of Sophr. (1970: 112), reading ἀνεκφράστων, might be the original one and not the one from Sophr. (1970: 185) and **N** f. 10r, reading ἀκαθάρτων, by looking at the opening of step 23 (PG 88.976, ll. 20-22): λέγω δὴ τῆς μιραῶς ὑπερηφανίας ἄρρητον τῆς βλασφημίας ἀπόγονον.

³⁸⁰ The version given is that of PG 88.629. **M** f. 3r reads: Περὶ ὑπερηφανίας· ἐν ἧ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων λογισμῶν τῆς βλασφημίας.

ἤκουσας (v. 166) corresponds to ἀκηκόαμεν from the passage from the *Ladder*. As a second person it refers (again) to the ideal ascender. **Ῥίζης κακῆς** (v. 166) corresponds to Χαλεπῆς ρίζης. **Ῥρηκας ἴσους** corresponds to χαλεπώτατον ἀπόγονον. As χαλεπώτατον is of the same etymological root as Χαλεπῆς, which is the first word of step 23, the author of Poem 2 interprets thus that they are similar (**ἴσους**). V. 168 is clearly based on the end of the source text. **βλασφημία** (v. 168) is described as the evil shoot which comes from arrogance. Also in v. 163 arrogance was already described as the root of blasphemy. Also another passage in step 23 uses ‘root’ in a similar metaphorical way (PG 88.977, ll. 46-49):

Τοῦ κρίνειν καὶ τοῦ κατακρίνειν τὸν πλησίον παυσώμεθα, καὶ λογισμοὺς βλασφημίας οὐ φοβηθησόμεθα· ἀφορμὴ γὰρ καὶ ρίζα τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ πρότερον.

In this passage, not arrogance, but judging and condemning is described as the root of blasphemy.

167: Fruits are not mentioned in the opening of step 23. Probably, this motif was taken from Mt. 7:16-20, where it is said that a bad root (or a bad tree) brings forth bad fruit:

ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς. μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν σταφυλὰς ἢ ἀπὸ τριβόλων σῦκα; 17 Οὕτως πᾶν δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ σαπρὸν δένδρον καρποὺς πονηροὺς ποιεῖ. 18 οὐ δύναται δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποὺς πονηροὺς ποιεῖν οὐδὲ δένδρον σαπρὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ποιεῖν. 19 πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται. 20 ἄρα γε ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.

As this passage has a similar context, **καρποὺς (...) σαπρούς** (v. 167) might be taken from Mt. 7:16-20, or from similar passages: Mt. 12:33 or Lc. 6:43-44. Most probably, these passages were also an inspiration for the passage of Klimax himself. ἀκηκόαμεν (PG 88.976, l. 20), as an Alexandrian footnote (Ross 1975: 78), indeed hints at Klimax referring to the Gospels.

καρποὺς ἀχρήστους: This collocation appears also in Sap. 4:3-5:

πολύγονον δὲ ἀσεβῶν πλῆθος οὐ χρησιμεύσει καὶ ἐκ νόθων μοσχευμάτων οὐ δώσει ρίζαν εἰς βάθος οὐδὲ ἀσφαλῆ βάσιν ἐδράσει· κἂν γὰρ ἐν κλάδοις πρὸς καιρὸν ἀναθάλη, ἐπισφαλῶς βεβηκότα ὑπὸ ἀνέμου σαλευθήσεται καὶ ὑπὸ βίας ἀνέμων ἐκριζωθήσεται. περικλασθήσονται κλώνες ἀτέλεστοι, καὶ ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἄχρηστος, ἄωρος εἰς βρῶσιν καὶ εἰς οὐθὲν ἐπιτήδειος.

Implicitly, also in this passage, it is said that a bad root leads to useless fruits. By contrast, the motif of the good tree bearing good fruits already appeared in Poem 1, vv. 7-8, where it is said that the garden bears good fruits from John.

169: This verse is an apposition to **βλασφημία** (v. 168) and stresses two aspects of this vice. On a first level blasphemy is *indecent words* (**ἀπρεπεῖς λόγοι**). On a second level, blasphemy is also related to the *concealment of sin* (**κρύψις ἀμαρτήματος**). In step 23, Klimax mentions explicitly that the sin of blasphemy is hard to describe in words, and that it is not easy to confess this sin (PG 88.976, ll. 24-27):

καὶ τὸ δὴ χαλεπώτερον οὐδὲ εὐχερῶς ἐκφρασθῆναι καὶ ἐξομολογηθῆναι, ἢ στηλιτευθῆναι πνευματικῶ ἰατρῶ δυνάμενος.

The risk with blasphemy is thus that if you have a blasphemous thought, you will not be keen to confess it.

170-171: These two verses explain the previous one and stress the fact that it is a bad idea to hide your sins and not to confess them. The verses are a metrical paraphrase of one particular passage in step 23 (PG 88.976, ll. 45-48):

Poem 2, vv. 170-171	PG 88.976, ll. 45-48
Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω κρατύνει τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὡς τὸ λαθραίους ἔχειν.	Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως τοῖς δαίμοσι καὶ τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἰσχὺν καθ' ἡμῶν δίδωσιν, ὡς τὸ τούτους ἀνεξαγορεύτους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σιτίζεσθαι καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι.

Step 24 of the Ladder: On meekness, simplicity, and guilelessness which come not from nature but from conscious effort, and about guile

Before giving a summary of this step, it has to be mentioned that there are some serious dislocations and differences between the order of the paragraphs in the editions of Sophr. and PG. It falls beyond the scope of this research to discuss these variants in detail. For practical reasons, however, I provide a concordance of the order of both editions. In the first two columns, the order of PG is compared to that of the edition of Sophr.; the last two columns compare the order given by Sophr. to that of PG:

PG (88.980-984 Gr. 24)	Sophr. (1970: 114-116 Gr. 24)	Sophr. (1970: 114-116 Gr. 24)	PG (88.980-984 Gr. 24)
980, ll. 5-13	24.1	24.1	980, ll. 5-13
980, l. 13 - 981, l. 7	24.2	24.2	980, l. 13 - 981, l. 7
981, ll. 7-11	24.3	24.3	981, ll. 7-11
981, ll. 11-18	24.4	24.4	981, ll. 11-18

981, ll. 18-22	24.5	24.5	981, ll. 18-22
981, ll. 22-24	24.6, ll. 1-2	24.6	981, ll. 22-24 + 981, ll. 28-29
981, ll. 24-26	24.19	24.7	984, ll. 10-13
981, ll. 26-28	24.20	24.8	984, ll. 13-19
981, ll. 28-29	24.6, ll. 2-4	24.9	984, ll. 19-28
981, ll. 29-31	24.16, ll. 1-3	24.10	984, ll. 29-31
981, ll. 31-33	24.15	24.11	984, ll. 32-36
981, ll. 33-42	24.17	24.12	984, ll. 36-38
981, ll. 43-45	24.18	24.13	984, ll. 38-42
981, l. 45 - 984, l. 3	24.21	24.14	984, ll. 42-46
984, ll. 3-10	24.16, ll. 3-11	24.15	981, ll. 31-33
984, ll. 10-13	24.7	24.16	981, ll. 29-31 + 984, ll. 3-10
984, ll. 13-19	24.8	24.17	981, ll. 33-42
984, ll. 19-28	24.9	24.18	981, ll. 43-45
984, ll. 29-31	24.10	24.19	981, ll. 24-26
984, ll. 32-36	24.11	24.20	981, ll. 26-28
984, ll. 36-38	24.12 ³⁸¹	24.21	981, l. 45 - 984, l. 3
984, ll. 38-42	24.13 ³⁸²	24.22	984, ll. 47-48
984, ll. 42-46	24.14	24.23	984, ll. 48-50
984, ll. 47-48	24.22	24.24	984, ll. 50-53
984, ll. 48-50	24.23		
984, ll. 50-53	24.24		

As is indicated by its title, this step deals with four topics: three virtues (meekness, *πραΰτης*; simplicity, *ἀπλότης*; guilelessness, *ἀκακία*) and one vice (wickedness, *πονηρία*). At the beginning of this step, Klimax justifies that *πραΰτης* (= step 24) precedes humility (*ταπεινοφροσύνη* = step 25), just as the morning light precedes the sun. Klimax also refers to Mt. 11:29, the words of the Light (Christ) in which *πρᾶος* precedes *ταπεινός* (Sophr. 24.1; PG 88.980, ll. 5-13).

Thereafter, a definition of *πραΰτης* is given: “Meekness is an unchangeable state of mind which remains the same in honour and dishonour.” Meekness is a calm firm rock resisting the sea of anger. “Meekness is the buttress of patience, the door, or rather, the mother of love.” Meekness is a companion of obedience, the imitation of Christ.” (Sophr. 24.2; PG 88.980, l. 13 - 981, l. 7). Again, just as in other steps, the definition of the virtue is accompanied by a description of those who exercise it. “The meek shall inherit the earth (Ps. 36: 11; Mt. 5:5).” A meek soul (= 1st topic of step 24) is a throne of simplicity (2nd topic of step 24)”. A meek soul is full of knowledge, whereas an

³⁸¹ The versions of this paragraph in Sophr. and in PG disagree heavily.

³⁸² Just as was the case with the previous passage, there are many differences between the version of Sophr. and that of PG.

angry mind is dark and ignorant (Sophr. 24.4; PG 88.981, ll. 11-18). If you compare the heart of an angry man to that of a sarcastic man, you will find madness (*μανία*) in the heart of the first and wickedness (*πονηρία*) in the second (Sophr. 24.5; PG 88.981, ll. 18-22).

From the next paragraph, the editions of Sophr. and PG disagree as demonstrated above. For our summary, I will follow the order of Sophronios' edition for two reasons. Firstly, as discussed above (see chapter 3.1.4) the *pinax* of the *Ladder* as given in Sophr. is closer to that of Poem 2 than that of PG. Secondly, it seems that the structure of step 24 in the edition of Sophr. is closer to the title of this step as it presents the four topics in the same order. For example, in PG, the first part of paragraph 6 of Sophr. is immediately followed by paragraph 19 of Sophr. As a consequence, PG mentions wickedness (4th topic) directly after simplicity (2nd topic). This is a contradiction with the order of the topics as mentioned in the titles in PG itself.

Simplicity (2nd topic) is an unadorned state of the soul, which is not moved by bad thoughts. "Guilelessness (3rd topic) is a joyous state of soul far removed from all ulterior motive" (Sophr. 24.6)

Thereafter, Klimax expands on simplicity. Simplicity is present in children, since they, just like Adam, do not see the nakedness of their soul (Sophr. 24.7). Some people are simple by nature, whereas others have to graft it into their guileful soul. The first are blessed, but the latter reach "the highest humility", because they, contrary to the first group, made progress (Sophr. 24.8). Klimax advises those who wish to come close to the Lord to approach him full of simplicity, just as his disciples did. Immediately thereafter follows a definition of the evil man³⁸³ who is described as a false prophet (Sophr. 24.9).

Honest souls can become evil by having contact with evil souls. It is easier for an honest soul to fall, than for an evil soul to change (Sophr. 24.10-11). Knowledge leads to conceit, simplicity leads to humility (Sophr. 24.12). Paul is the best example of simplicity, because nobody made such a quick progress as he did (Sophr. 23.13). A simple monk is a dumb animal which does not protest to his master, not even when it is brought to the abattoir (Sophr. 23.14).

*An innocent man (*ἀπόνηρος*) is a pure soul who prays for all (Sophr. 24.15). Righteousness (*εὐθύτης*) is a "sincere character" (Sophr. 24.16, ll. 1-3). God is not only called love but also righteousness (Sophr. 24.16, ll. 3-11).³⁸⁴*

*Thereafter, wickedness (*πονηρία* = 4th topic) is described as "a perversion of" righteousness, it is "a lying disposition", "a foe to humility", "an estrangement from mourning", "a cause of falls" (Sophr. 24.17). Klimax states that "an evil person is a namesake (...) of the devil" referring to Mt. 6:13: "Deliver us from the evil one" (*ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*) (Sophr. 24.18). Wickedness itself is furthermore described as "a diabolical deformity" (Sophr. 24.19).*

³⁸³ It seems strange that a description of someone suffering from a particular vice is given before a description of the vice itself. It might be that the edition of Sophr. does not present the correct order of this paragraph.

³⁸⁴ The fact that *εὐθύτης* appears as a theme in both parts of paragraph 16 in Sophr. seems to be an argument in favour of the order of Sophr.

“Hypocrisy is a contrary state of body and soul.” (Sophr. 24.20) Klimax advises us to run from hypocrisy (Sophr. 24.21).³⁸⁵ The step closes (both in PG and in Sophr.) with some short statement and advices (Sophr. 24.22-24).

172-177, step 24:

Ἐντεῦθεν ὄντως τὴν πονηρίαν ἔγνω
 ἰσχύν, δύναμιν λαμβάνουσαν καὶ κράτος,
 ἀσημοσύνην δαιμονιώδη, δόλον,
 πένθους μακρυσμόν, πρόξενον συμπτωμάτων,
 ἰδιογνωμόρυθμον, ἄφρονα τρόπον·
 ἥτις ἄφαντος γίνεται ποίῳ τρόπῳ;

περὶ πονηρίας (title): Wickedness is mentioned as the fourth topic of step 24 in the title of Sophr. (1970: 114): *Περὶ πραότητος, ἀπλότητος, καὶ ἀκακίας, σεσοφισμένων καὶ οὐ φυσικῶν, καὶ περὶ πονηρίας*. A variant appears in PG 88.980: *Περὶ πραότητος, καὶ ἀπλότητος, καὶ ἀκακίας, καὶ πονηρίας σεσοφισμένων, καὶ οὐ φυσικῶν*.³⁸⁶ In the *pinax* of PG 88.629, a shorter variant appears: *Περὶ ἀπλότητος, καὶ πραότητος, καὶ ἀκακίας, καὶ πονηρίας*. In the *pinax* of Sophr. (1970: 185) and in the one of **N** f. 10r, a variant appears which even ommits πονηρία: *Περὶ πραότητος, ἀπλότητος, καὶ ἀκακίας*.³⁸⁷ In the title in the first *pinax* of **M** f. 3r, the first words have the same order as in Sophr. (1970: 185). By contrast, **M** f. 3r, just as PG 88.629, mentions wickedness: *Περὶ πραότητος· καὶ ἀπλότητος· καὶ ἀκακίας· καὶ πονηρίας*. Again, the title given in the *pinax* at the end of **M** f. 320v is different: *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαχῆς ἀκακίας καὶ ἀπλότητος*.

172-173: Ἐντεῦθεν refers to the last verses of the previous step where it is said that demons are strengthened most of all by vices we do not confess. ἔγνω governs πονηρία, which agrees with λαμβάνουσαν.³⁸⁸ Its objects (ἰσχύν, δύναμιν (...) καὶ κράτος) are reminiscent of κρατύνει in v. 170. When the demons are strengthened – because you

³⁸⁵ That hypocrisy appears both in Sophr. 24.20 and 24.21 seems to be another (strong) argument in favour of Sophronios' edition for the order of these passages.

³⁸⁶ σεσοφισμένων, καὶ οὐ φυσικῶν possibly refers to PG 88.984, ll. 13-16: Καλὴ μὲν καὶ ἡ φύσει τισὶν ἐνυπάρχουσα ἀπλότης, καὶ μακαρία· οὐχ οὕτως δὲ, ὡς ἡ ἐκ πονηρίας δι' ἰδρώτων, κατεγκεντριθεῖσα, at least as far as the three virtuous topics are considered. Regarding wickedness, the following passage from the *Ladder* might be relevant (PG 88.984, ll. 29-31): εἶδον εὐθεῖς ἐκ πονηρῶν πονηρεῦσθαι μεμαθηκότας, καὶ πεφάντασμαι πῶς καὶ φύσεως ἰδίωμα καὶ προτέρημα οὕτως ταχέως ἀπολέσαι ἴχυσαν.

³⁸⁷ The title given above is the one of Sophr. (1970: 185); the one of **N** f. 10r reads: *Περὶ πραότητος· καὶ ἀπλότητος· καὶ ἀκακίας*.

³⁸⁸ The construction is thus that of γινώσκω with a predicative participle in the accusative (Montanari s.v. γινώσκω).

do not confess your sins – they receive wickedness, which in its turn receives strength and is activated.

174-176: These three verses are clearly based on step 24. The relevant passages are PG (88.981, ll. 24-26, 33-42), which corresponds to Sophr. 24.17 and 24.19. Both give a definition of *πονηρία*:

Poem 2, vv. 174-176	
<i>ἀσχημοσύνην δαιμονιώδη, δόλον, πένθους μακρυσμόν, πρόξενον συμπτωμάτων, ιδιογνωμόρυθμον, ἄφρονα τρόπον·</i>	
PG 88.981, ll. 24-26, 33-42	Sophr. 24 (adapted order)
<p>Πονηρία ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀσχημοσύνη δαιμονιώδης, ἀληθείας ἀποστερηθεῖσα, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνειν δοκοῦσα.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Πονηρία ἐστὶν εὐθύτητος ἐναλλαγὴ, πεπλανημένη ἔννοια· οἰκονομίας ψευδομένη· κεκολασμένοι ὄρκοι, συμπεπλεγμένοι λόγοι· βυθὸς καρδίας, ἄβυσσος δόλου, πεποιωμένον ψεῦδος, φυσικὴ λοιπὸν οἴησις, ταπεινώσεως ἀντίπαλος, μετανοίας ὑπόκρισις, <u>πένθους μικρυσμός</u>, ἐξομολογήσεως ἔχθρα, <u>ιδιογνωμόρυθμος</u>, πτωμάτων πρόξενος, ἀναστάσεως ἀντίθετος, ὕβρεων μειδιασμός, μεμωραμένη κατήφεια, ἐπίπλαστος εὐλάβεια, δαιμονιώδης βίος.</p>	<p>(19) Πονηρία ἐστὶν, ἐπιστήμη, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀσχημοσύνη δαιμονιώδης, ἀληθείας ἀποστερηθεῖσα καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνειν δοκοῦσα.</p> <p>(17) Πονηρία ἐστὶν, εὐθύτητος ἐναλλαγὴ· πεπλανημένη ἔννοια· οἰκονομία ψευδομένη· κεκολασμένοι ὄρκοι· συμπεπλεγμένοι λόγοι· βυθὸς καρδίας· ἄβυσσος δόλου· πεποιωμένον ψεῦδος· φυσικὴ λοιπὸν οἴησις· ταπεινώσεως ἀντίπαλος· μετανοίας ὑπόκρισις· <u>πένθους μακρυσμός</u>· ἐξομολογήσεως ἔχθρα· <u>ιδιογνωμῶν ῥυθμός</u>· πτωμάτων πρόξενος· ἀναστάσεως ἀντίθετος. ὕβρεων μειδιασμός· μεμωραμένη κατήφεια· ἐπίπλαστος εὐλάβεια· δαιμονιώδης βίος.</p>

As these three verses are based on the definition of *πονηρία* in the *Ladder*, it seems reasonable that they are meant as an apposition to *πονηρίαν* (v. 172). This would correspond to the title of this step in Poem 2.

174: *ἀσχημοσύνην δαιμονιώδη* is clearly taken from the *Ladder* (PG 88.981, ll. 24-25). According to a TLG-search, this collocation only appears in this passage in the *Ladder*.

174: *δόλον* is taken from ἄβυσσος δόλου (PG 88.981, l. 36).

175: *πένθους μακρυσμόν* is clearly taken from the *Ladder*. Also in this case, Sophr. is closer to Poem 2 than PG. PGL translates *μακρυσμός* as *separation* and *μικρυσμός* as *depreciation*. In his explanation of this last lemma, PGL even refers to the passage from the *Ladder* quoted above. It is hard to decide which reading is the best as they both make sense. According to a TLG-search the word *μακρυσμός* appears 47 times, whereas

μικρυσμός only appears twice: once in the passage from the *Ladder* quoted above, and once in Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentarii in Joannem* (ed. Pusey 1872: 162, ll. 1-3):

ὧ γὰρ ἦν εἰκὸς καὶ πλουσίαν ὀφείλεσθαι δόξαν τὴν ἐκ μικρυσμοῦ λοιδορίαν προσάπτουσι.

Concerning Poem 2, we obviously followed the reading of the manuscripts (and thus also of Sophr.). Just as Moore (2012⁴: 178) did in his translation, we interpreted μακρυσμός as *estrangement*, which is of course the result of separation.³⁸⁹

175: πρόξενον συμπτωμάτων is clearly taken from πτωμάτων πρόξενος from the *Ladder* (PG 88.981, l. 40). **συμπτωμάτων** is obviously a synonym of πτωμάτων. In the *Ladder*, the expression appears yet on one other occasion, namely in step 23 (PG 88.965, ll. 4-12):

Ἵπερηφανία ἐστὶ Θεοῦ ἄρνησις, δαιμόνων εὕρημα, ἐξουδένωσις ἀνθρώπων, κατακρίσεως μήτηρ, ἐπαίνων ἀπόγονος, ἀκαρπίας τεκμήριον, βοηθείας Θεοῦ φυγαδευτήριον, ἐκστάσεως πρόδρομος, πτωμάτων πρόξενος, ἐπιληψίας ὑπόθεσις, θυμοῦ πηγὴ, ὑποκρίσεως θύρα, δαιμόνων στήριγμα, ἀμαρτημάτων φύλαξ, ἀσπλαγχνίας πρόξενος, συμπαθείας ἄγνοια, λογοθέτης πικρὸς, δικαστὴς ἀπάνθρωπος, Θεοῦ ἀντίπαλος, βλασφημίας ρίζα.

In step 23, it appears in a similar context, as one of several predicates that define a sin. As “an agent, or a cause, of falls” is a general characteristic of a sin, it fits all sins and it does not come as a surprise when Klimax uses it both to describe arrogance in step 23 and wickedness in step 24. Besides, in the passage quoted above πρόξενος also appears in the context of heartlessness (ἀσπλαγχνία).

176 ιδιογνωμόρυθμον: Contrary to the case of μακρυσμόν, **ιδιογνωμόρυθμον** corresponds exactly to the reading of PG (88.981, l. 39) ιδιογνωμόρυθμος, whereas Sophr. has ιδιογνώμων ῥυθμός. Besides here in Poem 2, the word ιδιογνωμόρυθμος appears – according to TLG – only in the passage from the *Ladder* quoted above and in the *Vita Nicephori Medicii*, sect. 1, l. 25 (9th c.) (ed. Halkin 1960):

Ἐπεμέμικτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς φθόνῳ δεινῶ καὶ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ πολυμόρφου ὄψεως τὸ ιδιογνωμόρρυθμον.

In this context, the word appears as a neuter substantivized adjective. Antonopoulou (2007: 167-168), however, mentions that ιδιογνωμόρυθμος also appears in the

³⁸⁹ Luibheid et al. (1982: 215), however, translate *mourning depleted*, according to PG.

commentaries of Nikephoros and Elias. Hence, it seems that both commentators follow the reading of PG, and not the one of Sophr. This correspondence between the reading of the commentators and PG is an argument in favour of the reading of the latter. Interestingly – and again according to a TLG-search – the collocation ἰδιογνώμων ῥυθμός is only found in Sophronios' edition of our passage.

Regarding the translation of the word, PGL, referring only to the passage of the *Ladder*, translates it as *self-opinionatedness*. Moore (2012⁴: 178) has *a teacher of willfulness*; Luibheid and Russel (1982: 215) have *an insistence on getting one's own way*. LBG, referring only to the Vita of Nikephoros (and to PGL) translates *eigensinnig*. Here, ἰδιογνωμόρυθμον is used as an adjective which asyndetically stands on the same level as ἄφρονα.

ἰδιογνωμόρυθμον is of course related to ἰδιορυθμία, which appears in the *Ladder* as a negative term.³⁹⁰ For example, in step 26, it stands on the same level as αὐτάρκεια (PG 88.1024, ll. 16-17): Ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐξ αὐταρκειᾶς καὶ ἰδιορυθμίας. In step 26, Klimax explains that some vices come with virtues. Considering meekness, he says: τῆ πραύτητι ἢ ὑπουλότης, καὶ νωθρότης, καὶ ὀκνηρία, καὶ ἀντιλογία, καὶ ἰδιορυθμία, καὶ ἀνηκοΐα. It does not seem a coincidence that ἰδιορυθμία stands between ἀντιλογία and ἀνηκοΐα. Ἰδιορυθμία (and also ἰδιογνωμόρυθμον) appears as the contrary of ὑπακοή. You do not follow your superior, but your own will, your own *rhythm*.

177: This verse is a question, asked by the narrator.³⁹¹ ἦτις refers to πονηρίαν (v. 172). τρόπω echoes τρόπον (v. 176), as it stands on the same metrical position.

After the depressing list of evils, a remedy is required. A list of cures, the answer to the question of v. 177, will be given in the summary of the next step.

Step 25 of the Ladder: On the destroyer of the passions, most sublime humility, which is rooted in spiritual perception

At the opening of the step, Klimax states that it is vain to think “that it is possible to use the visible word in order to describe” the effect of the love of God, which is humility (ταπεινοφροσύνη), to someone who never experienced these things. It is like explaining with words how honey tastes to someone who never tasted it (Sophr. 25.1; PG 88.988 Gr. 25, ll. 6-18). The topic of this step is a treasure preserved in our bodily vessel. The treasure bears a heavenly inscription which runs:

³⁹⁰ From the commentaries by Nikephoros and Elias, it is clear that ἰδιογνωμόρυθμον is a synonym of ἰδιορυθμία (Antonopoulou 2007: 167).

³⁹¹ Neither in **M** nor in **N** is there a question mark at the end of the verse. In **M**, there is a comma at the end of this verse. However, also after v. 126, **M** has a comma. V. 126 is clearly part of a question as is indicated by the particle ἄρ' (v. 124). **N**, by contrast, has a dot at the end of v. 177, whereas it had a genuine question mark at the end of v. 126.

“Holy Humility”. Those who try to explain this in words “give themselves great and endless trouble” (Sophr. 25.2; PG 88.988 Gr. 25, ll. 18-25). Many people have tried to explain this inscription. Some say that humility is “constant oblivion of one’s achievements”, others that it is to think of yourself as the greatest sinner, others that it means the understanding of your own weakness. Klimax, most humbly, admits that he was not able to define humility with words, therefore he draws upon the Fathers³⁹² to come to a definition of humility. “Humility is a nameless grace in the soul, its name known only to those who have learned it by experience. Humility is learned, not from an angel, not from a book, but from the Lord himself who said “I am meek and humble in heart”³⁹³ (Sophr. 25.3; PG 88.988, l. 25 – 989, l. 10).

When humility blossoms within us, we hate all human glory and anger (Sophr. 25.5; PG 88.989, ll. 16-32). If you compare repentance and mourning to yeast and flour, then you can compare humility to bread. When repentance, mourning and humility are united, a triad appears of which each part is “a token of another”. This triad has three properties: 1) “the acceptance of indignity”, 2) “the loss of all bad temper”, 3) “distrust of one’s good qualities and a constant desire to learn” (Sophr. 25.7-8; PG 88.989, l. 41 - 992, l. 5).

Just as “Christ is the end of the Law and the Prophets”, so vainglory and arrogance are the end of the passions.³⁹⁴ You can destroy them by a spiritual deer³⁹⁵ which protects you from the poison of the vices (Sophr. 25.9; PG 88.992, ll. 14-25). He who has humility as his bride is gentle, calm and “free from passions” (Sophr. 25.10; PG 88.992, ll. 25-32).

The demons once praised a humble monk. He replied that if they continue to praise him, he knows that he is impure and in need of more humility, and if they cease, then he considers himself as great. The monk was victorious and the demons fled (Sophr. 25.12; PG 88.992, ll. 34-44).

“May your soul not be a pond (...) which is sometimes full and sometimes dried up (...), but may it be a fountain of dispassion.” A humble soul is a valley “among the mountains” which abounds “with wheat and spiritual fruit” (Sophr. 25.13; PG 88.992, ll. 45-53). “Repentance raises the fallen, mourning knocks at the gate of Heaven, and holy humility opens it; but I affirm this and I worship a Trinity in Unity, and a Unity in Trinity” (Sophr. 25.14; PG 88.992, l. 53 - 953, l. 3).

A monk who was praised by demons, wrote the names of the virtues on the wall of his cell and read them aloud each time he was attacked (Sophr. 25.23; PG 88.993, ll. 30-43). Thereafter follows an apophatic statement: “We cannot describe the power and essence of this sun, humility, but from its properties and effects we can explain its intrinsic nature” (Sophr. 25.24; PG 88.993, ll. 43-48). Humility is “a divine shelter to prevent us from seeing our achievements, (...) a tower of strength against” our enemies, it even repels our enemies (Sophr. 25.25; PG 88.993, ll. 48-55).

³⁹² Klimax does not mention any names.

³⁹³ Mt. 11:29, also quoted at the opening of step 24 (PG 88.980 Gr. 24, ll. 8-9).

³⁹⁴ Steps 22 (vainglory) and 23 (pride) were indeed the last steps of the Ladder that (exclusively) had a vice as their topic.

³⁹⁵ Moore (2012⁴: 182) explains that the story goes that deer were able to swallow snakes.

Self-knowledge leads to “an understanding of the fear of the Lord”, and this leads to “the door of love” (Sophr. 25.28; PG 88.996, ll. 10-15). “Humility is the door of the Kingdom”, which leads to the “green grass in Paradise”. “All who have entered the monastic life by any other door are thieves and robbers of their own life” (Sophr. 25.29; PG 88.996, ll. 15-21). If you want to reach understanding, do not stop examining yourself (Sophr. 25.30; PG 88.996, ll. 21-24). Just as a flame cannot come forth from snow, similarly, humility cannot “dwell in an un-Orthodox person” (Sophr. 25.31; PG 88.996, ll. 24-28). He who sets sail “to that tranquil harbour of humility” has to deliver “the ship of his soul from the ever-recurring storms of the sea of vainglory”. If you overcome vainglory, your other sins will be easily forgiven (Sophr. 25.33; PG 88.996, ll. 30-39). There are humble people who do not think themselves worthy of the gifts they receive from God (Sophr. 25.34; PG 88.996, l. 39 - 997, l. 2).

Self-knowledge is the remembrance of one’s sins (Sophr. 25.37; PG 88.997, ll. 8-19). If extreme pride means to feign virtues you do not possess, then extreme humility is to pretend that we were responsible for faults we did not commit (Sophr. 25.40; PG 88.977, ll. 29-40). “It is better to offend men than God” (Sophr. 41; PG 88.997, ll. 40-46).³⁹⁶ “Only the truly great can bear derision from their own people. Do not be surprised at what is said, for no one can climb a ladder in one stride.”

He who knows himself sticks to the path of humility (Sophr. 25.45; PG 88.1000, ll. 5-12). It is possible to receive “salvation without prophecies and revelations”, without humility, however, this is impossible (Sophr. 25.47; PG 88.1000, ll. 13-19).

God made that our neighbours see our sins better than we do ourselves. Therefore, we do not have to thank ourselves, but our neighbours and God for our healing (Sophr. 25.48; PG 88.1000, ll. 19-23). A humble man is disobedient to himself, but obedient to God, “who used an ass to teach Balaam his duty” (Num. 22:28-20) (Sophr. 25.49; PG 88.1000, ll. 23-29). Voluntary humility repels involuntary sins by “unceasingly reproaching and condemning ourselves” (Sophr. 25.51; PG 88.1000, ll. 33-42). If you ask God less than you deserve, you will certainly receive more (Sophr. 25.52; PG 88.1000, ll. 42-48).

Humility means freedom of materiality. Therefore, if you still “fall into voluntary sins”, this “is the sign that there is still something material in us” (Sophr. 25.53; PG 88.1000, ll. 48-53).

Jesus, “knowing that the virtue of the soul is modelled on outward behaviour”, showed us an example of humility by washing the feet of His disciples with the towel with which He was girded (Sophr. 25.54; PG 88.1000, l. 53 - 1001, l. 3). Humility can remedy even the worst sins (Sophr. 25.57; PG 88.1001, ll. 11-17).

Klimax states that the Fathers mention bodily toil as “the way to humility”. Klimax himself rather mentions “obedience and honesty of heart, because they are naturally opposed to self-esteem” (Sophr. 25.59; PG 88.1001, ll. 24-27). Pride transformed angels into demons. Humility can change demons again to angels. Those who sinned should not despair (Sophr. 25.60; PG

³⁹⁶ Referring to the anecdotes of Abba Symeon and Abba Serapion. Cf. Moore (2012⁴).

88.1001, ll. 27-30). *The lifestyle of a beggar leads to supreme humility* (Sophr. 25.62; PG 88.1001, ll. 35-43). *If you charge against a passion, you better “take humility as an ally”, because she “will trample upon the lion”, the dragon, the basilisk, i.e. the devil.*

Just as at the end of several previous steps there was a short interview with a vice, here there is one with the virtue of humility. Again, the question is asked: “Who are your parents?”. Humility answers that her parent is anonymous and she “cannot tell you until you possess God” (Sophr. 26.63; PG 88.1001, l. 43 - 1004, l. 12).

178-183, step 25:

Πράω, ταπεινῶ, μετρίω τῇ καρδίᾳ
καὶ μισοθύμῳ καὶ μισοργιλοφθόνῳ,
εὐσυμπαθήτῳ καὶ κατανευγμένῳ,
φαιδρῶ, γαληνῶ καὶ καθιλαρευμένῳ,
εὐηνίῳ, χαίροντι, μὴ ζοφουμένῳ,
περιμερίμνῳ σφαλμάτων τῶν ἰδίων.

κε περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης

περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης (title): The same short and straightforward title appears in the *pinax* of PG 88.629 and in the one of **M** f. 3r. In the *pinax* of Sophr. (1970: 185) and in the one of **N** 10r, a slightly longer title appears: *Περὶ τῆς τῶν παθῶν ἀπωλείας τῆς ὑψίστου ταπεινοφροσύνης*. In Sophr. (1970: 116) the title is even longer: *Περὶ τῆς τῶν παθῶν ἀπωλείας τῆς ὑψίστου ταπεινοφροσύνης, ἀοράτῳ αἰσθήσει ἐγγινομένης*. In PG 88.988 the same title appears, although extended by the following exhortation: *ὃς ἀνάβασιν ἴσχυσεν, θαρσεῖτω, τὸν διδάσκαλον γὰρ Χριστὸν μιμησάμενος σέσωσται*. In the *pinax* at the end of **M** f. 320v, again, a deviating title appears: *Περὶ τῆς αγίας (sic) ἐλάφου ταπεινοφροσύνης*. This title clearly refers to the deer, which stands for humility, mentioned in step 25 (PG 88.992, ll.14-25).

178-183: As a whole this steps gives an answer to the question of v. 177.

178: In the context of step 25, it seems likely that this verse is based on the words of Christ, spoken in Mt. 11:29: *ὅτι πρᾶός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ*. The passage is quoted both in step 24 (PG 88.980, ll. 8-9) and in step 25 (PG 88.989, l. 7), where it is used to describe Christ as the ideal teacher of humility.

179: This verse consists of two *hapax legomena*. They can be understood by looking at step 25 (PG 88.989, ll. 16-19):

Ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ τῆς ὀσίας ταύτης ἐπανθεῖν βότρυς ἄρξῃται, μισοῦμεν
εὐθέως μετὰ πόνου πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν καὶ εὐφημίαν· θυμὸν καὶ ὀργὴν ἐξ
ἐαυτῶν ἐξορίζοντες.

Here, it is said that when humility (metaphorically for βότρυς) begins to blossom in us, we hate all human glory and praise and we banish anger and wrath. It seems that the author of Poem 2 took μισοῦμεν and combined it with θυμὸν καὶ ὀργήν.

μισοθύμω, the first *hapax*, derives from an adjective *μισόθυμος, meaning *hating anger*. Similar words are found in PGL, for example: μισόδοξος *hating fame*; μισόκακος *hating evil*.

μισοργιλοφθόνω, the second *hapax*, derives from an adjective *μισοργιλόφθοнос and has a similar structure as **μισοθύμω**. Yet, it consists of three parts: μῖσος + ὀργιλ- + φθόνος. I think that ὀργιλ- derives here from the adjective ὀργίλος (and not from the noun ὀργιλότης) and thus specifies φθόνος. A similar word is found in LBG: ὀργιλόφρων *jähzornig gesinnt*. As a whole, the word can be translated as *hating irascible envy*. Both *hapaxes* agree with **καρδία** (v. 178).

180-182: These three verses seem to go back to a specific passage from the *Ladder* (PG 88.992, ll. 25-29).

Poem 2, vv. 180-182	PG 88.992, ll. 25-29
εὐσυμπαθήτω καὶ <u>κατανευυγμένω</u> , φαιδρῶ, <u>γαληνῶ</u> καὶ καθιλαρευμένω, εὐηγιῶ, χαίροντι, μὴ ζοφουμένω,	Ὁ ταύτη νυμφικῶς ἐνωθεῖς, ἦπιος, προσηνῆς, <u>εὐκατάνυκτος</u> , συμπαθῆς, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα <u>γαληνός</u> , φαιδρός, εὐήγιος, ἄλυπος, ἄγρυπνος, ἄοκνος πέλει· καὶ τί δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν, ἀπαθῆς

In this passage from the *Ladder*, it said that those who take humility (ταύτη) as their bride are gentle, kind, etc. The poet replaced the prefix εὐ- from εὐκατάνυκτος to **εὐσυμπαθήτω**. εὐσυμπάθητος (*compassionate* PGL) is a slightly strengthened synonym of συμπαθῆς (*sympathetic* LSJ). Besides, in Poem 2, the order of εὐκατάνυκτος and συμπαθῆς is reversed. Also the order of **φαιδρῶ** and **γαληνῶ**, based on γαληνός and φαιδρός, is reversed. Although these are very general terms, it might be meaningful that φαιδρός and γαληνός reappear at the end of step 25, characterizing humility (ἡ in the following quoted passage) (PG 88.1004, ll. 8-9): ἡ δὲ φαιδρὸν αὐτῶ καὶ γαληνὸν ὑπομειδιάσασα, φησί.

καθιλαρεύομαι does not appear in the *Ladder*. ἰλαρός, however, does appear in the *Ladder*, referring to a positive joy. See for example a passage in step 24 (PG 88.981, ll. 28-29):

ἀκακία ἐστὶν ἰλαρὰ ψυχῆς κατάστασις ἐπινοίας πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένη.

It seems thus that **καθιλαρευμένω** has to be understood here in v. 181 as a similar blessed rejoicing.

Etymologically, **εὐηνίω** refers to a horse that is *obedient to the rein*. In step 25, Klimax indeed stressed the importance of obedience when he says the following (PG 88.1001, ll. 24-27):

Ὅδὸν μὲν ταύτης καὶ ὑπόθεσιν τοὺς σωματικούς κόπους οἱ ἀείμνηστοι ὠρίσαντο Πατέρες· ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑπακοὴν καὶ εὐθύτητα καρδίας, αἱ καὶ φυσικῶς τῇ οἴησει ἀντίκεινται.

In this passage, Klimax mentions that the Fathers defined bodily toil as the road to humility (ταύτης). Klimax himself, however, stresses that he believes that “obedience and honesty of heart” are more important.

182 χαίροντι, μὴ ζοφουμένω: These words are not taken from the passage from the *Ladder* (PG 88.992, ll. 25-29) quoted above. **χαίροντι** appears to be a synonym of **καθιλαρευμένω**. **μὴ ζοφουμένω** retakes **φαιδρῶ** and might be inspired by a passage from step 25 (PG 88.993, ll. 5-7):

Μὴ παρόντος φωτὸς, πάντα ζοφώδη· καὶ μὴ παρούσης ταπεινοφροσύνης, πάντα ἡμῶν ἕωλα.

It seems that this is the only instance in the whole *Ladder* where a word of the root ζοφ- appears. When you are not darkened, you are enlightened by humility.

183: The remembrance of your sins appears frequently in the *Ladder* in the context of the remembrance of death. See for example the opening of step 6 (PG 88.793 Gr. 6, ll. 3-5):

Μνήμη δὲ θανάτου καὶ πταισμάτων προηγεῖται κλαυθμοῦ καὶ πένθους.

In step 25, the remembrance of sins appears once in the context of self-knowledge (PG 88.977, ll. 14-16):

Ἐπίγνωσις ἐστὶν ἀσφαλῆς τῶν οἰκείων μέτρων, καὶ ψιλῶν πταισμάτων ἀρέμβαστος μνήμη καὶ κατάληψις.

Step 26 of the Ladder: On discernment of thoughts, passions, and virtues

This step, just as step 4, is exceptionally long. It is divided into three parts: 1) “On discernment of thoughts, passions, and virtues”, 2) “On expert discernment”, and 3) “Brief summary of all the aforementioned”.

This step opens by a definition of discernment (διάκρισις) related to the three stadia of progress you can make in this virtue: 1) in beginners discernment is self-knowledge, 2) “in intermediate souls” it is the ability to distinguish good from bad, 3) in the perfect it is knowledge by divine enlightenment. In general, discernment is the “understanding of divine will” (Sophr. 26.1; PG 88.1013 Gr. 26, ll. 3-14).

If you overcome the three passions, you have overcome five (Sophr. 26.2; PG 88.1013, ll. 14-16).³⁹⁷ Do not be surprised when supernatural things happen when you live a monastic life, because in places where God is, such things happen (Sophr. 26.3; PG 88.1013, ll. 16-21). Besides God, we have our conscience as a rule. You have to know which way the wind blows in order to set your sails accordingly (Sophr. 26.5; PG 88.1013, ll. 26-29).

The demons try to let us fall in three ways: 1) they prevent us from doing good, 2) “after their first defeat” they try to turn us away from the will of God, 3) they praise us, in order to arouse pride in us (Sophr. 26.6; PG 88.1013, ll. 29-40). Our struggle with the demons will only end when a divine fire comes in us, in order to burn our sins away. The demons “extinguish the light of the mind”, which leads to “indifference” and “insensitivity” (Sophr. 26.7; PG 88.1013, ll. 40-52). If we do not allow darkness in our soul, “then the thieves will not come and steal and kill (...) our soul”. Thereafter, a definition of theft follows: it is “loss of property”; it is “doing what is not good as if it were good” (Sophr. 26.9; PG 88.1016, ll. 5-11).³⁹⁸ Let no one think that he is not able “to fulfil the commandments of the Gospels, for there are souls who have gone even beyond the commandments” (Sophr. 26.10; PG 88.1016, ll. 11-16). Let those who have fallen into sin “take courage”. When they are healed from their disease, and gained experience with the vices, they can become healers of others (Sophr. 26.11; PG 88.1016, ll. 16-23). Someone who is still tyrannized by preconceptions, “and yet can teach by mere words”, let him teach. Because it might be that he becomes ashamed of his own words and will follow the path of virtue (Sophr. 26.12; PG 88.1016, ll. 23-38). Klimax says that there are three levels of lessons: one “for beginners”, one “for the intermediate”, one “for teachers”. Thereafter, Klimax presents an “alphabet for all”, which implies the beginners. This is a list of 24 virtues. It does not represent an alphabetical list of virtues starting with alpha and ending with omega. However, the number of 24 virtues coincides with the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet. Thereafter, Klimax gives a list of eleven virtues meant for the advanced, followed by another alphabet (similar to the first one) meant for those who aim at perfection.³⁹⁹ At first sight, there is no parallel between these three lists of virtues and their succession as presented in the Ladder (Sophr. 26.14; PG 88.1017, ll. 3-35).

³⁹⁷ The three are: gluttony, cupidity and vainglory; the five: lust, anger, despair, despondency, pride. Cf. Moore (2012⁴: 190).

³⁹⁸ The phrases that are quoted here do appear in Sophr., but are absent in PG.

³⁹⁹ For a discussion of these alphabets see Pierre (2009: 47-51). For a discussion of similar alphabets in the ascetic tradition see De Angelis-Noah (1983).

“The monastic life in regard to deeds, words, thoughts, and movements must be lived with heartfelt perception. Otherwise it will not be a monastic life, let alone an angelic life” (Sophr. 26.18; PG 88.1020, ll. 8-11).

A medicine which works for one person, can be poison for another (Sophr. 26.20; PG 88.1020, ll. 17-21). When an unskilled doctor applies dishonour to cure a sick person, he risks to bring his patient to despair. A skilled doctor, by contrast, applies dishonour correctly to cut away arrogance in his patient (Sophr. 26.21; PG 88.1020, ll. 21-31).

Some are by nature prone to virtues, whereas others have to struggle to obtain them and occasionally fall. Klimax considers this second group higher than the first one. He adds that you should not be proud when you reach virtues without any effort (Sophr. 26.22; PG 88.1020, ll. 31-48). “Angels are a light for monks, and monks are a light,” an example, “for all men” (Sophr. 26.23; PG 88.1020, l. 48 - 1021, l. 2).

Klimax advises us “not to divide up our poor soul” in order to battle against thousands of enemies. It is better to “battle with three against three”⁴⁰⁰ with the assistance of the Trinity (Sophr. 26.24; PG 88.1021, ll. 3-10). We should try to learn about God by toils and sweat, rather than by mere words. In the hour of our death, you will have to show deeds and not words (Sophr. 26.26; PG 88.1021, ll. 21-24).

Once, Klimax was asked a question which he could not answer properly, and the question was: “What are the particular offspring of the eight deadly sins?”. Klimax answers that he is ignorant. The true answer is that there is no order in chaos, no structure in the succession of the vices. Klimax then demonstrates by some examples that a vice indeed can have different origins.⁴⁰¹ There is, however, one remedy for all vices: humility (Sophr. 26.29; PG 88.1021, l. 33 - 1024, l. 22). There are two origins of all vices: pleasure and guile. When you do not overcome these two vices, you “will not see the Lord” (Sophr. 26.30; PG 88.1024, ll. 22-25). The fear we have for a beast can serve as a model for the fear we ought to have of God; carnal love can serve as a model for our love for God. It is not wrong to learn from vices (Sophr. 26.31; PG 88.1024, ll. 26-30).

Klimax complains about his generation. It “perhaps reaches the level of our ancient fathers” as far as “bodily labours” are concerned, but it certainly received less “spiritual gifts”. “For God is manifested not in labours, but in simplicity and humility” (Sophr. 26.32; PG 88.1024, ll. 31-39).

When one of our brothers suffers from a (spiritual) illness, we should “try to heal him as though he were part of our own body” (Sophr. 26.33; PG 88.1024, ll. 40-45). Sickness can lead to “the cleansing of sins” or to humility (Sophr. 26.34; PG 88.1024, ll. 45-52).

⁴⁰⁰ According to Moore (2012⁴: 195) this means: poverty, chastity and obedience against cupidity, sensuality and ambition. A *scholion* in Sophr. (1970: 128 n. 3) and in PG (88.1044 σχόλιον κθ') explains it slightly different: the three enemies are indeed φιλαργυρία (cupidity), φιληδονία (sensuality) and φιλοδοξία (ambition). The three allies, however, are ἐγκράτεια, ἀγάπη and ταπείνωσις.

⁴⁰¹ In many of the interviews with vices, which mostly appear at the end of a step, the vice admits to have several, or even uncountable, parents.

Everything that happens to us can bring us to three possible reactions: a positive, a neutral or a negative one. For example, three brothers were punished: “one was angry, one was without grief, but the third” was full of joy (Sophr. 26.35; PG 88.1024, l. 52 – 1025, l. 5).

When you draw water from a well, it happens that there is a frog in the water you bring up high in your bucket. Similarly, it happens that by acquiring a virtue, you risk to take a vice along. Klimax gives several examples, one being that lust can come together with love (Sophr. 26.37; PG 88.1025, ll. 17-32).

Do not be distressed if God does not immediately react to your prayers. It is divine providence that decides. There are several explanations why God does not grant you the request you asked for: you asked it at a wrong time, you are vainglorious, or you would become negligent if it was granted immediately (Sophr. 26.38; PG 88.1025, ll. 32-44).

Sometimes, the demons leave us on purpose and attack again when we have become negligent (Sophr. 26.40; PG 88.1025, ll. 50-52).⁴⁰²

Vices are not “originally planted in nature, for God is not” their creator. Many virtues, by contrast, are. Since these virtues are closer to the human nature than vices, everyone is able to reach them (Sophr. 26.41; PG 88.1023, ll. 6-20). Some virtues, however, are “above nature”, such as chastity, humility and vigil. Some of these virtues you can learn from men, others from angels, and others from God only (Sophr. 26.42; PG 88.1023, ll. 20-24).

“When confronted by evils, we should choose the least.” Once, when he was young, Klimax himself was attacked by gluttony and vainglory at the same time. He yielded to vainglory, because “in the young the demon of gluttony often conquers the demon of vainglory” (Sophr. 26.43; PG 88.1023, ll. 24-38). Love of money is “the root of all evils” for those living in the world, for “monks it is gluttony”. Sometimes, God leaves some remains of passions in humans, in order to spur them to humility (Sophr. 26.44; PG 88.1023, ll. 38-44).

You cannot reach humility, before reaching obedience, because it is impossible to learn a discipline by yourself (Sophr. 26.45; PG 88.1023, ll. 44-46). “Naturally, it is impossible for a bodiless being to be confined by a body; but for a person who has God everything is possible” (Sophr. 26.52; PG 88.1023, ll. 39-41).⁴⁰³ “It is impossible for all to become dispassionate, but it is” possible “for all to be saved” (Sophr. 26.53; PG 88.1029, ll. 47-49).

“Some have said that demons work against demons, but I know that they all seek our destruction” (Sophr. 26.57; PG 88.1032, ll. 4-6).⁴⁰⁴ Without intrinsic motivation, it is impossible to even start a spiritual labour (Sophr. 26.58; PG 88.1032, ll. 7-11). To everything there is a season and a time for every purpose under heaven.⁴⁰⁵ Therefore, we should be patient (Sophr. 26.59; PG 88.1032, ll. 11-35).

⁴⁰² In PG, the beginning of Sophr. 26.40 (“Ὅτι μὲν ἀναχωροῦσιν οἱ δαίμονες (...) ὀλίγοι ἐπίστανται) appears before Sophr. 26.39.

⁴⁰³ Here, this statement must refer to the resurrection of the body.

⁴⁰⁴ Remarkably, Klimax himself stated that the vices do beget and stifle one another (PG 88.841 Gr. 9, ll. 4-5).

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Eccl. 3:1; P. Seeger (1962) *Turn! Turn! Turn!*

No matter what you do, you should ask yourself one question as a rule: “Am I really doing this in accordance with God’s will” (Sophr. 26.63; PG 88.1033, ll. 6-15). Klimax defines the progress one can make in three stages: 1) for us, beginners, “growth in humility is the fulfilment of the Lord’s will”, 2) for the advanced it is “the cessation of inner conflicts”, 3) in the perfect it is the “abundance of divine light” (Sophr. 26.64; PG 88.1033, ll. 15-21).

Small things cannot be “small to the great; but to the small, even great things are not altogether perfect” (Sophr. 26.64; PG 88.1033, ll. 21-24). Someone who is perfectly purified can tell the state of the soul of his neighbour. But he who is more advanced “can judge the state of the soul from the body” (Sophr. 26.68; 1033, ll. 30-33).

“A small fire often destroys a whole forest, so too a small flaw spoils all our labours” (Sophr. 26.69; PG 88.1033, ll. 33-35).⁴⁰⁶ “When we see that some love us in the Lord, then we should not allow ourselves to be especially free with them,” because familiarity destroys love (Sophr. 26.71; PG 88.1033, ll. 40-43).

Klimax warns us for a demon who brings us evil thoughts “when we are lying in bed”. If we do not get up and pray, we risk to have evil dreams (Sophr. 26.75; PG 88.1036, ll. 3-8). He also warns us for the so-called forerunner (πρόδρομος) who “defiles our first thought” (Sophr. 26.76; PG 88.1036, ll. 8-15).⁴⁰⁷

There are many roads to piety, and some are more apt for one person than for another (Sophr. 26.77; PG 88.1036, ll. 15-19). “Those whose minds are on things above, after the separation of soul and body, ascend on high in two parts,⁴⁰⁸ but those whose minds are on things below, go below. For souls separated from the body, there is no intermediate place” (Sophr. 26.79; PG 88.1036, ll. 23-26).⁴⁰⁹ “Pious daughters are born of pious mothers, and the mothers are born of the Lord” (Sophr. 26.81; PG 88.1036, ll. 29-32). “The eyes of our body are a light for all the bodily members; and the discernment of the divine virtues is a light for the mind” (PG 88. 1036, ll. 35-37).⁴¹⁰

Part two: On expert discernment⁴¹¹

A monk does not only long to understand the will of God, but also what is not entirely from God, and even what is opposed to God. It is also “extremely important” to know “which of our affairs should be done at once”, and “what should be done with moderation and circumspection” (Sophr. 26.b1; PG 88.1056 Gr. 26b, l. 2 – 1057, l. 18). You can only learn God’s will when you kill your own will. You should consider the advice you get from the fathers or even from your brothers as the

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Jc. 2:10; step 26 of the Ladder (PG 88.1065C).

⁴⁰⁷ Klimax refers to the morning erection.

⁴⁰⁸ Moore (2012⁴: 204): “I.e. first the soul, then, after the resurrection, the body”.

⁴⁰⁹ Klimax is clearly opposed to the Catholic idea of the purgatory.

⁴¹⁰ These last lines close the first part of step 26 in PG. Sophr., however, omits them.

⁴¹¹ In the edition of Sophr., the numbers of the paragraphs of this second part start again with number 1. For reasons of clarity, I will add a ‘b’ before these numbers, indicating that the paragraphs they refer to belong to this second part of step 26.

will of God. If you humbly ask your brothers for advice, God will not let them give you bad advice (Sophr. 26.b2; PG 88.1057, ll. 18-42). You can also try to get the answer from God by praying or by connecting your mind to “the noetic Mind” (Sophr. 26.b3; PG 88.1057, l. 42 - 1060, l. 3). Hesitation is a “sign of an unenlightened” heart (Sophr. 26.b5; PG 88.1060, ll. 7-17).

It is not possible to know God’s will concerning what will happen to us after our death. God sometimes deliberately hides “His will from us”. When we fail to follow His will, we will receive a greater punishment (which should bring us to greater humility) (Sophr. 26.b6; PG 88.1060, ll. 18-22).

To throw yourself into a task that is beyond your capacities can be a sign of courage or a sign of pride. Sometimes, demons suggest us to do so in order that we fail and become desperate (Sophr. 26.b8; PG 88.1060, ll. 24-31). Klimax’ consolation to the desperate is that God judges humility rather than labours (Sophr. 26.b9; PG 88.1060, ll. 31-36).

When you have a discussion with an unbeliever or a heretic, you can attempt twice to convince him. If that does not work, you better stop. However, when you have a discussion with someone who wishes “to learn the truth”, you should never stop trying to convince him (Sophr. 26.b11; PG 88.1060, ll. 41-47).

The supernatural acts of holy men should not drive you to despair. Rather, they should spur you to virtue or lead you to humility (Sophr. 26.b12; PG 88.1060, ll. 47-52).

It happens that a demon suggests us to take a companion in sin. Sometimes this pupil is harder to bring to repentance than the one who started the sin (Sophr. 26.b13; PG 88.1060, l. 52 - 1061, l. 7).

Do not be surprised if someone you love turns against you when you rebuke him. Light-hearted people are a tool of the devil (Sophr. 26.b17; PG 88.1061, ll. 47-49).

Klimax admits that he is surprised that we are misled so easily by the demons, whereas we have the angels, the saints and God as a support (Sophr. 26.b18; PG 88.1061, l. 49 - 1064, l. 6).

Although defiled with clay, man is created to the image of God. Therefore, he will long “for that which is kindred to” him (Sophr. 26.b19; PG 88.1064, ll. 6-11).

Again, a definition of discernment is given: it is “a light in darkness,” a guide “to the way”. As this definition appears in the second part of step 26 dealing with “expert discernment”, it agrees with the definition of discernment as mentioned at the opening of this step. Again, after the definition of the virtue, the definition of the virtuous person executing the virtue follows: “a discerning man finds health and destroys sickness” (Sophr. 26.b22; PG 88.1064, ll. 18-21).⁴¹²

You should not only wrestle with the demons, but also be continuously at war with them (Sophr. 26.b24; PG 88.1064, ll. 24-27). You can also deceive the demon by pretending that you still have passions. There once was a brother who indeed pretended to run for “the office of superior”. And there also was a monk who pretended to go to a brothel, “but drew the harlot to the ascetic

⁴¹² Cf. PG (88.1013 Gr. 26, ll. 6-8).

life". Klimax warns us to apply such a trick, because it is possible that we fall into the trap we set up ourselves (Sophr. 26.b25; PG 88.1064, ll. 27-49).

Klimax repeats his earlier statement that there are virtues and "mother-virtues". The first you can learn from many people, but the latter only from God himself (Sophr. 26.b28; PG 88.1065, ll. 14-18).⁴¹³

When we despair, we should remember "the Lord's commandment to Peter, to forgive a person who sins seventy times seven." But when we are vainglorious, we should "remember the saying (Jc. 2:10): He who shall keep the whole spiritual law, and yet stumble in one passion (...) has become guilty of all (Sophr. 26.b31; PG 88.1065, ll. 28-36).

There are evil spirits who voluntarily leave the saints, in order to deprive them of a crown won in battle (Sophr. 26.b32; PG 88.1065, ll. 36-40).

Not only peacemakers are blessed, but also enemy-makers sometimes are. Once two people were sexually attracted towards one another. An experienced father noticed this and caused hatred between them by saying to each one of them that the other had slandered him (Sophr. 26.b33; PG 88.1065, ll. 40-49). It is better if you voluntarily keep yourself "apart for a time" from those you are attached to (Sophr. 26.b34; PG 88.1065, ll. 49-53).

There are demons who instruct vainglorious people in the Scriptures in order to make heretics out of them. You can recognise such lessons from the demons by the confusion and the "unholy joy" you feel when you learn them (Sophr. 26.b36; PG 88.1065, l. 56 - 1068, l. 8).

If you reach "the strength of divine vision (θεωρία), and if you have God as a guard, "then the end of love will truly be endless". You will not stop to add "light to light". Similarly the spiritual beings⁴¹⁴ constantly add "glory to glory, and knowledge to knowledge" (Sophr. 26.b38; PG 88.1068, ll. 13-25).

Do not be a severe judge for someone who has words, but lacks deeds, because sometimes words can compensate for this lack (Sophr. 26.b40; PG 88.1068, ll. 30-36).

Klimax repeats again his statement that God is not the creator of evil.⁴¹⁵ Evil is not originally present in nature, but created by man. "For instance, nature gives us the seed for childbearing, but we have perverted this for fornication" (Sophr. 26.b41; PG 88.1068, ll. 36-51).

"Vanity or conceit twines itself round courage just as bindweed twines round cypress" (Sophr. 26.b46; PG 1069, ll. 34-43).

"God judges our intention, but in that which is within our power, He (...) also requires us to act" (Sophr. 26.b47; PG 88.1069, l. 44 - 1072, l. 2). "Being in darkness is a cause of stumbling; stumbling is a cause of a fall; and to fall is a cause of death" (Sophr. 26.b49; PG 88.1072, ll. 7-11).

⁴¹³ Cf. PG (88.1036, ll. 29-32).

⁴¹⁴ Moore (2012⁴: 211): "I.e. the angels".

⁴¹⁵ Cf. PG (88.1023, ll. 6-20).

There are two ways to scrape off the filth of the material world: 1) the monastery, 2) a solitary life. The latter follows upon the first, if you have overcome “lust, remembrance of wrongs, and anger” (Sophr. 26.b51; PG 88.1072, ll. 14-22).

If you have visitors from the world, you should rejoice when they leave, as if you are “freed from a hindrance”. If you feel sad, then you are vainglorious (Sophr. 26.b56, PG 88.1072, ll. 48-53).

Thereafter, Klimax repeats that you have to know which way the wind blows in order to set your sails accordingly (Sophr. 26.b57; PG 88.1072, l. 53 – 1073, l. 2).⁴¹⁶ In the next part, Klimax consciously refers to something he mentioned before: that it is not possible to overcome gluttony and vainglory at once. Besides, when a beginner defeats gluttony, he risks to fall because of vainglory (Sophr. 26.b59; PG 88.1072, ll. 7-15).

There are some exceptional persons that are free from guile and hypocrisy, but “uncongenial” for community life. For those it is possible to ascend to heaven starting immediately by living a solitary life, and without suffering from “the disturbances of community life” (Sophr. 26.b61; PG 88.1073, ll. 19-27).

“Man can cure the lustful, angels the guileful, but only God the proud” (Sophr. 26.b.62; PG 88.1073, ll. 27-29).⁴¹⁷ By discernment we know when we should stand against the passions and when we should retreat from battle in order to avoid death (Sophr. 26.b65; PG 88.1072, ll. 34-38). Do not be surprised when you feel more passionate when you live the monastic life than when you were still living in the world. This is caused by the evil beasts which are coming to the surface in order to leave you; it is a sign of an approaching healing (Sophr. 26.b67; PG 88.1072, ll. 45-50).

Sometimes the wind only touches the surface of the sea, but sometimes it causes vortices. Similarly, the advanced are only touched at the surface when disturbed by passions, but beginners are disturbed deep in their heart (Sophr. 26.b69; PG 88.1073, l. 54 - 1076, l. 2).

Klimax closes this part of step 26 by stating that it is “the privilege of the perfect” to distinguish thoughts that come from God from thoughts that come from a devil. This is not easy, because “demons do not at first suggest everything that is repugnant”. Whereas the eyes enlighten the body, discernment enlightens “the eyes of the heart” (Sophr. 26.b70; PG 88.1076, ll. 2-9).

Part 3: Brief summary of all the aforementioned

This summary opens quite systematically, mentioning steps 1 until 4 in a row. Typically, the virtues are described from the relation they have with other virtues, or with vices: “Faith is the mother of renunciation” (= step 1). “Hope is the door to detachment” (= step 2). “Love of God is the

⁴¹⁶ Cf. PG (88.1013, ll. 26-29). This passage is a clear example of the many thematic repetitions in step 26. One could wonder if these repetitions are made on purpose or are the result of a complex text transmission. The text of these two passages is not identical, which might be an argument to consider this passage as a genuine repetition.

⁴¹⁷ Compare with Klimax’ statement that some virtues you can learn from men, others from angels, and others only from God (PG 88.1023, ll. 20-24).

The second part of step 26 has a different title in Sophr. (1970: 137) and in PG 88.1056: Περὶ διακρίσεως εὐδιακρίτου. In the *pinax* at the end of **M** f. 320v, the title (of the entire step) reads: Περὶ τοῦ φωτὸς τῆς εὐδιακρίτου διακρίσεως. It seems thus that, compared to Sophr. (1970: 137) this title stresses the second part of step 26. In his *pinax*, Sophr. (1970: 185) gives a longer version as the title of the second, and also of the third part of step 26: Περὶ διακρίσεως εὐδιακρίτου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνακεφαλαίωσις. Clearly, the first part of this title refers to the second part of step 26, whereas the second part of this title refers to the third part of step 26. A similar title is found in the *pinax* of **N** f. 10r: Περὶ διακρίσεως εὐδιακρίτου λογισμῶν καὶ παθῶν καὶ ἀρετῶν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνακεφαλαίωσις. This title does not only incorporate a similar title of the second and the third part of step 26 as it appears in Sophr. (1970: 185), but also of the title of the first part of step 26 as it appears in Sophr. (1970: 124, 185) and in PG 88.1013 Gr. 26. In their editions, Sophr. (1970: 116) and PG 88.1084 also give a separate title of the third part of step 26: Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τῶν προειρημένων πάντων (Sophr.); Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τῶν προειρημένων λόγων αὐτοῦ (PG).

184-185: These two verses are clearly based on a passage from the first part of step 26 (PG 88.1017, ll. 22-24):

Poem 2, vv. 184-185	PG 88.1017, ll. 22-24
Οὗτος λόγος σοι πνευμάτων, ὄρος, νόμος, ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ σωμάτων πληρουμένων·	Οὗτος ὄρος, λόγος τε καὶ νόμος πνευμάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἐν σαρκὶ εὐσεβῶς τελειουμένων

The passage from the *Ladder* appears immediately before the second alphabet, which is meant for those who aim at perfection of body and soul, while living in the flesh. The poet adapted the passage from the *Ladder* in order to fit into the meter. There are, however, two ways of interpreting **λόγος**:

- 1) Οὗτος + λόγος = ὄρος, νόμος
- 2) Οὗτος = λόγος, ὄρος, νόμος

In the first option, **λόγος** refers to the content of vv. 186-189 and thus to a step of the *Ladder*. In this case, there should be no comma after **πνευμάτων** and the translation of the verse would run: *This step is for you a standard for souls, a law*. An argument in favour of this reading is that, at the beginning of the summary of a new step, it would not come as a surprise if the first two words refer to the step itself (*This step...*).

In the second option, **λόγος**, **ὄρος** and **νόμος** are used as a predicate to **Οὗτος**. There are two arguments in favour of this reading:

- 1) To move **λόγος** to the beginning of the verse was necessary for metrical reasons. When **ὄρος** would follow **λόγος**, as it does in the *Ladder*, then the

omicron of **Οὔτος** would, incorrectly, be light. However, one could say that also **νόμος**, which just as **λόγος** starts with a consonant, could fulfil this role.

2) It corresponds to the passage from the *Ladder*.

Although both readings make sense, I think that it is acceptable to adopt the second option, since vv. 184-185 are clearly based on the passage from the *Ladder*. Neither in **M** nor in **N** is there any punctuation that could reveal a preference for one of the two reading options.

Furthermore, it seems that the author's adaptations to the passage from the *Ladder* did not result in a fluent syntax. He separated **πνευμάτων** from **σωμάτων**, whereas in the *Ladder* these two words were clearly part of the same constituent, linked together by **καὶ**. **πληρουμένων** is a clear synonym of **τελειουμένων**. Moreover, the reading from the *Ladder* reappears in a *scholion* in **N**, written next to v. 185: **Ἦγουν τελειουμένων**. A red sign above **πληρουμένων** in **N** confirms that the *scholion* refers explicitly to that word.

νόμος, at first sight, seems to be an apposition to **ῥος**. If this is indeed the case, then **ῥος** and **νόμος** are joint, just as they are in the passage from the *Ladder*. Another option might be to attach more importance to the separation of **πνευμάτων** from **σωμάτων** by interpreting that **ῥος** governs **πνευμάτων**, whereas **νόμος** would govern the next verse. However, the Byzantine dodecasyllable usually does not only present a metrical unit but also an information unit. Moreover, the author (and in fact also Klimax himself) shows a preference for asyndeta as a stylistic feature.⁴¹⁹ Therefore, I think that the option of interpreting **νόμος** as an apposition to **ῥος** can be preferred.

Since this passage is clearly based on the passage from the *Ladder*, the poet probably had the intention to convey the same content. However, he did not succeed in making an elegant metrical paraphrase. There are no reasons to assume that the poet had the intention to adapt the meaning of the passage in the *Ladder*.

Yet another passage from step 26 might be relevant (PG 88.1033, ll. 6-10):

τύπος σοι καὶ κανῶν ἔστω οὔτος ἐν πάσαις σου ταῖς ἐγχειρήσεσι, καὶ πολιτείαις, ὑποτακτικαῖς τε καὶ ἀνυποτάκτοις, ὀρωμέναις τε καὶ νοουμέναις, εἰ κατὰ Θεὸν κυρίως καθεστήκασι.

In this passage, Klimax addresses his reader in a similar way as in v. 184 (**σοι**). Here, it is said that it should be a rule to always ask yourself: Do I act according to the will of God?

186-189: These four verses present the content of the law, the rule, announced in vv. 184-185. Each verse introduces an action which is part of the rule. Each action is

⁴¹⁹ See for example Poem 2, vv. 4, 17, 50, 52, 72, 91, 102, 112, 137.

mentioned as an infinitive: **ἀνακρίνειν** (v. 186 *non-judgment*), **ποιεῖν** (v. 187 *discernment*), **εὐρεῖν** and **μισεῖν** (v. 188 *hatred against evil*), **ἀποστρέφασθαι** (v. 189 *obedience*). These four verses advise actions which regularly appear throughout the *Ladder*. They don't seem to have a direct link with the second alphabet that follows in the *Ladder* after the paragraph which served as an inspiration for vv. 184-185.

186: In the manuscripts, there is a variant reading. Both **M** and **N^{ac}** have **μόνα**, whereas **N^{pc}** has **μόνους**. **μόνα** accords with **τὰ**; **μόνους** with **ἑαυτοῦς**. Syntactically, the reading of **M** seems preferable. Fortunately, regardless of the choice one makes between the variant readings, the meaning of this verse is clear: Do not judge anyone, except yourself. The theme of non-judgement does not specifically appear as a main topic in step 26. However, it does appear (PG 88.1024, ll. 8-11):

ἡ βλασφημία ἔστιν μὲν κυρίως κήμα ὑπερηφανίας· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κρῖναι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τὸν πλησίον, ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ φθόνου ἀκαίρου τῶν δαιμόνων.

In this passage from the first part of step 26, to judge others appears as a source of blasphemy.⁴²⁰ Near the end of the first part of step 26, non-judgement is mentioned together with humility as a cure for a kind of despair that comes from arrogance (PG 88.1033, ll. 1-2): τὸν δὲ ταπεινώσῃς, καὶ τὸ μηδένα κρίνειν ἰατρεύειν πεφύκασιν. In the *Ladder*, the topic of non-judgment appears with more emphasis in step 10. This does not come as a surprise since its theme is slander.⁴²¹ In a broader context, the theme of non-judgment is famously present in Mt. 7:2 and Lc. 6:3.

187: This verse deals specifically with discernment, the topic of step 26. The last two words of this verse (**εὐδιακρίτῳ κρίσει**) seem to be inspired by the title of the second part of this step as given in Sophr. (1970: 137) and in PG 88.1056: Περὶ διακρίσεως εὐδιακρίτου. A similar title appears also in Sophr. (1970: 185), **M** f. 320v and **N** f. 10r.

188: The structure of the first part of this verse is parallel to that of the previous verse. I think that 'to find evil', can be understood as finding the evil inside yourself. In step 25, self-knowledge was indeed described as the remembrance of one's sins (PG 88.997, ll. 8-19). After you found those evils, you should hate them with all your heart. To hate evils also appeared in v. 179 (**καὶ μισοθύμῳ καὶ μισοργιλοφθόνῳ**) and in step 4 of the *Ladder*, where it is demonstrated by the thief who repented (PG 88.681, ll. 43-44): Ὁ δὲ ὄντως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμαρτίαν μισήσας ἐκεῖνος.

⁴²⁰ Cf. also PG 88.848, ll. 46-67.

⁴²¹ Cf. PG 88.848, ll. 18-33.

189: This verse stresses the importance of obedience. Obedience is of course one of the main themes of the *Ladder* in general. The concept that you have to banish disobedience also appears in v. 52 of Poem 2 (**Μάρπτεις, διώκεις τὴν ἀνυποταξίαν**).

Step 27 of the Ladder: On holy stillness of body and soul

This step consists of two parts: 1) on stillness in general; 2) on “different aspects of stillness and how to distinguish them”.

We are like slaves to the passions, but there are others who are freed by the Spirit. Klimax, because he is weak, fears to start this step on stillness. It often happens that a dog wants to snatch “a piece of bread, that is, a soul” from the table “and devours it in solitude”. Klimax fears thus that some inexperienced souls would start practicing stillness (ἡσυχία) too early. They would suffer from it, instead of taking benefit from it (Sophr. 27.1; PG 88.1096 Gr. 27, l. 3 - 1097, l. 11).

Thereafter, a definition of stillness is given. There are two types of stillness: 1) “Stillness of the body is the knowledge and composure of the habits and feelings.”; 2) “Stillness of soul is the knowledge of (...) thoughts and an inviolable mind”. After this definition of the virtue, again a description of a person executing this virtue is given: “A friend of stillness” guards the door of his heart lest a bad thought enter. Someone who practices stillness (ἡσυχαστής) has “no need of words, since he is enlightened by deeds rather than by words” (Sophr. 27.2; PG 88.1097, ll. 11-20). The progress in stillness is divided into two stages: 1) “The beginning of stillness is to throw off all” disturbing noise; 2) “The end of it is not to fear disturbances but to remain insensible to them” (Sophr. 27.3; PG 88.1097, ll. 20-23). A hesychast tries “to confine his incorporeal being within his bodily house” (Sophr. 27.5; PG 88.1097, ll. 26-28). Just as a cat guards a mouse, so a hesychast guards his “spiritual mouse” (Sophr. 27.6; PG 88.1097, ll. 28-31).

A monk who lives together with another monk is often helped by his brother. A monk who lives alone is assisted by an angel (Sophr. 27.7; PG 88.1097, ll. 31-35).

“It is not safe to swim in one’s clothes, nor should a slave of passion touch theology” (Sophr. 27.9; PG 88.1097, ll. 37-40). “The cell of the hesychast is the confines of his body; he has within a shrine of knowledge” (Sophr. 27.10; PG 88.1097, ll. 40-41). When a man who suffers from passions tries to exercise stillness, he is like someone who jumps “from a ship into the sea and thinks that he will reach the shore safely on a plank” (Sophr. 27.11; PG 88.1097, ll. 41-45). A lazy hesychast is a demon to himself (Sophr. 27.12; PG 88.1097, ll. 45-49). “The hesychast is an earthly image of an angel who (...) has freed his prayer (= step 28) from sloth and negligence” (Sophr. 27.15; PG 88.1100, ll. 2-5).

Klimax advises us: “Shut the door of your cell to your body, the door of your tongue to speech, and the inner gate to evil spirits” (Sophr. 27.17; PG 88.1100, ll. 8-9). Those who learned “true prayer converse with the Lord face to face, as if speaking into the ear of the emperor” [hesychasts]. “Those who make vocal prayer fall down before Him as if in the presence of the whole senate” [cenobites]. “But those living in the world petition the emperor amidst the clamour of all crowds” (Sophr. 27.20; PG 88.1100, ll. 15-22).

“He who has attained to stillness has penetrated to the very depth of the mysteries.” But this is only possible because he experienced the disturbing waves. This is confirmed by Paul. “If he had not been caught up into Paradise, as into stillness, he could never have heard the unspeakable words” (Sophr. 27.23; PG 88.1100, ll. 35-40).⁴²² “A hesychast is one who flees all men, though without hatred” (Sophr. 27.25; PG 88.1100, ll. 44-46). In order to reach stillness, Klimax advises to give all our possessions away to poor monks, “because to sell would take a long time” (cf. Mt. 19:21, Mc. 10:21, Lc. 18:22), and to take up your cross (cf. Mt. 16:24, Mc. 8:34, Lc. 9:23), “and carry it with the help of obedience. (...) Immaterial spirits will not think about the material, nor will those who have become immaterial in a material body think about food” (Sophr. 27.26; PG 88.1100, l. 46 - 1101, l. 22).

Part two: Different aspects of stillness and how to distinguish them

Klimax opens this part by demonstrating that there are many different motivations to start practicing stillness. Some of them are good; some of them are wrong, e.g.: because you cannot control your tongue or temper, because you do not want to kill your own will, because you want to acquire glory for yourself. Some others are truly married to stillness, but they have to be cautious not to fall into despondency, because that would be like adultery (Sophr. 27.β1; PG 88.1105, l. 22).

Thereafter follows the famous passage in which Klimax says that he, as an unskilled architect, “constructed a ladder of ascent”. Klimax advises us to see on which step of the ladder we stand and to be self-conscious of which vice (e.g. talkativeness, hot temper or vainglory) we still suffer (Sophr. 27.β2; PG 88.1105, ll. 22-33).

At a first level, this reference to a ladder refers to the previous passage, where Klimax described different motivations for entering into hesychasm: from wanting to overcome talkativeness to those who are almost married to stillness. The vices that Klimax mentions in this passage are not accidentally the same as those already mentioned in the previous passage and seem thus to pertain specifically to stillness. At a second level, however, it is hard not to read this reference to a ladder as referring to the *Ladder* as a whole.⁴²³ Also because immediately after this reference to a ladder, Klimax cites the famous quotation from the Gospels: “The last shall be first, and the first last”.⁴²⁴ In some manuscripts, this quotation also appears next to the *pinax* represented as a ladder.⁴²⁵

⁴²² Cf. 2 Cor. 12:2-5. Klimax interprets that the person who was caught up into Paradise is Paul himself. In 2 Cor. 12:5 Paul, however, clearly mentions that this person is not himself, but someone else. It is commonly accepted that Paul made this distinction because of humility, in order not credit himself of his divine prophecy. Cf. Harris (2005: 846-847); Buttrick et al. (1953: 406).

⁴²³ Cf. note 17 in chapter 2.2 The Ladder Concept in Klimax.

⁴²⁴ Cf. Mt. 19:30, Mc. 10:31, Lc. 13:20.

⁴²⁵ For example Iveron 415 f. 193r, Mosq. Synod. gr. 229 f. 320v. See also the commentary on *Barocc. 141*, Poem 1, vv. 9-12 (see chapter 5.6.1).

This seems to suggest that, also in the Byzantine period, this passage from Klimax was interpreted as referring to the *Ladder* as a whole.

As long as despondency lives within you, you have to be watchful and you cannot reach complete stillness. Klimax again⁴²⁶ stresses his preference of the (semi-)eremitic lifestyle when he says that Sketis had more lights than the cenobitic monastery of Tabennisi⁴²⁷ (Sophr. 27.β3; PG 88.1105, ll. 33-46). Some cenobites suffer from indolence (ῥαθυμία), whereas other cenobites are cured from indolence by the assistance of their brothers. Some who are living as anachoretēs⁴²⁸ suffer from self-rule (ιδιορρυθμία), whereas others who live as anachoretēs control themselves by fear (Sophr. 27.β4; PG 88.1105, l. 47 - 1108, l. 8).

Thereafter, Klimax gives a list of symptoms of those who practice stillness correctly, for example: “purified thought, (..) death to the world, (...) foundation of theology”. Also some symptoms of a badly executed stillness are given, e.g.: “increase of anger, (...) diminution of love, growth of vanity” (Sophr. 27.β6; PG 88.1108, ll. 13-25).

Klimax announces that he will “consider the case of those living in obedience; all the more so because this chapter is especially meant for them”. Thereupon, he gives some symptoms of those living in obedience: “an increase of elementary humility, a lessening of bad temper, (...) banishment of pride” (Sophr. 27.β7; PG 88.1108, ll. 25-42). After this list of virtuous actions, a list of sinful actions is given, e.g.: “disobedience, contradiction, attachment” (Sophr. 27.β8; PG 88.1108, l. 43 - 1109, l. 2).

“Out of the eight evil spirits, five assail those practising stillness, and three those living in obedience” (Sophr. 27.β9; PG 88.1109, ll. 2-7).⁴²⁹

Once, Klimax himself became slack when he was sitting in his cell. Suddenly, some people started to praise him from outside, and at once he fell to vainglory (Sophr. 27.β10; PG 88.1109, ll. 7-13).

The first task of stillness is to be unconcerned from affairs, because both reasonable and unreasonable affairs distract us. “The second task (...) is earnest prayer (= step 28). “The third is inviolable activity of the heart.” The order of these tasks is meaningful. Similarly you should first learn the alphabet before you can start reading (Sophr. 27.β12; PG 88.1109, ll. 17-24).

“It is difficult to overcome the midday nap, especially in the summer time; then, and perhaps only then, is manual work permissible” (Sophr. 27.β14; PG 88.1109, ll. 36-39). The demon of lust follows after the demon of despondency. The more you try to resist a demon, the harder he will attack you, but this is a forerunner of your victory (Sophr. 27.β15; PG 88.1109, ll. 39-47). Just as

⁴²⁶ Cf. PG 88.641, l. 39 – 644, l. 3.

⁴²⁷ Cf. Moore (2012⁴: 226 n. 7); Luibheid et al. (1982: 265 n. 119). See also commentary on Poem 1, vv. 29-37.

⁴²⁸ Klimax does not use the word ‘anachoretēs’, but refers to them by descriptions including the word ἡσυχία.

⁴²⁹ The five are “pride, vainglory, sloth, despondency, and covetousness”; the three: “gluttony, anger, lust” (Moore 2012⁴: 227 n. 12-13). Cf. Sophr. (1970: 154 n. 2); PG (88.1120, scholion 14); Luibheid et al. (1982: 229 n. 94, 267 n. 122).

“a small hair disturbs the eye”, so “a small care ruins stillness” (Sophr. 27.β17; PG 88.1109, l. 50 - 1112, l. 2). “He who has not yet known God is unfit for stillness” (Sophr. 27.β20; PG 88.1112, ll. 8-15).

Klimax mentions that he was instructed by George Arsilaite, who taught him that in the morning you should be especially attentive for the demon of vainglory, around noon for the one of despondency, and in the evening for the one of gluttony (Sophr. 27.β22; PG 88.1112, ll. 18-29).

“It is better to live in poverty” as an obedient man, “than to be a hesychast who has no control of his mind” (Sophr. 27.β23; PG 88.1112, ll. 29-33). “Stillness is unceasing worship and waiting upon God” (Sophr. 27.β25; PG 88.1112, ll. 33-34). “For the monk under obedience self-will is the fall, but for the solitary it is a breach in prayer” (Sophr. 27.β27; PG 88.1112, ll. 47-49).

There are two kinds of people that visit hesychasts. There are tourists who are a hindrance and whom it is permissible to offend; and others sincerely thirst for water from the well (Sophr. 27.β30; PG 88.1112, l. 45 - 113, l. 5).

Thereafter follows a paragraph on faith (πίστις). It is defined as “the wing of prayer; without it, my prayer will return again to my bosom”. It is “the unshaken firmness of the soul”. According to Klimax’ habit, also a description of the practitioner of this virtue follows: “A believer is not one who thinks that God can do everything, but one who believes that he will obtain all things. (...) The mother of faith is hardship and an honest heart. (...) Faith is the mother of hesychasts” (Sophr. 27.β33-34; PG 88.1113, ll. 16-25).

Thereafter, Klimax stresses the importance of fear. Just as a prisoner fears the executioner, so a “hermit in his cell” fears the Lord (Sophr. 27.β35; PG 88.1113, ll. 26-31).

In the next part, Klimax expands on patience (ὕπομονή). It is defined as “an unbroken labour of the soul which is never shaken by deserved or undeserved blows”. “The patient man is a faultless worker”, who “has died long before he is placed in the tomb, having made his cell his tomb (Sophr. 27.β37-39; PG 88.1113, ll. 36-43).

Just as someone who wants to build a tower will make a plan and gather his building materials, similarly someone who wants to practise stillness should lay a firm foundation (Sophr. 27.β45; PG 88.1116, ll. 28-33).

“Devote the greater part of the night to prayer and only what is left to recital of the Psalter. (...) Reading enlightens the mind”. But you should not merely read, but also translate your reading into actions (Sophr. 27.β47; PG 88.1116, ll. 35-43). “Seek to be enlightened by the words of salvation through your labours, and not merely from books. Until you receive spiritual power do not study works of an allegorical nature (ἀλλοτριονόους λόγους) because they are dark words, and they darken the weak” (Sophr. 27.β48; PG 88.1116, ll. 44-47).

Near the end of the step, Klimax gives various advices to those who wish to practice stillness. The very last one of them runs: “The power of a king consists in his wealth and the number of his subjects; the power of a hesychast in abundance and richness of prayer” (= step 28) (Sophr. 27.β56; PG 88.1117, ll. 15-20).

190-195, step 27:

Ἐπιστρέφεισθαι τῆς λόγων ἡσυχίας,
κλείειν θύραν φθέγγματος ἢ γλώττης ὄλης,
ἔνδον πύλην πνεύματος ἢ ψυχῆς ὄλης·
αὕτη γὰρ ἡσυχία, ταῦτα κυρίως·
δι' ἧς ὁ Παῦλος εἰς πόλεις διατρίβων
ἄτριπτον, ἀβάδιστον ἔτριψε τρίβον.

κζ περὶ ἡσυχίας ψυχῆς

περὶ ἡσυχίας ψυχῆς (title): This title is the one of **N**. In **M**, the title runs: περὶ ἡσυχίας. It is not easy to decide which one of these two titles is original. However, the title of **N** was adopted in the edition, because, as I will argue later on, the summary of step 27 indeed stresses stillness of soul (see commentary on vv. 191-192).

In Sophr. (1970: 149, 185), in PG 88.1096 Gr. 27 and in **N** f. 10r the title runs: Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς ἡσυχίας.⁴³⁰ Compared to these titles, the title of the summary of step 27 in Poem 2 only mentions stillness of soul. The subdivision between stillness of the body and the stillness of soul goes back to the definition of stillness in the *Ladder* itself (PG 88.1097, ll. 11-13):⁴³¹

Ἡσυχία μὲν σώματός ἐστιν ἡθῶν καὶ αἰσθήσεων ἐπιστήμη καὶ κατάστασις ἡσυχία δὲ ψυχῆς, λογισμῶν ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἀσύλητος ἔννοια.

In the *pinax* at the beginning of PG 88.629, a longer title is given, which refers also to the second part of step 27: Περὶ ἡσυχίας, καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως· ἐν ἧ ἢ περὶ τηρήσεως νοῦ,⁴³² ἐν ἧ ἢ περὶ διαφόρων ἡσυχίας τρόπων. In **M** f. 3r an even longer variant appears: Περὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως.⁴³³ ἐν ἧ ἢ περὶ τηρήσεως νοῦ· ἐν ἧ ἢ περὶ διαφόρων ἡσυχίας τρόπων· ἐν ἧ ἢ περὶ ὑπομονῆς.⁴³⁴ In this title, not only the second part is mentioned, but also the passage on patience (PG 88.1113, ll. 36-43) is referred to as a separate part.

⁴³⁰ In **N**, the punctuation is slightly different: Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς, ἡσυχίας.

⁴³¹ The subdivision between stillness of the body and of the soul is also stressed in the summary of the corresponding step by M. Philes. Step 29 runs (ed. Miller 1855: 387): Ἡσυχίας, βέλτιστε, διττῆς ἀντέχου / Τῷ δημιουργῷ προσλαλῶν μόνος μόνῳ· / Καὶ σώματος δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς φροντιστέον, / Ἐπεὶπερ ἀμφοῖν συντεθεὶς ἀνεκράθης.

⁴³² The expression τήρησις νοός itself appears only once in the *Ladder*; in step 26 (PG 88.1029, ll. 19-22): Ἄλλο φυλακὴ λογισμῶν, καὶ ἕτερον νοὸς τήρησις, καθόσον ἀπέχουσιν ἀνατολαὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ὑψηλοτέρα τῆς προτέρας ἢ δευτέρα, εἰ καὶ μοχθηροτέρα ὑπάρχοι. As a theme, it appears frequently in step 27, for example (PG 88.1097, ll. 28-29): τηρεῖ μὲν μῦν ἢ τούτου θηρεύτρια· μῦν δὲ νοητὸν, ἡσυχαστοῦ ἔννοια.

⁴³³ This title indicates again that for Klimax a hesychast is an anachorete. Cf. Zecher (2013: 127 n. 71).

⁴³⁴ The same title, though with an omission of περὶ before τηρήσεως νοῦ, is found in the 11th-c. *pinax* in **L** f. 17r.

Again, unsurprisingly, the *pinax* at the end of **M** f. 320v gives an entirely different title: *Περὶ τοῦ ἀμερίμνου οὐρανοῦ τῆς ἡσυχίας*.

190: Regarding syntax, the infinitive **Ἐπιστρέφειν** stands on the same level as the infinitives mentioned in the summary of step 26 (**ἀνακρίνειν** v. 186, **ποιεῖν** v. 187, **εὐρεῖν** v. 188, **ἀποστρέφειν** v. 189). It continues the construction and is part of the same phrase. Stylistically, **Ἐπιστρέφειν** clearly contrasts the infinitive of the previous verse. A similar contrast is found in Poem 3, vv. 2-5:

ἀφ' ἧς ἀποτρέχουσιν οἱ ψυχοκτόνοι,
 ἐφ' ἧν ἐπιτρέχουσιν οἱ σαρκοκτόνοι,
 ἀφ' ἧς καταβαίνουσιν οἱ νοοκτόνοι,
 ἐφ' ἧν ἀναβαίνουσιν οἱ παθοκτόνοι.

The transition between the summary of step 26 and 27 is thus very smooth. However, by the word **ἡσυχίας**, the topic of step 27 is clearly announced. **τῆς λόγων ἡσυχίας** refers specifically to being silent as an important part of stillness. Near the beginning of step 27, this theme appears several times (PG 88.1097, ll. 18-26):

Ἡσυχαστῆς γνωστικός οὐ δεηθήσεται λόγων· τοὺς γὰρ λόγους τῶν ἔργων φωτίζεται. Ἀρχὴ μὲν ἡσυχίας τὸ ἀποσεῖσθαι κτύπους, ὡς τὸν βυθὸν ταράσσοντας· τέλος δὲ ταύτης, τὸ μὴ δεδιέναι θορύβους· ἀλλ' ἀναισθητεῖν ἐν τούτοις. Προερχόμενος, ὁ λόγῳ οὐ προερχόμενος, ἡπιος, ἀγάπης ὄλος οἶκος· δυσκίνητος πρὸς λόγον, ἀκίνητος πρὸς θυμὸν πέφυκεν εἶναι. Τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον πρόδηλον.

In **N**, there is a *scholion* next to v. 190: **Γράφεται χειλέων**. Also this note, just as the passage from the *Ladder* quoted above, explains *stillness of words* as silence of the lips, and thus in fact as bodily silence.

191-192: **κλείειν** still continues the sequence of infinitives that started in the summary of step 26. Verses 191-192 have a parallel structure. However, v. 192 has an ellipsis of **κλείειν**. As a whole, they are based on a specific passage from step 27:

Poem 2, vv. 191-192	PG 88.1100, ll. 8-9
κλείειν θύραν φθέγματος ἢ γλώττης ὅλης, ἔνδον πύλην πνεύματος ἢ ψυχῆς ὅλης·	Κλεῖε μὲν θύραν κέλλης σώματι· καὶ θύραν γλώσσης φθέγμασι, καὶ ἔνδον πύλην πνεύμασι.

The omission of **σῶμα** in the summary of step 27 in Poem 2 corresponds to its title, where only **ψυχῆς** – and not **σώματος** – appeared. Also syntactically, there is a difference between the passage from Poem 2 and the one from the *Ladder*. In the *Ladder*, Klimax advises us to shut the door of our tongue to speech. In Poem 2, the datives become genitives as well. Moreover, they are presented as alternative (**ἢ**)

generalisations (ὄλης). Both φθέγγματος and γλώττης are taken from the passage from the *Ladder*. ψυχῆς, as the companion of πνεύματος, is a logical addition.

193: This verse recaptures the previous verses. αὕτη refers to τῆς λόγων ἡσυχίας (v. 190), which is equated with ταῦτα, which serves as a predicate, and refers to vv. 191-192. The stillness of words is thus specifically – and quite logically – to lock your mouth.

194-195: Maybe contrary to our expectations, v. 194 has δι' ἧς, referring to αὕτη γὰρ ἡσυχία, instead of δι' ὧν, which could refer to ταῦτα instead. Again, these two verses are clearly inspired by a passage from step 27 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.1100, ll. 35-40):

Ὁ ἡσυχίαν καταλαβὼν ἔγνω βυθὸν μυστηρίων, οὐ κατελήλυθε δὲ ἐν τούτῳ εἰ μὴ πρῶην τοὺς τῶν κυμάτων θορύβους καὶ πνευμάτων ἀνέμους, καὶ εἶδε καὶ ἤκουσεν ἴσως καὶ ἐρῶραντίσθη. Κυροῖ τὸ εἰρημένον Παῦλος· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐν παραδείσῳ ὡς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἠρπάγη, οὐκ ἂν ἄρῶρητα ῥήματα ἀκοῦσαι ἠδύνατο.

This passage refers back to 2 Cor. 12:2-5:

οἶδα ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων, εἴτε ἐν σώματι οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα, ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν, ἀρπαγέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ. 3 καὶ οἶδα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον, εἴτε ἐν σώματι εἴτε χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα, ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν, 4 ὅτι ἠρπάγη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον καὶ ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα ῥήματα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι. 5 ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιούτου καυχῆσομαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἑμαυτοῦ οὐ καυχῆσομαι εἰ μὴ ἐν ταῖς ἀσθενείαις.

There are two observations to make: 1) The passage from 2 Cor. 12:2-5 *in se* does not refer to stillness. 2) In 2. Cor. 12:2-5, Paul explicitly mentions that he is not the one who was caught up into Paradise. However, it is commonly accepted that Paul made this distinction because of humility, in order not credit himself of his divine prophecy.⁴³⁵ Also Klimax must have read this passage that way. It was because of stillness that Paul was able to reach the mysteries, although it is unclear whether he was still living in the body or not. In Poem 2 – one has to admit – Paul is not explicitly mentioned in relation to his mystical vision. Here, he appears as the revealer, as the teacher, who went from city to city in order to convert the pagans. That is what the *untraveled, untrodden road* means.

Stylistically, v. 195 opens with an asyndetic alliteration (ἄτριπτον, ἀβάδιστον), followed by two words from the same root (ἔτριψε τρίβον). τρίβον at the end of the verse is a *homoioteleuton* to the similar sounding διατρίβων (v. 194).

⁴³⁵ Harris (2005: 846-847); Buttrick et al. (1953: 406).

Step 28: On holy and blessed prayer, the mother of virtues, and on the attitude of mind and body in prayer

The step opens by defining prayer as “the converse and union of man with God. (...) It is the mother and also the daughter of tears, (...) a wall against afflictions, (...) enlightenment of the mind.” True prayer is as a courthouse (Sophr. 28.1; PG 88.1129 Gr. 28, ll. 5-20). Klimax stresses the importance of preparing yourself before prayer. When you pray, “the garment of your soul” should “be woven through with the thread of obliviousness to wrongs. Otherwise, prayer will bring you no benefit.” Moreover, your prayer should be simple (Sophr. 28.3-4; PG 88.1129 Gr. 28, ll. 28-41).

In the next part, Klimax mentions different kinds of prayer. Some pray for themselves, for receiving glory or for obtaining a rank. Others pray for others. Some pray for the deliverance of sins. (Sophr. 28.5; PG 88.1129, l. 41 - 1132, l. 1).

On the first line of the scroll of your prayer, thankfulness should be written; on the second “confession and heartfelt contrition of soul”. Only thereafter you can write your own petition to the Lord (Sophr. 28.6; PG 88.1132, ll. 1-7). When you pray, you should pray as if you stand before a judge as an accused. However, if you do not have any experience with such a situation, you should think of “the way the sick implore the surgeons when they are about to be operated on” (Sophr. 28.7; PG 88.1132, ll. 7-13).

Your prayer should be simple, concentrated and humble (Sophr. 28.8-11; PG 88.1132, ll. 13-27). Even if you have ascended the whole ladder of virtues, you should still pray for the forgiveness of your sins (Sophr. 28.12; PG 88.1132, ll. 27-30). Just as salt and oil spice food, similarly “tears and chastity give wings to prayer” (Sophr. 28.13; PG 88.1132, ll. 30-32). “Until we have acquired genuine prayer, we are like people teaching children to begin to walk” (Sophr. 28.15; PG 88.1132, ll. 34-37).

Thereafter, the progress in prayer is described in three stages: 1) to banish evil thoughts by one word, 2) concentration, 3) rapture in the Lord (Sophr. 28.20; PG 88.1132, ll. 50-53).

Prayer in community leads to a different kind of joy than prayer in solitude (καθ’ ἡσυχίαν). The first kind of joy is “perhaps somewhat elated”, but the latter is full of humility (Sophr. 28.21; PG 88.1132, l. 54 - 1133, l. 3).

Prayer can be defiled by distracting thoughts, it can be lost by concerns, it can be robbed by wandering thoughts (Sophr. 28.24; PG 88.1133, l. 19). “Prayer is nothing other than estrangement from the world, visible and invisible (Sophr. 28.28; PG 88.1133, ll. 33-43). “Faith gives wings to prayer, without it we cannot fly up to heaven” (Sophr. 28.29; PG 88.1133, ll. 43-45).⁴³⁶

God answers the prayers of the grateful quicker than the prayers of the ungrateful, in order to humble them (Sophr. 28.32; PG 88.1133, l. 52 - 1136, l. 3). Do not think that your prayer was a waste of time when it is not heard, because you have been in unity with God (Sophr. 28.33; PG 88.1136, ll. 4-7).

If you sing a Psalm together with others, you will be distracted. If you sing alone, you will be focused. Klimax repeats again that despondency is the greatest threat to a solitary life, and that

⁴³⁶ Cf. PG (88.1132, ll. 30-32).

περὶ προσευχῆς (title): This short and straightforward title corresponds to the topic of this step as it appears in the *Ladder*. In the *pinax* in Sophr. (1970: 185) and in **N** f. 10r Gr. 28 the title runs: Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ μητρὸς τῶν ἀρετῶν προσευχῆς. In Sophr. (1970: 159) and in PG 88.1129 Gr. 28 the title runs: Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ μητρὸς τῶν ἀρετῶν⁴⁴⁰ τῆς μακαρίας προσευχῆς· καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ νοερᾶς καὶ αἰσθητῆς παραστάσεως.⁴⁴¹ In **M** f. 3r, another title appears: Περὶ προσευχῆς αὐλοῦ. A variant of this title appears in the *pinax* at the end of **M** f. 320v: Περὶ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς, καὶ αὐλοῦ προσευχῆς. A longer variant appears in PG 88.629: Περὶ προσευχῆς αὐλοῦ, ἐν ᾗ περὶ ὑπομονῆς. The last part of this title does not seem to fit. The word ὑπομονή is absent in step 28, and ἐν ᾗ περὶ ὑπομονῆς does appear as part of the title of step 27 as it appears in **M** f. 3r, where it indeed corresponds to a passage from step 27 (PG 88.1113, ll. 36-43). However, patience is not entirely absent in step 28. When it is said that God answers the prayers of the grateful quicker than those of the ungrateful, patience is implied as a virtue (PG 88.1133, l. 52 - 1136, l. 3).

196: Ὡν seems to resume ἦς (v. 194), which is ἡσυχία (v. 193). In this way, the connection between the steps is stressed again. Another option would be to take **προσευχῆς** from the title as the antecedent of Ὡν. The summary of step 28 in Poem 2 has indeed several references to prayer. However, I think this option is less likely.

196-199: At a first level, **τριὰς** refers to a group of three elements. Together with **δυὰς**, it explains vv. 197-199. A triad (3) and a duo (2) is said to be responsible for the establishment of the stillness by which Paul travelled from city to city in vv. 194-195. A simple mathematical sum, $3 + 2 = 5$, is the clue to this passage. Verses 197-199 have 5 appositions to **τριὰς** and **δυὰς**. Verses 197-198 present three elements (**στάσις**, **στεναγμὸς** and **λόγος**), whereas v. 199 has the remaining two (**φυλακὴ** and **συνοχή**). As I will explain later on, these appositions are based on the *Ladder* and clearly refer to prayer.

It is somehow strange that **συνιστάνει** appears as a singular form whereas it has **τριὰς** and **δυὰς** as its subjects. Maybe this can be explained when **ἀπλή** also pertains to **δυὰς**. Moreover, it is implied that both the dyad and the triad are a unity. If they are combined, they still remain one.

Besides, Trinitarian theology seems also to be hinted at in this passage. **τριὰς** of course also refers to the Trinity. **δυὰς** refers to the two natures of Christ.⁴⁴² Stylistically,

⁴⁴⁰ The description of prayer as the mother of virtues might be inspired by a passage from the *Ladder* (PG 88.1129, Gr. 28 ll. 20-22): ἀναστάντες ἀκούσωμεν, τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης βασιλείσης τῶν ἀρετῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑψηλῆ τῆ φωνῆ βοώσης καὶ λεγούσης.

⁴⁴¹ The title given above is the one from Sophr. (1970: 159). The one from PG is exactly the same, except for one detail: there is a comma after νοερᾶς.

⁴⁴² Also in the Orthodox making of the sign of the cross, the Trinity and the two natures of Christ are symbolised. The thumb, the forefinger and the middle finger stand for the Trinity and are placed together on

the number one, two and three are present in this verse. Also in the *Ladder*, the paradox of the Trinity appears at the end of step 27 (PG 88.1117, l. 7 - 1129, l. 15):

Ὡσπερ ἐναντιοῦται τῷ λόγῳ τῶν δογμάτων τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἀκτίστου, καὶ προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς αὐτῆς πανυμνήτου μονάδος [Τριάδος]: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖ πληθυντικά, ἐν τούτῳ ὑπάρχουσι ἐνικά: τὰ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐνικά, ἐνταῦθά εἰσι πληθυντικά: οὕτως ἕτερα τὰ τῆ ἡσυχία, καὶ ἄλλα τὰ τῆ ὑπακοῆ πρέποντα ἐπιτηδεύματα.

Here, it is said that the Trinity contrasts with the incarnation of Christ. Whereas the Trinity has one nature, but three persons, Christ has one person, but two natures.⁴⁴³

However, **δυὰς**, in this context, can also be inspired by a phrase from step 28 (PG 88.1137, ll. 8-10):

Φασὶ μὲν τινες κρεῖττον εἶναι προσευχὴν μνήμης ἐξόδου· ἐγὼ δὲ μιᾶς ὑποστάσεως δύο οὐσίας ὑμῶν.

This phrase, in its turn, is reminiscent of a passage in step 25 (PG 88.992, l. 55 – 993, l. 3):

Ἡ μὲν μετάνοια ἀνιστᾷ· τὸ δὲ πένθος εἰς οὐρανὸς κρούει· ἡ δὲ ὁσία ταπεινῶς ἀνοίγει. Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω, καὶ προσκυνῶ Τριάδα ἐν μονάδι, καὶ μονάδα ἐν Τριάδι.

A possible answer to the question why the Trinity and the duality of Christ appear in this step on prayer is to be found in the opening lines of this step (PG 88.1129, ll. 5-8):

Προσευχὴ ἐστὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν αὐτῆς ποιότητα συνουσία καὶ ἔνωσις ἀνθρώπου καὶ Θεοῦ· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, κόσμου σύστασις· Θεοῦ καταλλαγὴ.

When you are standing on step 28, then step 30 is almost within reach. Hence, prayer is the union of man with God. This union is also implied when the actions that follow in vv. 197-199, pertaining to prayer, are equated with a trinity (~ the Trinity) and a dyad (~ the two natures of Christ) in us.⁴⁴⁴

the forehead, whereas the little finger and the ring finger, standing for the two natures of Christ, are turned against the ball of the hand.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Moore (2012⁴: 233 n. 23); Luibheid et al. (1982: 273 n. 130).

⁴⁴⁴ Also the Spirit is said to intercede for us, while being in us (PG 88.1136, ll. 49-52). See also commentary on v. 198.

197-199: The five appositions to **τριας** and **δυὰς** (v. 196) are based on the vocabulary of the *Ladder*.

στάσις ἀκλινής: As already mentioned, **στάσις**, and its synonym **παράστασις**, are used in the *Ladder* referring to ‘standing in prayer’.⁴⁴⁵ It is not only used for humans who stand in prayer all night long, but also for the angels who stand at the right side of God (PG 88.1109, l. 30).

σώματος κατακρίτου points to the fact that you should consider yourself as someone who stands trial before God as before a judge. This theme appears frequently in the *Ladder* and is also present in step 28 (PG 88.1132, ll. 7-9):

Εἰ μὲν ὑπεύθυνος γέγονάς ποτε ὀρατῶ δικαστῆι, οὐ δεηθήσῃ ἑτέρου τύπου ἐν τῇ παραστάσει τῆς προσευχῆς σου.

The same theme reappears later on in step 28 (PG 88.1136, ll. 8-10):

Οὐχ οὕτως **κατάκριτος** δέδοικε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τιμωρίας τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ὡς ὁ προσευχῆς ἐπιμελούμενος τὴν ταύτης παραστάσιν.

στεναγμὸς ἀλάλητος is taken from step 28 (PG 88.1136, ll. 49-52):

Ὁ κύριον κτησάμενος, οὐκ ἔτι ἑαυτοῦ ἐν προσευχῇ τὸν μῦθον ὑφηγήσεται· τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τότε ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑαυτῷ στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις.

It is said that when you possess the Lord, you will not pray bodily anymore, but the Spirit, inside of you, will make an intercession for you with groans that cannot be uttered. This passage from the *Ladder* is based on Rom. 8:26:

Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συναντιλαμβάνεται τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ ἡμῶν· τὸ γὰρ τί προσευξώμεθα καθὸ δεῖ οὐκ οἶδαμεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις.

This assistance by the Spirit is again a sign of the unity of man with God as it appears in the definition of prayer in the opening of step 28 quoted above (PG 88.1129, ll. 5-8).

⁴⁴⁵ See commentary on Poem 2, vv. 138-139. Cf. PG 88.656, ll. 55-56; 892, ll. 30-31; 940 Gr. 20, ll. 11-22; 941 Gr. 20, ll. 8-10. See also PGL s.v. *παραστάσις*.

εἷς βραχὺς: In step 28, it is mentioned frequently that your prayer should be simple, short and not intellectual. The following passage is a close parallel (PG 88.1132, ll. 13-21):⁴⁴⁶

Μὴ σοφίζου ἐν εὐχῆς σου ῥήμασι· παίδων γὰρ πολλάκις ἀπλᾶ ψελλίσματα καὶ ἀποίκιλα τὸν Πατέρα αὐτῶν, τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἐθεράπευσαν. Μὴ πολυλογεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ζήτησιν λόγων διασκεδασθῇ ὁ νοῦς. Εἷς λόγος τελωνικὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐξιλεώσατο· καὶ ἐν ῥῆμα πιστὸν τὸν ληστήν διέσωσε. Πολυλογία μὲν πολλάκις ἐν προσευχῇ τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ἐφάντασε καὶ διέχυσε. Μονολογία δὲ πολλάκις τὸν νοῦν συνάγειν πέφυκε.

λόγος τελωνικὸς refers to the short prayer of the tax collector in Lc. 18:13: ὁ θεός, ἰλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. In *Luke*, this prayer is shown as an example of a good prayer, opposed to the bad example of the Pharisee.⁴⁴⁷

The single word that saved the thief (ληστήν) refers to the short prayer by one of the thieves who is crucified together with Christ (Lc. 23:42): Ἰησοῦ, μνήσθητί μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου. This prayer is immediately answered by Christ: ἀμὴν σοι λέγω, σήμερον μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ (Lc. 23:43). Just as the prayer of the tax collector is contrasted with the prayer of the Pharisee, the prayer of the thief contrasts with the slander of the other thief (Lc. 23:39).

199: This verse presents the dyad. The chiasmic construction stresses the unity of the two elements (φυλακή and συνοχή). νοὸς φυλακή appears on several occasions in the *Ladder*. Near the opening of step 6, it appears as a positive consequence of the remembrance of death (PG 88.793 Gr. 6, l. 17). In step 14, gluttony is equated with a list of positive actions. In this list, νοὸς φυλακή appears close to pure prayer (PG 88.869, ll. 14-16):

ἐννοιῶν ἐκκοπή, ἐνυπνιασμῶν ἐλευθερία, προσευχῆς καθαρότης· ψυχῆς φωστήρ,
νοὸς φυλακή· πωρώσεως λῦσις, κατανύξεως θύρα, στεναγμὸς ταπεινὸς

In step 28, the collocation does not explicitly appear. However, it is said that a sweet feeling or a sense of compunction while praying is a sign of our guardian angel praying with us (PG 88.1132, ll. 22-24):

⁴⁴⁶ See also PG 88.1132, ll. 50-51 Gr. 28: Ἀρχὴ μὲν προσευχῆς προσβολαὶ μονολογίᾳ τῶς διωκόμεναι ἐκ προοιμίῳ αὐτῶν.

⁴⁴⁷ One might also think of this prayer as related to the word “Holy Humility” that was inscribed on a heavenly tablet mentioned in step 25 (PG 88.988 Gr. 25, ll. 18-25).

καθηδυνόμενος, ἢ κατανυσσόμενος ἐν λόγῳ προσευχῆς, μένε ἐν αὐτῷ· ὁ γὰρ φύλαξ ἡμῶν τό τε ὑπάρχει ὁ συμπροσευχόμενος ἡμῖν.

199 συνοχή τε καρδίας: PGL translates **συναγωγή** as *a being held together or a union, a whole*. LSJ gives also a metaphorical meaning: *distress, affliction*. In step 5, the word is used in this last sense (PG 88.765, ll. 30-32):

Οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς ὠλόλυζον, τὴν συναγωγὴν τῆς καρδίας φέρειν μὴ ἰσχύοντες.

In this passage, some people are said to burst out into howling, because they cannot bear the *anguish of the heart*. The expression also appears in 2 Cor. 2:4:

ἐκ γὰρ πολλῆς θλίψεως καὶ συναγωγῆς καρδίας ἔγραψα ὑμῖν διὰ πολλῶν δακρύων, οὐχ ἵνα λυπηθῆτε ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀγάπην ἵνα γνῶτε ἣν ἔχω περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς.

Here, Paul's *anguish of heart* does not lead to sadness, but rather to love. One might interpret that the persons mentioned in the phrase from step 5, are not able to translate Paul's anguish into love and indeed suffer from grief. Anyhow, the phrase from step 5 is part of a description of the different ways of prayer, applied by the convicts of the Prison. Some are said to stand all night, others to struck the floor with their heads, others to have become completely insensible. At least some (if not all) of these kinds of prayer belong to the category of bodily prayer. In step 15, Klimax describes what he means by bodily prayer (PG 88.900, ll. 31-35):

Συνέρχεται τοῖς μήπω κεκτημένοις προσευχὴν καρδίας ἀληθῆ ὁ ἐν τῇ σωματικῇ εὐχῇ σκυλμός, λέγω δὴ, ἔκτασις χειρῶν, στήθους τύψις, εἰς οὐρανούς εἰλικρινῆς ἀνάβλεψις, στεναγμῶν θόρυβος, γονάτων συνεχῆς κλίσις.

In the early step 5, and in the middle step 15, bodily prayer is still acceptable for those who have not yet been able to reach true prayer. In the advanced step 28, I think, it is meant that the ascender should leave bodily prayer and (at least try to) switch to spiritual prayer. This is also the meaning of the next two verses, vv. **200-201**:

Ταύτην γὰρ οἶδα πνεύματος κραυγὴν μόνην,
οὐ τὴν διὰ στόματος, οὐ τῶν χειλέων.

200: πνεύματος κραυγὴν refers again to **στεναγμὸς ἀλάλητος** (v. 198), to the Spirit's intercession in Rom. 8:26 and to its mention in step 28 (PG 88.1136, ll. 49-52). Again, excellent prayer is described as silence.

Besides, vv. 200-201 are possibly inspired by a passage from the step 28 (PG 88.1133, ll. 6-9):

ὁ μὲν μέγας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ τελείας προσευχῆς ἐργάτης φησί· Θέλω εἰπεῖν πέντε λόγους τῷ νοί μου, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Νηπιωδεστέρων δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀλλότριον.

This passage includes a quotation of 1 Cor. 14:19. Klimax does not quote it entirely, because it is such a famous passage:

ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοί μου λαλῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους κατηχήσω, ἢ μυρίους λόγους ἐν γλώσση.

Just before this phrase, Paul says that he thanks the Lord that he can speak with tongues to the crowd. In the church, in the select Christian community, he rather does not use the tongue, but the mind as a means of communication. This seems to refer to the usage of two kinds of communication: one that is fit for the outside world and one for the in-crowd of initiated Christians. Klimax, however, adapts the original context of this passage in order to fit it in his discussion of prayer. Similarly, in vv. 200-201, perfect prayer is described as unexpressed, spiritual prayer.

Step 29: Concerning Heaven on earth, or Godlike dispassion and perfection, and the resurrection of the soul before the general resurrection

Near the beginning of this step, dispassion (ἀπάθεια) is compared to the firmament. Just as the latter has the stars as its ornaments, so the first has virtues. Klimax defines dispassion as: “the Heaven of the mind within the heart, which regards the wiles of the demons as mere pranks” (Sophr. 29.1; PG 88.1148 Gr. 29, ll. 5-13). A dispassionate man is he “who has made his flesh incorruptible, who has raised his mind above” everything created “and has subdued all his senses to it, and who keeps his soul before the face of God”. Klimax gives two alternative visions on dispassion, without mentioning his sources: 1) it “is the resurrection of the soul before the body”, 2) “it is perfect knowledge of God, second only to that of the angels” (Sophr. 29.2; PG 88.1148 Gr. 29, ll. 13-21).

In the next paragraph, Klimax paradoxically states that dispassion is imperfect perfection. Someone who is dispassionate is “rapt as though in Heaven and is raised to divine vision”. The word ‘as’ (ὡς) is extremely important here. The dispassionate, while living in the body, does not yet reach Heaven proper. Dispassion is a prelude, a proem to it. Some persons display dispassion at a higher level than others. To hate the evils is one kind of dispassion, but to strive for virtues is a higher one (Sophr. 29.3-4; PG 88.1148 Gr. 29, ll. 21-38). “That soul has dispassion which is immersed in the virtues as the passionate are in pleasures” (Sophr. 29.6; PG 88.1149, ll. 2-4).

The next part of the step consists of a list which compares the peak of eight sins to the peak of their corresponding virtue, starting with gluttony / temperance and ending with passion /

dispassion.⁴⁴⁸ Of this last pair, it is said that the height of passion is to yield immediately for the demon. The height of dispassion is that you are able to say: “Because the evil one turned away from me, I knew him not; nor how he came, nor why, nor how he went; but I am completely unaware of everything of this kind, because I am wholly united with God, and always will be” (Sophr. 29.7-14; PG 88.1149, ll. 4-34). He who reaches dispassion, “while still in the flesh, always has God dwelling within him as his Pilot. (...) The dispassionate man no longer lives himself, but Christ lives within him” (Sophr. 29.15; PG 88.1149, ll. 35-47).

The next paragraph can serve as an explanation for the appearance of the list of pairs of vices and virtues: “A king’s diadem is not composed of one stone, and dispassion does not reach perfection if we neglect even one virtue, however ordinary”. Since all virtues are necessary,⁴⁴⁹ the list of vices and virtues serves as a reminder.

“Imagine dispassion as the celestial palace of the Heavenly King (...) and the wall of this celestial Jerusalem as the forgiveness of sins” (Sophr. 29.16; PG 88.1149, l. 48 - 1152, l. 2). Klimax exhorts us “to run to enter the bridal chamber of this palace”. Alas, if there is still an old habit inside of us, we can only strive to enter another room in the palace. In any case, we should strive to enter the walls, because outside of them there is no salvation (Sophr. 29.17; PG 88.1152, ll. 2-13). We should break through the wall built out of our disobedience. When we tear down the wall, there is no separation any more between us and God (Sophr. 29.18; PG 88.1152, ll. 13-17).

The step ends by a final exhortation. All who are baptised can “become children of God (Joh. 1:12), saying: Be still and know that I am God (Ps. 45:10) and am Dispassion” (Sophr. 29.19; PG 88.1152, ll. 17-24).

202-207, step 29:

Οὕτω σὺ ποιῶν εἰς ἀπάθειαν φθάσεις·
βαίης γὰρ ἐγκάρδιον ἐς νοὸς πόλον,
ἀθύρματα, παίγνια τὰς τῶν δαιμόνων
καλῶς νομίσεις μηχανοπλανουργίας,
καταπατήσεις λίην, δράκοντα τὸν μέγαν,
ὄφιν κεράστην, βασιλίσκον, ἀσπίδα.

κθ περὶ ἀπαθείας

περὶ ἀπαθείας (title): This short and straightforward title also appears in the *pinax* of PG 88.629 and in the one of **M** f. 3r. In the *pinax* in Sophr. (1970: 185), the title runs: Περὶ τοῦ ἐπιγείου οὐρανοῦ τῆς θεομιμήτου ἀπαθείας καὶ τελειότητος.⁴⁵⁰ A longer title appears in

⁴⁴⁸ For a comparison of the classification of sins in Klimax and Evagrius see Chryssavgis (2004: 183-186). See also Völker (1968: 69-153); Johnsén (2007: 38).

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. Jc. 2:10; step 26 (PG 88.1065, ll. 34-36).

⁴⁵⁰ This title is based on a passage from step 29 (PG 88.1148 Gr. 29, ll. 24-26).

Sophr. (1970: 165), in PG 88.1148 Gr. 29, and in **N** f. 10r Gr. 29: Περὶ τοῦ ἐπιγείου οὐρανοῦ τῆς θεομιμήτου ἀπαθείας, καὶ τελειότητος, καὶ ἀναστάσεως ψυχῆς πρὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως.⁴⁵¹ **M** f. 320 Gr. 29 has: Περὶ τοῦ λιμένου τῆς ἀπαθείας.⁴⁵²

202: Οὕτω refers back to all previous steps. The subject of **φθάσεις** is again the ideal ascender. If you possess all virtues from the previous steps, you attain dispassion. Since the syntax of the summary of step 29 continues in that of step 30, v. 202 announces a conclusion of the entire ladder.

203-205: These three verses are clearly based on a specific passage from step 29:

Poem 2, vv. 202-205	PG 88.1148, ll. 10-13
Οὕτω σὺ ποιῶν εἰς ἀπάθειαν φθάσεις· βαίης γὰρ ἐγκάρδιον ἐς νοὸς πόλον, ἀθύρματα, παίγνια τὰς τῶν δαιμόνων καλῶς νομίσεις μηχανοπλανουργίας,	οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερόν τι ἔγωγε ἀπάθειαν ὑπέιληφα εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἢ ἐγκάρδιον νοὸς οὐρανὸν, τὰς τῶν δαιμόνων πανουργίας, ἀθύρματα λοιπὸν λογιζόμενον.

Both passages give a similar explanation of ἀπάθεια. ἐγκάρδιον (...) νοὸς πόλον corresponds to ἐγκάρδιον νοὸς οὐρανὸν. Klimax defines dispassion as “a heaven of the mind within the heart”. In Poem 2, ἐγκάρδιον ἐς νοὸς πόλον, is thus the equivalent of εἰς ἀπάθειαν.⁴⁵³ Vv. 204-205 present the consequence of reaching dispassion: to regard “the wiles of the demons as mere pranks”. In the *Ladder*, οὐρανὸν itself governs λογιζόμενον. In Poem 2, however, the ideal ascender is again the subject of νομίσεις. By incorporating dispassion, the ascender also has attained an excellent level of discernment.

μηχανοπλανουργίας is clearly an extended form of πανουργίας from the *Ladder*. This reading of **N** is a *hapax*.⁴⁵⁴ However, μηχανοπανουργίας from **M** is attested. According to LSJ, μηχανοπανουργία (*fraud*) appears in a 6th-c. papyrus (Maspéro 1911: No. 67005, l. 16). μηχανοπλανουργίας incorporates πλάνη (*deceit* LSJ). It is indeed not absurd to imply ‘deceit’ in a word referring to the wiles of the demons. This *hapax* makes sense. Moreover, it is a *lectio difficilior*. A decisive argument in favour of the reading of **N** is the metre. According to the prosodic rules of the dodecasyllable, the eighth syllable should be heavy. Although the reading of **M** is closer to the passage of step 28, and looks,

⁴⁵¹ This title is the one from PG. In Sophr., the title has an extra comma after οὐρανοῦ. In **N** the title runs: Περὶ τοῦ ἐπιγείου οὐρανοῦ τῆς θεομιμήτου ἀπαθείας καὶ τελειότητος· καὶ ἀναστάσεως ψυχῆς πρὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως. The last part of this title is based on a passage from step 29 (PG 88.1148 Gr. 29, ll. 18-20).

⁴⁵² This title is based on a phrase in step 29 (PG 88.1148, l. 25).

⁴⁵³ Remark the postposition of ἐς towards ἐγκάρδιον.

⁴⁵⁴ This reading also appears in **I**, **L** and **P**.

at first sight, like a safe option, the prosodically correct *harax* of **N** is quite probably the original reading.

The predicate corresponding to πανουργίας / μηχανοπλανουργίας is in both cases **ἀθύρματα**. Also in step 27, this word is used to refer to the pranks of the demons which should be ignored (PG 88.1100, ll. 13-15):

Μὴ φοβοῦ κτύπων ἀθύρματα· δειλίαν γὰρ πένθος οὐκ ἐπίσταται οὐδὲ πτύρεται.

παίγνια appears as a synonymous apposition to **ἀθύρματα**. **καλῶς**, as an adverb, replaces λοιπὸν.

206-207: Also these verses are clearly taken from the *Ladder*. Yet, their source is not to be found in step 28, but in step 25:

Poem 2, vv. 206-207	PG 88.1001, l. 43 – 1004, l. 3
<u>καταπατήσεις λῖν, δράκοντα</u> τὸν μέγαν, ὄφιν κεράστην, βασιλίσκον, ἀσπίδα.	εἰ ὀπλίζη ποτὲ κατὰ τινος πάθους τοῦ οἴου δήποτε, ταύτην ⁴⁵⁵ σύμμαχον ἐπίσπασαι· Ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα γὰρ καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσεται, καὶ <u>καταπατήσει λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα</u> · ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω, ἐπὶ ἀμαρτίαν καὶ ἀπόγνωσιν, καὶ τὸν διάβολον, καὶ τὸν δράκοντα τοῦ σώματος.

This list of beasts goes back to Ps. 90:13:

ἐπ' ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήση καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα.

In this Psalm, the phrase appears in the context of guardian angels who allow you to defeat these beasts. Poem 2 follows the list of animals presented by the passage from step 25. **λῖν** is the Homeric equivalent of λέοντα. See for example *Iliad* 11.480-481 (ed. Allen 1931):

ἐν νέμεϊ σκιερῶ· ἐπὶ τε λῖν ἤγαγε δαίμων
σίντην· θῶες μὲν τε διέτρεσαν, αὐτὰρ ὃ δάπτει

This passage is part of a scene in which Aias (the lion) comes to rescue Odysseus (the wounded deer) from the Trojans (the jackals). Accidentally or not, in this passage a lion is sent by a demon in order to chase the jackals away. One could cautiously suggest that

⁴⁵⁵ I.e. humility, which is the topic of that step. You should take humility as an ally in order to defeat the devil, who is mentioned by several bestial appearances.

a Byzantine audience might interpret this lion as a tool of the devil, just as it appears in Ps. 90 and in the passage from step 25. Also in 1 Pt. 5:8 the devil appears as a lion:

νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε. ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος περιπατεῖ
ζητῶν τινα καταπιεῖν.

ὄφιν κεράστην does not appear in the passage from step 25 (nor in Ps. 90). It seems to be a synonymous apposition to **δράκοντα** added by the poet. The dragon is thus indeed a medieval horned dragon, and not an ancient snake. In the manuscripts, the accent on **κεράστην** appears on the ultima (κεραστήν). As explained in PGL, the adjective κεραστής has an entirely different meaning: *one who mixes*, said “of a servant who prepares drinks”, but also “of God as creator”. Since, in this case, I do not see any pun intended, I opted to change the reading of the manuscripts. Regarding the meter, this intervention does not raise any problems.

Why does the poet go back to a passage from step 25 on humility to complete his summary of step 29? At first sight, humility does not seem to be relevant. By contrast, the beasts and the devil are. Throughout step 29, it was stressed that someone who is completely dispassionate does not even know the evil one (PG 88.1149, ll. 26-34). This implies a complete victory over the devil. Until step 29, it was still possible to have some defilement with you. You could still ascend, without being entirely perfect. It was possible to ascend to the next step having overcome, for example, talkativeness, whereas you were still suffering from the vice of lying. However, when you want to reach step 30, if you want to be allowed inside the walls of the New Jerusalem, you should leave all vices behind. By breaking through this wall, as Klimax stated, there is no separation anymore between us and God (PG 88.1152, ll. 13-17). Since God is the opposite of Satan, you should defeat the latter completely before being able to ascend to the ultimate step.

Step 30 of the Ladder: Concerning the linking together of the supreme trinity among the virtues
This step opens with a variation on 1 Cor. 13:13: “And now, finally, after all that we have said, there remain these three that bind and secure the union of all: faith, hope and love; and the greatest of these is love”. This last statement is enforced by a reference to 1 Joh. 4:8: God is love. As already quoted in the commentary on Poem 1, vv. 54-55, the three Christian virtues are compared to the rays (faith), to the light (hope) and to the orb of the sun (love / God) (Sophr. 30.1; PG 88.1153 Gr. 30, l. 4 - 1156, l. 9).⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁶ Although not explicitly mentioned in this passage, it is implied that the rays of the sun correspond to the Spirit, and the light to the Son. For this last comparison see Joh. 8:12: Πάλιν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς

In the next paragraph, Klimax warns us that it is not easy to give a definition of love, because love is God, and it is precarious to give a complete definition of God. It is even a dangerous undertaking for those who are inexperienced. The angels are in a better position to speak about love, but they can only do so “according to the degree of their enlightenment”. To define God is like measuring “the sand in the ocean” (Sophr. 30.2; PG 88.1156, ll. 9-16).

Thereafter, supported by 1 Cor. 13:5, Klimax describes the essence of love as: “the banishment of every kind of contrary thought, for love thinketh no evil”. Besides the triad of ray / faith, light / hope and orb / love, another triad is mentioned: love, dispassion and adoption (ὑιοθεσία). The absence of love is the appearance of fear (Sophr. 30.4; PG 88.1156, ll. 20-28).

“There is nothing wrong in presenting desire, and fear, (...) and love for God in images borrowed from human life.” A list of beatitudes is given: He is blessed who yearns “for God as a mad lover (...) for his beloved”. He is blessed who stands before the Lord as before a judge. Blessed is he who relates to God as a slave to his master. You should love God more than a mother loves her child (Sophr. 30.5; PG 88.1156, ll. 28-43). Just as a lover has the image of the face of his beloved at all time as a memory in his heart, so you should desire for God (Sophr. 30.6; PG 88.1156, ll. 44-49).

Further on in this step, fear is described as a positive thing:⁴⁵⁷ fear destroys impurity. When a man is “commingled with the love of God”, even his body, as a mirror, “shows the splendour of his soul”. Someone who is advanced to such an angel-like level often forgets to eat. Because his body is incorruptible, he does not know any sickness any more. By the heavenly fire he is purified of the sinful fire. Just like a plant gets water from an underground stream, so his soul is nourished “by a celestial fire” (Sophr. 30.11; PG 88.1157, ll. 9-35).

The beginning of love is the growth of fear. Perfect purity “is the foundation of theology” and of the understanding of the dogmas of the Trinity. Only when you are mystically united with God, you can speak about him (Sophr. 30.12-14; PG 88.1157, ll. 35-47). Love for God implies the love for your neighbours (Sophr. 30.15; PG 88.1157, ll. 47-53).

Klimax defines hope as “the power of love, because by it we await the reward of love”.⁴⁵⁸ “Hope is a wealth of hidden riches. (...) The failing of hope is the disappearance of love” (Sophr. 30.16; PG 88.1157, l. 53 - 1160, l. 3). Again, after the topic, the person is described: “A monk of good hope is a slayer of despondency”. Hope is engendered by the experience of the Lord’s gifts (Sophr. 30.17; PG 88.1160, ll. 3-8).

Near the end of the step, Klimax returns to love, which is “the state of the angels, (...) the progress of eternity”. Using the words of Cant. 1:7, Klimax asks love to be enlightened about its nature. He desires “to know how Jacob saw Thee fixed above the ladder” (Gen. 28:12). “What are

λέγων· ἐγὼ εἶμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· ὁ ἀκολουθῶν ἐμοὶ οὐ μὴ περιπατήσει ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἔξει τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς.

⁴⁵⁷ This is the opposite of what was said before. Cf. Sophr. 30.4; PG 88.1156, ll. 26-28.

⁴⁵⁸ It is somehow strange that love and hope are discussed in step 30, whereas faith, the third part of this trinity, is absent. However, a discussion of faith already appeared in the second part of step 27 (PG 88.1113, ll. 16-25).

mentioned in the beginning of step 30 (PG 88.1153 Gr. 30, l. 4 - 1156, l. 9). Nevertheless, the union of man with God is also a topic of step 30 (PG 88.1157, ll. 35-38):

Ὁ Θεῶ τελείως τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐνώσας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ μυσταγωγεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τούτων γὰρ μὴ συναφθέντων χαλεπὸν περὶ Θεοῦ διαλέγεσθαι.

Here, it is said that he who mystically unites his senses with God understands His words. Furthermore, in step 28, it is even said that if our prayer does not have an immediate effect, it still implies a unity with God (PG 88.1136, ll. 4-7):

Μὴ λέγε χρονίζων ἐν τῇ δεήσει μηδὲν κατωρθωκέναι· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ κατώρθωκας. Τί γὰρ καὶ ὑψηλότερον ἀγαθὸν τοῦ τῶ Κυρίῳ προσκολλᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνώσει ἀδιαλείπτως προσκαρτερεῖν.

Step 30 deals with love, and love is God. It is love / God who is found at the top of the *Ladder*. A union with God was already announced in step 29, where it was said that we are only separated from God by the wall which consists of our sins (PG 88.1152, ll. 12-17). If we break through this wall in order to enter the Heavenly Jerusalem, we are united with God. In fact, already prayer, as the topic of step 28, was described as such a union (PG 88.1129 Gr. 28, ll. 5-6):

Προσευχή ἐστὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν αὐτῆς ποιότητα συνουσία καὶ ἔνωσις ἀνθρώπου καὶ Θεοῦ.

I understand that only perfect prayer, i.e. after you are purified from all sins, can lead to an everlasting union with God. As already mentioned in the commentary on vv. 206-207, step 30 can only be reached after a complete victory over the devil.

Moreover, the difference between the title of step 30 in Poem 2 and the other titles announces the apparent absence of the triad of faith, hope and love. As we will see, the three Christian virtues indeed do not explicitly occur in the summary of step 30.

208-213: σχολάσεις, παρεδρεύσεις,⁴⁶² κατίδοις⁴⁶³ and προσάψεις continue **φθάσεις** (v. 202), **βαίης** (v. 203), **νομίσεις** (v. 205) and **καταπατήσεις** (v. 206). This implies that these actions are still a consequence of the ascent on the ladder. I think that only after reading (the summary of) step 30, it becomes clear why a triad is mentioned in v. 196. As

⁴⁶² In **N**, a *scholion* accompanies **παρεδρεύσεις: Γράφεται· προσεδρεύσεις. παρεδρεύσεις** and **προσεδρεύσεις** are close synonyms. *παρεδρεύω* is translated as *frequent, attend, wait upon* (LSJ) or *gaze assiduously at, sit beside* (PGL). *προσεδρεύω* is translated as *sit near, serve* (LSJ) or *sit, be devoted to, serve* (PGL).

⁴⁶³ The optative functions as an alternative to a future. **βαίης** (v. 203) is a similar case.

mentioned above in the discussion of the title of this step, the union of man with God is equated with prayer. Between vv. 196-213 the number three appears implicitly. In step 28, vv. 197-198, **στάσις, στεναγμός** and **λόγος** are the triad of prayer. This triad, however, does not appear in the *Ladder*. In vv. 208-210, God appears three times at the beginning of the verse (**Θεῶ, Θεὸν, Θεῶ**). Moreover, steps 28, 29 and 30 form a final triad of the *Ladder*. We could thus say that the topics of these three steps are a triad on their own. Two out of the three are indeed mentioned as a triad in step 30 (PG 88.1156, ll. 22-25):

Ἀγάπη, καὶ ἀπάθεια, καὶ υἰοθεσία, τοῖς ὀνόμασι, καὶ μόνοις διακέκριται. Ὡς φῶς, καὶ πῦρ, καὶ φλόξ εἰς μίαν συντρέχουσιν ἐνέργειαν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τούτων νόει.

Here, love (= step 30), dispassion (= step 29) and adoption are described as a triad, similar to yet another triad: light, fire and flame. The word adoption (υἰοθεσία) appears only once in the *Ladder*. Probably it refers to the wish of the Christian to become adopted as the child of God in Heaven. See the end of step 29, referring to Joh. 1:12 (PG 88.1152, ll. 19-21):

ὅσοι γὰρ ἔλαβον τὸν Κύριον διὰ λούτρου παλιγγενεσίας, ἔδωκε αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι.

The unity of these three final steps of the *Ladder* is stressed by a ring composition: **τριάς** from step 28 (v. 196) anticipates **Τριάδι τριάδα** in step 30 (v. 213). In this way, also the word ‘trinity’ appears three times in the summary of the last three steps. When you reach step 30, it will be granted to you to see God and to be together with Him (vv. 208-210). Moreover, you will unite with Him by attaching the image of the Lord (i.e. you, as a human being) to the Lord. In the summary of step 30, this idea appears twice: 1) v. 210: **Θεῶ προσάψεις τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα** and 2) v. 213: **τῇ δὲ Τριάδι τριάδα συναγάγοις**.⁴⁶⁴ **εἰκόνα** refers, amongst others, to Gen. 1:26:⁴⁶⁵

καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν.

⁴⁶⁴ Compare also with the title of this step in Poem 2.

⁴⁶⁵ Although certainly without any intention of the poet, the concept of uniting the divine image with the Divine itself is also a Neo-Platonic idea. See for example the last words of Plotinos as given in the *Vita Plotini* by Porphyry: ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ποτιόλοις κατοικῶν ὁ Εὐστόχιος βραδέως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο, εἰπὼν ὅτι σὲ ἔτι περιμένω καὶ φήσας πειρᾶσθαι τὸν ἐν ὑμῖν θεὸν ἀνάγειν πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ παντὶ θεῖον (section 2, ll. 24-26; ed. Henry – Schwyzler 1951). For a discussion of this phrase of the *Vita Plotini* see Most (2003).

In the *Ladder*, also love is said to be a representation of God (PG 88.1156, l. 17): Ἀγάπη κατὰ μὲν ποιότητα ὁμοίωσις Θεοῦ. Further on, it is mentioned that man can commingle with the love of God (PG 88.1157, ll. 19-22):

Ὅταν λοιπὸν ὅλος ὁ ἄνθρωπος οἷόν πως συνανακραθῇ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγάπῃ, τότε καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ὡς δι' ἐσόπτρου τινὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς δείκνυσι λαμπρότητα.

Returning to Gen. 1:26, we could say that man is not only an image of God, but also of God's love, because God is love. Zecher (2015: 201) mentions that the present life is indeed an image (εἰκὼν) of the next one. When you understand this, you will completely ignore the material world and constantly remember the coming judgement which will decide if you are worthy to see God and to reunite with him.

τριάδα (v. 213) refers to the tripartite human being, namely mind, body and soul. These three parts are also implied in v. 15 of Poem 4. In v. 211, one could perhaps find an implicit reference to another human triad: the mind, the spirit and the Word, although **Λόγου** does not stand on the same syntactical level. (These three elements do appear on the same level in v. 225.) Another option is that it refers to the triad which is the topic of step 30 in the *Ladder*: faith, hope and love.

It is no coincidence that the Trinity appears in the last verse of this summary of the *Ladder*. Just as love, the queen (who is a king) is found at the top of the *Ladder* (PG 88.1160, l. 36 - 1161, l. 15), so the Trinity, who is equal to God and thus also to love, appears at the end of Poem 2.

Ἐπίλογος μετ' εὐχῆς: This *epilogue with prayer* corresponds to the prologue (vv. 1-33). Paleographically, it is interesting to compare the visual representation of this short subtitle in the manuscripts with that of the prologue and the title at the beginning of the summary of the *Ladder*. Regarding their colour there is no difference between these titles as they are all written in red ink. Regarding their position, however, there is a difference. Both in **M** and **N**, the title of the epilogue is written in the margin. The title of the prologue, by contrast, was consequently written immediately after the general title of Poem 2. The subtitle at the beginning of the summary, **Ἀρχὴ τῆς διὰ στίχων κλίμακος**, which is only preserved in **M**, stands alone on a line, which is thus different as well from the marginal position of the title of the epilogue. Because of its marginal position, the title of the epilogue stands at the same level as the titles identifying the summarized steps of the *Ladder*. However, the reason why **Ἐπίλογος μετ' εὐχῆς** appears in the margin is probably a syntactical one. By its marginal position, the subtitle does not interrupt the syntactical connection between v. 213 and v. 214. **Ἡ** clearly refers back to **Τριάδι**. In order not to disturb the reader, the title was placed in the margin.

214-215: σοι refers again to the reader of the *Ladder*. The dative is the consequence of ἴλαος + dat. ὀπτάνοιτο should be taken as a middle voice. In these verses, the poet expresses his hope that the ascender may find the Trinity being merciful towards his sins during his life.

216: τριτάτοισι derives from τρίτατος, which is a poetic lengthened form of τρίτος (LSJ). **πταίσμασι:** Zecher (2015: 200) stresses that πταίσματα are important for Klimax. It is because of your sins, and because of the fear of a negative judgement, that you will repent. In this way, you can appeal to God's compassion (cf. συμπαθεστάτη v. 215).

τριτάτοισι seems to be triggered by the striking presence of the Trinity and triads in the preceding summary of step 30 (see commentary vv. 208-213). It might be that this expression bears some theological implications, but they remain unclear to me. 'Three' reappears in **τριμεροῦς χρόνου**. Probably, this refers to the sins of the past, the present and the future. See for example, Sextus Empiricus' *Adversus mathematicos* 10.197, ll. 1-2 (ed. Mutschmann 1914):

ὁ χρόνος τριμερῆς ἐστίν· τὸ μὲν γάρ τι ἦν αὐτοῦ παρωχημένον, τὸ δ' ἐνεστώς, τὸ δὲ μέλλον.

Zecher (2015: 200-201) indeed explains that past, present and future are important regarding the remembrance of one's sins and the remembrance of judgement. In v. 216, the poet helps the ascender / reader to be conscious of his sins. Zecher describes such a remembrance and repentance of sins as "retrospective". It is an action in the present concerning the past, while hoping for a positive judgement in the future.

217-220: These four verses stand on a same syntactical level, each containing a similar participle. Moreover, the first three verses have a parallel structure. The participles are governed by the subject of ὀπτάνοιτο (v. 215), which is Ἦ (v. 214). These verses describe supporting actions of the Trinity towards the ideal ascender.

217: διαβούλιά is not be understood as one's own will, implying disobedience, but rather as one's determination to complete one's vow.

218: In this verse, the Trinity is asked to straighten the road, to guide the ascender upon his road. A similar request appears repeatedly in the Psalms:

- 1) Ps. 36:23: παρὰ κυρίου τὰ διαβήματα ἀνθρώπου κατευθύνεται, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ θελήσει.
- 2) Ps. 39:4: καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ πέτραν τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ κατηύθυνεν τὰ διαβήματά μου.
- 3) Ps. 118:133: τὰ διαβήματά μου κατεύθυνον κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου, καὶ μὴ κατακυριεύσάτω μου πᾶσα ἀνομία.

As the Psalms were learned by heart, it is quite likely that the poet took this expression from the Psalms. In the context of the *Ladder*, one can also think of vv. 13-14 of Poem 1 from *Barocc. 141* (see chapter 5.4). There, it is mentioned that you need a guide in order to place your feet on the true steps of the *Ladder*. The opposite of a straightened road is found in vv. 76-77 of Poem 4. There the limping devil pretends that his feet are straight.

219: **προσαιτήματά** seems to be a *hapax*. It derives from *προσαίτημα, which goes back to the verb προσαιτέω (*demand, beg* LSJ). Besides, also the noun αίτημα (*request* LSJ) exists. προσαίτημα seems to be a synonym of προσαίτησις (*begging* LSJ). Hence, we translated **προσαιτήματά** as *beggings*.

220: **κάκεϊ** is opposed to **κατὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον** (v. 214). PGL explains that ἐκεῖ can mean specifically *in the world to come*.

Χριστοπατράσιν is a *hapax* which derives from *Χριστοπατήρ. This word is probably a variant of Χριστοπάτωρ (*father of Christ* PGL). PGL gives the example of Epiphanius' 2nd homily, *In Sabbato magno*, where Abraham is mentioned as a Χριστοπάτωρ (PG 43.452C). Since Abraham is not the father, but rather a forefather, the translation of LBG (s.v. *χριστοπάτωρ*), *Vorfahre Christi*, is better.⁴⁶⁶

220-221: **συνεντάττουσα**, as far as I can see, the only other occurrence of the verb *συνεντάττω* / *συνεντάσσω* is found in Photios' *Bibliotheca* (Cod. 155, Bekker p. 100a, l. 22; ed. Henry 1959). This occurrence is mentioned in LBG (s.v. *συνεντάσσω*: *mit einordnen*). It seems useful to take a look at the context of this occurrence in Photios:

Συνετάγη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερόν τι Ἀθηναγόρα προσφωνούμενον σπουδασμάτιον, ὃ περὶ τῶν παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἀπορουμένων λέξεων ἐπιγράφει. Ὡν εἴ τις τὰς λέξεις εἰς ἓν συναγάγοι, συνεντάσσω καὶ τὰς συνηγμένας Τιμαίῳ, ἀπηρτισμένην τὴν ὠφέλειαν παράσχοι τοῖς τὰ Πλάτωνος ἀναγινώσκειν ἐθέλουσιν.

In this passage, Photios mentions that he read a small work on difficult words in Plato. He says that if you combine (*συνεντάσσω*) the words mentioned in this treatise with those mentioned by Timaios, who also wrote a work on Plato's terminology (cf. *Bibliotheca* Cod. 151), you would get a complete helpful instrument if you want to read Plato. *συνεντάσσω* means thus that you combine two parts in order to form a unity. It seems that **συνεντάττουσα** is used with a similar meaning, though in a theological context. It is then reminiscent of v. 210, where **προσάψεις** is used to describe the hoped for coming union between the image of the Lord and the Lord himself.

⁴⁶⁶ This lemma is not yet published in LBG. I thank Erich Trapp for communicating it (personal communication, 25 March 2016). The list of forefathers of Christ appears in Mt. 1:1-17.

It seems that the dative form of **Χριστοπατράσιν** is a consequence **συνεντάττουσα**. V. 220 expresses the wish of the narrator that the Trinity would unite the ascender with the forefathers of Christ in Heaven.

πατρός μου τοῦ πανηγιασμένου probably refers to John Klimax. He is a saint (**πανηγιασμένου**) commemorated on the 30th of March (Chryssavgis 2004: 233). Besides, **μου** points to a personal connection between this father and the narrator. At the end of a long summary of the *Ladder* of John Klimax, the latter saint seems to be a good candidate. Moreover, Klimax is asked to intercede on behalf of John Komnenos and John the scribe in vv. 11-14 of Poem 3 (version LMN).

222-224: These three verses give a further description of the sanctified father, who, as already mentioned above, is likely Klimax himself. In **M**, several strokes under the line link the parts of these long words together in order to stress their unity. Besides, the fact that there are three verses with such long words could implicitly refer again to the Trinity (**Ἦ** v. 214).

222: **λαμπροπυρσομορφογλωττοεργάτου** is a *hapax*. This reading is taken from **N**. The reading from **M**, **λαμπροπυρσομορφογλωττοεριάτου** is a scribal mistake. It seems to be an extended form of **λαμπροπυρσόμορφος**, which appears in the *Christus Patiens*, v. 2055 (ed. Tuilier 1969). There, the word is used as a substantive referring to the angel who sat on the stone that was rolled away from the entrance of Christ's grave. PGL translates **λαμπροπυρσόμορφος** as *of purple splendour*. However, I think that **-πυρσο-** refers to fire, and not to purple. Tuilier (1969) translates it indeed as "personage resplendissant de lumière".

One could also think of **λαμπρομορφοπανστόλοις**, which appears in v. 46 of Poem 1. Another word is **πυρσόγλωσσος** (*with burning tongue* PGL), which is of course used in a metaphorical way. In Pisides' *Hexaemeron*, it is used to describe the mouth of the apostles (PG 92.1572, v. 1796).

The final part **-εργάτου** indicates that this word is a noun. The person who is described by this word is a practitioner of the previous parts. Hence, we translated the word as a whole as *a practitioner of a radiant and fiery shaped tongue*.

223: Also **πυρσολαμπρομορφορηματοτρόπου** is a *hapax*. Until **πυρσολαμπρομορφο-** it consists of the same constituents that appear at the beginning of the word **λαμπροπυρσομορφογλωττοεργάτου**, although in a different order. A word that begins in the same way is **πυρσολαμπροφόρημα** (*wie Feuer leuchtendes Kleid* LBG). We translated the word as a whole as *[someone] who has a fiery, radiant way of speaking*. Just as the *hapax* of v. 222, this word refers to rhetorical qualities, or maybe to literary skills in general. This could refer to John Klimax. In the manuscripts, he is frequently identified as Ἰωάννης

σχολαστικός. Johnsén (2007: 8) states that this title implies that Klimax probably was a scholar or even a lawyer, in any case, someone trained in rhetoric.⁴⁶⁷

224: LBG derives χρυσολιθομαργαροστεφοπλόκου from χρυσολιθομαργαροστεφόπλοκος (*mit einem Kranz aus Gold, Edelsteinen und Perlen*).⁴⁶⁸ The only reference is to Lambros (1900: 145), in the description of manuscript I of our poem, *Iveron 418*. It seems thus that also this word is a *hapax*. In his catalogue, Lambros mentions only vv. 223-226 as a *desinit*. Hence, the translation in LBG is only based on the occurrence of the word in a limited context. By consequence, I am not sure that the meaning provided by LBG is the one required here. The end of this word, -**στεφοπλόκου** has an active meaning here, I think, and not a passive one, as is implied in LBG. Hence, the accent of the nominative should be on the penultimate syllable and not on the antepenultimate one. The lemma should probably read: -πλόκος. Compare for example with στεφανοπλόκος (*plaiter of wreaths*, LSJ s.v. στεφανηπλόκος). Hence, the word as a whole could be translated as *a plaiter of a golden crown with precious stones and pearls*.⁴⁶⁹

The reference to material wealth in this word seems to correspond to the prologue of Poem 2 (vv. 1-18). There, material wealth was described as a transitory good that was cherished by many people. Klimax (**σοί** v. 16), however, strives for immaterial wealth. At first sight one could think that this material crown contradicts the prologue. The next verse, however, indicates that this is not the case.

225: Here, it becomes clear that Klimax is in fact crowned with the mind, the word and the spirit. The three elements of this trinity already appeared in v. 211. There, however, they do not stand on the same level. Clearly, Klimax, just as in v. 18 of Poem 2, is mentioned as having immaterial wealth.

226: This verse concludes Poem 2. Apparently the triple repetition of **ἀμήν** was more important than a correct position of the *Binnenschluß*. It does not seem to be a coincidence that the number three appears again in this prayer to the Trinity. A similar concluding verse is found at the end of a book epigram, inc. Ἰωάννης ὁ χθαμαλὸς τοὔπικλην Ξηροκάλιτος.⁴⁷⁰ Its final verse, v. 22, reads: Ἀμήν ἀμήν καὶ γένοιτο, Χριστέ μου, γένοιτό μοι.

πάλιν, the last word of this cycle, points to a cyclic aspect. I think it means that the narrator hopes that every reader of the *Ladder* may succeed in reaching Heaven.

⁴⁶⁷ See also Loukaki (2016).

⁴⁶⁸ This lemma is not yet published in LBG. I thank Erich Trapp for communicating the lemma (personal communication, 25 March 2016).

⁴⁶⁹ Besides, it is worth mentioning that also χρυσόλιθος exists. As one word this means *topaz* (LSJ). However, I do not think that it is used here having this specific meaning.

⁴⁷⁰ www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/3280.

Nota in fine: Whereas in the manuscripts Poem 2 has 226 verses, this note mentions that it would count 222 verses. One could explain this discrepancy simply as a miscount. Another option is that there is an interpolation of four verses. Since the summaries of the steps consequently consist of six verses per step, no interpolation can be found there. Also in the prologue there does not seem to be an interpolation. In the epilogue, however, one could consider to leave out vv. 216-219 or vv. 222-225, but this is only mere speculation.

3.4.3 Poem 3

3.4.3.1 Structure (LMN)

announcement of the end of the *Ladder* (v. 1)

digression on the *Ladder* and its readers / ascenders (vv. 2-10)

both Johns request Klimax' intercession (vv. 11-19)

 explanation of 'Johns': John the writer (v. 15) + John Komnenos (v. 16-19)

3.4.3.2 Verse by Verse Commentary

Title

We opted to place the title preserved in **M** at the top of Poem 3 in the edition. Just as was the case with the introductory text to Poem 1, the version of **M** provides more concrete information than the version of **N**. This concrete information, however, is added above the line (**μοναχοῦ**, abbreviated as **μ^ο**) and in the margin (**Ἰωάννου**, abbreviated as **Ἰω^{ου}**) by the same hand. This might be John the writer or John Komnenos. As already mentioned (see chapter 3.1.5 Authorship), both Johns were monks. I think, that it is more likely that John the writer is meant here. If John Komnenos were meant, why is the surname not added in the margin next to John? Both at the end of Poem 4 and further on in this poem (v. 17), John Komnenos is mentioned with his surname. So a simple 'John' probably refers to the scribe / writer. Moreover, as already discussed (see chapter 3.1.5), Poem 3 is written from the perspective of the scribe. Besides, the title of **N** clearly mentions that the following verses are of 'the writer of this book': Στίχοι τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον περὶ τῶν ἀναβαινόντων ταύτην τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν κλίμακα. For reasons of completeness, I mention the titles of the other versions of Poem 3. **P** has Στίχοι περὶ τῶν ἀναβαινόντων ταύτην τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν κλίμακα. **L** has exactly the same title as **N**. **R** has Στίχοι τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον περὶ τῶν ἀναβαινόντων τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν κλίμακα, which is the title of **N** with an omission of ταύτην. **V** has a similar title as **N** and **L**, but with some iotacistic errors and an omission of τὴν after ταύτην: Στοιχοι τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον περὶ τῶν ἀναβενώντων ταύτην τῶν ἀρετῶν κλίμακα.

1 Τέλος κλίμακος: In all manuscripts that preserve Poem 3, the poem is indeed placed after the *Ladder*.

οὐρανοδρόμου: In Byzantine book epigrams, the adjective οὐρανοδρόμος (*traversing the heavens* PGL) is quite often used with reference to Klimax or his *Ladder*. I provide a list of such poems (as far as they are known to us):⁴⁷¹

⁴⁷¹ Another occurrence of οὐρανόδρομος related to Klimax is found in manuscript 1 of the archive of the Metropolis of Nikopolis (Preveza, Greece; first half of the 14th c.), the *codex unicus* preserving Nikephoros

- 1) Athos, *Vatoped.* 348 (13th c.), at the end of the manuscript; Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek gr.* 114 f. 182v (first half 14th c.), inc. Αὕτη κλίμαξ πέφυκεν οὐρανοδρόμος [3 vv.].⁴⁷² These three verses also appear at the end of a book epigram, inc. Σὺ δίστομός τις καὶ τομώτατος πτέρυξ [39 vv.],⁴⁷³ preserved in a codex from Jeruzalem, *Timiou Staurou* 93 f. 164r-v (13th c.).⁴⁷⁴
- 2) Athens, *EBE* 2091 f. 273r (a. 1200), inc. Εἰ θελήσῃ τις ὁ μ' ἴσχυον καλέσαι [24 vv.]. Verse 4 runs: κλίμακα (sic) τήνδε θεῖαν οὐρανοδρόμον.⁴⁷⁵
- 3) Paris. *Coisl.* 89 f. 392v (late 13th c.), inc.: Καὶ τήνδε λαμπρὰν οὐρανοδρόμον βίβλον [15vv.].⁴⁷⁶
- 4) *Vat. Chig. gr. R VII* 47 (*gr.* 38) f. 247r (late 13th c.):⁴⁷⁷ κλίμαξ ἀρίστη οὐρανοδρόμου δρόμου [1 v.].⁴⁷⁸
- 5) *Laurent. Plut.* 9.3 f. 353v (10th c.) [3 vv.]; Sinai mon. St. Catharin., *NE gr. M* 134 f. 184v [2vv.] (10th-12th c.); Milan, *Ambr. M* 45 *sup.* f. 187v (first quarter 12th c.) [2 vv.]; Messina, *S. Salv.* 90 f. 184v [2 vv.] (12th c.); Athos, *Vatoped.* 368 f. 1v [2 vv.] (a. 1294); *Vat. gr.* 1854 f. 165r (13th c.) [2 vv.]; Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek gr.* 440 near the beginning of the codex (13th c.) [4 vv.];⁴⁷⁹ Athos, *Megistes Lavras* Λ 107 f. 261v (first quarter 14th c.) [7 vv.]:⁴⁸⁰ inc. Τριαντάριθμος οὐρανοδρόμος κλίμαξ.⁴⁸¹

It is well known that the concept of a ladder leading to heaven is based on Gen. 28:12. The concept frequently appears in the poems of the cycle preserved in *Barocc. 141*.⁴⁸²

Kallistos Xanthopoulos' commentary on the works of John Klimax. In the lower margin of p. 1, a spurious title is preserved: Σαφεστάτη ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν οὐρανοδρόμον θεῖαν κλίμακα (Antonopoulou 2007: 150 n. 4).

⁴⁷² www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2259. This poem has also other similarities with Poem 3 (see commentary on vv. 12-13 of Poem 3).

⁴⁷³ www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2480.

⁴⁷⁴ I was not able to consult this manuscript, but it might be that the occurrence should be split up into one epigram of 36 vv. (inc. Σὺ δίστομός τις καὶ τομώτατος πτέρυξ) and another one of 3 vv. (inc. Αὕτη κλίμαξ πέφυκεν οὐρανοδρόμος).

⁴⁷⁵ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1646.

⁴⁷⁶ www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/985. *Paris. Coisl. 89* was already mentioned in note 97 in chapter 3.1.5 (Authorship), where it is mentioned that John Komnenos Synadenos was the patron of this manuscript. His name appears in v. 6 of the occurrence mentioned above.

⁴⁷⁷ De Cavalieri (1927: 79) states that ff. 229-247 date to the end of the 13th c. The rest of the manuscript he dates to the 14th c.

⁴⁷⁸ www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/607.

⁴⁷⁹ The first two verses of this occurrence are identical to those of the 2- and 3-line version of the poem. The third line of this occurrence is like a paraphrase of the third line of the 3-line version.

⁴⁸⁰ This occurrence is an expansion of the two-line version.

⁴⁸¹ www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/171. As already mentioned, **M** f. 320v has the two-line version of this epigram (see chapter 3.1.1 The Manuscripts).

⁴⁸² *Barocc. 141*: Poem 1, v. 3; Poem 2, vv. 2, 12; Poem 3, vv. 2, 5; Poem 4, v. 1 (see chapter 5.4).

2-5: These verses present the challenges of the spiritual journey. The opposite pair of vv. 2-3 is parallel to that of vv. 4-5.

2 ψυχοκτόνοι: Compare with the metrical summary of the *Ladder*, inc. Πίναξ ὅδ' ἐστὶ τῆς παρούσης πυκτίδος, preserved in *Paris. Coisl.* 87 f. 1r-v (14th c.). Verses 34-35 of this poem give a summary of the 9th step of the *Ladder* and run as follows (ed. Antonopoulou 2014: 24):

Μνησικακίαν τὴν κακὴν ψυχοκτόνον
ἔνατος ὑπέγραψεν ἐντέχνως λόγος.

3 σαρκοκτόνοι: Compare with a passage from step 5, where Klimax quotes the exhortation of one of the brothers from the prison who spurs his fellow monks to run and while running not spare the flesh, but to kill it (PG 88.769, ll. 51-56):

Δράμωμεν, ἀδελφοὶ, δράμωμεν· δρόμου γὰρ χρεῖα καὶ δρόμου, ἐπειδὴ τῆς καλῆς
ἡμῶν συνοδίας ἀπελείφθημεν· δράμωμεν μὴ φειδόμενοι ταύτης τῆς ῥυπαρᾶς καὶ
μοχθηρᾶς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν· ἀλλ' ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτήν, ὡς ἀπέκτεινεν ἡμᾶς.

4: νοοκτόνοι is a *hapax*.⁴⁸³

5 παθοκτόνοι: The corresponding adjective appears, amongst others, in a book epigram on the *Ladder*, preserved in *Vat. gr.* 2230 f. 1r (13th-14th c.):⁴⁸⁴

ἂν κλῆρον εἰς ἕδον τὴν Ἐδὲμ λαβεῖν θέλης
καὶ τῶν δικαίων τὴν κατοίκησιν λάχος
τὸν νοῦν ἐπισύναξον ἐν τῶν γηΐνων
καὶ τήνδ' ἀναγίνωσκε τὴν καλὴν βίβλον
τὴν ἀρετῶν κλίμακα τὴν παθοκτόνον
τὴν τριακοντάριθμον ἐν θείοις λόγοις

Here, the *Ladder* itself is said to be *passion-destroying* (PGL), whereas in Poem 3 this characteristic is required if you want to make progress on the *Ladder*.

6: The **παθοκτόνοι** (v. 5) are the same as the **σαρκοκτόνοι** (v. 3). Their most important feature is that they are minds (**νόες**) that strive for renewal. It might be significant that

⁴⁸³ Personal communication with Erich Trapp (8 February 2016).

⁴⁸⁴ www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1326. See also the commentary on the introductory prayer to Poem 1 (chapter 3.4.1).

soul (ψυχή), body (σάρξ) and mind (νοῦς) are mentioned in three of these compounds. The author seems to stress that of this human triad the mind is the greatest.⁴⁸⁵

7-10: Thanks to the ascetic exercises provided by the reading of Klimax' work, the ascenders have abandoned their old life, are renewed and lifted up. The process of renewal is compared to a snake who sheds its old skin by passing through a small hole, which is the opening the snake made in its dead skin. This evokes Mt. 7:13-14.⁴⁸⁶

Εἰσέλθατε διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης· ὅτι πλατεῖα ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ πολλοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς· 14 τί στενὴ ἡ πύλη καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτήν.

The metaphor of the narrow gate, just as the snake-metaphor, stands for death, or more specific, for a new, pure life. Both metaphors appear together in a passage from step 26 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.1085, ll. 8-14):

Ὡσπερ ὄφιν ἀδύνατον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παλαιότητα ἐκδύσασθαι, μὴ ἐν στενῇ ὀπῇ εἰσδύντα· οὕτως καὶ ἡμᾶς τὰς παλαιὰς προλήψεις, καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς παλαιότητα, καὶ τὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀνθρώπου χιτῶνα, οὐ μὴ ἀποβάλωμεν, ἐὰν μὴ τῆς στενῆς, καὶ τεθλιμμένης νηστείας, καὶ ἀτιμίας ὁδὸν παρέλθωμεν.

Verses 7-8 are most probably inspired by this passage from the *Ladder*. Klimax explains that man should get rid of “the garment of the old man” just as the snake does. For Klimax, this narrow way is a way of fasting and dishonour.⁴⁸⁷ There is yet another passage in the *Ladder* where spiritual progress is compared to the snake stripping of its skin (PG 88.900 Gr. 15, ll. 19-27):

⁴⁸⁵ In the cycle there are many references to the divine and the human trinity. Cf. Poem 1, vv. 45-55; Poem 2, vv. 196, 211-213; Poem 4, v. 15. If the poet indeed stresses that the mind is the greatest of the human triad, then one might think of the triad of the Christian virtues (hope, faith and love), of which love is the greatest. Cf. 1 Cor. 13:13, which is quoted as the final phrase of the *Ladder* (PG 88.1100, ll. 43-45).

⁴⁸⁶ Compare also with Lc. 13:24.

⁴⁸⁷ See also Zecher (2015: 112-115) on the ‘narrow way’ in the Greek ascetic tradition. Compare also with a passage on the snake in the *Physiologus* as edited by Zuretti (1897: 162): ὁ φυσιολόγος ἔλεξεν περὶ τοῦ ὄφεως ὅτι τέσσαρας φύσεις ἔχει. πρώτη αὐτοῦ φύσις αὕτη. ὅταν γηράση ἐμποδίζεται τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ ἐὰν θέλη νέος γενέσθαι πολιτεύεται καὶ νηστεύει μὴ ἡμέρας καὶ μὴ νύκτας, ἕως οὗ τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ χαννωθῆ, καὶ ζητεῖ πέτραν ἢ ῥαγά[δα] στένην, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἑαυτὸν εἰσπέμπσας θλίβει τὸ σῶμα. καὶ ἀποβαλὼν τὸ γῆρας νέος πάλιν γίνεται. Καὶ σὺ οὖν, πολιτευτά, ἐὰν θέλῃς τὸ παλαιὸν γῆρας τοῦ κόσμου ἀποβαλέσθαι, διὰ νηστείας τὸ σῶμα τῆξον. στενὴ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πύλη καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον. Καὶ σὺ οὖν, νοητὲ ἀνθρώπε, νηστεύσας ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, ἀπόδυσαι τὴν παλαιὰν πλάνην τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ ἔνδυσαι τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον τουτέστιν τὸν Χριστόν.

Σκοπείτωσαν τοίνυν, καὶ πάση σπουδῇ τὸν προειρημένον ὄφιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν καρδίας διὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης πολλῆς νεκρώσαντες ἀποπεμπέσθωσαν, ὅπως τούτου ἀπαλλοτριωθέντες, δυνήσωνται ἴσως ποτὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς δερματίνους χιτῶνας ἐκδύσασθαι, καὶ τὸν ἐπινίκιον τῆς ἀγνείας, εἷς ποτε τὰ ἀγνὰ νήπια, ὕμνον τῷ Κυρίῳ ᾄσαι· εἶπερ ἐκδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀκακίας καὶ ταπεινώσεως φυσικῆς εὐρεθήσονται.

In the first line of this passage, the snake clearly refers back to the snake of the Aesopic fable to which Klimax alluded in step 4 (PG 88.697, ll. 1-13) (see commentary Poem 2, v. 83). However, also here the image of the snake provokes the notion of getting rid of your old skin. In this passage, Klimax uses the metaphor to refer to carnal desires (Moore 2012⁴: 152 n. 24).

A close verbal parallel is found in the 24th of the *Carmina historica*, entitled Τῷ μεγαλονίκῳ αὐτοκράτορι κυρῷ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Κομνηνῷ,⁴⁸⁸ by Theodoros Prodromos (ca. 1100-ca. 1170) (ed. Hörandner 1974: poem 24, vv. 13-19):

ἄλλος λαλῶν ἐτοίμαζε φάτνας ἵπποστασίας,
κεφαλαρὰ καὶ χαλινούς ἀργυροχρυσηλάτους
καὶ δούλους ὤνησαι πολλοὺς καὶ κτῆσαι δορυφόρους,
ἀπόθου δὲ τὰ πτωχικὰ καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν
καὶ τοὺς ῥυπῶντας καὶ σαθροὺς καὶ πολυτρήτους πέπλους,
καὶ συνελῶν ἀπόξυσαι τὸ γῆρας ὡσπερ ὄφιν
καὶ νέαν ἔνδυσαι δορὰν καὶ νέα κτῆσαι μέλη·

These verses are part of a speech of an unidentified person to Prodromos, in which he advises on the one hand to take a new (military) outfit and on the other hand to get rid of his rags⁴⁸⁹ and accompanying philosophy, which he compares with a snake getting rid of its old garment as an act of renewal. The closing of v. 18, is a close textual parallel with the end of v. 8 in Poem 3. Since the author of Poem 3 and Prodromos were contemporaries, it might be that one of them quoted the other. It is hard to say which poet it was that might have influenced the other.

An older passage which conveys the same message as Poem 3 and uses a similar wording is found in Basil of Caesarea's *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam* [Dub.] 1, ll. 10-19 (ed. Trevisan 1939):

⁴⁸⁸ This John is of course the emperor John II Komnenos (1087-1143). Cf. ODB s.v. *John II Komnenos*.

⁴⁸⁹ This ironically refers to Theodore Prodromos as Ptocho-Prodromos. This reference is compatible with Agapitos' (2104: 14) plea against interpreting Theodore Prodromos as a "split literary personality".

Μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ Κύριος εὐρήσει γρηγοροῦντα.⁴⁹⁰ — Γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις.⁴⁹¹ Τάχα διὰ τὸ φρονίμως καὶ συνετῶς ἀποξύεσθαι τὸ γῆρας· καὶ γὰρ ἐπειδὴν ἀποδύεσθαι δέη τὴν λεβηρίδα, στενωπῶ τόπῳ καὶ ἀκριβῶς προσφίγγοντι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἐπιδούς ἑαυτὸν, οὕτω διείρων ἑαυτὸν, ἀποδύεται τὸ γῆρας. — Τάχα οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς βούλεται ὁ λόγος διὰ τῆς στενῆς καὶ τεθλιμμένης ὁδοῦ πορευομένους ἀποδύεσθαι μὲν τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐνδύσασθαι δὲ τὸν νέον, ὥστε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀνακαινισθῆναι, ὡς ἀετοῦ,⁴⁹² τὴν νεότητα.

Also Basil compares the snake getting rid of its old skin with the renewal of man. Besides, the motif of the snake related to death is already present in pagan literature of Antiquity. An example is found in Porphyry's *Vita Plotini* 2, ll. 27-31 (ed. Henry – Schwyzer 1951).⁴⁹³

δράκοντος ὑπὸ τὴν κλίνην διελθόντος ἐν ἧ κατέκειτο καὶ εἰς ὀπὴν ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ ὑπάρχουσαν ὑποδεδυκότος ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα ἔτη γεγονώς, ὡς ὁ Εὐστόχιος ἔλεγεν, ἕξ τε καὶ ἐξήκοντα, τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς Κλαυδίου βασιλείας πληρουμένου.

After Plotinos uttered his last words, there came a snake from underneath his bed. The moment Plotinos expired, the animal fled through a hole in the wall. This hole can be understood similarly as the narrow gate of Mt. 7:13, as the transition between life and death. The snake itself is a common symbol of rebirth.

9-10: Although **M** and **N**, the two manuscripts on which our edition is based, have the same reading for vv. 9-10, we see that the many alliterations and acoustic puns in these verses caused some confusion in the later manuscripts. The first two syllables of v. 9 (**καινοῖ**) have the same sound as those of v. 10 (**καὶ νοῖ**). **L**, **R** and **V** read **καινοῖ** also at the beginning of v. 10. **P**, however, preserves the reading of **M** and **N**. Although both **καὶ νοῖ** and **καινοῖ** make sense at the beginning of v. 10, the reading of **M** and **N** (and **P**) has to be preferred regarding their position in the stemma. Moreover, **καὶ νοῖ** is a *lectio difficilior* and the reading of **L**, **R** and **V** can be explained as a scribal mistake, influenced by **καινοῖ** of v. 9. Also regarding the content, **καινοῖ** would be a (superfluous) repetition of v. 9, whereas **νοῖ** refers to **νόες** (v. 6).⁴⁹⁴ When humans have stripped off their old skin,

⁴⁹⁰ Mt. 24:42-44.

⁴⁹¹ Mt. 10:16.

⁴⁹² This refers to the phoenix.

⁴⁹³ For other references in ancient literature to the snake as chthonic symbol of the mortal soul see Brisson et al. (1992: 203-204).

⁴⁹⁴ **νόες** is a late uncontracted alternative form for **νοῖ**, the nominative plural of νοῦς / νόος. The oldest attestations of **νόες**, when searching in TLG, are found in the *Enneads* of Plotinos (3rd c.).

when they have left their flesh (cf. v. 3) and their passions (cf. v. 5), they become new (v. 9) and as they are raised, they are established as minds (v. 10). Humans are indeed most of all minds (v. 6). Compare also with v. 2 of the book epigram quoted above (inc. Αὕτη κλίμαξ ..., see below for a full quotation; commentary on vv. 12-13), where it is said that the minds (νόες) ascend the ladder.

In vv. 9-10, the word play between **καινοὶ** (v. 9) and **καὶ νοῖ** (v. 10) is not the only stylistic feature in these verses. Another example is the *polyptoton* **κενοὶ κενοῦ βίου**. Moreover it has to be noted that **καινοί** sounds exactly the same as **καὶ νοῖ** and **κενοί**. **κενοί** has to be understood here as *destitute, bereft* (LSJ s.v. *κενός* + gen.). Since its object is *the vain life*, **κενοὶ** has, however, a more positive connotation than *destitute* or *bereft*. Therefore I opted to translate it as *free from*.

The message of vv. 9-10 is similar to some passages in Paul. See for example Col. 3:9-10:

μη ψεύδεσθε εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ 10 καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.

In this passage, Paul describes the transition of the old man to the new, in words used for clothes (*ἀπεκδυσάμενοι / ἐνδυσάμενοι*).⁴⁹⁵

Another relevant passage is found in 1 Cor. 15:50-52:

Τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομησαὶ οὐ δύναται οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ. 51 ἰδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, 52 ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι· σαλπίζει γὰρ καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἄφθαρτοι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα.

Here, Paul preaches the change of man after at the end of times (cf. **καινοὶ** v. 9). Also in Rom. 6:4, Paul refers to the new life after death:

συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον, ἵνα ὡσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν.

⁴⁹⁵ Also Barsanouphios uses this metaphor (ed. Neyt - de Angelis-Noah 1997 vol. 1: 262-264).

11: Ἦνπερ refers again to the ladder / *Ladder* (κλίμακος v. 1) which was last referred to in v. 5 (ἦν).⁴⁹⁶ Ἦνπερ is the object of ἀναβαίνειν (v. 14), which is governed by δίδου. Verse 11 is addressed to John Klimax (Ἰωάννη).

12-13: These verses are an apposition to Ἰωάννη (v. 11). They refer to John Klimax' technical skills that were required to construct the ladder / *Ladder*. The praise of his craftsmanship is a praise of his literary qualities. This praise can be compared with a passage in the cycle of *Barocc. 141* (Poem 2, vv. 9-11), where Klimax is called τεχνίτης.

V. 12 has a striking parallel with the third verse of the book epigram referred to above, of which I provide the full text here:⁴⁹⁷

Αὕτη κλίμαξ πέφυκεν οὐρανοδρόμος
κλίμαξ ἐφ' ἦν χωροῦσιν οἱ θεῖοι νόες
ἦν ὡς λίθοις ἤγειρας ἐν στερροῖς λόγοις.

The constituents of the expression already appear in Gregory of Nazianzos' *Oratio* 28, 2, ll. 22-23 (ed. Galloway 1978: 102): λίθοι γὰρ τοῖς θηριώδεσι οἱ ἀληθεῖς λόγοι καὶ στερροί. In the passage that precedes this phrase, Gregory explains that true theology is not to be presented to evil persons, because they would misinterpret the divine Word. Moreover, they would be stoned as the words are towards them like stones. It seems that both Arethas and Psellos refer to this passage in their own works:

- 1) Arethas of Caesarea (9th - 10th c.), *Scripta minora*, op. 21 (ed. Westerink 1968: 207, ll. 2-5): κὰν εἴ σοι διαπαίζεται ταῦτα τῇ ἀθεότητι ἀπιστούμενα, λίθοις, στερροῖς φημι λόγοις, βληθείης καὶ βολίσιν, ὀνειδέσει, πρὸς ἀξίαν πόρρωθεν κατατοξευθείης.
- 2) Michael Psellos (11th c.), *Orationes panegyricae* (ed. Dennis 1994: Or. 1, ll. 317-319): ὅθεν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀθέατον γνόφον εἰσέρχομαι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας ἴσταμαι πόρρωθεν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς στερροῖς λόγοις ὡς λίθοις βληθῶ.

In Poem 3, just as is the case in the book epigram (inc. Αὕτη κλίμαξ...), the stones are, however, not meant as a risk for those who are unfamiliar with true theology. They are rather the material out of which the ladder is made. The solid words out of which the *Ladder* is composed, are like solid stones, enabling safe ascent. Perhaps one could even think of the ladder as a staircase. In any case, the link between Poem 3 and the book epigram is the strongest one.

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. also Turyn (1980: 30).

⁴⁹⁷ Preserved in Jerusalem, *Timiou Staurou* 93 f. 164r-v (13th c.); Athos, *Vatoped.* 348 (13th c.), at the end of the manuscript; *Monac. gr.* 114 f. 182v (first half 14th c.). Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2259.

It is hard to tell which one of both texts came first and possibly influenced the other one. Although the oldest manuscripts in which this book epigram was preserved, *Vatoped. 348* and *Timiou Staurou 93*, date to the 13th c., it is not impossible that the epigram was composed earlier. The date of composition of book epigrams is notoriously hard to pin down. One should indeed take both options into consideration. The first verse of both poems is quite similar. The concept of minds ascending the ladder appears in both. Verse 3 of the book epigram closely resembles v. 12 of Poem 3. The book epigram could be an abridged version of Poem 3 or Poem 3 could be an expanded version of the book epigram.

14-18 LMN: σοῖς Ἰωάνναις is the indirect object of δίδου (v. 11) and is explained in the next verses. The first John is John the writer (v. 15). He is humbly described as a sinner.⁴⁹⁸ John Komnenos, by contrast, is praised for his noble descent. εὐγενεῖ (v. 16) clearly contrasts with δυσγενεῖ (v. 15). The fact that Komnenos is praised for his descent is clear argument in favour of John the writer being the author of this poem (and by consequence perhaps of the entire cycle). It would be against all prescripts of humility when Komnenos as an author would praise his own descent.⁴⁹⁹

Just as in the prose introduction to Poem 1 and in v. 133 of Poem 4, John Komnenos is described as a monk (cf. σχήματος μονοτρόπου v. 17). Moreover he is called χαριτώνυμος, which PGL translates as *named after grace*, adding “i.e. with a name derived from Hebr. יְהוֹנָתָן”. The Hebrew name יְהוֹנָתָן, which is the origin of the Greek name Ἰωάννης, incorporates indeed יְהוֹ, which means *grace* or *charm* (χάρις).⁵⁰⁰ χαριτώνυμος is thus used as a description of the name John. Although χαριτώνυμος is occasionally used when referring to saints, see for example the *Vita* of saint John of Damascus (PG 94.433, l. 3), it is more frequently used when referring to someone named John who is of a noble descent. See, for example, Theodoros Prodromos (12th c.) who addressed the emperor John Komnenos in his *Carmina historica* as follows (ed. Hörandner 1974: poem 24, vv. 21-22):⁵⁰¹

πάλιν ὁ θεῖος βασιλεύς, ὁ μέγας μονοκράτωρ,
ὁ χαριτώνυμος βλαστὸς τῆς ἱερᾶς πορφύρας,

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. Wendel (1950) on the typical self-denying way in which the ‘Schreibermönche’ portrayed themselves.

⁴⁹⁹ See also step 25, where Klimax describes the way to humility as follows (PG 88.1001, ll. 35-39): νεῦρα ταύτης (= ταπεινοφροσύνης) καὶ ὁδοὶ, οὐ μέντοι καὶ σύμβολα, ἀκτημοσύνη, ξενιτεία, ἀφανῆς σοφίας ἀποκρυφή, προφορὰ ἀποίκιλος, ἐλεημοσύνης ζήτησις, κρύψις εὐγενείας, παρρησίας ἐξορισμὸς, πολυλογίας μακρυσμὸς.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. Koehler – Baumgartner (1996: s.v. יְהוֹ, יְהוֹנָתָן).

⁵⁰¹ Compare also with other passages from the *Carmina historica*: poem 8, l. 61; poem 14, l. 45; poem 19, l. 135.

σχήματος μονοτρόπου: Interestingly the collocation σχῆμα + μονοτρόπου / μονοτρόπων is found only four times in TLG. Thrice in the works of, again, Theodore Prodromos.⁵⁰² However, two of these occurrences are actually the same text. TLG contains both Hörandner's edition of 1974⁵⁰³ and Gautier's of 1975 of the poem with the title Ἐπιτάφιοι τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου καίσαρος κυροῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Βρυεννίου, κυρᾶ Θεοδώρα. Verse 138 of this poem runs: αἰτεῖς τὸ σεπτὸν σχῆμα τῶν μονοτρόπων. Another occurrence is found in v. 19 of yet another of the *Carmina historica*: τὸ πανσέβαστον σχῆμα τῶν μονοτρόπων (ed. Hörandner 1974: poem 79). The words σεπτὸν and πανσέβαστον, that accompany the expression in these verses of Prodromos, give it an august character, that fits in with the laudatory style in which Komnenos is praised in vv. 16-18.

From these observations, it can be concluded again that Poem 3 is written from the perspective of John the writer, who is described as a humble monk, whereas John Komnenos is praised as would fit a patron. As discussed in the paragraph on authorship this seems to be the strongest argument in favour of interpreting John the writer as the author of the entire cycle (see chapter 3.1.5 Authorship).

19 LMN: This verse means that it would be impossible to ascend to heaven without John Klimax' intercession (λιταῖς v. 11). ὡς λέγεις is a variant for ὡς γράφεις in v. 14. Again, Klimax is the subject.

nota in fine: The note at the end (στίχοι 10) is only preserved in **N**. Since at the end of all other poems there is, both in **M** and **N**, a note concerning the number of verses of the respective poems, it seems reasonable to conclude that **M** omitted the note here. Besides, the note is also missing in **L**, which in this case is certainly due to a forgetful scribe.

The Versions of P, R and V

In the terminology of Wallraff and Andrist (2015: 240), Poem 3, in the version of **LMN**, is a 'traditional' book epigram, since the text is kept as it is by later scribes.⁵⁰⁴ The versions of **PRV** can be categorized as 'editorial' book epigrams, because they include variants depending on the specific context of their manuscripts.⁵⁰⁵ Until v. 13, the version of **PRV** is the same as that of **LMN**. **P** updates the names of the version of **LMN**, but preserves its structure. John the writer is replaced with Nikander, scribe of **P**, and John Komnenos with Kyprian, patron of **P**. An update also occurred in **R**, but there, only the name of the

⁵⁰² The fourth occurrence is found in *Vita sancti Arsenii* (ed. Delehaye – Wiegand 1913: l. 8).

⁵⁰³ Hörandner (1974) edited this poem as part of the *Carmina historica* (poem 39).

⁵⁰⁴ See chapter 1.4.1 Traditional Paratexts.

⁵⁰⁵ See chapter 1.4.2 Editorial Paratexts.

patron is mentioned. In **V** there are, just as is the case in **P**, two new names, but here their role is not made explicit.

P: 14: σοῖς Ἰωάνναις of **LMN** was replaced by ἀνεμποδίστως. The second half of the verse, however, is preserved from **LMN**. One might suggest that the adaptation in **P** was influenced by ὡς γράφεις. Indeed, Klimax writes in the opening of step 17 (PG 88.928, ll. 3-6):

Ἄκτημοσύνη ἐστὶ φροντίδων ἀπόθεσις, ἀμεριμνία βίου, ὄδοιπόρος ἀνεμπόδιστος,
πίστις ἐντολῶν, λύπης ἀλλότριος ἀκτῆμων μοναχὸς δεσπότης κόσμου

This passage from the *Ladder* states, just as Poem 3, that all material desires are a hindrance for those who wish to live a virtuous life.

15: The first half of this verse is borrowed from the version of **LMN**. In this case, γραφεῖ definitely refers to the scribe of **P**, Nikander the wearer of rags.

16-17: Kyprian takes the place John Komnenos has in the version of **LMN**. Kyprian is mentioned as the possessor of **P**, which probably implies that he also was the patron. This is again an argument, based on reception, that Komnenos was probably the patron of the cycle and not the author. As indicated by θυηπόλω, Kyprian was a priest.

18-19: In these two last verses the spiritual value of the book is emphasized. It is a typical feature of book epigrams.⁵⁰⁶

18: It might (or might not) be a coincidence that ὡς θεοῦ χάριν stand on the same metrical position as χαριτωνύμου in **LMN**.

V: 14-15: The names of **LMN** are changed into Simon and Symeon. The role of these two persons is not made explicit in the poem. If the structure of the model is kept, one could guess that Simon was the scribe and Symeon the patron. For a further discussion of Simon and Symeon see chapter 3.1.1 (The Manuscripts).

15: σῶ corresponds to σοῖς of v. 14 from **LMN**. ἀναξίως from the manuscript was corrected into ἀναξίω, the latter being an adjective referring to Symeon the priest. The dative has parallels with the equivalent verses of the other versions of the poem, namely v. 15 of **LMN** and **P**.

16: This verse is entirely taken from the model and has the same function.

⁵⁰⁶ “Spiritual value of the book” is one of the keywords in DBBE when searching for types. For more examples see www.dbbe.ugent.be/type/search.

R: Ἰάκωβος was the patron of the manuscript. For a further discussion see chapter 3.1.1 (The Manuscripts); for a discussion of the incorrect number of syllables see chapter 3.1.6 (Metrical Analysis).

3.4.4 Poem 4

3.4.4.1 Structure

prayer to the Trinity

invocation of the Trinity (vv. 1-11):

 stressing its unity (vv. 3-5)

 invocation of each part (vv. 6-8)

 unity in trinity (vv. 9-11)

requests to the Trinity:

 first request (vv. 12-14): request for help

 second request (vv. 15-17): request to unite with the Trinity

 third request (vv. 18-45): request for the remembrance of death and for
 balance⁵⁰⁷

 fourth request (vv. 46-49): request for enlightenment

 first final clause (vv. 50-51): in order to have the Trinity in the heart

 second final clause (vv. 52-59): in order to recognize the tricks of the devil

 digression on the devil:

 on the hypocrisy of the devil (vv. 60-73)

 on the names of the devil (vv. 74-105)

 digression on Cain and Abel (vv. 98-105)

 two rhetorical questions on who might see through the
 devil's tricks (vv. 106-119)

 answer to the questions:

 Paul's strength (vv. 120-122)

 narrator's weakness (vv. 123-125)

 final request to be saved and mention of the narrator's name (vv. 126-134)

Just as in Poem 1, the stressed initials in the manuscripts, give an indication of the structure of the poem. Since Poem 4 not completely preserved in **M**, we have to rely on **N**.⁵⁰⁸ The table below provides an overview of the verses which have a stressed initial in the manuscript(s) and in the edition.

⁵⁰⁷ Possibly, the problematic v. 26 blurs our view on the structure of the surrounding verses (see commentary on v. 26).

⁵⁰⁸ Only in the case of v. 128 we can compare **N** with **M**. As already mentioned when discussing the initials in Poem 1, it is not always clear if **M** stresses an initial since all initials are written in red (see chapter 3.4.1.1 on

Ed.	N	content
v. 1	v. 1 ⁵⁰⁹	invocation of the Trinity
v. 2 ⁵¹⁰	v. 2	
v. 10	v. 10	
v. 15	v. 15	second request: to unite with the Trinity
v. 18	v. 18	third request: memory of death
v. 27		third request: balance (confession)
v. 30		third request: balance
v. 34		
v. 35		
v. 36		
v. 37	v. 37	third request: balance (metaphor of the ship)
v. 40		
v. 44		
v. 46	v. 46	fourth request: enlightenment
v. 50	v. 50	final clauses: Trinity in the heart / recognize the tricks of the devil
v. 60	v. 60	digression on the devil: hypocrisy
v. 67	v. 67	digression on the devil: hypocrisy (metaphor of the fisherman)
v. 72	v. 72	digression on the devil: hypocrisy (metaphor of the light)
v. 74		disgust for the devil (announcement of the list of the names of the devil)
v. 76		the names of the devil (intro)
v. 84	v. 84	the names of the devil (the names)
v. 86 ⁵¹¹		
v. 106	v. 106	two rhetorical questions on the devil (first question)
v. 115		second rhetorical question on the devil
v. 120	v. 120	Paul and final request of the narrator to be saved
v. 128		

Also here, I added some indentions to visualize the structure: at the beginning of vv. 15, 18, 37, 46, 60, 74, 106, 120.

the structure of Poem 1). In the case of v. 128, the initial in **M** is written slightly thicker, but it is hard to decide if this was intentional.

⁵⁰⁹ The first letter of this verse was written in black first and was later on overwritten in red by the same hand.

⁵¹⁰ Also when there would have been no red initial in **N** in v. 2 and in v. 10, Τριάς would have been written with a capital in the edition.

⁵¹¹ In modern editions, Βελίας is commonly written with a capital.

3.4.4.2 Verse by Verse Commentary

Title

Ἄρχῃ τῶν στίχων τοῦ τέλους. τοῦ is not preserved in **N**. It seems that the right margin of the folio was cut and restored, which caused the loss of this word. In **L**, the title is complete. Hence, we used the title of **L** in the edition.

Stylistically, Ἄρχῃ contrasts with τέλους. τέλους refers to the fact that the poem is preserved at the end of the manuscripts.⁵¹² Although this poem appears at the end of *To the shepherd* there is not a direct link with this treatise. The note in prose at the end of Poem 4 in fact merely mentions that the poem indeed follows upon *To the shepherd* and does not imply that there should be a link with the text.⁵¹³ Poem 4 seems rather to be a final prayer addressing the Trinity.

1-11: Two observations can be made on this invocation of the Trinity: 1) the opening verse is suspicious (see below), 2) in vv. 3-11 we find three pairs of three verses (vv. 3-5 + vv. 6-8 + vv. 9-11).⁵¹⁴ From these observations we might hypothesize that there was an extra verse at the beginning, in order to get four groups of three verses. Stylistically, this would certainly be an improvement. Also, in this way the number of 135 verses mentioned in the note at the end of the poem would be correct and, moreover, the awkward first verse would then not be the first one.

1: This verse is quite strange as an opening verse. In **N**, it appears as the last line on f. 417r, accompanied by the title in the right margin. This is probably the reason why it was not mentioned as the incipit of the poem in the catalogue (Vladimir – Grichine 1995: 239).⁵¹⁵ A palaeographical detail makes this opening verse even more suspect: the first letter of this verse was written in black first and was later overwritten in red by the same hand. The note at the end of the poem mentioned that this poem should have 135 verses, which means one more than we have in our edition. It might thus be that something went wrong in the text transmission of this opening of Poem 4.

The repetition of **καλῶν** is quite remarkable and does not sound elegant. In both **N** and **L**, there is a dot between the two occurrences of **καλῶν**. Besides, it is not clear what **Τούτων** refers to. Perhaps there was a constituent, of a similar quality as **δότα**, appearing on a hypothetical preceding verse.

⁵¹² See chapter 3.1.2 Order and Preservation of the Poems.

⁵¹³ Στίχοι ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε οἱ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ποιμένα λόγου τοῦ Κλίμακος.

⁵¹⁴ Also in the next part of the poem, groups of three verses can be discerned (certainly vv. 12-14 and vv. 15-17, and perhaps even further on).

⁵¹⁵ The occurrence of Poem 4 in **L** is even unnoticed in the catalogues.

Δότα, both in **N** and **L**, is abbreviated as δό^τ. Regarding the many vocatives in vv. 3-11, we opted to interpret it as a vocative. Also **Τριάς παναλικής** (v. 2) is meant as a vocative.⁵¹⁶

The content of this verse seems to correspond to Jc. 1:17:

πάσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἐστιν καταβαῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν φώτων, παρ' ᾧ οὐκ ἔνι παραλλαγή ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα.

2: In fact, this verse sounds like a better opening verse than v. 1. The Trinity appears as the topic of the following passage.

1-2: The content of these verses is similar to a passage in Didymos the Blind (4th c.), *De trinitate* [Sp.] (PG 39.764, ll. 36-38): ἀγαθωτάτη καὶ παναλκεστάτη Τριάς, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ παρ' ἧς πᾶν ἀγαθὸν.

3-5: These three verses (not accidentally three) thematise the unity of the Trinity. The word μία appears three times: once in each verse.

3: **ἐναρίθμητε** < ἐναρίθμητος (zum Zählen gehörend LBG). ἐναρίθμητος does neither appear in LSJ nor in PGL. ἐνάριθμος, however, does appear in LSJ. Possibly the form ἐναρίθμητος was constructed as an analogy from its antonymous pair ἀνάριθμος / ἀναρίθμητος, which does appear in LSJ.

It seems that this verse was inspired by Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 72-73, *De Spiritu sancto* (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14):

Poem 4, v. 3	<i>Carm.</i> I,1,3, vv. 72-73
μονὰς ἐναρίθμητε καὶ φύσις μία	οὔτε μονὰς νήριθμος, ἐπεὶ τρισὶν ἴστατ' ἐν ἐσθλοῖς, οὔτε Τριάς πολύσεπτος, ἐπεὶ φύσις ἔστ' ἀκέαστος.

νήριθμος is a synonym of ἀνάριθμος (countless LSJ).⁵¹⁷ Hence, its negation coincides with ἐναρίθμητος. **φύσις μία** corresponds to φύσις ἀκέαστος. It seems not to be an accident that **μονὰς** (v. 3) and **Τριάς** (v. 2) stand on the same metrical position. The equation of these two words is the nuclear message of this passage.

One might also think of another passage in *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 40-43 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 12):

⁵¹⁶ In ancient Greek the vocative would be Τριάς παναλικές. Also **φύσις** (v. 3), **δύναμις** (v. 4) and **κίνησις** (v. 5) are meant as a vocative. In Byzantine Greek there is the evolution that the nominative increasingly replaces the vocative. I thank Marc De Groote for his remarks (personal communication, 9 February 2017).

⁵¹⁷ See also Moreschini – Sykes (1997: 138).

τῶν σὺ μνωόμενος μηδὲν Θεότητος ἀτίζειν,
 πρόσθε φέρων τόδ' ἔνερθεν. ἴη φύσις ἐστίν, ἄμετρον,
 ἄκτιστον, ἄχρονον, ἐσθλόν, ἐλεύθερον, ἠδ' ὁμόσεπτον,
 εἷς Θεὸς ἐν τρισσοῖς ἀμαρύγμασι κόσμον ἐλίσσω.

ἴη φύσις conveys the same message as **φύσις μία**. Besides, vv. 40-43 of *Carm.* I,1,3 also stress the paradox of the Trinity, being a triad and a unity at the same time.⁵¹⁸

4: τρισάριθμε specifies **ἐναρίθμητε** (v. 3). A countable unity (**μονὰς ἐναρίθμητε**) means in this case a triad. Moreover, **τρिसάριθμε** reminds of **τρिसάριθμα** in *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 74 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14): ἡ μονὰς ἐν θεότητι, τὰ δ' ὧν θεότης τρισάριθμα.⁵¹⁹

5: Also this verse might be inspired by Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 87-88 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14). The relevant passage appears only 14 lines after the verse with **τρिसάριθμα**:

Poem 4, v. 5	<i>Carm.</i> I,1,3, vv. 87-88
μία κίνησις, ἐν νόημα καὶ κλέος·	τῆς δ' ἄρ' ἐμῆς Τριάδος ἐν μὲν σθένος , ἐν δὲ νόημα , ἐν κλέος , ἐν δὲ κράτος . τῷ καὶ μονὰς ἐστὶν ἄρευστος,

Besides, the words **σθένος** (v. 7) and **κράτος** (v. 2) also appear in this passage. In the context of this poem, I think that the author of Poem 4 deliberately uses this passage from Gregory of Nazianzos. As we will see further on in this commentary, this is certainly not the last borrowing from Gregory.

6-8: These three verses mention each one person of the Trinity. In v. 8, the orthodox dogma is followed that the Spirit proceeds from the Father (and from the Father only – so no *filioque* here).

8 προηγμένον: The reading προῖγμένον < προῖκνέομαι (*come before* LSJ), the form preserved in **N** (and **L**), is most likely a iotacism for **προηγμένον** < προάγω (*bring forth, produce* PGL). The verb προάγω is frequently used in descriptions of the Father bringing forth the Spirit. See for example Leo VI's 6th homily, ll. 71-72 (ed. Antonopoulou 2008):

Θεὸς ἀπροσδεὴς ὁ Πατήρ, ἴσον αὐτῷ γεννᾷ Θεὸν τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ ἴσον προάγει Θεὸν τὸ πανάγαθον Πνεῦμα.

However, a similar participle perfect of προῖκνέομαι appears in Ephraem's *Historia Chronica* (13th-14th c.), vv. 1272-1277 (ed. Lampsides 1990):

⁵¹⁸ See also Moreschini – Sykes (1997: 126-128).

⁵¹⁹ See also Moreschini – Sykes (1997: 139).

ἔδοξε γοῦν τι κατ' ὄναρ οὕτω βλέπειν,
πολύ τι πλήθος γηγενῶν παρεστάναι
ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν εἰκόνι τοῦ Δεσπότου,
καταβοᾶν τε σφᾶς ἄνακτος σὺν γόοις,
αὐτοῦ συνόντος, συμπαρεστῶτος τρόμω·
φωνῆς τ' ἀκούειν εἰκόνοσ προΐγμένης,

In this passage, it is said that a voice supernaturally comes forth from an icon. It seems that προΐγμένης is used here as if it would have the same meaning as προηγμένης. At first sight, it is the only occurrence of a medio-passive participle perfect of προϊκνέομαι found in TLG. Hence, it seems extremely likely that also this case concerns a iotacism. In any case, it seems reasonable to correct προΐγμένον to προηγμένον.

9: This verse repeats the three persons of the Trinity which already appeared in vv. 6-8: ἥλιε (Father), φῶς (Son), ἀκτίς (Spirit). The sun already appeared in this metaphorical sense referring to the Father in Poem 1, vv. 45-55. Also there, the Trinity is complete by the appearance of the Spirit in v. 54 and of the Son, as the Word, in v. 55 (see commentary Poem 1, vv. 45-55). The comparison of the Trinity to the sun appears frequently in theological literature. See for example Gregory of Nazianzos, *Oratio 31 De spiritu sancto* (par. 32, ll. 1-6; ed. Barbel 1963):

Πάλιν ἥλιον ἐνεθυμήθην, καὶ ἀκτίνα, καὶ φῶς. ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα δέος, πρῶτον μὲν μὴ σύνθεσίς τις ἐπινοῆται τῆς ἀσυνθέτου φύσεως, ὥσπερ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡλίῳ· δεύτερον δὲ μὴ τὸν πατέρα μὲν οὐσιώσωμεν, τᾶλλα δὲ μὴ ὑποστήσωμεν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις θεοῦ ποιήσωμεν ἐνυπαρχούσας, οὐχ ὑφεστώσας. οὔτε γὰρ ἀκτίς, οὔτε φῶς, ἄλλος ἥλιος, ἀλλ' ἡλιακαὶ τινες ἀπόρροιαί, καὶ ποιότητες οὐσιώδεις.

One might also think of the *Symbolon*: φῶς ἐκ φωτός (PG 152.1102, l. 18).

10: This verse is based on Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 60 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14):

ἐκ μονάδος Τριάς ἐστι, καὶ ἐκ Τριάδος μονὰς αὐθίς.

See also Gregory of Nazianzos, *Oratio 25* (PG 35.1221, ll. 44-45):⁵²⁰

⁵²⁰ See also his *Or.* 29 (ed. Gallay 1978: 180, ll. 13-15): Διὰ τοῦτο μονὰς “ἀπ' ἀρχῆς”, εἰς δυάδα κινηθεῖσα, μέχρι τριάδος ἔστη. For ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, see Joh. 1:1 and 1 Joh. 1:1. Cf. Moreschini – Sykes (1997: 133).

μονάδα ἐν Τριάδι, καὶ Τριάδα ἐν μονάδι προσκυνουμένην

Besides, also step 25 of the *Ladder* offers a similar phrase (PG 88.992, l. 55 - 993, l. 3):

Ἡ μὲν μετάνοια ἀνιστᾶ· τὸ δὲ πένθος εἰς οὐρανούς κρούει· ἡ δὲ ὄσια ταπεινώσις ἀνοίγει. Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω, καὶ προσκυνῶ Τριάδα ἐν μονάδι, καὶ μονάδα ἐν Τριάδι.

Zecher (2013: 115 n. 11) correctly mentions that this phrase in *Klimax* is a quotation of Justin II's orthodox dogma from ca. 565 A.D. as it appears in Evagrius Scholasticos (6th c.), *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ed. Bidez – Parmentier 1898: 198, ll. 18-19): Μονάδα γὰρ ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι προσκυνοῦμεν. It seems, however, that Zecher could already refer to Justinian I, who predates Justin II. See Justinian I's *Edictum rectae fidei* (ed. Albertella et al. 1973²: 130, ll. 16-17): μονάδα γὰρ ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι προσκυνοῦμεν or his *Contra monophysitas*, sect. 2, l. 1 (ed. Albertella et al. 1973²): Κηρύττει γὰρ ἡ ἀγία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία μονάδα ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι. In fact also these phrases from Justinian are taken from Gregory of Nazianzos.⁵²¹

One can easily discover many more similar passages. They are all ascribed to writers contemporary to Gregory of Nazianzos, or of a more recent date:

- 1) Eriphanios (4th c.), *Panarion* (= *Adversus haereses*) (PG 2.391, ll. 23-24): ἀλλὰ ὁμολογοῦμεν τὴν τριάδα, μονάδα ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι.
- 2) Athanasios (4th c.), *Symbolum "quicumque"* [Sp.] (PG 28.1581, ll. 15-16): ἵνα ἕνα Θεὸν ἐν Τριάδι, καὶ Τριάδα ἐν μονάδι σέβωμεν.
- 3) id. (PG 28.1585, ll. 7-8): ἕνα Θεὸν ἐν Τριάδι, καὶ Τριάδα ἐν μονάδι σέβειν ἡμᾶς.
- 4) id. (PG 28.1585, ll. 44-45): ἵνα ἕνα Θεὸν ἐν Τριάδι, καὶ Τριάδα ἐν μονάδι σεβώμεθα.
- 5) id. (PG 28. 1587, ll. 34-36): τὴν μονάδα ἐν Τριάδι, καὶ τὴν Τριάδα ἐν μονάδι σέβεσθαι δεῖ.
- 6) id. (PG 28.1588, ll. 41-42): ἵνα ἕνα Θεὸν ἐν Τριάδι, καὶ Τριάδα ἐν μονάδι σέβωμεν.
- 7) id. (PG 28.1589, ll. 33-34): Μονάδα γοῦν ἐν Τριάδι, καὶ Τριάδα ἐν μονάδι πᾶς Χριστιανὸς εὐσεβείσθω.
- 8) *Chronicon Paschale* (7th c.) (ed. Dindorf 1832: 636, ll. 21-22): μονάδα γὰρ ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι προσκυνοῦμεν.

⁵²¹ Macé (2002) has clearly shown that the *Edictum rectae fidei* deliberately quotes Gregory of Nazianzos. Macé (2002: 91) links the passage edited by Albertella et al. (1973: 130, ll. 16-17) to Gregory's phrase in Or. 25 (PG 35.1221, ll. 44-45). See also Rhoby (2007: 410).

- 9) Cyril of Scythopolis (6th c.), *Vita Euthymii* (ed. Schwartz 1939: 40, ll. 4-6):
 διδαχθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μονάδα πρεσβεύειν ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν
 μονάδι, μονάδα μὲν θεότητι καὶ οὐσίαι καὶ φύσει.
- 10) Maximos the Confessor (6th-7th c.), *Mystagogia* ch. 23, ll. 60-61 (ed. Cantarella
 1931): μονάδα οὐσίας τρισυπόστατον καὶ τριάδα ὑποστάσεων ὁμοούσιον,
 μονάδα ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι.
- 11) id., *Expositio orationis dominicae*, l. 446 (ed. van Deun 1991): ἐν μονάδι τριάδα
 καὶ ἐν τριάδι μονάδα.
- 12) John of Damascus (7th-8th c.), *Laudatio sancti Johannis Chrysostomi*, sect. 3, ll. 3-4
 (ed. Kotter 1988): μονάδα σαφῶς εἰδέναι ἐν τριάδι προσκυνουμένην καὶ
 τριάδα εἰς μονάδα ἀνακεφαλαιουμένην.

This phrase was clearly popular. Since, in the context of v. 10 in Poem 4, there is no mention of worshipping the Trinity (e.g. προσκυνῶ in the *Ladder* / προσκυνοῦμεν in Evagrius Scholasticus) and since the poem of Gregory already appeared as a source for some phrases in the previous verses, it seems likely that the author of Poem 4 was directly inspired by Gregory for this verse.

2-10: It seems, then, that this invocation of the Trinity is more or less entirely based on *Carm.* I,1,3. In any case it fits in with Gregory's theological concept of the Trinity. Another book epigram that seems to trace back to this Gregorian concept is found at the end Kosmas of Jerusalem's commentary on Gregory's poems. It is a colophon, apparently written by a scribe named Konstantinos (PG 38.669-700):⁵²²

Τριάς μονὰς τρίφωτε, πανσθενεστάτη,
 Ἡ τρεῖς φέρουσα τὰς ὑποστάσεις μόνη,
 Τὴν οὐσίαν μίαν δὲ προσκυνουμένη,
 Ὡς ἡλίου φέροντος ἀκτῖνα τρίτην·
 Ἐν καὶ κράτος γὰρ καὶ σθένος θέλημά τε
 Ἐν, οἶδαμεν σέβασθαι σῆς ἐξουσίας,
 Σὺ τὸν πόθῳ γράψαντα τήνδε τὴν βίβλον
 Κωνσταντῖνον σάωσον ἐκ πάσης βλάβης.

11: Also in this verse a triad (**ἄκτιστε, ταυτόβουλε, σύμπνοια**) and a unity (**μία**) are combined. The three nouns refer again to the three persons of the Trinity. **ἄκτιστε** corresponds to the Father (cf. **ἀγέννητε** v. 6). **σύμπνοια** logically evokes the Spirit. Hence, it would be logical if **ταυτόβουλε** would refer to the Son. In vv. 6-9, the same

⁵²² Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/4421.

order of the Trinity appears: 1) Πάτερ (v. 6) / ἤλιε (v. 9); 2) Υἱέ (v. 7) / φῶς (v. 9); 3) Πνεῦμα (v. 8) / ἀκτίς (v. 9). If ταυτόβουλε would refer to the Son, then also in v. 11 this order is followed (for a third time).

The word ταυτόβουλος does neither appear in LSJ nor in PGL. PGL does, however, mention ταυτοβουλία (*identity of will*), which can be used both Trinitarianly and Christologically.

Ταυτόβουλος appears in a similar context in Niketas Stethatos (11th c.), *Contra Latinos et de processione spiritus sancti* (ed. Michel 1930: 382, ll. 12-15 - 383, l. 1):

ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ παράκλητος, ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς. ὅταν ἔλθῃ, εἶπεν, ἵνα δείξῃ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον· ἐγὼ πέμψω, προσέθηκε, διὰ τὸ αὐτοθελὲς ἢ ταυτόβουλον — ἢ ὡς ἂν βούλει καλεῖν τὴν συνευδόκησιν — ἴν', ὅπερ εἴρηται τῷ θεολόγῳ Γρηγορίῳ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ “τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποστολήν εἶναι τοῦ υἱοῦ νόμισον”.⁵²³

This passage gives an explanation of Joh. 15:26 (in italics), which is spoken by Christ. His words “I will send” are a sign of his own will (cf. αὐτοθελής, *of one’s own will* LSJ) or of the fact that he has the same will (ταυτόβουλον) as the Father. From the quotation from Gregory which is mentioned at the end of the passage, I think that αὐτοθελὲς ἢ ταυτόβουλον refers to the fact that the Son and the Father have the same will.

However, there is a close parallel in Nikolaus Methonaios (12th c.), *Oratio* 7, stating that the Trinity as a whole has one will (ed. Demetrakopoulos 1866: 374, ll. 2-7):

Ὅταν γάρ, φησιν, ἔλθῃ ὁ παράκλητος, ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς· τῷ μὲν γάρ, Ὅταν ἔλθῃ, εἶπεῖν τὸ αὐτεξούσιον ἐδήλωσε τοῦ Πνεύματος καὶ τὸ αὐτοκίνητον· τῷ δὲ εἶπεῖν, Πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὴν τε ταυτοβουλίαν τῆς ὅλης Τριάδος καὶ τὸ ἓν καὶ κοινὸν ἔδειξε θέλημα.

It seems that ταυτόβουλος is a synonym of ταυτοβούλητος (*having the same will* PGL). PGL refers in this lemma to a passage from *De sacris imaginibus contra Constantinum Cabalinum (sub nomine Joannis Syncelli, olim sub auctore Joanne Damasceno)* where this word appears again in the context of the Trinity. In this case, it again refers to the Trinity as a whole (PG 95.312, ll. 14-19):

τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα, τὴν ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἀνέκφραστον, τὴν παγκράτιστον, παντούργητον, ὁμοδύναμον, καὶ ἀπερίγραπτον, καὶ ἰσόθεον, ταυτοβούλητον καὶ

⁵²³ Cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Or.* 38 (PG 36.328, ll. 44-45); *Or.* 45 (PG 36.660, ll. 34-35).

ταυτόγνωστον, ταυτούσιον καὶ ὁμοούσιον, συναΐδιον καὶ συνάναρχον καὶ
μόναρχον, καὶ τρισυπόστατον.

12: This is the first verse after the proper invocation of the Trinity, and the first of the request of the prayer. This verse contains the three – again three – objects that are asked from the Trinity.

στάσιν, I think, does not necessarily refer here to standing in prayer at night (see commentary Poem 1, vv. 37). Here, it likely refers to stability and hence to determination.

13: This verse consists of three (!) synonymous imperatives. Whereas **δίδου** pertains to v. 12, **συνέργει καὶ βοήθει** refer to **σὺ λάτρη**. **λάτρης** does not appear in LSJ, but it does appear in PGL. It is to be understood as a synonym of **λάτρις** (*servant* PGL). It is probable that this synonym came into being because of iotacism. **λάτρης** also appears at the end of Poem 4, where it refers to the name of the narrator: John Komnenos (vv. 133-134).

15-16: After praying for support in general, the servant asks the Trinity to bind his three parts (**Τὸ τριμερές μου**) *together with the triple Trinity*. Turpin (2015: 79) explains that ascetics perceived mind, body and soul as a triad.⁵²⁴ Hence, all three elements together – also the body – are the means by which ascetics can reach their goal. By wishing to bind one's own tripartite being together with the Trinity, one wishes a unification with the Trinity itself. This is reminiscent of step 30 of the *Ladder*, where the unifying triad of the three Christian virtues appears (PG 88:1153, l. 4 - 1156, l. 1):

Νυνὶ δὲ λοιπὸν, μετὰ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, μένει τὰ τρία ταῦτα, τὰ τὸν σύνδεσμον
πάντων ἐπισφίγγοντα καὶ κρατοῦντα, πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη.

The union of man with God is mentioned further on in step 30 (PG 88.1157, ll. 35-38) and at the beginning of step 28 (PG 88.1129, ll. 5-6). Compare also with the title of step 30 in Poem 2: **περὶ ἐνώσεως Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων**.⁵²⁵

In the context of Gregory's poems, we could also think of *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 87 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14): τῆς δ' ἄρ' ἐμῆς Τριάδος ἐν μὲν σθένος, ἐν δὲ νόημα.

⁵²⁴ One could also think of 1 Joh. 5:7-8, where it is indeed said that the divine Trinity corresponds to an earthly triad: ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, 8 τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. Compare with the Latin version (ed. Nestle et al. 1962²¹: 606): Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in caelo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis: et hi tres unum sunt.

⁵²⁵ See the commentary on the title of step 30 for a discussion of the mentioned passages in *Klimax* (see chapter 3.4.2).

Moreschini – Sykes (1997: 141) explain: “In writing of *My Trinity* Greg. means at once *the Trinity in my way of understanding* and *the Trinity of my personal devotion*.”

16-17: Since there are no two constituents standing on the same level, **καὶ** (v. 17) must have an emphasizing effect. The phrase starting with **ὡς** clearly is a final clause depending on the imperatives **δέσμευσον** and **ἀσφάλισον**. The subject of **σχολάζη** is likely **Τὸ τριμερές** (v. 15). Just as in Poem 2, v. 208, **θεῶ σχολάσεις καὶ παρεδρεύσεις μόνω**, the verb **σχολάζω** is accompanied by a dative. In v. 17 this dative is **μόνη λειτουργία. θεωρίας τῆς σῆς** depends then on **μόνη λειτουργία**.

18: After a passage where the unity of man with God is thematised, the topic of the remembrance of death (= step 6 in the *Ladder*) does not come as a surprise. As Zecher (2015: 200) explained, a final union with God, which is eternal life, paradoxically implies death. The remembrance of death leads to humility that brings you to a prayer that is more pure.

In this verse, it seems that **οὐ ζοφουμένην** is a predicate to **Μνήμην θανάτου**. It is thus asked to the Trinity to give a remembrance of death that is never obscured. This means a constant remembrance of death.

18-25: The structure of these verses is not easy to understand. As far as I can see, there are at least two ways of interpreting the function of the genitives in vv. 19-20: 1) as dependent on the accusatives of vv. 21-22; 2) as appositions to **θανάτου** (v. 18). The question is thus whether the “kedarian exile” would fit best as an explanation of death, or as a specification of the elements that will be pierced by the Trinity with the spear of death. Perhaps both options are possible at the same time.

19-20: Stylistically, the two verses are constructed as a chiasm. The synonyms **ἀποδημίας** and **ἐκδημίας** correspond to one another, just as **κηδαρικῆς** corresponds to **ταβερναλικίου**. Moreover, **ἀποδημίας** and **ἐκδημίας** can mean both *exile* and *death* (PGL).

κηδαρικῆς is a *hapax*. It is an adjective which derives from **Κηδάρ**. **Κηδάρ** seems to have three meanings, which are connected with each other:⁵²⁶

- 1) Kedar in Hebrew is **קֶדָר**. It derives from **קָדַר** which means *to become dark* (Koehler – Baumgartner 1996: s.v. **קָדַר**). It can refer to darkness, but also to being dirty, and to the dress of a mourner. Gregory of Nyssa shows us that this link to the Hebrew was still known in his time (Cf. *De virginitate* 4.4, ll. 21-22; ed. Aubineau 2011): **Τὸ γὰρ σκότος τῆ Ἑβραίων φωνῆ “κηδάρ” ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν.**
- 2) Kedar is the second son of Ishmael (cf. Gen. 25:13; 1 Chron. 1:29).

⁵²⁶ See Knauf (1992: 9-10) for more details; a.o. on occurrences of Kedar in Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts.

- 3) Kedar is the name of a nomadic Arabic tribe that flourished from the 8th to 4th c. B.C. In Jer. 2:10, it is metaphorically used to refer to the east. In Ez. 27:21, it is said that Kedar traded in cattle with Tyre.

It seems that Kedar, as the son of Ishmael, functions as an aetiological explanation of the name of the tribe (2). Another explanation might be that the dark skin of the Arabs led to the name of the people (1 + 3).

Also **ταβερναλιγκίου** is a *hapax*. The reading in **L**, **ταβερναλιγγίου**, seems to be a simplifying scribal mistake. Just as **κηδαρικῆς**, it is an adjective derived from a noun, *in casu* the Latin *tabernaculum*. In classical Latin this refers to a tent. In a Jewish / Christian context it refers to the tabernacle, which was originally the tent in which the Arc of the Covenant was preserved.⁵²⁷

Why are Kedar and the tabernacle mentioned in the context of exile and/or death? I think that v. 19 and v. 20 both metaphorically stand for the alienation of man from God; especially, the alienation of the human body from God. In Greek, the word for tabernacle is σκηνή, which metaphorically refers to the body (PGL). A clear example is found in 2 Cor. 5:1-10:

Οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνου καταλυθῆ, οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ ἔχομεν, οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. 2 καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ στενάζομεν τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες, 3 εἴ γε καὶ ἐκδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθησόμεθα. 4 καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῷ σκηνεῖ στενάζομεν βαρούμενοι, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐ θέλομεν ἐκδύσασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι, ἵνα καταποθῆ τὸ θνητὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς. 5 ὁ δὲ κατεργασάμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο θεός, ὁ δὸς ἡμῖν τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος. 6 Θαρροῦντες οὖν πάντοτε καὶ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου 7 διὰ πίστεως γὰρ περιπατοῦμεν, οὐ διὰ εἴδους· 8 θαρροῦμεν δὲ καὶ εὐδοκοῦμεν μᾶλλον ἐκδημῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐνδημῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον. 9 διὸ καὶ φιλοτιμούμεθα, εἴτε ἐνδημοῦντες εἴτε ἐκδημοῦντες, εὐάρεστοι αὐτῷ εἶναι. 10 τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομίσῃται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον.

The human body is thus an earthly tent, an image of the heavenly tent by which it should be covered. As Paul stresses in 2 Cor. 5:4, the body ascends to heaven and is not left behind.

⁵²⁷ Cf. OLD s.v. *tabernaculum*; Lewis – Short (1879) s.v. *tabernaculum*.

Also Kedar, as it refers to a nomadic tribe, appears frequently in the Old Testament related to tents. In the *Canticum*, for example, we read (Cant. 1:5):

Μέλαινά εἰμι καὶ καλή, θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλήμ, ὡς σκηνώματα Κηδαρ, ὡς δέρρεις Σαλωμων.

A closer parallel is found in Ps. 119:

Ὡιδῆ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν. Πρὸς κύριον ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαί με ἐκέκραξα, καὶ εἰσήκουσέν μου. 2 κύριε, ῥῦσαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἀπὸ χειλέων ἀδίκων καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης δολίας. 3 τί δοθείη σοι καὶ τί προστεθείη σοι πρὸς γλῶσσαν δολίαν; 4 τὰ βέλη τοῦ δυνατοῦ ἠκονημένα σὺν τοῖς ἄνθραξιν τοῖς ἐρημικοῖς. 5 οἶμοι, ὅτι ἡ παροικία μου ἐμακρύνθη, κατεσκήνωσα μετὰ τῶν σκηνωμάτων Κηδαρ. 6 πολλὰ παρώκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου. 7 μετὰ τῶν μισούντων τὴν εἰρήνην ἤμην εἰρηνικός· ὅταν ἐλάλουν αὐτοῖς, ἐπολέμουν με δωρεάν.

It seems that Kedar metaphorically stands for the sinful world in which man is alienated from God. Interestingly, John Chrysostom, in his commentary upon Ps. 119, refers to 2 Cor. 5:1-10, which was quoted above (PG 55.341, ll. 34-44):

Οἶμοι ὅτι ἡ παροικία μου ἐμακρύνθη, κατεσκήνωσα μετὰ τῶν σκηνωμάτων Κηδάρ. Ἔτερος ἐρμηνευτὴς φησιν· Οἶμοι ὅτι παροικῶν παρείλκυσα.⁵²⁸ Ἄλλος, Ὡ ἐμοὶ, προσηλύτευσά ἐν μακρυσμῶ.⁵²⁹ Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὗτοι θρηνοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι· ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνταῦθα διατριβῆς λέγων· Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῷ σκηνεῖ τούτῳ, στενάζομεν βαρούμενοι⁵³⁰ Καὶ, Οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἔχοντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν.⁵³¹ Καὶ γὰρ παροικία ὁ παρῶν βίος.

Chrysostom links Ps. 119 to 2 Cor. 5:1-10 and to Rom. 8:23. In the final phrase of this passage, he makes clear that all these Biblical passages are a metaphor for life itself, which means for the alienation of man from God because of life. I think, that vv. 19-20 of Poem 2 have a similar implication.

⁵²⁸ PG (55.341) notes that the names of these interpreters remain unknown. According to a TLG-search, these exact words seem not to occur in other texts.

⁵²⁹ Idem.

⁵³⁰ Cf. 2 Cor. 5:4.

⁵³¹ Cf. Rom. 8:23.

Besides, a similar explanation of the tents of Kedar in Ps. 119 as the mortal body appears in Eusebios' *Commentaria in Psalmos* (PG 24.9, ll. 35-39):

Μετὰ τῶν σκηνωμάτων Κηδάρ. Κηδάρ πάγος γενεᾶς δύναται καὶ σκοτασμός· Κατεσκήνωσα οὖν, φησὶ, μετὰ τῶν σκηνωμάτων τοῦ σκοτασμοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μου αὐτῇ, φησὶ, πολλὰ πλεονάκις παρώκησεν.

Since the Fall, humanity is in exile on earth, living in a body and striving to unite again with the Lord. Gregory of Nyssa, in his *In sanctum pascha*, indeed says that our body is living in exile in an earthly body. He encourages us to strive for the renewal of our body after leaving behind our material body (PG 9.247, ll. 1-10):

Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐπαινέσατε αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ λαοί. αἰνέσατε ὡς δυνατὸν, ἐπαινέσατε ὡς φιλόανθρωπον, ὅτι πεσόντας καὶ νεκροὺς ὄντας αὐθις ἐζωοποίησε καὶ τὸ πονέσαν σκεῦος ἀνενεώσατο πάλιν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς τάφοις τῶν λειψάνων ἀηδίαν εἰς ζῶον ἄφθαρτον φιλανθρώπως ἐμόρφωσε καὶ ψυχὴν τὴν πρὸ [τεσσάρων] χιλιάδων ἐτῶν καταλιποῦσαν τὸ σῶμα ὡς ἐκ μακρᾶς ἀποδημίας εἰς <τὴν> ἰδίαν οἰκίαν ἐπανήγαγεν οὐδὲν ἀπὸ χρόνου καὶ λήθης ξενιζομένην πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ὄργανον, ἀλλὰ θᾶπτον ἐπ' αὐτὸ χωροῦσαν ἢ ὄρνις ἐπὶ τὴν καλιὰν τὴν οἰκίαν καθίπτεται.

μακρᾶς ἀποδημίας (v. 19) is used in a similar context.

From these observations, we can conclude that vv. 19-20 have indeed a connection with both death and exile. It is meant that you should remember both death and the fact that life is exile. Death is the journey home. In our translation we opted to follow the interpretation that vv. 19-20 are appositions to **θανάτου**. An argument might be that not only the invocation of the Trinity (vv. 1-11), but also vv. 12-23 consist of groups of three verses. Both vv. 12-14, vv. 15-17 and vv. 18-20 contain an imperative and stand on the same level. Also vv. 21-23 can form a unit. In the next verses, it is seems hard to discern similar groups of three verses. Perhaps also vv. 31-33 and vv. 34-36 can be interpreted as such a group. When this structure is followed, vv. 19-20 belong to the group that begins with v. 18. Hence, vv. 19-20 can be taken as appositions to **θανάτου**.

21: The nouns in this verse refer to insensibility, which is the topic of step 17 (18 in PG). They appear in an antithesis to discernment in step 26 (PG 88.1013, l. 46 - 1016, l. 5):

Οἱ δαίμονες τὸ ἐναντίον πάλιν τῶν εἰρημένων ποιεῖν πεφύκασιν. Ἐπὸν γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς περιγένωνται, καὶ τὸ τοῦ νοῦς φῶς περιτρέψωσιν, οὐκ ἔτι ἔσται ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀθλίοις, οὐ νῆψις, οὐ διάκρισις, οὐκ ἐπίγνωσις, οὐκ ἐντροπή· ἀλλ' ἀναληγσία, καὶ ἀναισθησία, καὶ ἀδιακρισία, καὶ ἀβλεψία. Οἶδασι γὰρ τὰ εἰρημένα εὖ μάλα σαφῶς οἱ ἐκ πορνείας ἀνανήψαντες, καὶ ἐκ παρρησίας ὑποσταλέντες, καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἀναιδεΐας εἰς

συναίσθησιν ἔληλυθότες πῶς τε μετὰ τὴν νῆψιν τοῦ νοῦς, καὶ τῆς πωρώσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ πηρώσεως αὐτοῦ διάλυσιν, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ νοῦν αἰδοῦνται, ἐφ' οἷς πρῶην ἐλάλουν καὶ ἔπραττον ἐν τυφλώσει διάγοντες.

Although the words do not appear in a row, they are clearly descriptions of insensibility. **22:** As a *contradictio in terminis*, this verse, just as the previous one, refers to insensibility. **23:** ἀντιτοροῦσα is a *participium coniunctum* to the Trinity who is addressed by the imperative πάρες (v. 18). It derives from the Homeric word ἀντιτορέω. According to LSJ, it can be accompanied by a genitive, meaning then *bore right through* (cf. *Iliad* 5.337; ed. Allen 1931: εἶθαρ δὲ δόρυ χροὸς ἀντετόρησεν), or by an accusative meaning *to break open* (cf. *Iliad* 10.266-267; ed. Allen 1931: τὴν ῥά ποτ' ἐξ Ἑλεῶνος Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο / ἐξέλετ' Αὐτόλυκος πυκινὸν δόμον ἀντιτορήσας).⁵³² In fact one should not overestimate the slight nuance between these two constructions which seem to be each other's alternative. Leo Diakonos (10th c.) for example writes in his *Historia* (ed. Hase 1828: 41, ll. 5-6): ὡς τὴν αἰχμὴν τὸ κρανίον ἀντιτορήσασαν διαμπερὲς διελθεῖν. Similarly, the accusatives from vv. 21-22 are the object of ἀντιτοροῦσα. In any case, by using this epic verb, the author added some poetic flavour to Poem 4.

It is thus asked that the Trinity would pierce these manifestations of insensibility by the *spear of death*. τῷ δόρατι τοῦ τέλους, I think, refers to Μνήμην θανάτου (v. 18). The Trinity is asked to provide remembrance of death, i.e. of exile, in order to kill insensibility.

24: This verse has a similar structure and meaning, and the same object, as the previous verse: βάλλουσα corresponds to ἀντιτοροῦσα; ταῖς βολαῖς (...) ταῖς ἐναντίαις to τῷ δόρατι.

25: It seems that δύναμιν as an object is directly governed by πάρες (v. 18), just as Μνήμην (v. 18).

25-45: Apparently, v. 25 is a versification of a Byzantine paraphrase of v. 106 of Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carmen* II,1,50 (ed. Ricceri 2013: 241). Intriguingly, vv. 30-45 correspond to the paraphrase of vv. 107-112 of *Carmen* II,1,50. This means that in Poem 4 the reworking of this paraphrase is interrupted by vv. 26-29.

In her doctoral thesis, Ricceri (2013: 233-247) published two paraphrases of *Carmen* II,1,50.⁵³³ These are preserved anonymously and flank or follow the original version of the poem in the manuscripts. Paraphrase 1 seems to be used as a source of inspiration in Poem 4. It is a quite close, almost *ad verbum* paraphrase of *Carmen* II,1,50, whereas Paraphrase 2 is a more descriptive paraphrase. Paraphrases 1 and 2 seem to

⁵³² See for a similar example the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, v. 178 (ed. Allen – Halliday – Sikes 1936²): εἶμι γὰρ εἰς Πυθῶνα μέγαν δόμον ἀντιτορήσων.

⁵³³ Ricceri (2013: 62-72) also published a new edition of *Carm.* II,1,50. See for an older edition PG (37.1386-1393).

have a different origin and there seems to be no trace of interaction between the two texts. Paraphrase 1 is preserved in three manuscripts: 1) *Marc. gr. 82* (13th c.), 2) *Romani Collegii Graeci gr. 8* (15th c.), 3) *Paris. gr. 991* (16th c.). Paraphrase 2, which seems not to be used as a source for Poem 4, is also preserved in three manuscripts: 1) *Mosq. Synod. gr. 156* (52 / *LIII*) (12th c.); 2) *Vat. gr. 497 (olim 768)* (13th c.), 3) *Paris. Coisl. 56* (14th-15th c.). As Ricceri (2013: 233) stated, the date of these paraphrases is hard to pin down. However, it seems that by the reference to this paraphrase in Poem 4, the *terminus ante quem* of Paraphrase 1 can be moved forward by at least one century: from the 13th to the 12th c.

25:

Poem 4, vv. 18, 25-26	Paraphr. 1 (ed. Ricceri 2013: 241, ll. 5-7)
Μνήμην θανάτου πάρες οὐ ζοφουμένην, (...) καὶ τοῦ φέρειν δύναμιν ἀβούλων βάρος οἴων κελεύεις ἴαν δ' ἐκτέρων, μέγα.†	Ἰλάσθητι, Χριστέ μου, εἰ δέ τι ἀναβάλλη καὶ συμφερόντως οὐ βούλει φανῆναί μοι δὸς δύναμιν ἵνα φέρω τὸ βάρος τῶν ἀλγεινῶν.
Greg. Naz. <i>Carm.</i> II,1,50, vv. 105-106 (ed. Ricceri 2013)	Paraphr. 2 (ed. Ricceri 2013: 246, ll. 17-18)
(...) Ἰλαθι, Χριστέ εἰ δ' ἔτ' ἀποκρύπτῃ, δὸς σθένος ἀχθοφόρον.	Ἰλάσθητι, Λόγε, τῷ δούλῳ σου· εἰ δ' εἰσέτι με κακοῦσθαι βούλει τοῖς ἀδήλοις σου κρίμασιν, δὸς δύναμιν φέρειν τὰ ἐπίποννα.

Poem 4 is closer to Paraphrase 1 than to Paraphrase 2. In all versions, this passage is part of a prayer in which support is asked from God. In Gregory and in the paraphrases, Christ is addressed; whereas in Poem 4, the Trinity is still addressed. The context of this particular request, however, is different. In Poem 4, support is asked in the context of the remembrance of death and the request not to become insensible. In Gregory and in Paraphrase 1, by contrast, the support is especially hoped for when Christ seems to hide from the one who prays. In a larger context, however, one could say that there is a connection between Poem 4 referring to the remembrance of death and *Carm.* II,1,50 which deals with sickness that will eventually lead to death. Paraphrase 2 clearly gives yet another interpretation of Gregory's brief conditional clause in v. 106, which agrees with Ricceri's statement that Paraphrase 2 has generally more adaptations towards *Carm.* II,1,50 than Paraphrase 1.

In Paraphrase 1, τῶν ἀλγεινῶν refers to νούσων from v. 105 of *Carm.* II,1,50.⁵³⁴ ἀβούλων, similarly appears in a request to be able to bear and resist undesirable things. ἀβούλων is a synonym of ἀλγεινῶν from Paraphrase 1. Perhaps one could interpret ἀβούλων as referring to sins that are committed against the will of the one who sins and

⁵³⁴ Vv. 103-105 of *Carm.* II,1,50 run (ed. Ricceri 2013: 70) Σὸς λάτρις οὔτος ἔγωγε, τεοῖς δ' ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἰάλλω / δῶροις, καὶ κεφαλαῖς τῶν ὑποκλινομένων, / καὶ νούσων καλέουσι μ' ἀρηγόνα. Ἰλαθι, Χριστέ.

it is not possible to avoid these sins. It seems thus that this refers again to the sins that are part of living in a body, such as food and sleep.

Although there is a difference between Poem 4 and *Carm.* II,1,50 and the paraphrases, **ἀβούλων βάρος** is, just as τὸ βάρος τῶν ἀλγεινῶν (Paraphr. 1) and τὰ ἐπίπονα (Paraphr. 2), closer to the reading ἀχθοφόρον as it appears in the edition of Ricceri, than to the variant reading ἀθλοφόρον which appears in PG (37.1393, v. 106, l. 2). Hence, it again confirms the reading that Ricceri adopted in her edition.

One could consider **κελεύεις** as corresponding to βούλει of the paraphrases. If this is the case, then the interruption in the passage based on Paraphrase 1, might be reduced from vv. 26-29 to vv. 27-29.

26: In **N**, this verse gives an incomprehensible text and has only 11 syllables. Together with v. 69 of Poem 4, this verse presents a rare deviation from the dodecasyllabic pattern throughout the original cycle. Hence, it seems that something went wrong in the text transmission. Possibly, it is not a coincidence that this metrical deviation occurs in the passage which seems to interrupt the reference to *Carm.* II,1,50. Maybe it is also significant that v. 26 is the first verse on f. 418v in **N** (which should be f. 418r according to our reconstruction).

The reading of **L**, οἶκός ἐλεύ(εις)· ἄν δεκτέρ(ων), μέγα, is not helpful and can be explained as a deterioration of v. 26 in **N**, which diplomatically transcribed reads: οἶ(ων) κελεύ(εις) ἄν δ' ἐκτέρων, μέγα. The strange reading οἶκός might thus be the consequence of a misinterpretation of the abbreviations. Of course, **L**, as was mentioned in the discussion of the stemma, was not necessarily a direct copy of **N**, but it could be the case that the copy of **N** that served as a model for **L** had similar abbreviations as well. δεκτέρ(ων), in **L**, is a result of neglecting the apostrophe and the rough breathing as they appear in **N**.

When we look into the metrical aspects, it is clear that the first five syllables form a correct metrical colon. The problem is located after the *Binnenschluß*. This second part of the verse consists of 6 syllables which implies that we can rule out a cognitive confusion.⁵³⁵ The problem in this verse is more specifically situated in **ἐκτέρων**. It is a non-existent word and it does not seem to be a *hapax* that makes sense. Since we were not able to find a convincing conjecture, we placed cruces in this verse. However, I cautiously suggest the conjecture: **ἐκτέρων** -> ἐκατέρων. This is the easiest solution, I think, to add one extra syllable to the verse. The alpha, however, would cause a prosodic defect as the eighth syllable normally should be heavy in the dodecasyllable. Since alpha is one of the so-called *dichrona*, this should not be considered as a major problem.

⁵³⁵ Sometimes two cola of 5 or two cola of 7 syllables are combined in order to form a verse of respectively 10 or 14 syllables. V. 14 of Poem 3, in the version of **R**, is an example of such a combination of two cola of 7 syllables.

The syntax of this verse is certainly opaque. οἴων seems to be an attract *relativum*, referring to ἀβούλων (v. 25), which functions here as an object to κελεύεις. ἐκατέρων would correspond to οἴων.

The function of μέγα is not entirely clear to me. A first option would be that it is an adverb strengthening κελεύεις. However, its place at the end of the verse, far removed from κελεύεις, does not make this reading convincing. Moreover, both in N and L, there is a comma before μέγα. Because of this comma one could consider to interpret μέγα as a vocative. This option, however, does not seem very likely as there are, as far as I know, no parallels where μέγα appears separately as a vocative. Moreover, referring to Τριάς the feminine μεγάλη would fit better. Another hypothesis would be to interpret it as an exclamation (*great!*). Moreover, δ' might imply that the first part of the verse is nuanced.

Clearly ἐκατέρων seems not to be a *deus ex machina* that could take away all obscurity. In the previous verses there are not two groups that are explicitly mentioned. If one looks for two groups, one might mention, on the one hand, ἀβούλων (v. 25), i.e. undesirable things, things one hopes to avoid. On the other hand one could think of the implied opposite of ἀβούλων, namely things one does strive for. It would then be meant that God both commands us to bear the weight of desirable and undesirable things.

Maybe one could, in this context, also think of the task of a good Christian to bear the sins of your neighbours, following the example of the Lamb of whom is said: ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου (Joh. 1:29). Also in the *Ladder*, it is mentioned frequently that the monks are eager to bear the punishments that are the consequence of the slips of others. See for example a passage from step 4 (PG 88.585, ll. 45-48):

Εἴ ποτε δὲ παράπτωμά τις αὐτῶν πεποίηκε, πλείστας ἰκεσίας παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐδέχετο αὐτοῖς περὶ τούτου πρὸς τὸν ποιμένα καταλιπεῖν τὴν φροντίδα, καὶ ἀπολογία, καὶ ἐπίπληξιν.

When taking ἐκτέρων as ἐκατέρων and thinking of two categories, another option might be found when looking to the following verses. Vv. 30-43 stress measure and moderation. The request for measure is made by praying to be saved from two extreme opposites. In vv. 32-33, for example, the narrator asks not to be as loose as an unbridled horse (v. 32), but, by contrast, also not to be fully distressed because of passions (v. 33). Maybe ἐκατέρων could point to these two extremes. When ἐκατέρων, via οἴων, refers to ἀβούλων, it might indeed be that “both kinds of undesired (sins)” stands for a pair of opposed sins.

In conclusion, I think we can only admit that the text is not clear and let the cruces stand for the time being.

27: ἀκουσίων seems to refer to ἀβούλων (v. 25). This reference seems thus to be a link between v. 25 and vv. 30-45, that present an adapted version of *Carm.* II,1,50, based on Paraphrase 1.

27-29: These verses, and especially vv. 28-29, recall Ecclus. 4:23-26.⁵³⁶

μη̄ κωλύσης λόγον ἐν καιρῷ χρείας (24) ἐν γὰρ λόγῳ γνωσθήσεται σοφία καὶ παιδεία ἐν ῥήματι γλώσσης. (25) μη̄ ἀντίλεγε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας σου ἐντράπηθι. (26) μη̄ αἰσχυνηθῆς ὁμολογῆσαι ἐφ' ἀμαρτίαις σου καὶ μη̄ βιάζου ροῦν ποταμοῦ.

The image of the stream of a river, which stands for the confession of sins, is clearly borrowed from this passage. The same message is conveyed in Ecclus. 4:23-26 and in vv. 27-29 of Poem 4: when the moment is there, you should stop hiding your sins and confess them without shame. Hence, τῶν ἀκουσίων may correspond to the sins mentioned in Ecclus. 4:26.

Regarding the content, however, there seems at first sight to be an insurmountable discrepancy. In Ecclus. 4:23-26, it is clear that it is a sinner who is addressed in order to convince him to confess. Since, in Poem 4, the Trinity was invoked, it would seem very strange if the Trinity should be considered as the subject of βιάσης (v. 28) and δώσεις (v. 29). It seems that there are two options: 1) vv. 27-29 function as a side-note, 2) given the close connection of v. 25 to vv. 30-45 (as they go back on *Carm.* II,1,50), vv. 27-29 are a real interpolation, maybe even a part of another poem. In any case, vv. 26-29 are some kind of interruption and cause serious difficulties as it comes to comprehension and interpretation.

Maybe we could argue in favour of option 1). The expression of v. 28 also appears in Gregory of Nazianzos' *Epistula* 178.4 (ed. Gallay 1967): Τὸ δὲ μη̄ βιάζεσθαι ροῦν ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἡ παροιμία κελεύει, καὶ ἵπποσύνην δεδαῶτα μη̄ ἄδειν ἐθέλει ἡ ποίησις.⁵³⁷ Although there is, at first sight, no direct link with Poem 4, it might be relevant that the expression gained the status of a proverb. γὰρ (v. 28) might point to the proverbial use of the expression here. In v. 27, the narrator says that he would dare to confess even those sins which he committed involuntarily. Verses 28-29 are then possibly a proverbial parallel, an encouragement in general to v. 27. In fact, one could say that v. 28 is the proper proverb, whereas v. 29 is the explanation of it: not to block the stream

⁵³⁶ A similar collocation as **Τολμῶν λαλήσω** occurs in Rom. 15:18 and in Phil. 1:14, but there seems to be no further connection to v. 27.

⁵³⁷ Cf. *Anthologia Palatina* IX.537 for the last part. Another occurrence in the *Corpus Nazianzenum* is found in *Carmen* II,1,83, vv. 21-22 (PG 37.1430): 'Ἡὲ ῥόος κρατεροῖσιν ἐρύγμασι τῆδε βιασθεῖς, / 'Εκεῖ βιήσατ', ἀθρόως τ' ἐξεῤῥάγη. At first sight, there is no direct link with vv. 27-29 of Poem 4.

of the rivers entirely, means indeed to confess your sins at the right time, even those which you committed against your own will. I believe that καί, in the *crasis* **κάκείνων**, has an adverbial function and does not serve as a conjunction between **βιάσης** and **δώσεις**.

When discussing **ἐκτέρων** as ἐκατέρων (v. 26), I mentioned that ἐκατέρων could possibly refer to the two extremes of the opposite pairs in vv. 30-43. One could cautiously try to interpret also vv. 28-29 as such an opposite pair. Perhaps, one could say that it is implied that one should not stop the whole stream of confessions in its entirety. By contrast, one should also not confess every single sin at any time. When one would constantly reveal all perverse thoughts of your mind, one would in fact commit a new sin every time. In the ideal circumstances, one should strive for a balance, confessing one's sins, also those committed against one's own will, at the right moment in time (**καιρὸν**).

30-45: These verses continue the metaphrasis of Paraphrase 1 of *Carm.* II,1,50 (vv. 107-118):

Greg. Naz. <i>Carm.</i> II,1,50, vv. 107-112 (ed. Ricceri 2013)	
<p>Μήτε με πάμπαν ἄτιτον ἔχοις, Λόγε, μήτ' ἐπίμοχθον, μήτ' ἀχάλινον ἄγοις, μήτε δυηπαθέα. Κέντρῳ νύσσε, Μάκαρ, μὴ δούρατι· μήτε με κούφην μήθ' ὑπεραχθομένην νῆα θάλασσα φέροι. Καὶ κόρος ὑβρίζει, καὶ ἄλγεα νυκτὶ καλύπτει. Ἄντιταλαντεύοις τίσιν ἀπημοσύνη.</p>	
Poem 4, vv. 30-45	Paraphrase 1 (ed. Ricceri 2013: 241, ll. 7-16)
<p>Μὴ δὴ με πάμπαν ἀτιμώρητον φέροις, μήτ' αὖ πολυστένακτον ἠκανθωμένον, μήτ' οὖν ἀχαλίνωτον ὡς ἵππον μ' ἔχοις, μήτ' αὖ ταλαιπωροῦντα πάθεσι πλέον. Κέντρῳ με νύσσε, μικρᾷ παιδείᾳ λέγω. Μὴ πληττε τῷ δόρατι, μὴ βάλλοις βέλει. Τοὺς σοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀθύμους, Τριάς, θέλω. Ἦ τοῦ βίου θάλασσα τοῦ μελαμπόρου πάντη φέροι με, μήτε κούφην ὀλκάδα, μήθ' ὑπεραλγῆ τῶν ἀγωγίμων βάρει. Κακὸν καταφρόνησις, ὑβριστὴς κόρος· ἄπερ καλὸς πλοῦς, ναῦς ἐλαφρὰ προσφέρει· ἄλλ' οὐδὲ καλὸν συμφοραὶ νυκτιφόροι ἐπιφορὰς μιμούμεναι τῶν κυμάτων. Ἄντιπαράθοις ἀσθένειαν ἦν ἔχω, ἀντιταλαντόσταθμον ἐξάγοις τίσιν.</p>	<p>Μήτε με πάμπαν ἀτιμώρητον ἔχοις, Λόγε, μήτε παντελῶς πολυστένακτον καὶ πολύμοχθον, μήτε οὖν ἀχαλίνωτον ἄγοις, μήτε ταλαιπωροῦντα τοῖς πάθεσι παντελῶς. Κέντρῳ νύσσε με, Μάκαρ, μικρᾷ παιδείᾳ με κόλαζε, μὴ δόρατι πληττε, μὴ δὲ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγχοις με. Φέροι δέ με τοῦ βίου ἢ θαλάσσα μήτε πάντη κούφην ὀλκάδα, μήθ' ὑπεραχθομένην τῷ βάρει τῶν ἀλγεινῶν. Καταφρόνησιν ποιεῖ καὶ ἡ ἄνεσις, ὑβριστὴς καὶ ὁ κόρος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ ἀλλεπάλληλοι συμφοραὶ νυκτὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καλύπτουσιν. Ἄντισταθμίζοις τὴν τιμωρίαν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ μου.</p>
Paraphr. 2 (ed. Ricceri 2013: 246, ll. 19-26)	

Μήτε παντάπασιν ἀτιμώρητον ἔα καὶ ἀπαιδαγώγητον, μήτε τὴν τιμωρὸν ἐπιβαρύνε μοι χεῖρα καὶ βασάνοις ἐκπίαζε, μήτ' ἀχάλινον ἄγε, μήτε κάταγχε λίαν [καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀλγῶν]. Κέντρῳ με πλήσσε, Μακάριε, μὴ λόγχη καὶ δόρατι· μήτε κούφην τὴν ναῦν μήθ' ὑπέρφορτον φερέτω τὸ πέλαγος. Καὶ τὸν κόρον ὑβριστὴν οἶδα καὶ ἀναίσχυντον, καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ νυκτὶ καλύπτει τῆς ἀπογνώσεως. Ἀντισταθμίζοις τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀνέσει τῶν κακῶν.

30-35: Just as in the corresponding versions, the many repetitions of μή(τε) give this passage the character of a litany (Ricceri 2013: 218).

30: This verse is almost a quotation of the corresponding passage from Paraphrase 1. **Μὴ δὴ** is a variant of Μήτε without important difference regarding the content. **φέρεις** replaces ἔχοις. Metrically, the 10th syllable (ἀτιμώρητον) should be long. Hence, the word that follows should start with a consonant. Regarding the content there is no difference. In both cases, God is addressed (as Λόγε in Paraphrase 1; as the Trinity in Poem 4).

ἄτιτον from Gregory is replaced by ἀτιμώρητον in the three other versions. Besides, the reading ἄτιμον also occurred in v. 107 of *Carm.* II,1,50 in three manuscripts, amongst which *Vat. gr.* 497 which also preserves Paraphrase 2, and it is adopted in PG (37.1393). As Ricceri (2013: 215) states, this might be influenced by the occurrence of ἄτιμον in v. 97 of *Carm.* II,1,50 where it is also accompanied by πάμπαν. Based on the manuscript tradition, Ricceri (2013: 215-216), however, convincingly argues that ἄτιτον is to be preferred in *Carm.* II,1,50. Interestingly, LSJ mentions that ἄτιμος can not only mean *unhonoured*, but also *unpunished*. This last meaning is the one needed here (cf. Ricceri (2013: 215), referring to *Iliad* 14.483-484 where ἄτιτος is used having this meaning).

31: πολυστένακτον is clearly taken from Paraphrase 1, where it appears as an innovation towards *Carm.* II,1,50. ἀτιμώρητον and πολύμοχθον in Paraphrase 1 preserve the contrast between ἄτιτον and ἐπίμοχθον in v. 107 of *Carm.* II,1,50. In Poem 4, πολύμοχθον is replaced by **ἠκανθωμένον**. In several texts, **ἠκανθωμένον** seems indeed to be associated with words similar to πολύμοχθον. See for example:

- 1) Eriphanios (4th c.), *Panarion* (= *Adversus haereses*) (PG 2.62, ll. 22-23): ἀκανθῶν μὲν γὰρ γένη πολλά, ὅμως ἐν ἅπασι τὸ μοχθηρὸν τῆς κεντρώδους ἀδικίας ἔνεστιν.
- 2) Gregory of Nazianzos (4th c.), *Carm.* II,1,87, vv. 1-2 (PG 37.1433): Μῆτερ ἐμὴ, τί μ' ἔτικτες, ἐπεὶ πολύμοχθον ἔτικτες; / Τίπτε με τῷδε βίῳ δῶκας ἀκανθοφόρῳ;
- 3) Asterios (4th-5th c.), *Homilia* 15.3, ll. 80-81 (ed. Datema 1978-1979: 71): τὴν μοχθηρὰν καὶ πολυάκανθον ἀμαρτίαν.
- 4) John Chrysostom (4th-5th c.), *De paenitentia* (PG 49.307, l. 55 - 308, l. 2): Εἰ ταύτης ἤκουσε τῆς φωνῆς ὁ Ἀδὰμ, οὐκ ἂν ἤκουσε τῆς δευτέρας τῆς λεγούσης· Γῆ εἶ, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύση· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταύτης παρήκουσε, διὰ τοῦτο θάνατος καὶ φροντίδες

καὶ πόνοι καὶ ἀθυμίαι καὶ ζωὴ θανάτου παντὸς βαρυτέρα· διὰ τοῦτο ἄκανθαι καὶ τριβόλοι, διὰ τοῦτο πόνοι καὶ ὠδίνες καὶ βίος ἐπίμοχθος.

In this context, one could also think of Gen. 3:17-18:

τῷ δὲ Ἀδαμ εἶπεν Ὅτι ἤκουσας τῆς φωνῆς τῆς γυναικός σου καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετείλαμην σοὶ τούτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου· ἐν λύπαις φάγη αὐτὴν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου· 18 ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοὶ, καὶ φάγη τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ.

This passage explains that hard human labour (ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου Gen. 3:17 / πολύμοχθον Paraphrase 1) will not prevent the earth from bringing forth thistles (ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους Gen. 3:18 / ἠκανθωμένον v. 31). **ἠκανθωμένον** stands for the result of the human toil that is in vain as a consequence of the Fall. In Hebr. 6:8 it is even said that the earth that brings forth thistles will be burned: (γῆ) ἐκφέρουσα δὲ ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους, ἀδόκιμος καὶ κατάρας ἐγγύς, ἧς τὸ τέλος εἰς καῦσιν. Metaphorically, the bad earth stands for the sinners who will burn in hell. Similarly, **ἠκανθωμένον** in v. 31 is connected with a person (**με** v. 30). Hence, it seems that **ἠκανθωμένον** is deliberately chosen to replace πολύμοχθον, and is not simply an addition or an explanation to **πολυστένακτον**. **ἠκανθωμένον** derives from ἀκανθόομαι, which literally means *to become prickly*, as is said of plants (LSJ). As it is a passive form in Poem 4, belonging to **με** (v. 30), it was translated as *pierced with thorns*.⁵³⁸

32: ἔχοις replaces ἄγοις from Paraphrase 1. Compared to Paraphrase 1, **ὡς ἵππον** is added in Poem 4. It makes the metaphor explicit. It refers to the lack of a superior, of a guide. This leads to looseness.

33: This verse contrasts with v. 32, just as v. 31 contrasted with v. 30. It closely follows the corresponding phrase in Paraphrase 1. It refers to *δυηπαθέα* of v. 108 in *Carm.* II,1,50 which can be interpreted as a foreboding of Gregory's approaching death (Ricceri 2013: 217).

34-35: V. 34 is again almost a quotation of the corresponding passage in Paraphrase 1. Compared to *Carm.* II,1,50, *μικρᾶ παιδεία με κόλαζε* in Paraphrase 1 is a novelty. Whereas in Paraphrase 1 it functions as an implicit explanation of *Κέντρῳ νύσσε με*, it is used as an explicit explanation in Poem 4 (because of **λέγω**).

⁵³⁸ Perhaps one could also consider a metaphorical meaning. Cf. PGL s.v. *ἀκανθώδης* (*thorny*), which metaphorically can also mean *anxious, uneasy*.

Also v. 35 is very close to the corresponding passage in Paraphrase 1. **μὴ βάλλοις βέλει** is an addition, but as it is an alternative for *μὴ δόρατι πλήττε*, it does not cause a change of the meaning.

V. 109 of *Carm.* II,1,50 indeed plays with the contrast between *Κέντρῳ* and *δούρατι*. Ricceri (2013: 218) correctly refers to Joh. 19:34 as a parallel:

ἀλλ' εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξεν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ.⁵³⁹

In this passage, it is said that one of the soldiers pierced (*ἔνυξεν*) Christ in his side with a spear. Paraphrase 2 might indicate that v. 109 of *Carm.* II,1,50 was indeed interpreted as referring to Joh. 19:34. Although, *λόγχῃ* was used more frequently in Byzantine Greek than *δόρυ*, it might be that *δόρατι* is deliberately accompanied by *λόγχῃ* in order to emphasise the link with the parallel from the Gospels.

As Ricceri (2013: 218) explained, this request from Gregory has two implications: 1) Gregory asks for a moderate suffering (not an entire spear, but only a sharp point, a spur), 2) It is a sign of Gregory's humility not to want to suffer exactly the same as Christ (not to be an exact imitator, which would be blasphemous).⁵⁴⁰

Κέντρῳ, as a spur, is equated with **παιδεία**, in Poem 4 and Paraphrase 1. Also in step 1 of the *Ladder*, *κέντρον* appears in the meaning of a stimulus (PG 88.636, ll. 56-59).⁵⁴¹

Ἔστω ἡμῖν πάντως ἐκ τῆς στερῆρᾶς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐν τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν χαυνώσῃ ὠφέλεια. Ψυχὴ γὰρ ἀνδρῖσαμένη, καὶ ὑποχαλάσασα, ὑπὸ τῆς μνήμης τῆς ἀρχαίας σπουδῆς, ὡς ὑπὸ κέντρον πλήσσεται.

Chryssavgis (2004: 134) explains that *κατάνυξις* (< *νύσσω*) is related to “the notion of a prick or a sting”. Hence its effect is painful, but stimulating at the same time. In this context, Chryssavgis (2004:135) also refers to a passage at the beginning of step 7, where *πένθος*, as a more general term for *κατάνυξις*, is defined (PG 88.801, ll. 7-8):

πένθος ἐστὶ κέντρον χρύσειον ψυχῆς πάσης προσηλώσεως καὶ σχέσεως γυμνωθέν

⁵³⁹ Water and blood are two parts of the earthly Triad as mentioned in 1 Joh. 5:7-8 quoted above (see commentary on vv. 15-16).

⁵⁴⁰ Compare with Peter who out of humility wished not to die in the same way as Christ, upon which the cross was turned upside down. Cf. Eusebios, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.1.

⁵⁴¹ In PG, there is full stop after *κέντρον*. Since this punctuation does not seem to make any sense, I removed it.

Clearly κέντρον here means *stimulus* again.⁵⁴²

36: This verse goes back to a phrase from Paraphrase 1 that has no direct correspondence in *Carm.* II,1,50: μὴ δὲ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγχοις με. It seems that this phrase is a further interpretation of the spear of v. 35 as the anger of God. The optative form of the phrase in Paraphrase 1, is influenced by the many optatives in *Carm.* II,1,50. Besides, we also see that Poem 4 goes for the optative in those verses based on *Carm.* II,1,50 (**Μὴ** (...) **φέρεις** v. 30 / **Μήτε** (...) **ἔχοις** v. 107; **μήτ'** (...) **ἔχοις** v. 32 / **μήτ'** (...) **ἄγοις** v. 108), whereas in v. 28 it has **μὴ** (...) **βιάσης**. The spear is a negative effect that the narrator wishes to avoid. The phrase is borrowed from the opening line of Ps. 6:

- (2) Κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξης με
μηδὲ τῇ ὀργῇ σου παιδεύσης με.
- (3) ἐλέησόν με, κύριε, ὅτι ἀσθενής εἰμι·
ἴασαί με, κύριε, ὅτι ἐταράχθη τὰ ὀσᾶ μου,
- (4) καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐταράχθη σφόδρα·
καὶ σύ, κύριε, ἕως πότε;
- (5) ἐπίστρεψον, κύριε, ῥῦσαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου,
σῶσόν με ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἐλέους σου.
- (6) ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ ὁ μνημονεύων σου·
ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄδῃ τίς ἐξομολογήσεται σοι;
- (7) ἐκοπίασα ἐν τῷ στεναγμῷ μου,
λούσω καθ' ἐκάστην νύκτα τὴν κλίνην μου,
ἐν δάκρυσίν μου τὴν στρωμνὴν μου βρέξω.
- (8) ἐταράχθη ἀπὸ θυμοῦ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς μου,
ἐπαλαιώθην ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μου.
- (9) ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν,
ὅτι εἰσήκουσεν κύριος τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ μου·
- (10) εἰσήκουσεν κύριος τῆς δεήσεώς μου,
κύριος τὴν προσευχήν μου προσεδέξατο.
- (11) αἰσχυνθεῖσαν καὶ ταραχθεῖσαν σφόδρα πάντες οἱ ἐχθροί μου,
ἀποστραφείησαν καὶ καταισχυνθείησαν σφόδρα διὰ τάχους.

The reason why the first line of Ps. 6 was added in Paraphrase 1 seems obvious. Ps. 6, just as *Carm.* II,1,50 is a prayer to God from someone who feels death approaching (see

⁵⁴² See also a passage in step 5, where κέντρον has the same meaning (PG 88.777, ll. 11-16): Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ἐγὼ, ὦ θαυμάσιοι, ὅτι τοῖσιν μὲν ἄπιστα, ἐτέροις δὲ ἀνέλπιστα· ἄλλοις δὲ ἀπόγνωσιν τίκοντα φαίνονται, ἅπερ διηγησάμην, ἔπαθλα. Ἀνὴρ δὲ ἀνδρείος ἐκ τούτων προσελάβετο κέντρον, καὶ βέλος πυρὸς, καὶ ζῆλον ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀπῆλθε βασταζῶν.

Ps. 6:3, 6). Ps. 6:6, however, has clearly its origin in the Jewish tradition as it refers to the Sheol, a place where the deceased go to and where they remain as powerless shades deprived of any personal entity, not even able anymore to remember God (Gowan 2003: 188 s.v. *Grave*).

This additional phrase in Paraphrase 1 also fits in with the context of Poem 4 as it is also a prayer in the context of the remembrance of death (cf. v. 18). However, the author of Poem 4 did not simply quote the phrase. *μη δε τω θυμω σου ελεγχοις με* becomes **Τους σους ελεγχους αθυμους, Τριάς, θέλω**. *μη δε τω θυμω* is transformed into the adjective **αθυμους**. The verb *ελεγχοις*, meaning *reprove / rebuke* (PGL), is transformed into a substantive (**ελεγχους**) meaning *reproof*, referring to the final judgement (PGL). Μάκαρ of Paraphrase 1 (and *Carm.* II,1,50) is replaced by **Τριάς** (v. 36), who is still addressed in Poem 4.

37: Just as in *Carm.* II,1,50 and Paraphrase 1, the first person narrator identifies himself with a ship (**ολκάδα** v. 38) that sails on the sea. Compared to *Carm.* II,1,50, Paraphrase 1 explains the metaphor of the sea by adding *του βίου*. In Poem 4, this element is retained and expanded by **μελαμπόρου**, which is a *hapax*. The first part obviously derives from *μέλας* (*black, dark* LSJ). Regarding the second part, *-πορος*, one might think of *εuryopos* (*with broad ways* LSJ), which, as LSJ mentions, is a Homeric word which in his works always is said of the sea. The nominative of the *hapax* is thus **μελάμπορος*. In Poem 4, it appears as an adjective which is grammatically governed by **βίου**. Regarding the content, however, it refers to the sea. Stylistically it is thus a hypallage. When this passage is indeed considered as a hypallage, it resembles a passage from Gregory of Nyssa's *Oratio funebris in Meletium episcopum* (PG 9.455, ll. 6-8):⁵⁴³

κατέλιπε την Αίγυπτον, τον ιλυώδη βιον. επέρασεν ουχι την ερυθράν εκείνην,
ἀλλὰ την μέλαιναν ταύτην και ζοφώδη του βίου θάλασσαν.

In this passage, it is said that when you leave Egypt – which here, as it is explained, metaphorically stands for the filthy, the idle life (see also Poem 2, v. 12, 34) – you do not have to cross the Red Sea, but the black and dark sea of life. The metaphor of the sea appears frequently in Greek literature. See also Poem 1, vv. 73-74 and Poem 2, v. 155.⁵⁴⁴

Although *-πόρου* somehow refers to the action of crossing the sea, it seems that, in the context of Poem 4, **μελαμπόρου** could be simply translated as *dark*. *Dark* could here refer to the colour of the sea, as it is the case in the passage from Gregory of Nyssa

⁵⁴³ See for a similar passage Gregory of Nyssa's *De virginitate* 4.6, ll. 9-12 (ed. Aubineau 2011): *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων δουλείας ἀπαλλαγῆσεται ὁ μὴ καταλιπὼν τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τὴν ὑποβρύχιον λέγω ταύτην ζωὴν, καὶ διαβάς οὐχὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ τὴν μέλαιναν ταύτην καὶ ζοφώδη τοῦ βίου θάλασσαν.*

⁵⁴⁴ See also Ricceri (2013: 219) on occurrences of the metaphor in the works of Gregory of Nazianzos.

quoted above, or *dark* can metaphorically mean that it is a sea which is dangerous to sail.⁵⁴⁵ μέλας indeed can also metaphorically mean *malignant* (LSJ) or refer to *the Evil One* (PGL).

38 πάντη: Compared to the corresponding passage in Paraphrase 1, the word πάντη is moved. In Paraphrase 1, it qualifies the light ship. In Poem 4, however, it is part of the main clause.

38-43: The structure of these verses is not easy to discover. V. 38 forms a contrasting pair with v. 39: nor debauchery (which leads to sin = a light ship), nor an oppressive grief (which leads to despair = a heavy ship) are desirable. This was already the meaning of vv. 109-110 in *Carm.* II,1,50, where Gregory begs for some balanced mercy (Ricceri 2013: 219). Vv. 40-41 are an explanation of v. 38, whereas vv. 42-43 explain v. 39. Κακὸν (v. 40) corresponds to ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καλὸν (v. 42), a *litotes* with the same meaning. Hence, both extremes are explicitly condemned. κούφην ὀλκάδα (v. 38) is echoed in ναῦς ἑλαφρά (v. 41). συμφοραὶ (v. 42) corresponds to ὑπεραλγῆ (v. 39).

The same structure is found in Paraphrase 1. μήτε πάντη κούφην ὀλκάδα contrasts with μήθ' ὑπεραχθομένην τῷ βάρει τῶν ἀλγεινῶν. The first is explained by Καταφρόνησιν ποιεῖ καὶ ἡ ἄνεσις, ὕβριστῆς καὶ ὁ κόρος ἐστίν. The latter is explained by ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ ἀλλεπάλληλοι συμφοραὶ νυκτὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καλύπτουσι. Moreover, the first explanation is based on the first half of v. 111 of *Carm.* II,1,50 (Καὶ κόρος ὑβρίζει), whereas the second explanation is based on the second half of Gregory's verse (καὶ ἄλγεα νυκτὶ καλύπτει).

38-39: These verses again are very close to the corresponding passage from Paraphrase 1. νῆα (*Carm.* II,1,50) is transformed into the less poetic ὀλκάδα. ὑπεραχθομένην (*Carm.* II,1,50) is specified in Paraphrase 1 by τῷ βάρει τῶν ἀλγεινῶν, which may be inspired by ἄλγεα (*Carm.* II,1,50, v. 111). Poem 4 borrows this explanation, but does not slavishly follow Paraphrase 1. μήθ' ὑπεραχθομένην τῷ βάρει τῶν ἀλγεινῶν from Paraphrase 1 is transformed into μήθ' ὑπεραλγῆ τῶν ἀγωγίμων βάρει (v. 39). Grammatically, the participle (with the value of an adjective) ὑπεραχθομένην was thus transformed into a real adjective ὑπεραλγῆ, which, regarding the content corresponds to τῶν ἀλγεινῶν. The meaning of ὑπεραχθομένην is preserved in τῶν ἀγωγίμων, which grammatically takes over the position from τῶν ἀλγεινῶν. In Paraphrase 1, the weight is explained as the load of grieves. In Poem 4, by reverse, the grieve is a consequence of a heavy load.

40: The verse that fundamentally lies at the basis of this verse is (the first half of) v. 111 of *Carm.* II,1,50: Καὶ κόρος ὑβρίζει, καὶ ἄλγεα νυκτὶ καλύπτει. As Ricceri (2013: 221) notes

⁵⁴⁵ Besides, Aristotle mentions that a tempest gives the sea a black colour. Cf. *Problemata* 936a, ll. 5-6 (ed. Bekker 1831): Διὰ τί τὸ γαληνίζον τῆς θαλάττης λευκὸν φαίνεται, τὸ δὲ κατάφορον μέλαν or *Problemata* 944b, ll. 21-24: Διὰ τί ποτε τοῦ μὲν νότου πνέοντος ἡ θάλαττα κυανέα γίνεται, τοῦ δὲ βορέου ζοφώδης; ἢ ὅτι ὁ βορέας ἦττον τὴν θάλατταν ταραττει, τὸ δὲ ἀτακτότερον ἅπαν μέλαν φαίνεται.

there is a possible ambiguity in this verse: 1) ἄλγεα can be interpreted as an object to καλύπτει, which has then κόρος as its subject; 2) ἄλγεα, as a neutral plural, is the subject of καλύπτει. Not only does the repetition of καί support the second option, but also the paraphrases confirm this interpretation. Both Paraphrase 1 and Paraphrase 2 have a corresponding phrase that consists of two parts standing on the same level. In Paraphrase 1, however, Καταφρόνησιν ποιεῖ καὶ ἡ ἄνεσις, the first part of the bipartite structure, does not have a direct correspondent in *Carm.* II,1,50. καὶ ἄλγεα νυκτὶ καλύπτει from *Carm.* II,1,50 is transformed into a further explanation in Paraphrase 1: ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ ἀλλεπάλληλοι συμφοραὶ νυκτὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καλύπτουσιν. This means that *successive misfortunes cover men in night, which means in death.*⁵⁴⁶

In Paraphrase 1, it is said that indulgence (ἄνεσις) leads to contempt (Καταφρόνησιν) and that satiety (κόρος) leads to wantonness (cf. ὕβριστης). In Poem 4, this phrase is reduced to its essence. In a gnomic and concise way, **καταφρόνησις** is characterized as *an evil (Κακὸν)*. **ὕβριστης κόρος** is taken from Paraphrase 1. Yet, the same collocation also appears in Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* I,2,16, v. 15: Ὑβριστης δὲ κόρος (PG 37.779); *Carm.* I,2,31, v. 25: Ὑβριστης κόρος ἐστίν (PG 37.912), *Carm.* II,1,1, v. 40: ὕβριστης τε κόρος (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 5).⁵⁴⁷

41: καλὸς πλοῦς is likely to be understood as an equivalent of **ναῦς ἐλαφρά**. Probably, **καλὸς** here means *smooth*, implying that your sea voyage is easy. There is no effort required. One might think of the broad way that leads to destruction (Mt. 7:13).

42-43: συμφοραὶ νυκτιφόροι is further explained as *the impact, the vehemence of the waves*. **συμφοραὶ νυκτιφόροι** implicitly refers to the approaching death again. It refers, however, not to a salvational death, but to a condemning death, to the vehemence of the waves that will devour your ship eternally. The equation, *the imitation*, of **συμφοραὶ** to **ἐπιφορὰς** is stressed stylistically, since both nouns are derived from the same verbal stem.

44-45: When compared to Paraphrase 1, the verb Ἀντισταθμίζεις has been duplicated into **Ἀντιπαράθεις** (v. 44) and **ἀντιταλαντόσταθμον** (v. 45). In Poem 4, the corresponding phrase of Paraphrase 1 is cut into two parallel phrases: the first governed by **Ἀντιπαράθεις** (v. 44); the second by **ἐξάγεις** (v. 45). The meaning of the corresponding phrase in Paraphrase 1 is retained. The first person narrator prays to God to receive a fair punishment for his weakness.

ἀντιταλαντόσταθμον is a *hapax* and is an adjective corresponding to **τίσιν**. Likely it was created by combining Ἀντιταλαντεύεις of v. 112 from *Carm.* II,1,50 with Ἀντισταθμίζεις from Paraphrase 1 (and Paraphrase 2). Compare also with ἀντίσταθος

⁵⁴⁶ Also in v. 111 of *Carm.* II,1,50, νυκτὶ implies death (Ricceri 2013: 221).

⁵⁴⁷ See also Ricceri (2013: 220-221) for similar phrases in pagan and Christian literature.

(*counterpoising, balancing* LSJ). Both parts of this *hapax* are equated in a lemma from Hesychios' *Lexicon* (A-O) (α, lem. 5485; ed. Latte 1953): ἀντιτάλαντον· ἀντίσταθμον, ἴσον. As a whole, ἀντιταλαντόσταθμον has the same (but pleonastic) meaning as ἀντιτάλαντον or ἀντίσταθμον and can hence be equally translated as *well-counterbalanced*. It is thus hoped for that the punishment is in balance to the faults.

ἀντιτάλαντον occurs only three times in TLG. Besides the occurrence in Hesychios, there is an occurrence in Gregory's *Carm.* II,2,2, v. 11 (PG 37.1478): Τοῖα διδοῖ μερόπεσσι Θεὸς μέγας ἀντιτάλαντα.⁵⁴⁸ The third occurrence is found in a lexicon on Gregory's poems which exactly explains ἀντιτάλαντα from *Carm.* II,2,2, v. 11: ἀντιτάλαντα· ἀντίσταθμα, ἀντίδωρα (*Lexicon in carmina Gregorii Nazianzeni = Lexicon Casinense, e cod. Casinensi Arch. Abbat. T 550*; ed. Kalamakis 1995: α, l. 176).⁵⁴⁹

45: τίσις seems to be taken directly from v. 112 of *Carm.* II,1,50, and not from Paraphrase 1 or 2, which have τιμωρίαν. In any case, it seems not unlikely that the author of Poem 4 knew Gregory's poem as the paraphrases are preserved together with *Carm.* II,1,50 (Ricceri 2013: 233).

46-51: It seems that these verses are based on again a poem of Gregory of Nazianzos. In this case *Carm.* I,2,31 served as a source of inspiration.

Poem 4, vv. 46-51	<i>Carm.</i> I,2,31, vv. 5-6 (PG 37.911)
<p>Σπήλαιον ὄντα νοῦν ἐμὸν νυκτιλόχων, ναὸν σὸν αὐτὸν δεῖξον ὠραϊσμένον· ἀντρανύχιον, ἀδρανῆ δεδειγμένον, φωτεινόμορφον ἔργασαι κατοικίαν. Ἴνα <u>μόνην</u> σε τὴν βασίλισσαν ἔχω, <u>ἄῦλον ἔνδον ἴδρυμα τῆς καρδίας:</u></p>	<p>Αἰεὶ νηὸν ἔγειρε Θεῶ νόον, ὡς κεν ἄνακτα, <u>ἴδρυμ' ἄῦλον, ἔχης ἔνδοθι σῆς κραδίης.</u></p>

The core message is indeed taken from Gregory: your mind should be transformed into a temple in order to have an image of God in your heart. In *Carm.* I,2,31, the poems commands the reader to raise his mind as a temple. In Poem 4, God is asked show that the mind of the one who prays is a temple. The gnomic character of Gregory's poem is translated into a prayer. In Poem 4, the temple is specified as *Your* temple.⁵⁵⁰

Just as in *Carm.* I,2,31, the temple should be erected in order to have an image of the Lord in your heart. The fact that **βασίλισσαν** (v. 50) corresponds to ἄνακτα of v. 5 of *Carm.* I,2,31 is another argument for reversing f. 418 in **N**. Verse 5 of *Carm.* I,2,31 links vv.

⁵⁴⁸ PGL s.v. ἀντιτάλαντον (*compensation, reward*) refers to this occurrence.

⁵⁴⁹ The verb ἀντιταλαντεύω (*counterbalance, compensate for* LSJ), by contrast, occurs frequently.

⁵⁵⁰ Since the Trinity is still addressed, one might perhaps think of the divine temple of Joh. 2:19-21.

46-47 to v. 50.⁵⁵¹ This is a proof of the unity of this passage in Poem 4 and thus also of correctness of the reconstruction.

Furthermore **βασίλισσαν** reminds us of a passage at the end of step 30 where Klimax sees the Trinity as a queen standing at the top of the *Ladder* (PG 88.1160, ll. 36-40):

Ἦ δὲ ὡσπερ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ μοι φανεῖσα, ἡ βασίλισσα αὕτη, καὶ ὡς ἐν ὧτί μου ψυχῆς τοῦτο προσομιλοῦσα ἔλεγεν· Ἐὰν μὴ λυθῆς, ᾧ ἔραστὰ, τῆς παχύτητος, ἐμὴν ὥραν, ὡς ἔστι, μανθάνειν οὐ δύνασαι.

In Sophr. (30.18) there is an extra phrase after “Ἦ δὲ”: οἶμαι δὲ λέγειν οἰκειότερων ὁ δέ. This means that the Trinity is called a queen because the gender of the word Τριάς is feminine, whereas, regarding the content, God is masculine.⁵⁵²

It might be that ἄνακτα from Gregory was changed into **βασίλισσαν** because of the passage in the *Ladder*. **μόνην (...)** **βασίλισσαν** implicitly refers again to the paradox of the Trinity which is a triad being a unity (cf. Poem 4 vv. 2-11).

46-47: Clearly, not all words from vv. 46-51 are borrowed from *Carm.* I,2,31. In vv. 46-47, the narrator says that his mind is a *cavern for who is lying in wait at night*. As PGL mentions, *νυκτιλόχος* is mostly said of robbers who lie in wait. The contrast between a robber’s den and a temple appears also in Jer. 7:11, which is part of the speech given to Jeremiah by Yahweh:

μὴ σπήλαιον ληστῶν ὁ οἶκός μου, οὗ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ, ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν; καὶ ἐγὼ ἰδοὺ ἐώρακα, λέγει κύριος.

This passage is famously quoted by Christ in Mt. 21:13, in the description of the cleansing of the temple:⁵⁵³

καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· γέγραπται· ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται, ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ποιεῖτε σπήλαιον ληστῶν.

The narrator of Poem 4 admits thus that he is not free from sin. In a monastic context, the robbers who lie in wait at night refer to demons who spur us to sins while we are

⁵⁵¹ In **N**, vv. 46-47 are written on f. 418v, whereas v. 50 appears on f. 418r.

⁵⁵² See also a *scholion* in Sophr. (1970: 169 n. 3) to this phrase: Τουτέστιν ὁ Θεός, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ ἀγάπη.

⁵⁵³ See also Mc. 11:17 and Lc. 19:46.

sleeping.⁵⁵⁴ The one who prays asks thus to transform his mind, which is a robber's den into God's temple.

48-49: These verses repeat the request of vv. 46-47 with other words. The dark mind of the narrator (v. 48) is asked to be transformed (**ἔργασαι**) into a temple full of light (v. 49).

48: The quasi alliteratic **άντρανύχιον, άδρανή** corresponds to the mind of the narrator which is a robber's den (v. 46). **δεδειγμένον** is governed by **νοῦν** (v. 46). It is thus said that the mind of the narrator is shown to be **άντρανύχιον, άδρανή. άδρανή** (< άδρανής *impotent, feeble* LSJ) corresponds to the weakness and the sense of an approaching death as Gregory fealt in his *Carm.* II,1,50 (Εἰς τὴν νόσον).

άντρανύχιον is a *hapax* which seems to be an alternative form of **άντρονύχιος** (*wie eine finstere Höhle* LBG). The meaning *as a dark cave* seems to fit also in Poem 4. LBG refers to only one occurrence of **άντρονύχιος**; the 16th anacreontic poem by Leo VI, where it corresponds to **χάσμη** (ed. Ciccolella 1989). It seems indeed reasonable to interpret **άντρανύχιον** as an adjective which is asyndetically connected with **άδρανή**. One could argue that **άντρανύχιον** is simply a scribal mistake for **άντρονύχιος**. The first part of **άντρονύχιος** is clearly **άντρον** (*cave* LSJ) with an omicron. The analogy with **άδρανή**, which also has an *alpha* in its second syllable could even serve as an argument in favour of interpreting **άντρανύχιον** as a word containing a retrograde scribal mistake. If, however, **άντρανύχιον** would be replaced by **άντρονύχιον** an obvious prosodic defect would appear. The second syllable in a dodecasyllable is supposed to be heavy. An *alpha*, as it is one of the *dichrona*, can at least disguise such a prosodic deviation. An omicron would make such a prosodic defect too visible. Regarding this metrical observation and the (very) limited number of occurrences **άντρονύχιος**, I think it is best not to intervene in the reading of **N**.

49: φωτεινόμορφον does neither appear as a lemma in LSJ nor in LBG, nor in PGL. Its meaning, however, is clear. In TLG, only one occurrence of **φωτεινόμορφος** is found: Theodoros II Doukas Laskaris (13th c.), *Κοσμική δήλωση* (ed. Festa 1897: 112, l. 36 - 113, l. 6):

άλλ' ἐπίπερ ὁ μὲν δοῦλος αἰσχροός, ὁ δὲ Κύριος ἀγαθός, κατὰ ἀγαθωσύνην δὲ τοῦτον ἐτέλεσεν ἐνεργητικῶς ἐξ ὅλης περιουσίας, ἀνέλθω σπουδῆ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς πλάσμα, ὡς κτίσμα, ὡς ὕλη, ὡς ἐξ ὑλικῶν δ' στοιχείων τὴν πῆξιν παρ' αὐτοῦ σχών, ἔνθα πελαγίσας τὸν νοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀπλότητι καὶ ἐνικωτάτη καὶ τριπλῇ τούτου θεία καὶ φωτεινῇ θεωρία **φωτεινόμορφος** γένωμαι.

⁵⁵⁴ This topic appears frequently in monastic literature. Regarding the *Ladder*, see for example step 14 (PG 88.868, ll. 30-43), step 15 (PG 88.880, ll. 10-13 - 881, ll. 1-3; 896, ll. 11-19); step 18 (PG 88.937, ll. 14-34); step 19 (PG 88.940, l. 27 - 941, l. 3).

Also in this passage, the word φωτεινόμορφος is used in the context of man striving to become enlightened by God.

φωτεινόμορφον contrasts with the darkness of **άντρανύχιον** (v. 48). **κατοικίαν** refers back to **ναόν** (v. 47).

50: **Ίνα** is written with a red majuscule initial in **N**. Because **Ίνα** announces a final clause to all previous requests we retained the initial. See also **Όστις** (v. 60) and **Ός** (v. 84) for similar cases.

52-56: This passage presents a second final clause (**ώς** v. 52), standing on the same level as the first one (**Ίνα** v. 50). The requests of the narrator (vv. 12-49) are hoped to result in an image of God in his heart (vv. 50-51), which in its turn may enable him to be aware of the tricks of the devil (vv. 52-55).⁵⁵⁵ Finally, this knowledge may enable the narrator to flee from evil (vv. 56-59).

After the reference to vv. 5-6 of *Carm.* I,2,31 in vv. 46-51, this poem of Gregory continues to be a source of inspiration. The passage on seeking the traces of the devil seems to be provoked by vv. 19-20 of *Carm.* I,2,31 (PG 88.912):

Τυφλὸς ὁρῶν, ὃς ἐῆς κακίας οὐκ ὄσσειτ' ὄλεθρον·
Ίχνια μαστεύειν θηρὸς, ἄκρων φαέων.

Starting with a reference to Mt. 13:13 (βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσιν), Gregory says that those who do not see their own faults are indeed blind while seeing, whereas those who see the footprint of the beast have a clear sight. This implies that it concerns an interior demon, if the footprints of the beast are parallel to ἐῆς κακίας. It seems that vv. 52-56 are an expansion of the idea presented by vv. 19-20 of *Carm.* I,2,31.

These verses have the following structure:

V. 52 contains, besides the opening indications of the final clause (**ώς ἄν**), **Ίχνη** and three appositions to it (**θήρατρα, παγίδας, λόχους**). To see the footprints of the demon implies to see through his tricks.

⁵⁵⁵ See for a similar passage, Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* II,1,83, vv. 1-6 (PG 37.1428-1429):

Εἰ μὴ γλῶσσαν ἔδησα λάλον, καὶ χεῖλεα σιγῆ,
Τὸν νοῦν ἀθροίζων εἰς Θεοῦ κοινωνίαν,
Όφρα κεν ἀγνωτάτοισι νοήμασιν ἀγνὸν Ἄνακτα
Τίσω (καλὸν γὰρ τὸ φρενὸς μόνης θύος),
Οὔποτ' ἄν ἐφρασάμην σκολιοῦ τεχνάσματα θηρὸς,
Ἥ μὴν ἐκήρυσσόν τε, καὶ τοῦτ' ὤόμην.

Also in this passage, a unity with God is strived for (cf. Poem 4, vv. 50-51), in order to recognize the tricks of the devil.

V. 53 has only genitives depending on the previous verse. The first one **θηρὸς** corresponds to θηρὸς of v. 20 of *Carm.* 1,2,31. Thereafter follow three attributive adjectives **κακούργου, δυσμενοῦς, ὀλεθρίου** that characterize the evilness of the devil.

V. 54 has two datives at its beginning and is concluded by two genitives. **βολαῖς καθαραῖς ἀστραπηβόλου φάους** corresponds to ἄκρων φαέων (*Carm.* 1,2,31, v. 20). Here, **βολαῖς** is the instrument which will enable the actions that are presented on the next verse. It refers to the divine light asked for in v. 49 (**φωτεινόμορφον**).

V. 55 indeed gives five synonymous participles which have the accusatives of v. 52 as their object. The participles pertain to **ἐκφυγγάνω** (v. 56). This main verb has as object **τὰς κακότητος τριβόλας** (v. 56).

56-57: In **N, τὰς κακότητος τριβόλας** is written: τὰς κακότητ^ο τριβόλ^λ. The lambda is written *supra lineam* and there is no tachygraphical sign indicating the value of the final syllable. Logically, one can suppose that τὰς τριβόλας is meant. τριβόλη appears indeed in a list of words that have their ending on -ολη in Ailios Herodianos.⁵⁵⁶ **τριβόλας** clearly means *thistles* here. Compare with ὁ τρίβολος (LSJ). Another option might thus be to read τὰς κακότητος τριβόλους. In that case, τρίβολος would be interpreted as a feminine word.⁵⁵⁷

The thistles are the consequence of the Fall, as is told in Gen. 3:17-18:⁵⁵⁸

τῷ δὲ Ἀδαμ εἶπεν Ὅτι ἤκουσας τῆς φωνῆς τῆς γυναικός σου καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετειλάμην σοι τούτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου· ἐν λύπαις φάγη αὐτὴν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου· 18 ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι, καὶ φάγη τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ.

It seems indeed that *Genesis* provides the context for these verses. The snake in v. 57 refers to the snake / devil that convinced Eve to eat from the forbidden fruit (Gen. 3:4-6). In *Genesis*, however, it is not the snake himself who sowed the thistles. They are a

⁵⁵⁶ Ailios Herodianos et Pseudo-Herodianos, *De prosodia catholica*; ed. Lentz (1867: 323, ll. 3-4): Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ολη ὑπερδισύλλαβα βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ σύνθετα εἶη ἐκ προθέσεως, ἀσβόλη, θερσόλη, τριβόλη, ἀπαιόλη ἢ ἀπάτη. Besides, there is also a city in Lusitania called Τριβόλα (Appianos, *Iberica* 260, l. 5; 263, l. 3; 266, l. 1; ed. Gabba et al. 1962). Manuel II Palaiologos writes a letter to a certain Τριβόλης (Epistula 9, l. 1; ed. Dennis 1977). These references, however, do not seem to make much sense in this context.

⁵⁵⁷ There are several botanic word that are taken as a feminine, e.g.: ἄγνος, ἡ (*chaste-tree* LSJ), ἄπιος, ἡ (*pear-tree* LSJ), βάλανος, ἡ (*acorn* LSJ), φηγός, ἡ (*Valonia oak* LSJ).

⁵⁵⁸ One might also think of a passage from step 27 of the *Ladder*, although τρίβολος is used there as an adjective (PG 88.1109, ll. 7-13): ῥαθυμήσαντί μοί ποτε ἐν τῇ κέλλῃ καθεζομένῳ, καὶ ταύτην σχεδὸν καταλιμπάνειν λογιζομένῳ, ἄνδρες τινὲς παραβαλόντες, ἱκανῶς ὡς ἡσυχαστὴν με ἐμακάρισαν· καὶ θᾶπτον ὁ τῆς ῥαθυμίας λογιμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς κενοδοξίας ἐχώρησε, καὶ γε τεθαύμακα πῶς πᾶσιν ἐναντιοῦται τοῖς πνεύμασιν ὁ τρίβολος δαίμων.

punishment of God. Of course the snake is the origin of evil which eventually results in the punishment of which thistles are a part.

57: **καθυποσπείρων** is a *hapax*. We opted to follow the suggestion of Kristoffel Demoen to correct καθυποσπείρ(ειν) from **N** into **καθυποσπείρων**. As a participle this form could stand on the same level as **λυσσῶν** (v. 58), to which it is linked asyndetically. Both participles pertain then to **παύεται** (v. 59). Although the abbreviation in **N** is clearly written, it might be that the scribe used a wrong tachygraphical sign. In any case the reading of **N**, having an infinitive present, does not seem to make much sense. One might perhaps consider that καθυποσπείρειν is not meant as an infinitive, but as a present indicative third person singular with a $\bar{\nu}$ ἐφελκυστικόν. Hence a hiatus with the next word **ὄφις** is avoided. However, since I am unaware of any parallel, this option seems not very likely.

καθυποσπείρων is an intensified form of ὑποσπείρω (to sow LSJ), just as καθυπάρχω is strengthened for ὑπάρχω (LSJ s.v. καθυπάρχω). In this context, it can be translated as *to sow secretly all around*. Compare with Mt. 13:25-26, where it is said that the enemy sows tares at night:

ἐν δὲ τῷ καθεύδειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἦλθεν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἐπέσπειρεν ζιζάνια ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σίτου καὶ ἀπῆλθεν. 26 ὅτε δὲ ἐβλάστησεν ὁ χόρτος καὶ καρπὸν ἐποίησεν, τότε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰ ζιζάνια.

57, 61: σκολιός has a literal meaning (*curved, bent* LSJ; in the context of a snake *wriggling*) and a derived, metaphorical meaning (*crooked, i.e. unjust, unrighteous* LSJ). It may be clear that also the metaphorical meaning is applied here. ὄφις is typically characterized as σκολιός in patristic texts and already in the Old Testament. See Sap. 16:5, with a reference to the seven plagues of Egypt:

Καὶ γὰρ ὅτε αὐτοῖς δεινὸς ἐπῆλθεν θηρίων θυμὸς δῆγμασίν τε σκολιῶν διεφθείροντο ὄφρων, οὐ μέχρι τέλους ἔμεινεν ἡ ὀργή σου.

Another passage is found in Is. 27:1-4:

Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐπάξει ὁ θεὸς τὴν μάχαιραν τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ τὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπὶ τὸν δράκοντα ὄφιν. φεύγοντα, ἐπὶ τὸν δράκοντα ὄφιν σκολιὸν καὶ ἀνελεῖ τὸν δράκοντα. (2) τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀμπελὼν καλὸς ἐπιθύμημα ἐξάρχειν κατ' αὐτῆς. (3) ἐγὼ πόλις ἰσχυρά, πόλις πολιορκουμένη, μάτην ποτιῶ αὐτήν· ἀλώσεται γὰρ νυκτός, ἡμέρας δὲ πεσεῖται τὸ τεῖχος. (4) οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἐπελάβετο αὐτῆς· τίς με θήσει φυλάσσειν καλάμην ἐν ἀγρῷ; διὰ τὴν πολεμίαν ταύτην ἠθέτηκα αὐτήν.

In this passage, the snake stands again for the devil who will be defeated in the end. The snake is not only said to be crooked, but also fleeing, just as is implied in **δοκῶν τε φεύγειν** (v. 61). **δοκῶν**, however, implies a temporary and not a final defeat. It is a hypocrite strategy of the devil to hide and then, when you think that you have defeated him, to attack twice as hard (Cf. step 26, PG 88.1025, ll. 50-52).⁵⁵⁹ *καλάμην*, near the end of the passage from *Isaias*, seems to correspond to the thistles of Gen. 3:18 and to the chaff that will be burned (Mt. 3:12). Useless material is sinful and will be destroyed in the end.

58-73: These verses contain some clear references to *Carm.* II,1,1 of Gregory of Nazianzos. First, I will only briefly indicate the echoes of *Carm.* II,1,1 in this passage:

Poem 4, vv. 58-73	<i>Carm.</i> II,1,1, vv. 50-62 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 6)
<p>Λυσσῶν καθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βίου οὐ πάυεται μάλιστα, παύλαν οὐκ ἔχων. Ὅστις πανούργως ὑποχωρῶν πολλάκις δοκῶν τε φεύγειν, κέντρῳ ρίπτει θανάτου, κλέπτῃς ἐναργῆς, ψυχόθηρ ὧν ὁ πλάνος, εἶδει καλῶ δοκοῦντι κρύπτει τὸν δόλον· πλουτῶν τὰ φαῦλα πανταχοῦ τῶν σκευμάτων, νόθοις ἑαυτὸν κατακοσμεῖ τοῖς τρόποις, κατὰ κολοῖον ἐπιτιωμένον νόθοις. Ὡς ἀλιεύς τις εἰναλίοις ἰχθύσιν <u>ἄγκιστρον εἶδαρ ἔρχεται καθεὶς ἔχον</u> <u>οἷ καὶ ποθοῦντες τὴν πρὸς <ἦς> ζωῆς χάριν</u> <u>εἴλκυσαν ἀπρόοπτον, ἄθλιον τέλος.</u> οὕτως Σαταῶν ἔπεισιν ἐν κακουργίᾳ. <u>Ἐπήλυθε φωτὶ παραπλήσιον σκότος,</u> <u>ὡς παρόμοιον ἐκφανῆ φῶς τῷ σκότει.</u></p>	<p>Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὡς βιότιοι κακαῖς πείρονται ἀκάνθαις χρειοῖ ἀναγκαίῃ καὶ ἔκτοθι μυρία δαίμων Λυσσῆεις κακοεργὸς ἐμήσατο κέντρα μόριοι, ἄ, μελέοις θνητοῖσι καὶ εἶδει πολλάκι κεύθων ἔσθλῳ λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον, ὅτ' ἀντίβια πτολεμίζων χάζεται. Τοῖον γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνδράσι λοιγὸν ὑφαίνει, οἷον ὑπ' εἶδατι χαλκός, ὅτ' ἰχθύσι κῆρα φέρησιν οἷ ζῶν ποθέοντες, ἐνὶ σπλάγγνοισιν ὄλεθρον εἴρυσαν ἀπροϊδῆ, σφέτερον μόνον ἀμφιχάνοντες. Ὡς καὶ ἐμοὶ δολόμετις, ἐπεὶ ζόφον ὄντα μιν ἔγνων, ἔσάμενος χροῶ καλὸν ἐπήλυθε φωτὶ εἰκώς, αἶ κέν πως ἀρετὴν ποθέων κακίῃ πελάσαιμι, κλεπτομένου πρὸς ὄλεθρον ἐλαφροτέρω νόοιο.</p>

In the passage preceding this quotation from *Carm.* II,1,1, Gregory discusses evil persons (vv. 38-42). They are subject to carnal sins and gluttony. It is in v. 40 of *Carm.* II,1,1 that the expression *ὕβριστής τε κόρος* appears, which was adopted in v. 40 of Poem 4. All these evil persons are contrasted in Gregory's poem to the good ones.

⁵⁵⁹ PG (88.1025, ll. 50-52) runs: Ὑποχωροῦσι δαίμονες ἐκουσίως, ἀμεριμνήσαι παρασκευάζοντες, καὶ αἰφνίδιον τὴν ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν ἀρπάζοντες.

When we take a look at the broader context of *Carm.* II,1,1, we see that there is a broader connection with Poem 4. In vv. 21-27 of *Carm.* II,1,1, Gregory asks to be saved from the beasts (Tuilier et al. 2004: 4):

Ναὶ γὰρ δὴ θῆρες τε καὶ ἄγριον οἶδμα θαλάσσης
καὶ δῆρις στονόεσσα καὶ αἰθομένου πυρὸς ὄρμη,
πάντα κακοὶ τελέθουσι βίου δηλήμονες ἄνδρες
οἷ ῥα Θεὸν φιλέοντας ἀπεχθαίρουσι μάλιστα,
οὔτε δίκην τρομέοντες ἐς ὕστερον ἀντιώσαν
οὔτε βροτῶν ἀλέγοντες, ὅσοι στυγέουσιν ἀλιτρόν.
Τῶν μ' ἀποέργαθε, Χριστέ, καὶ ἐνδυκέως με φύλασσε

This corresponds more or less to the final clause in Poem 4, vv. 52-56. Both passages convey a similar message: the narrator wishes to be spared of the traps of the demons. Of course, vv. 52-56 of Poem 4 are not verbally based on vv. 21-27 of *Carm.* II,1,1. However, it seems that vv. 67-73 of Poem 4 are imbedded in a similar context as vv. 55-62 of *Carm.* II,1,1.

Codicologically, the parallel between vv. 72-73 of Poem 4 and vv. 59-60 of *Carm.* II,1,1 functions as a further argument which supports the reversal of f. 418 in **N** as discussed in chapter 3.1.2 (Order and Preservation of the Poems).

58-59: The devil rages *against us with the necessities of life*. This refers to the fact that some actions are necessary to remain alive, such as eating and sleeping, but they are a slippery slope leading to excess and sin.⁵⁶⁰ When in v. 59 it is said that this rage will not stop, it is of course implied that you will have to struggle against this rage of the devil for the rest of your earthly life.

Verse 58 is clearly based on *Carm.* II,1,1. **λυσσῶν** echoes λυσσήεις (v. 52), whereas **καθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βίου** is based on ὡς βιότοιο κακαῖς πείρονται ἀκάνθαις (v. 50). This *sting of life* contrasts with *the thorn of death*, mentioned in Poem 4, v. 61 and in *Carm.* II,1,1, v. 52. In Poem 4, this link is implicitly stressed because **καθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βίου**, which is preceded by **λυσσῶν**, takes the place of κακοεργὸς ἐμήσατο κέντρα μόροιο, which is preceded by λυσσήεις.

The difference between *the sting of life* and *the thorn of death* is, I think, that the first does not lead to eternal damnation, whereas the second does. The *sting of life* sometimes compels us to commit a sin. It is meant that even those who live their lives

⁵⁶⁰ See step 19 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.937, ll. 10-14). Compare also with Poem 2, v. 124 where it is said that to overcome lust, which is an innate sin, implies to overcome nature.

righteously are sometimes compelled to sin.⁵⁶¹ These sins, however, do not result in eternal damnation. When you repent, you can overcome these vices. *χρειοῖ ἀναγκαίη* (v. 51) implies that you were forced to commit these sins. These mitigating circumstances will lead to absolution.⁵⁶² The *thorn of death*, by contrast, implies eternal damnation.

This analysis may be supported if we take a look to both passages with a greater detail. Bernardi, in the Budé edition by Tuilier and Bady (2004: 6 n. 19), comments upon v. 50 of *Carm.* II,1,1 by referring to 1 Tim. 6:10:

ρίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία, ἧς τινες ὀρεγόμενοι ἀπεπλανήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἑαυτοὺς περιέπειραν ὀδύνας πολλὰς.

Love of money (LSJ s.v. *φιλαργυρία*) is indeed implied in v. 71 of *Carm.* II,1,1.⁵⁶³ However, I do not think that *love of money* is implied in v. 50 of *Carm.* II,1,1. *Φιλαργυρία* in its derived way, however, meaning *avarice* (LSJ), can be implied in the passage from Gregory. In any case, I think that this passage of *Carm.* II,1,1 has to be interpreted in the same way as vv. 58-59 of Poem 4. Also *βίοτοιο κακαῖς (...)* *ἀκάνθαις* (v. 50) refer to the *necessities of life*. The thorns of life are those sins which are part of life: such as food or sexual desire. You have to resist those temptations. However, since they are part of life, they are part of nature.⁵⁶⁴

One might also think of a passage in the garden poem of Theodoros Prodromos vv. 37-44 (Nilsson 2013: 21-22):

τὴν καλλονὴν, ἄνθρωπε, τοῦ ῥόδου βλέπων
καὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας εὐφυῶς περισκόπει,
κάντεῦθεν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἔλθῃ τοῦ βίου.
ὥς ὁ τρυγῶν γὰρ τὸ γλυκύπνοον ῥόδ<ον>,

⁵⁶¹ Compare with a monastic dialogue (ed. Guy 1957: 179 nr. 18) (discussed in the commentary on vv. 67-73 of Poem 4). There it is said that the devil tries to lure all of us, the good and the bad.

⁵⁶² One may think of the lie of Rahab, which although it was a sin, did not have the consequences of a sin. She was forced by the circumstances and acted for the good. Cf. Jos. 2:1-14; Hebr. 11:30-31; Jc. 2:24-26; step 12 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.856, ll. 27-43); Poem 2, v. 105.

⁵⁶³ Verse 71 of *Carm.* II,1,1 runs (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 7): Ἄλλων δ' αὖ χρυσός τε καὶ ἄργυρος, οἱ φιλέοντες.

⁵⁶⁴ Compare for example with a passage from step 15 on unclean and shameful thoughts (PG 88.901, ll. 32-44): Οἱ ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀκάθαρτοι καὶ αἰσχροὶ λόγοι ἐκ τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος τῆς καρδίας τοῦ τῆς πορνείας δαίμονος πεφύκασι τίκτεσθαι οὐς ἰᾶται ἐγκράτεια καὶ τὸ τούτους εἰς οὐδὲν ὅλως λογιζέσθαι ποίω δὲ ἐγὼ ἦθει καὶ τρόπῳ τὸν ἐμὸν τοῦτον φίλον δῆσας κατὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν λοιπῶν δικάσω, οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι πρὶν γὰρ δῆσω, λύεται καὶ πρὶν δικάσω, διαλλάσσομαι καὶ πρὶν τιμωρήσω, κατακάμπτομαι. Πῶς μισήσω ὃν φύσει ἀγαπᾶν πέφυκα; Πῶς ἐλευθερωθῶ ὃ εἰς αἰῶνας συνδέδεμαι; Πῶς καταργήσω τὸ καὶ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀνιστάμενον; Πῶς δεῖξω ἄφθαρτον τὸ φθαρτὴν εἰληφὸς φύσιν; Τί εὐλογον εἶπω τῷ τὰ εὐλόγα κεκτημένῳ διὰ τῆς φύσεως; Cf. also PG (88.884, ll. 12-15).

ἐκ τῶν ἀκάνθων αἵματοι τοὺς δακτύλους,
οὕτως ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν κοινωνία
ἀλίσκεται μὲν, ἀλλὰ μυρίοις πόνοις.
οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἄμοχθον οὐδὲν ἐν βίῳ.

Also in this passage, the thorns are said to be part of life. In this comparison, however, the rose stands for life. The flower is its fruit, whereas the thorn stands for the inevitable toils, which is of course something else as the sin one is sometimes compelled to commit.

Furthermore, Bernardi (Tuilier et al. 2004: 6 n. 20) refers to *Iliad* 8.57: the Trojans fight with another mentality than the Greeks. Since they are the defenders, they fight for the survival of their people (*Iliad* 8.55-57; ed. Allen 1931):

Τρῶες δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὀπλίζοντο
παυρότεροι· μέμασαν δὲ καὶ ὧς ὑσμῖνι μάχεσθαι
χρηιοῖ ἀναγκαίῃ, πρό τε παίδων καὶ πρὸ γυναικῶν.

χρηιοῖ ἀναγκαίῃ of *Iliad* 8, v. 57 is indeed echoed in v. 51 of *Carm.* II,1,1. Hence, just as in Poem 4 and in the garden poem of Theodoros, the *sting of life* is inevitable.

59: **παύλαν** is written with an acute in **N**. In Classical Greek it would have a circumflex: παῦλαν. In Byzantine Greek, this word appears more frequently with an acute. **παύλαν** appears with the same accent in several editions. Of course one could wonder if these editions reflect the accentuation of the manuscripts. Cf. e.g.: Eustratios (11th-12th c.), *Oratio* 4 (ed. Demetrakopoulos 1866: 116, l. 22); Kallistos I (14th c.), *Encomium in Joannem IV Jejunatorem* (ed. Gelzer 1886: 75, l. 5); Bessarion (15th c.), *In calumniatorem Platonis* 4.3.8, l. 26 (ed. Mohler 1927).

60-71: These verses stress the hypocritical character of the devil. He feigns to flee, but then attacks (v. 60-61; see commentary on vv. 57, 61). He is a deceiving thief (v. 62). He looks good, but hides evil inside (vv. 63-64). He is as the jackdaw with forged plumes from the Aesopic fable⁵⁶⁵ (vv. 65-66). He is as food on a fishhook which deceives the fish bringing death instead of life (vv. 67-71). The notion of the hypocrisy of the devil in general is directly inspired by the passage of *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 50-62.

60: Just as **Ἴνα** (v. 50), **Ἵστις** is written with a red majuscule initial in **N**. It announces the digression on the devil. **Ἵστις** refers back to **ῥφίς** (v. 57).

⁵⁶⁵ Ed. Hausrath – Hunger (1957²: nr. 103).

61: As already mentioned above, the snake / devil, after feigning to flee, attacks. Just as **βάλλοις** in v. 35, **ρίπτει** is used without explicit object. It seems that here the object is generally, everyone who is attacked by the devil, us.

κέντρῳ (...) **θανάτου** clearly refers to ἐμήσατο κέντρα μόροιο (*Carm.* II,1,1, v. 52), which goes back to 1 Cor. 15:54-56.⁵⁶⁶

ὅταν δὲ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀθανασίαν, τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος· κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος. 55 ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νίκος; ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; 56 τὸ δὲ κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου ἢ ἀμαρτία, ἢ δὲ δύναμις τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὁ νόμος.

It seems that also in Poem 4, κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου has to be interpreted as sin (ἀμαρτία) as explained by Paul in the passage quoted above. The devil attacks us by tempting us to sin.

62: Despite all his attempt to hide his evil, the devil remains *a manifest thief*. In step 26 of the *Ladder*, at least in the version of Sophr. 26.9,⁵⁶⁷ theft also appears in the context of hypocrisy, in fact it is even defined as hypocrisy: κλοπή ἐστὶ, τὸ μὴ καλὸν ὡς καλὸν ἐργάζεσθαι. The devil is called a thief, because when we are tempted to sin by him, we can lose eternal life.

ψυχόθηρ is a *hapax*. **ψυχόθηρ** is obviously a compound, a combination of ψυχή (*soul* PGL) and θήρ (*beast* PGL). LBG mentions ὁ ἰχθυόθηρ (*Fischjäger vom Krokodil*), which is constructed similarly. From this parallel, it seems that **ψυχόθηρ** is to be understood as *a hunter of souls*.

Besides, one might also compare with ὁ φιλόθηρ. According to LSJ, referring to Pseudo-Polemon (4th c.), *Physiognomonica* 44, l. 3 (ed. Foerster 1893), φιλόθηρ is probably a *falsa lectio* for the adjective φιλόθηρος (*fond of hunting* LSJ). Another similar noun is μιξόθηρ (*half-beast* LSJ), which also has a corresponding adjective: μιξόθηρος. There are several compound nouns known starting with ψυχο-, e.g.: ψυχοταμίας (*keeper of souls* LSJ); ψυχοδότης (*giver of the soul or life* PGL); ψυχολατρεία (*worship in which the soul takes part* PGL).

63: This verse states the hypocrisy of the devil most explicitly. It is borrowed from vv. 53-54 of *Carm.* II,1,1.

64: One could read this verse as depending on v. 63 or v. 65. I think that it is best to read it as depending on v. 65. When we apply this interpretation, there is a syntactic break after v. 63. This verse mentions both the evil (**τὸν δόλον**) which is concealed by the

⁵⁶⁶ See also Os. 13:14: ἐκ χειρὸς ἄδου ῥύσσομαι αὐτούς καὶ ἐκ θανάτου λυτρώσομαι αὐτούς· ποῦ ἢ δίκη σου, θάνατε; ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου, ἄδη; παράκλησις κέκρυπται ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου.

⁵⁶⁷ The quotation that follows is taken from Sophr. as these phrases are not in PG.

devil, and his means of concealment (εἶδει καλῶ). When v. 64 is taken into relation with v. 65, then also these two verses together have the element that is concealed (τὰ φαῦλα πανταχοῦ τῶν σκευμάτων v. 64) and the means of concealment (νόθοις (...) τοῖς τρόποις v. 65).

64-66: In these verses the devil's hypocrisy is compared to the jackdaw with forged plumes. κατὰ (v. 66) introduces a conscious reference to a proverb: κολοῖος ἀλλοτρίοις πτεροῖς ἀγάλλεται.⁵⁶⁸ This proverb derives from an Aesopic fable which has the title Κολοῖος καὶ ὄρνεις (ed. Hausrath – Hunger 1957²: nr. 103):

Ζεὺς βουλόμενος βασιλέα ὀρνέων καταστήσαι προθεσμίαν αὐτοῖς ἔταξεν, ἐν ἧ παραγενήσονται. κολοῖος δὲ συνειδὼς ἑαυτῷ δυσμορφίαν περιῶν τὰ ἀποπίπτοντα τῶν ὀρνέων πτερὰ ἀνελάμβανε καὶ ἑαυτῷ περιῆπτεν. ὡς δὲ ἐνέστη ἡ ἡμέρα, ποικίλος γενόμενος ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Δία. μέλλοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν βασιλέα αὐτὸν χειροτονεῖν τὰ ὄρνεα ἀγανακτήσαντα περιέστη καὶ ἕκαστον τὸ ἴδιον πτερόν ἀφείλετο. οὕτω τε συνέβη αὐτῷ ἀπογυμνωθέντι πάλιν κολοῖον γενέσθαι. οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ χρεωφειλέται μέχρι μὲν τὰ ἀλλότρια ἔχουσι χρήματα, δοκοῦσί τινες εἶναι, ἐπειδὴν δὲ αὐτὰ ἀποδώσωσιν, ὅποιοι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦσαν εὐρίσκονται.

Regarding the many references to the poems of Gregory of Nazianzos in Poem 4, it seems not to be a coincidence that this fable also appears in Gregory's *Carm.* I,2,29 (*Adversus mulieres se nimis ornantes*), vv. 55-58 (PG 37.888):

Πῶς δὲ σύγ' εἶδος ἔχουσα κολοῖιον (εἶ γε κολοῖον
Εὔπτερον ἀλλοτρίοις ἄνθεσι μῦθος ἔχων,
Αὐθις γυμνὸν ἔθηκε γελοῖον), οὐκ ἀλεγίζεις
Αἴσχεος ὑστατίου, κάλλεος ὄλλυμένου.

67-73: These verses are clearly based on Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 55-62. In the first part of this passage (vv. 67-71 of Poem 4 / vv. 55-58 of *Carm.* II,1,1) the devil is a threat to man as a fisher is to fishes. They are deceived by the bait, which looks like food essential for life, but in fact brings a sudden death. In this context, *life* and *death* should of course be interpreted as *eternal life* and *eternal death*. In Poem 4, the passage on the fisher is elaborated as a Homeric simile.

Also in the *Ladder*, there are two passages where fishing is used metaphorically. The first passage is found in step 20 (= 19 in Sophr.) (PG 88.940, l. 25 - 941, l. 1) and runs:

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. LSJ s.v. κολοῖός. LSJ refers furthermore to a passage of Lucian's *Apologia* 4, ll. 3-4.

Μοναχὸς ἄγρυπνος, ἀλιευτῆς λογισμῶν, ἐν γαλήνῃ νυκτὸς εὐχερῶς τούτους κατανοεῖν, καὶ ἀγρεύειν δυνάμενος.

In this metaphor the roles are reversed. The monk is the fisherman and the evil thoughts are the fishes. A second passage from the *Ladder* is found in step 15 (PG 88.889, ll. 7-9):

Φεύγει ἄγκιστρον ἰχθὺς ὀξέως, καὶ φιλήδονος ψυχὴ ἀποστρέφεται ἡσυχίαν.

Here, a fish is compared to a sensual person, the first avoids the hook, the second solitude. In this comparison the fish is indeed compared to someone who is sinful. However, in this comparison it is implied that the fish will not bite.

Another parallel is found in a monastic dialogue, consisting of short answers and questions (ed. Guy 1957: 179 nr. 18):

Ἐρ.: Πῶς δύναται ἄνθρωπος ἐκκόψαι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν τῶν δαιμόνων;

Ἀπ.: Ὡσπερ ὁ ἰχθὺς οὐ δύναται κωλύσαι τὸν ἀλιεῖα μὴ χαλάσαι τὸ ἄγκιστρον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐὰν δὲ γνῶ ὁ ἰχθὺς τὴν τοῦ ἀγκίστρου κακίαν, ἀποστραφεὶς σώζεται, καὶ μένει ἀργὸς ὁ ἀλιεὺς οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

As Guy (1957: 176) notes, this text is preserved anonymously and is very hard to date. Very cautiously, Guy proposes to date the text between 480 and 490 AD. Question 18 of this dialogue seems to be a parallel to Poem 4. Also here the fisherman is the devil, the fishes are men, and the hook is sin that might lead to eternal death. In the dialogue, it is especially stressed that those fishes who understand the evil character of the hook are able to avoid evil, and thus to be saved.

Of course, the three passages, the two from *Klimax* and the one from the monastic dialogue, are, contrary to the reference to Gregory's *Carm.* II,1,1, probably no direct sources for vv. 67-71. They are just a general indication that the fish/fisherman metaphor was known in the monastic literary tradition.

Besides, one might already think of v. 4 of *Anthologia Palatina* 6.192 (ed. Beckby 1965^{2a}): ἄγκιστρον, κρυφίην εἰναλίοισι πάγην (see also commentary on v. 115 of Poem 4).

67: εἰναλίους derives from εἰνάλιος, which is a poetic form for ἐνάλιος (*in, on, of the sea* LSJ). It gives an extra poetic flavour and makes the 6th syllable heavy as is required in the dodecasyllable.

68: Although both words stand at the extremity of this verse, **ἔχον** must be taken as a participle depending on **ἄγκιστρον** with **εἶδαρ** as its object.

69: In **N**, this verse consists of only 11 syllables. The first colon has five syllables and scans fluently. The second colon has only 6 syllables. The 6th and the 7th syllable (τὴν πρὸς) have the potential to be respectively heavy and short, as is required in the dodecasyllable. ζῶης χάριν would well fit as the ending of a dodecasyllable (syllables 9-12). In the form the verse is preserved in **N**, the *codex unicus*, ζῶης provides respectively the 8th and the 9th syllable, which would make the omicron of πρὸς incorrectly heavy. It seems then that the 8th syllable is missing in this verse. We are thus looking for one syllable starting with a vowel. An option, suggested by Marc De Groote, would be to fill the gap with ῥ̃ς (Lat. *suus*): πρὸς <ῥ̃ς> ζῶης. In this way, the verse has 12 syllables. As it has a heavy vowel, ῥ̃ς could fit as the 8th syllable. When applying this solution, the prosodic problem in the 7th syllable disappears. Perhaps, ῥ̃ς could correspond to σφέτερον (*Carm.* II,1,1, v. 58), although there it accords with μόρον. Although the phrase can be easily understood without the addition, we opted to adopt <ῥ̃ς> in order to restore the verse.

71: Σατᾶν corresponds to δολόμητις of v. 59 in *Carm.* II,1,1. ἔπεισιν is an indicative present third person singular (< ἔπειμι from εἶμι) with a \bar{v} ἐφελκυστικόν in order to avoid a hiatus with ἐν.

72-73: These verses are somehow pleonastic. In **N**, both παραπλήσιος (v. 72) and παρόμοιος (v. 73) are corrected into respectively παραπλήσιον and παρόμοιον. The correction is in both cases executed by an abbreviation for -ον above the line, without crossing out -ος. Both words have their object in the dative case. In v. 72, σκότος functions as a predicate to the subject of ἔπεισιν, which is Σατᾶν. The devil is as a darkness that falsely resembles light. V. 73 is the reverse of v. 72, but not the opposite: The devil appears as a light equal to darkness. Clearly φῶς, just as σκότος, is a predicate to the subject of ἔπεισιν. Therefore we adopted the correction of **N** in the edition. The reading *ante correctionem* of v. 72 can be explained as a progressive scribal mistake towards σκότος. Another option is that it was felt as connected to Σατᾶν (v. 71). This last interpretation could also explain the reading *ante correctionem* of v. 73. φῶς and σκότος are indeed predicates to Σατᾶν. Also in vv. 59-60 of *Carm.* II,1,1, which are the source of vv. 72-73 in Poem 4, the devil is the subject.

Another parallel in Gregory of Nazianzos is found in vv. 7-8 of *Carm.* II,1,83 which refer to the devil (PG 37.1429):

Πολλάκι μοι καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπήλυθε νυκτὶ ἐοικῶς,
Καὶ φωτὸς αὐθις ἐν πανούργῳ πλάσματι.

Compare also with Gregory's *Oratio* 40.16, where he speaks of the devil (PG 36.377, l. 43): ὄντως σκότος ἐστὶ, καὶ φῶς ὑποκρίνεται.

74-75: Both verses express the narrator's disgust for the devil. In **N**, ὦ, which appears at the beginning of both verses, is written with an acute. In this way, it is distinguished

from the invocational **ὦ** as it appears in Poem 1, vv. 73-78 and in Poem 4, vv. 6-8. Regarding the structure of the poem, these verses seem to announce the list of detestable names of the devil.

Verse 74 refers to the disgusting words of the devil. Verse 75 refers again to the deceiving and hypocrite character of the devil. This verse conveys almost the same message as v. 63.

75: ἐπειλύει derives from ἐπειλύω (*verhüllen, verbergen* LBG). This lemma does neither appear in LSJ nor in PGL. According to TLG the earliest attestation of this verb is found in Michael Psellos (11th c.).⁵⁶⁹

76: κλυτοτέχνης (*famous for his art* LSJ) is a Homeric epithet of Hephaistos.⁵⁷⁰ It might be implied that just as Hephaistos forged works of art in his smithy, the devil forged forgeries. The devil is said to limp just as Hephaistos. Lucifer is the fallen angel who was cast from heaven. In *Iliad* 1.591-594, Hephaistos tells that he was once thrown from the Olympos by Zeus because he tried to defend his mother Hera. He says that he flew a whole day long and crashed on Lemnos. Hence he was heavenly injured. In *Iliad* 18.395-397, Hephaistos tells a different story. He “fell far” (τῆλε πεσόντα) because of the will of his mother who wanted to “hide” (κρύψαι) her cripple son. According to this story, it seems thus Hephaistos was already cripple from his birth. In any case, a fall from such a height must have limited his walking abilities even more. Besides, Hephaistos, as he is the God of fire who worked in a smithy and was sometimes associated with underground volcanos, is easily associated with the devil who lives in the sulphurous hell.

76-77: In these verses yet another example of the devil’s hypocrisy is mentioned. While being clearly cripple, he feigns that he has straight feet. It seems indeed that the devil points to his own foot, therefore we changed αὐτοῦ, the form preserved in **N** (and **L**), into **αὐτοῦ**. Imagine the devil showing his feet to an audience. They are clearly deformed, but he tries to deceive his audience by stating that they are straight. The devil fakes that he followed Paul’s advice from Hebr. 12:11-13:

πᾶσα δὲ παιδεία πρὸς μὲν τὸ παρὸν οὐ δοκεῖ χαρᾶς εἶναι ἀλλὰ λύπης, ὕστερον δὲ καρπὸν εἰρηνικὸν τοῖς δι’ αὐτῆς γεγυμνασμένοις ἀποδίδωσιν δικαιοσύνης. 12 Διὸ τὰς παρειμένας χεῖρας καὶ τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα ἀνορθώσατε, 13 καὶ τροχιάς ὀρθὰς ποιεῖτε τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ χωλὸν ἐκτραπῆ, ἰαθῆ δὲ μᾶλλον.

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. e.g. Psellos, *Theologica* (Opusculum 34, l. 43; ed. Duffy – Westerink 2002).

⁵⁷⁰ κλυτοτέχνης, just as Ἥφαιστος, occurs only once in the works of Gregory of Nazianzos, in *Or.* 5 (PG 35.705): πάλιν ἀμφιγυῆεις Ἥφαιστος, ἀλλὰ ταχὺς εἰς μοιχῶν εὗρεσιν, καὶ θεὸς κατηθαλωμένος, εἰ καὶ κλυτοτέχνης, καὶ Θεοσῆτης Ὀλύμπιος. Hephaistos is also here characterized as lame. Comparing to Poem 4 there seems not to be any correspondence.

In this passage from *Hebrews* it is said that you should straighten your path, and not your feet as it is implied in Poem 4. However, it seems that the thematic link between the two passages is clear.

78-80: In these verses, the narrator humbly admits that, since he is not able to see all tricks of the devil, he is only able to name a limited number of them. However, even from this limited number, one can characterize the devil himself (v. 80). Probably, εὔρον (v. 79) refers to the heuristics of the poet. The list of names that follow is indeed a list he found in Gregory of Nazianzos (see commentary on vv. 81-83).

80: τίς φράσοι explicitly indicates that the rest of the verse is a proverb. LSJ (s.v. ὄνυξ), mentions: “ἔξ ὀνύχων λέοντα (sc. τεκμαίρεσθαι) to judge by the claws, i.e. by a slight but characteristic mark”. The nails here stand for the names, κλήσεις (v. 79). It is by the names that the devil is characterized.

The expression appears frequently throughout Greek literature. In the context of this poem, however, it is interesting to note that it also appears in Gregory of Nazianzos’ *Carm.* I,2,10, v. 6 (PG 37.681): Καὶ γὰρ λέοντ’ ὄνυξι δηλοῦσθαι λόγος.⁵⁷¹ At first sight, however, it seems that there is no link between the context of this passage and the occurrence of the expression in Poem 4.

81-83: These three verses, with a parallel structure, are synonymous. The anaphora of αὐταὶ refers to the κλήσεις (v. 79). The verses explain the proverb explicitly. Only by his names one learns the character of the devil.

84-97: These verses are an elaboration of Gregory of Nazianzos’ *Carm.* II,1,55, vv. 1-6 (PG 37.1399-1400).⁵⁷²

Φεῦγ’ ἀπ’ ἐμῆς κραδίης, δολομήχανε, φεῦγε τάχιστα·
Φεῦγ’ ἀπ’ ἐμῶν μελέων, φεῦγ’ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ βίότου.
Κλώψ, ὄφι, πῦρ, Βελίη, κακίη, μόρε, χάσμα, δράκων, θήρ,
Νύξ, λοχέ, λύσσα, χάος, βάσκανε, ἀνδροφόνε·
Ὅς καὶ πρωτογόνοισιν ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ λοιγὸν ἔηκας,
Γεύσας τῆς κακίης, οὔλιε, καὶ θανάτου.

⁵⁷¹ See also Gregory of Nazianzos’ *Or.* 8 (PG 35: 800, ll. 1-4): Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπαινοῖην τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἀπὸ τῆς σκιᾶς ἂν ἐπαινοῖην τὸν ἀνδριάντα, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνύχων τὸν λέοντα, παρὲς τὰ μείζω καὶ τελεώτερα.

⁵⁷² *Carm.* II,1,55, vv. 1-9 are also quoted on an apotropaic amulet found in the cathedral of Monza, discussed by Simelidis (2009: 63). Bossina (1998: 13) states that it has to be dated to the second half of the 6th c. If this is indeed the case, then it would be the oldest testimony of Gregory’s poetry (Simelides 2009: 63). It seems to hint at an early popularity of this passage. Poem 4 shows that it was still popular several centuries later.

This passage is a kind of exorcism. In vv. 3-4, Gregory mentions several names of the devil. These names are explained in vv. 84-97 of Poem 4, as announced by v. 79. Except for Κλώψ, each noun of vv. 3-4, is elaborated in one verse of our poem: **ῥοφις** (v. 84) corresponds to ῥοφι, **πῦρ** (v. 85) to πῦρ, **Βελίας** (v. 86) to Βελίη, **κακία** (v. 87) to κακίη, **θάνατος** (v. 88) to μόρε, **χάσμα** (v. 89) to χάσμα, **δράκων** (v. 90) to δράκων, **θήρ** (v. 91) to θήρ, **νύξ** (v. 92) to Νύξ, **λόχος** (v. 93) to λοχέ, **λυσσώδης κύων** (v. 94) is a transformation of λύσσα, **χάος** (v. 95) to χάος, **βάσκανος** (v. 96) to βάσκανε, **φονεύς** (v. 97) to ἀνδροφόνε.

At the bottom of f. 419r in **N**, there is a note in red ink: **τοῦ διαβόλου τινὰ ὀνόματα ἐνδεικτικὰ τῶν μηχανουργιῶν αὐτοῦ**. The note is preceded by a cross-reference sign. As the corresponding sign is not preserved in the interlinear space in the text, it seems likely that the sign was written in the right margin. When that margin was restored it must have been lost. The note, which refers to the list of *names that indicate the devil's cunning*, clearly corresponds to the list of vv. 84-97. Hence, the sign was probably written next to v. 84.

Moreover, in **N**, the topic of each verse is delimited by a comma.⁵⁷³ Asyndetic links between words are indicated by a dot: between **στόμα** and **πύλη** (v. 89) and between **χάος** and **Χάρυβδις** (v. 95). In order to retain the difference between a comma and a dot in **N**, and since we already use the comma for asyndetic constructions throughout the edition, I opted to reverse the punctuation of **N**. The commas have become *ano teleias* and the dots, commas. The punctuation is quite strict in **N**. In v. 89, the punctuation clearly indicates that **μέγιστον** has to be read as corresponding to **στόμα**, and not to **χάσμα**, which one would be inclined to do as **χάσμα μέγιστον** forms the first part of this dodecasyllable before the *Binnenschluß*. Also from the punctuation, we learn that the scribe of **N** considered not **χάος** on its own as the topic of the verse, but in combination with **Χάρυβδις, καὶ** in v. 96 somehow disturbs the asyndetic structure of this passage, certainly since it is only the second last topic in the list.

The names are accompanied by a short explanation (i.e. the βδελυγμίαι etc. announced in vv. 81-83), throughout constructed with **ὤς**.

Concerning the absence of a verse on Κλώψ one might interpret that the author opted to start the series of verses with **ῥοφις** because this was most typically associated with the devil (cf. Gen. 3:1). Besides, **ῥοφις** already appeared in v. 57, and it is still the topic in vv. 84-97. Therefore it might be quite logical to recapture **ῥοφις** at the beginning of this list.

⁵⁷³ Only after νύξ (v. 92), there is no comma. This might, however, be influenced by the interference of the *spiritus* on **εἰσιπιδύων** which is written on the next verse. Also in **L**, most of the topics are separated by a comma. The system is however less strictly applied: the comma is missing after **πῦρ** (v. 85), **χάσμα** (v. 89) and **νύξ** (v. 92).

84: Just as **Ἰνα** (v. 50) and **Ἵστις** (v. 60), **Ἵς** is written with a red majuscule initial in **N**. It announces the list of names of the devil.

As is well known, pleasure is a tool of the devil (cf. PGL s.v. *ἡδονή*). In relation to a snake, one might think of course of the interpretation that explains the forbidden fruit from which Eve bit as sexuality. This interpretation would fit with the explanation of πῦρ as carnal passions in v. 85.

86: Βελίας is an alternative form for Βελία, Βελίαρ (*Beliar* name of the devil, PGL). According to TLG, the form Βελίαρ, with 302 occurrences accentuated on the penultimate and 50 occurrences accentuated on the ultimate, is by far the most popular form. Gregory of Nazianzos, however, uses this form only once (*Or.* 24, PG 35.1188, l. 32). In his poetry, he prefers the form Βελίας: *Carm.* I,2,29, v. 224 (PG 37.900), *Carm.* II,1,11, v. 823 (PG 37.1086), *Carm.* II,1,45, v. 16 (PG 37.1354), or the form Βελία: *Carm.* I,2,2, v. 318 (PG 37.603), *Carm.* I,2,3, v. 62 (PG 37.637) and the Ionic variant Βελίη: *Carm.* II,1,1, v. 345 (PG 37.996), *Carm.* II,1,55, v. 3 (PG 37.1399). Other variants are Βελίαλ (e.g. *Jud.* 20:13) and Βελίαδ (only one occurrence in TLG: Athanasios, *Doctrina ad monachos* [Sp.]; PG 28.1421, l. 36).⁵⁷⁴

When referring to *Carm.* II,1,55, the author of Poem 4 could not retain the form Βελίη as he needed a form ending on a consonant, in order to avoid a hiatus with **ὄργῆς**. While having the possibility to choose between several variants ending on a consonant, he did not opt for the most popular form Βελίαρ, but for **Βελίας** which was also preferred by Gregory.

Stylistically, **Βελίας** is an alliteration with **βέλη**. In the *Etymologicum magnum* (12th c.) both words are linked. The lemma Ἄνδριάς reads (Kallierges p. 101, ll. 42-49; ed. Gaisford 1848):

Ἄνδριάς: Ζητεῖται, εἰ πάντα τὰ εἰς ΑΣ μακρὸν καταλήγοντα, ἢ βαρύνονται, ἢ περισπῶνται. Τὸ δὲ ἀνδριάς καὶ ἰμὰς σεσημείωνται. Ποῖον ἄρα ἀνάλογον ὠφείλεν ἔχειν τόνον, περισπῶμενον, ἢ βαρύτονον; Καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι βαρύνεται· ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ εἰς ΑΣ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΟΣ ἀπὸ εὐθείας ἢ ἀπὸ γενικῆς βαρύνεται, βέλος βελίας, δράκων δράκοντος δρακοντίας· οὕτως ἄρα ἀνδρὸς ἀνδρίας.

It seems not to be a coincidence that the example after βέλος βελίας is δράκων which is of course a synonym of βελίας. Other passages where Βελίαρ is associated with βέλος, or derived forms, are for example:

⁵⁷⁴ Of course, it is possible that this was a typo in PG. The Latin translation has Belial.

- 1) Makarios (4th-5th c.), *Apocriticus seu Monογενής* (book 3, Blondel p. 114, ll. 12-13; ed. Goulet 2003): ἵνα μὴ τοῖς οἰκείοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Βελίαρ ριπτομένοις βέλεσιν, καιρίαν λαβῶν τὴν πληγὴν, οἰχήσεται.
- 2) Romanos the Melode (6th c.), *Cantica*, Hymn 43, Προοίμιον, vv. 5-6 (ed. Grosdidier de Matons 1967), where it appears throughout the hymn as a *Leitmotiv*:

ὁ λύσας τοῦ Βελίαρ τὰ βέλη, τοῦ Ἄιδου τὸ νῆκος
καὶ Θανάτου τὸ κέντρον.

- 3) John Mauropous (11th c.), *Canones Paracletici*, can. 7, od. 1, ll. 19-24 (ed. Follieri 1967):

Βέλει παρακοῆς με
τὸν βεβληκότα Βελίαρ
αὐτὸς κραταιότερον
κατὰ καρδίας βέβληκας
βέλεσι πεπυρωμένοις,
ἦλοις τῶν ἀχράντων χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν σου, Χριστέ.

One might also think of Eph. 6:16:

ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ
πονηροῦ [τὰ] πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι.

87: In this verse, it is said that the devil is the origin of evil. Compare for example with Justinos Martyr (2nd c.), *Apologia* 28.1, ll. 1-2 (ed. Goodspeed 1915): Παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀρχηγέτης τῶν κακῶν δαιμόνων ὄφις καλεῖται καὶ σατανᾶς καὶ διάβολος. Russell (1981: 67) states that Justinos “seemed to argue that Satan fell as a result of tempting Adam and Eve”. This was indeed the first sin.

88: It is indeed the devil (who seduced Eve), who is the cause of the mortality of humans. In Gen. 3:19, mortality is implied in Gods punishment for Adam and Eve: ἐν ἰδρωτί τοῦ προσώπου σου φάγη τὸν ἄρτον σου ἕως τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι σε εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήμφθης ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύση.

88-94: Except for v. 93, which refers again to the hypocrisy of the devil, these verses concern death, which is a consequence of the devil's arrows (v. 86) and the first violation of laws (v. 87).

93: **εἰσπιδύων** is a *hapax*. It is easily analysed as πιδύω (*gush forth* LSJ) preceded by the prefix εἰσ-, which adds an aspect of direction to the meaning. **τὰ πλείω**, as an accusative,

is provoked by the prefix. It might be that there is an interference of εἰσπηδάω (*to jump, leap or to burst in, rush in, appear unexpectedly* Montanari). It seems that the meaning of this verb could well fit into the context of v. 93. **λόχος** suggests indeed rather a short, quick action; and not the gushing of a liquid. The corresponding participle of εἰσπηδάω, εἰσπηδῶν, would, however, not fit into the metre as it is one syllable shorter. The ground form of both verbs is equated in the following lemma of Erotianos (1st c.), *Vocum Hippocraticarum collectio* (Klein p. 67, l. 17; ed. Nachmanson 1918): ἐπίδυν· ἐπεδιέρρει καὶ διεπήδα.

94: λύσσα of *Carm.* II,1,55, v. 4 is expanded to **λυσσώδης κύων**. Because of rabies a dog is quite logically linked to rage. See for example M. Psellos (11th c.), *Poem.* 21, v. 19 (ed. Westerink 1992): ἔπειτα λυττᾶς οἷα λυσσώδης κύων. In Theodoros Synkellos (7th c.), *Homilia de obsidione Avarica Constantinopolis* (ed. Sternbach 1975: 92, ll. 33-34), Gog⁵⁷⁵ is associated with a raging dog:

Οὐκοῦν καλῶς ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐπήλθεν μοι, εἰ μὴ προπετὲς τὸ λεγόμενον, Γὼγ νοῆσαι τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἔθνῶν ὧν καθ' ἡμῶν ὁ λυσσώδης κύων κεκίνηκε.

See also Georgios Monachos (9th c.), *Chronicon* (ed. de Boor 1904: 667, ll. 1-3):

καὶ κακοσχόλους Καππαδόκας; τί τοὺς οἰνοδυνάστας καὶ γιγαντοκοιλιολάτρας ἐρεθίζεις; τί τοὺς λυσσώδεις κύνας ἀγριαίνεις, ὧν τὰ δῆγματα θάνατος;

This phrase is built up with almost the same constituents as v. 94 of Poem 4, equally implying that the bits of a raging dog bring death.

The collocation δῆγμα θανάτου appears frequently in the context of a snake, which in the context of Christian theological texts evidently refers to the devil. See for example:

1) Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Mosis* 2.276, ll. 1-5 (ed. Daniélou 1955²):

Ἐλευθεροῦται οὖν τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τοῦ ὑπελθόντος τὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας εἶδος καὶ γενομένου καθ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς πρὸς τὸ εἶδος μεταστραφέντας τοῦ ὄφραως, δι' οὗ ὁ μὲν θάνατος ὁ ἐκ τῶν δηγμάτων κωλύεται, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ θηρία οὐκ ἀφανίζεται.

⁵⁷⁵ I.e. the devil, “the enemy to be conquered by the Messiah” (Bauer – Danker et al. 2000³: s.v. Γὼγ).

In this passage, Christ, the one who lived in the flesh in order to overcome the sins of the flesh for all humans, is said to prevent the snake to bite us with death-bringing bites.

2) Manuel Philes (13th-14th c.), *Carmina varia de naturali historia*, part 1, v. 1362 (ed. Dübner – Lehrs 1862): Τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸ δῆγμα, δῆγμα θανάτου.

95: In Georgios Monachos (9th c.), *Chronicon*, a passage is found where χάος and Χάρυβδις appear as referring to a Satanic death (ed. de Boor 1904: 704, l. 15 – 705, l. 2):⁵⁷⁶

Ἄλλ' ὦ τῆς ἀπονοίας καὶ παραπληξίας καὶ χλεύης τοῦ γόητος καὶ παλαμναίου καὶ τῆς παραφροσύνης καὶ ἀπωλείας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ἐξανδραποδισθέντων καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο παρασυρομένων καὶ ἀπατωμένων. οὐδὲ γὰρ συνιοῦσι πάμπαν οἱ ἄγαν μοχθηροὶ καὶ θηριώδεις καὶ λίαν ἀσύνητοι, εἰς οἷον χαλεπὸν καὶ ζοφερόν χάος καὶ σατανικὴν χάρυβδιν κατηκοντίσθησαν καὶ τέλειον κατεπόθησαν, καὶ εἰς οἶους ἀφύκτους καὶ ἀδιεξοδεύτους λαβυρίνθους καὶ δυσβάτους ἀτραποὺς καὶ ψυχοφθόρους φενακισθέντες ἐλεεινῶς ἐξεκυλίσθησαν καὶ συνεσχέθησαν ὑποφθαρέντες εἰς τέλος.

Although it is hard to ascertain, it might not be a coincidence that Georgios Monachos was also mentioned as a parallel to v. 94.

96: The collocation μάτην φθονέω also appears in Gregory of Nazianzos' *Or.* 42 (PG 36.473, l. 26). There seems, however, not to be any link to v. 96.

97-105: Just as vv. 5-6 of *Carm.* II,1,55, these verses are a digression on the murderer. Gregory tells that the murderer (ἄνδροφόνε) brought death to the forefathers (πρωτογόνοισιν). This can still refer to the Fall, which implies death brought upon man. In Poem 4, however, ἄνδροφόνε is clearly interpreted as Cain, who has become an

⁵⁷⁶ This passage reappears with some deviations in Georgios Monachos, *Chronicon breve (redactio recentior)* (PG 110.872, ll. 18-29): Ἄλλ', ὦ τῆς ἀπονοίας, καὶ παραπληξίας, καὶ χλεύης τοῦ γόητος, καὶ παλαμναίου, καὶ τῆς παραφροσύνης, καὶ ἀπωλείας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ἐξανδραποδισθέντων, [καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο παρασυρομένων καὶ ἀπατωμένων]! —οὐδὲ γὰρ συνιοῦσι (πάμπαν) οἱ ἄγαν μοχθηροὶ καὶ θηριώδεις καὶ λίαν ἀσύνητοι εἰς ποῖον χαλεπὸν (καὶ ζοφερόν) χάος καὶ σατανικὴν Χάρυβδιν κατεποντίσθησαν καὶ τέλειον κατεπόθησαν καὶ εἰς οἶους ἀφύκτους καὶ ἀδιεξοδεύτους λαβυρίνθους καὶ δυσβάτους ἀτραποὺς καὶ ψυχοφθόρους φενακισθέντες ἐλεεινῶς ἐξεκυλίσθησαν καὶ συνεσχέθησαν ὑποφθαρέντες εἰς τέλος, and in Georgios Kedrenos (11th-12th c.), *Compendium historiarum* (ed. Bekker 1838: 743, ll. 9-18): ἄλλ' ὦ τῆς ἀπονοίας καὶ παραπληξίας καὶ χλεύης τοῦ γόητος καὶ παλαμναίου, καὶ τῆς παραφροσύνης καὶ ἀπωλείας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ἐξανδραποδισθέντων καὶ μέχρι νῦν παρασυρομένων καὶ ἀπατωμένων. οὐδὲ γὰρ συνιοῦσιν οἱ ἄγαν μοχθηροὶ καὶ θηριώδεις καὶ λίαν ἀσύνητοι εἰς οἷον χαλεπὸν χάος καὶ Σατανικὴν Χάρυβδιν κατεποντίσθησαν καὶ τέλειον κατεπόθησαν, καὶ εἰς οἶους ἀφύκτους καὶ ἀδιεξοδεύτους λαβυρίνθους καὶ δυσβάτους ἀτραποὺς καὶ ψυχοφθόρους φενακισθέντες ἐλεεινῶς ἐξεκυλίσθησαν καὶ συνεσχέθησαν ὑποφθαρέντες εἰς τέλος.

instrument of the devil. See for example Georgios Synkellos (8th-9th c.), *Ecloga chronographica* (ed. Mosshammer 1984: 9, l. 4): Κάιν οὖν πρῶτος φονεὺς Ἄβελ τοῦ δικαίου τύπον φέρει τοῦ διαβόλου. Cain, as he is the first murder of history, is, of course, easily associated with ἀνδροφόνε.

Verses 97-105 are based on Gen. 4:1-8:

Ἀδαμ δὲ ἔγνω Εὐαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν τὸν Καὶν καὶ εἶπεν Ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. (2) καὶ προσέθηκεν τεκεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀβελ. καὶ ἐγένετο Ἀβελ ποιμὴν προβάτων, Καὶν δὲ ἦν ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν. (3) καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας ἤνεγκεν Καὶν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ, (4) καὶ Ἀβελ ἤνεγκεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐπεῖδεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἀβελ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ, (5) ἐπὶ δὲ Καὶν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις αὐτοῦ οὐ προσέσχεν. καὶ ἐλύπησεν τὸν Καὶν λίαν, καὶ συνέπεσεν τῷ προσώπῳ. (6) καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Καὶν Ἴνα τί περίλυπος ἐγένου, καὶ ἴνα τί συνέπεσεν τὸ πρόσωπόν σου; (7) οὐκ, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἡμαρτες; ἡσύχασον· πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἀποστροφή αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ. (8) καὶ εἶπεν Καὶν πρὸς Ἀβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ ἀνέστη Καὶν ἐπὶ Ἀβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν.

ἀπάτη (v. 97) refers to the trick of Cain (Gen. 4:8) to ask his brother for a walk on a plain (**πεδιάδα** v. 99 / πεδῖον Gen. 4:8) where there are no witnesses. Cain killed Abel out of jealousy (**ζηλοτυπῶν ἀδίκως** v. 98, and already **βάσκανος** in v. 96),⁵⁷⁷ because his offering was not loved by God as the offering of Abel was. In v. 100, this aspect of Abel is stressed by the words which describe his essential actions for the story: **τὸν Θεοῦ θεῖον θύτην**. In vv. 101-105 it is said that Cain killed his brother in order that he would never sacrifice a good offering to God any more. The case of the sacrifices is the origin of Cain's jealousy. Hence, the author of Poem 4 may have interpreted **βάσκανε, ἀνδροφόνε** of *Carm.* II,1,55 as standing in a chronological order. Cain is a jealous person that becomes a murderer.

103: πεφιλημένα is a Byzantine form of the mediopassive participle perfect. The classical form would be **πεφιλημένα**. According to TLG, the Byzantine form is first attested in the *Christus Patiens* (vv. A7, 795, 1151, 1296; ed. Tuilier 1969). The still debated dating of this work, however, makes the chronology of this occurrence uncertain. Traditionally the work is ascribed to Gregory of Nazianzos (4th c.), but it is more probably written in the

⁵⁷⁷ See also J. Chrysostom, *De paenitentia* (PG 49.285, ll. 32-35): Κάιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἄβελ τῷ φθόνῳ κατεχόμενος, ὡς τῷ φθόνῳ φόνον ἐπακολουθήσαι· καὶ γὰρ λαβὼν αὐτόν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἀνείλε.

11th or 12th c. (Friesen 2015: 38-39, 251). Other contemporary occurrences are found in Theodoros Prodromos (11th-12th c.), *Catomyomachia* (vv. 35, 173, 247; ed. Hunger 1968).

ἄμωμα, δεκτά and **καθαρά** also occur together in the context of a sacrifice in a hymn for the 14th of January, on the Holy abbots that are slaughtered in Sinai and Raithou. As we are dealing with a poem related to the works of Klimax, this might not be a coincidence – although it is hard to prove of course. The relevant passage runs as follows (*Canones Januarii*, day 14, in *ss. Abbates in Sina et Raithu interfectos*, canon 23, ode 8, ll. 3-8; ed. Proiou – Schirò 1971):

Τὸν βασιλέα Χριστόν,
ὧ̃ προσηνέχθησαν
οἱ γενναῖοι πατέρες
θυσία ζῶσα, ἄμωμος, δεκτὴ καὶ καθαρὰ,
πάντα τὰ ἔργα ὑμνεῖτε
καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

ζῶσα stresses that the offering is a living one. One could say that, just as was the case in the story of Cain and Abel, a living sacrifice is (implicitly) preferred to a lifeless sacrifice, like the fruits of the earth that Cain sacrificed. In TLG, this hymn is the only passage where the three adjectives occur together. In the *Suda* (10th c.) (ed. Adler 1928 α, lem. 1637) and in the *Lexicon* by Ps.-Zonaras (13th c.) (ed. Tittmann 1808: 146, l. 8), the same definition is given: Ἄμωμος· ὁ καθαρὸς καὶ ἀναίτιος.

105: This verse can be understood as Abel's thankfulness regarding the bigger gift that he will receive from the Lord in exchange for his offerings: **τι μείζον** (v. 104) is **τὴν εὐλογίαν (...)** **τοῦ Κυρίου**. To *bless the blessing of the Lord* might be reminiscent of 1 Cor. 10:16:

Τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ; τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶν;

This was His offering to the world. The Oldtestamentic sacrifice of man to the Lord, has reversed in the Newtestamentic sacrifice of the Lord to man.

106-119: The red initial of **Ποῖος** in **N**, indicates that this line is the beginning of a new section. This passage consists of two long rhetorical questions. In **N**, one could indeed interpret the punctuation at the end of v. 114 as a question mark. Unfortunately, it is not as clearly executed as the question mark after v. 126 of Poem 2. In any case, the first rhetorical question runs from v. 106 to v. 114, the second one from v. 115 to v. 119. The second question is a variation of the first one. This seems to be the meaning of **ἦ** (v. 115) and **ἦ** (v. 116). Both questions ask: who could see through the tricks of the devil? In the first question the question is more specifically: what kind of wise word-monger (v.

106), who is characterized by his pious *theoria* and *praxis* (vv. 107-111), and who is also a commander of his mind (v. 112), could see through the tricks of the devil (vv. 113-114)? The implied answer, as will be clear from v. 120 and following, is “nobody”.

It seems that **Ποῖος** does not only define **τῶν σοφῶν λογεμπόρων**, but also pertains to **θεατής** and **ἐργάτης** (v. 107), and the nouns in v. 112. The objects (**τό τε πρόσαντες** (v. 113) and **τό τ’ εὐθές** (v. 114)) are thus separated from the verb **νοήσει** (v. 106) by vv. 107-112 that specify the subject.

Ποῖος (...) **τῶν σοφῶν λογεμπόρων** refers to someone who is a good speaker, perhaps a sophist (**σοφῶν** might be a hint). A sophist is someone who is a monger, a trader of words (cf. **λογέμπορος** *phrase-monger* LSJ).⁵⁷⁸ However, the next lines indicate that these words do not necessarily have to be interpreted in a pejorative way.

Verses 108-111 are an elaboration of v. 107. **φωτὸς** (v. 107) is reflected in **φέγγος** (v. 108) and **λαμπρὸν** (v. 109); whereas **πόνους** (v. 109), **πρακτέοις** (v. 110) and **πρᾶξιν** (v. 111) refer back to **ἐργάτης** (v. 107). One could even interpret that v. 109 represents the transition of the first part of v. 107 to the second part: you should not only be a spectator of the divine light, you should also reflect it by pious deeds. These verses apparently refer to *theoria* and *praxis* as two important aspects of service to God.

In v. 112, the subject is expanded further. This verse refers to someone who is the commander of his mind.

112: **νοὸς** is a late form of the genitive singular of **νόος/νοῦς**. This form appears already in Paul’s letters (e.g. Rom. 7:23, 12:2). The Classical, Attic, contracted form would be **νοῦ**.

113-114: These verses present the object of **νοήσει** (v. 106). **πρόσαντες** derives from **προσάντης** (*uphill*, or metaphorically *arduous*, *adverse*, or, of persons, *hostile* LSJ).

113: **Λοξίου** derives from **Λοξίας**, an epithet for Apollo (LSJ). It is related to the adjective **λοξός** (*slanting* and hence also metaphorically *ambiguous* LSJ). When describing Apollo as an ambiguous leader there are two possible grounds on which this epithet can be based: 1) “because the Sun traverses the ecliptic” (LSJ s.v. **Λοξίας**). The Encyclopaedia Britannica defines the ecliptic as “the great circle that is the apparent path of the Sun among the constellations in the course of a year; from another viewpoint, the projection on the celestial sphere of the orbit of the Earth around the Sun”. 2) It refers to the ambiguous character of the oracles (LSJ s.v. **Λοξίας**, **λοξός**). Both options are mentioned together in the *Etymologicum magnum* (12th c.) (Kallierges p. 569, ll. 46-50; ed. Gaisford 1848):

⁵⁷⁸ In *Carm.* II,1,83, vv. 9-10, Gregory of Nazianzos describes the devil as a sophist and as Proteus, clearly referring to his hypocritical character (PG 37.1429): Πάντα γὰρ, ὅσσ’ ἐθέλησι, πέλει θανάτοιο σοφιστῆς, / Γεγώς ὁ Πρωτεύς εἰς κλοπὰς μορφωμάτων.

Λοξίας: Ὁ Ἀπόλλων· ὡς μὲν οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ, ἀπὸ τοῦ λοξὴν ἔχειν τὴν ἴαν, τουτέστι τὴν φωνὴν· ἢ παρὰ τὸ λοξῶς ἰέναι τὸν ἥλιον διὰ τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ· καὶ λοξίας, ὁ λοξὴν κίνησιν κινούμενος· ὁ αὐτὸς γὰρ τῷ ἡλίῳ. Τὸ δὲ λοξός, παρὰ τὸ λέχος, ἡ κοίτη.

Other references that only mention the second option are, for example Lucius Annaeus Cornutus (1st c.), *De natura deorum* (ed. Lang 1881: 67, ll. 14-15):

λοξῶν δὲ καὶ περισκελῶν ὄντων τῶν χρησμῶν, οὐς δίδωσι, λοξίας ὠνόμασται.

or Theodoros Hexapterygos (12th-13th c.), *Progymnasma* 2, ll. 8-9 (ed. Hörandner 1984):

καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ λοξίας Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν σκολιός.

I think that indeed this second option is most relevant here. **Λοξίου**, an epithet that points to hypocrisy and hostility, is used here again to refer to the devil, who was characterized as such in the previous verses (vv. 52-105). We remind that **κλυτοτέχνης** (v. 76) did not refer to Hephaistos himself, but to the devil who had a characteristic in common, namely the ability to 'forge'. Similarly, **Λοξίου** does not directly refer to Apollo, but to the devil who has his hypocrisy in common with the pagan god.⁵⁷⁹ Therefore, **Λοξίου πρωτοστάτου** was translated as *the crooked chief*.

114: εὐθές derives from εὐθής, which is a variant for εὐθύς (*straight, direct* LSJ), found in the Septuagint. See, for example Ps. 24: 8:

χρηστὸς καὶ εὐθής ὁ κύριος· διὰ τοῦτο νομοθετήσει ἀμαρτάνοντας ἐν ὁδοῦ.

In this context, εὐθής could be translated as *upright* (in the metaphorical sense of *true*) or simply as *right* (in the metaphorical sense of *righteous*). Another example shows that this adjective is not restricted to God, but can also be used to describe a man (1 Regn.: 29:6):

καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Αἰχουὺς τὸν Δαυὶδ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ζῆ κύριος ὅτι εὐθής σὺ καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου.

This phrase clearly shows that εὐθής has to be interpreted here as a synonym of ἀγαθός and has thus a similar, moral meaning: *righteous / good*.

⁵⁷⁹ Just as κλυτοτέχνης, Λοξίας appears once in the *corpus Nazianzenum*. Cf. *Or. 4, Contra Julianum imperatorem* 1 (PG 35.661, ll. 24-26): Ἐπικοπέτω τὸν θυμὸν Ἄρης, μέθην Διόνυσος, μισοξενίαν Ἄρτεμις, ἀπάτην ὁ οξίας αὐτῶν χρησμολόγος. There is, however, no direct link between this passage and the passage from Poem 4.

In Poem 4, however, one could interpret **εὐθές** as the opposite of **πρόσαντες**. Whereas **πρόσαντες** refers to the wiles of the devil, **εὐθές** stands for the *direct intention* of the devil.

συγκεκρυμμένον (< συγκρύπτω, *conceal* LSJ) in **N** is a correction of **συγκεκραμένον** (< συγκεράννυμι, *mix, blend with* LSJ). Regarding the context of the hypocrisy of the devil, it may be clear that the reading of **N^{Pc}** is to be preferred. Regarding the metre, the reading **συγκεκρυμμένον** results in a prosodically correct verse. By contrast, **συγκεκραμένον** would cause the 8th syllable to be light, whereas it should be heavy. Of course, since it involves one of the *dichrona*, this prosodic ‘defect’ is almost negligible.

115-119: These verses present a second rhetorical question, or in fact a second and a third, but v. 115 and v. 116 are clearly equivalent. As already said, this second question asks the same as the first one: who could see through the tricks of the devil? Again the implicit answer is: “no one”. This ability to see through the tricks of the devil was already prayed for by the narrator in vv. 52-56. The relative clauses of vv. 117-119 resemble the relative clause of v. 57-59. The tricks of the devil are a constant threat (**οὐ παύεται μάλιστα, παύλαν οὐκ ἔχων** v. 59 / **καθεκάστην** vv. 117, 118).

115 κρυφίους πάγας: Cf. v. 4 of *Anthologia Palatina* 6.192 (ed. Beckby 1965^{2a}): ἄγκιστρον, κρυφήν εἰναλίοισι πάγην. One might also think again of vv. 67-70 of Poem 4, where the hook is the cause of an unforeseen death.

117: ἰξηφόρος does neither appear in LSJ nor in PGL. LBG, however, does mention it, where it is translated as *Vogelleim tragend*. LSJ does mention a variant form, ἰξοφόρος (*having mistletoe growing thereon, limed* LSJ). Its first part consists of ἰξός (*oak-mistletoe, any sticky substance* LSJ). It seems thus that this adjective functions here as a substantive, referring to the devil as a trap.

117-118: καθεκάστην of course implies an elliptic ἡμέραν and means *daily* (PGL).

119: For obvious reasons this verse does not have a *Binnenschluß*. **ψευματοπλασματομηχανοπλόκος** is a *hapax*. Just as **ἰξηφόρος** is the subject of the relative clause of v. 117, **ψευματοπλασματομηχανοπλόκος** is the subject of the second relative clause (vv. 118-119) and refers to the devil as well. As the word is preceded by **ὁ**, it is clearly a substantivized adjective consisting of four easily discernible constituents. LBG mentions a verb that consists of the two last parts: μηχανοπλοκέω (*Listen spinnen* LBG). Hence it seems that the word as a whole can be translated as *deviser of lies, forgeries and tricks*. Here, the word clearly refers to the devil. Compare, for example, with Gregory’s *Carm.* II,1,50, v. 1 (PG 37.1385): Ἥλυθεσ ἀϋθις ἔμοιγε, δολόπλοκε ὡς ἐνοήθης.

Stylistically, the last constituent **-πλόκος** echoes the verb **πλέκει** (v. 118), which derives from the same root and stands on the same final position of the verse.

120-134: The following passage seems to give a possible answer to the rhetorical question of vv. 115-119. Paul could see through the tricks of the devil. But the narrator admits that he is no Paul, but weak (v. 123). Therefore he will have to trust in God. The prayer is concluded by a mention of the name of the poetic I: John Komnenos. As

discussed in chapter 3.1.5 (Authorship) we suggest that Komnenos was the patron of this poem and not its author. I suggest that he requested the author of the poem to present him as the one who prays. One might compare with the famous paintings of the Flemish primitives where the patrons of the painting frequently appear in a kneeling, praying position next to Maria and John who lament over the crucified Christ.

120: This verse refers to a passage from 1 Cor. 9:24-27:⁵⁸⁰

Οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἷς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτως τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε. 25 πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον. 26 ἐγὼ τοίνυν οὕτως τρέχω ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως, οὕτως πυκτεύω ὡς οὐκ ἄερα δέρων· 27 ἀλλ' ὑπωπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα καὶ δουλαγωγῶ, μή πως ἄλλοις κηρύξας αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι.

The narrator would like to be like Paul: running the race to the full and trained to knock off the attacks of the devil.

121: ὀρροδοῦν derives from ὀρρωδέω (*dread* LSJ; *terrify* PGL). In TLG, there are some occurrences of this verb with an omicron instead of an omega, just as in Poem 4:

- 1) Ailios Herodianos et Pseudo-Herodianos (2nd c.), *Partitiones* [Sp.?] (ed. Boissonade 1819: 102, l. 10): ὀρροδοῶ, τὸ φοβοῦμαι.
- 2) *Anacharsis Sive Ananias* (12th c.) (ed. Chrestides 1984: l. 587): κατορροδῶν.
- 3) Franciscus Philelphus (15th c.), *De psychagogia*, Section 2, poem 12, l. 33 (ed. Maltese 1997): ὀρροδοῦσα.

It may thus be clear that the variant with omicron was attested in late Greek. In any case, the form with an omega would not fit the verse, as the seventh syllable in the dodecasyllable should be light.

V. 121 has a periphrastic construction. ὀρροδοῦν functions as a participle to ἔθνος. οὗ refers to Paul. τὴν σκιάν is the object of ὀρροδοῦν. ἀρχῶν ἔθνος, I think, has to be understood as a hypallage.

In **N**, there is a *scholion* to ἔθνος: Γράφεται· στίφος ἢ φύλο[.]. The accentuation of στίφος is a late variant of στῖφος (*body of men in close array*, pl. *masses, groups* LSJ). The last letter of φύλο[.] was cut away when the right margin of f. 420r of **N** was restored. It must obviously be reconstructed as φύλο[v]. φύλο[v] would then be, just as στίφος for στῖφος, a form with an alternative accentuation for φύλον (*race, tribe* LSJ).

⁵⁸⁰ 1 Cor. 9:26 was already discussed in the commentary on Poem 2, v. 57.

120-121: Paul is of course famously known as the one who converted the (Greco-Roman) gentiles. See, for example Athanasios, *Synopsis scripturae sacrae* [Sp.] (PG 28.424, ll. 34-37):

Ἐπειδὴ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐνίσταντο ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ταῖς σκιαῖς, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν γενόμενος, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἀποσταλεῖς κηρύττειν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον.

122: This verse refers back to Paul's boxing skills. If the narrator had these abilities, he would strike the devil (as an implied object), just as Achilles did with Thersites. It seems that Achilles here is the first, and only, occurrence of a character from Antiquity with a positive connotation in the cycle. Thersites is of course a model of sin as he is an irascible, slanderous person.

It might not be a coincidence that the first half of this dodecasyllable appears in a *scholion* on Homer, describing the death of Thersites (*Scholia in Iliadem* 2.219; ed. Heyne 1834):

Ἰστέον δὲ, ὅτι ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κόϊντος ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τοῖς μεθ' Ὅμηρον. Φησὶ γάρ, ὅτι, ἐν τῇ Ἀμαζονομαχίᾳ ἀνελὼν Ἀχιλλεὺς Πενθεσίλειαν τὴν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων βασιλείαν, εἶτα ἰδὼν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς εὐπρεπὲς πάνυ, εἰς ἔρωτα ἦλθε τῆς προειρημένης, βαρέως τε ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς. Ὅρων δὲ δυσφοροῦντα αὐτὸν Θερσίτης, συνήθως ἐλοιδόρει. ἐφ' ᾧ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ ἥρωρ, γρόνθῳ παίσας αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ, παραυτικά τῶν ὀδόντων αὐτοῦ κατενεχθέντων χαμαί.

The corresponding passage from Quintus Smyrnaeus is found in his *Posthomerica* 1.741-747 (ed. Vian 1963):

Φῆ μέγα νεικείων· ὃ δέ οἱ περιχώσατο θυμῷ
Πηλείδης ἐρίθυμος. Ἄφαρ δέ ἐ χειρὶ κραταιῇ
τύψε κατὰ γναθμοῖο καὶ οὐάτος· οἱ δ' ἅμα πάντες
ἐξεχύθησαν ὀδόντες ἐπὶ χθόνα, κάππεσε δ' αὐτὸς
πρηνής· ἐκ δέ οἱ αἶμα διὰ στόματος πεφόρητο
ἀθρόον· αἶψα δ' ἀναλκίς ἀπὸ μελέων φύγε θυμὸς
ἀνέρος οὐτιδανοῖο. Χάρη δ' ἄρα λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν·

123-125: After the *irrealis*, these verses return to the narrator's reality (indicated by **ἐπει δ'**).⁵⁸¹ The way in which the narrator stresses his own weaknesses is easily identified as a

⁵⁸¹ In **N**, **ἐπει δ'** is written as ἐπείδ'. Since there are no parallels in TLG, we opted to correct this reading.

topos of humility. It reminds of the humility at the beginning of the prayer (cf. v. 14). The narrator's weakness is also expressed in v. 44.

123: ἀναλκίς is the contrary of παναλκίς (v. 2). By referring back to the beginning of this poem, a ring composition announces the end.

124 ἄβουλος, ἄφρων: In a *scholion* on Nikander's *Theriaca*, these words are each other's explanation (*Scholia et glossae in Nicandri theriaca*, Vita-scholion 348b; ed. Crugnola 1971): ἄφρονες ἄβουλοι. See also a similar *scholion* on Sophocles (*Scholia in Sophoclis Oedipum tyrannum*, sch thom, sch. 634; ed. Longo 1971): ἄβουλον] ἄφρονα. When looking for passages where the adjectives of vv. 124-125 occur together, only these two passages can be found in TLG. Of course, this parallel by no means is a proof of a conscious reference, because it is probably not that hard to come up with the synonyms that fill these verses.

124: χωρὶς ὄπλων points again to the weakness of the narrator. The fact that he is unarmed refers to the fact that he is unable to resist the attacks of the devil. He is not trained in boxing like Paul (v. 120).

126-127: In these verses, the narrator offers his unworthy (ἀναξίαν) tongue to the Lord (σέ). His tongue metaphorically stands for his supplication / poem. His request is given in v. 127 (and continued in vv. 128-132). αὐτοῦ must refer to the devil. The narrator asks the devil's cutting (τομήν), which might be understood as his castration (cf. Montanari s.v. τομή).

It seems that these verses have a verbal parallel in Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* II,1,11, vv. 984-985 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 98):

ἴδου, προτείνω τὴν ἄκαιρον καὶ λάλον
γλῶσσαν· ὁ θέλων ἀνηλεῶς ἐκτεμνέτω.

In this passage, however, Gregory asks his tongue to be cut off as a punishment for his talkativeness. The context of these verses is thus entirely different as a the context in Poem 4. In these verses Gregory refers to Maximos the Cynic. He was a friend of Gregory but betrayed him and hence became a rival. Gregory first considered him as a friend and spoke undeservedly good about him. Therefore, he has to be punished and he offers his tongue in order to be cut out.⁵⁸² Gregory refers implicitly to the sin of talkativeness (τὴν ἄκαιρον καὶ λάλον γλῶσσαν, vv. 984-985).⁵⁸³

⁵⁸² Cf. Tuilier et al. (2004: 174 n. 184-185) referring to Gregory of Nazianzos' *Oratio* 25,14. For more background information on Maximos see Tuilier et al. (2004: XXX-XXXII); Daley (2006: 17-19, 38-39); Van Dam (2002: 139-142); McGuckin (2001: 311-324); Moreschini (2012: 110-112); Similidis (2009: 153 n. 65).

⁵⁸³ It might be that the torture of vv. 984-985 of *Carm.* II,1,11 is inspired by a passage from 2 Macc. 7:10-11. It describes the last actions of the third brother in a series of seven who will die a martyr because they refused to

Stylistically, the unity of vv. 126-127 is stressed by a homoeoteleuton: **τὴν ἀναξίαν / τομὴν ἐπαξίαν.**

128: This verse is a versification of Ps. 67:31, where God is addressed:

ἐπιτίμησον τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ καλάμου.

‘The beast of the reeds’ refers to a hippopotamus or a Nile crocodile (Buttrick et al. 1955: 360). In this context, it refers of course to the devil. See also Ez. 29:1-3:

Ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ δεκάτῳ ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ μηνὶ μιᾷ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων (2) Ἰὲ ἀνθρώπου, στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ Φαραῶ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον ὅλην (3) καὶ εἰπὸν Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ Φαραῶ τὸν δράκοντα τὸν μέγαν τὸν ἐγκαθήμενον ἐν μέσῳ ποταμῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν λέγοντα Ἐμοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ ποταμοί, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐποίησα αὐτούς.

In any case, in v. 128 (and already in v. 127) God is asked to punish the devil.

129: The subject of **φεύξεταί** is the devil (**τῷ θηρίῳ** v. 128). After the devil will be rebuked by God (v. 128), he will not have the power anymore to attack the narrator (v. 129). The notion that the demons could rob away the treasure of our mind also appears in step 15 of the *Ladder* (Sophr. 15.78):⁵⁸⁴

Πάντες μὲν οἱ δαίμονες, σκοτοῦν τὸ νοερὸν ἡμῶν ἀγωνίζονται, εἰθ’ οὕτω τὰ αὐτοῖς φίλα ὑποβάλλουσιν· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ὁ νοῦς μύσει, οὐ συληθήσεται ὁ θησαυρός.

130-132: Just as **Ἐπιτίμησον** (v. 128), the imperatives **ὑπεξάγαγε** and **κατάταξον** continue to address God. The final clause of v. 132 refers only to the request of v. 131.

130: An elliptic **μέ** has to be supposed in 130-131. **τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ βίου** refers to the temptations of the earthly life. See for example Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum* (Langerbeck 1960: 316, ll. 1-6):

eat pork. The martyr is prepared to die and offers his tongue and hand to the executioner. This passage is also discussed in Origen, *Exhortatio ad martyrium*, sect. 25, ll. 1-6 (ed. Koetschau 1899). In his commentary on vv. 984-985 of *Carm.* II,1,11 of Gregory of Nazianzos, Bernardi refers to Sophocles *Trachiniae*, v. 1184 (cf. Tuilier et al. 2004: 174). As he already indicates, this passage from the tragedy concerns a hand and not a tongue. It seems thus that this passage of Sophocles is not that relevant for vv. 984-985 of *Carm.* II,1,11. Perhaps a passage like that of 2 Macc. 7:10-11 provides a closer parallel.

⁵⁸⁴ Regarding this passage, I prefer the reading of Sophr. PG (88.901 Gr. 15, ll. 9-12) has: Πάντες μὲν οἱ δαίμονες σκοτοῦν τὸν νοῦν δοκιμάζουσιν ἴθ’ οὕτως, τὰ αὐτοῖς φίλα ὑποβάλλουσιν. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καμμύσει, οὐ συληθήσεται ὁ θησαυρός.

ἐκεῖνον λέγω τὸν νυσταγμὸν καὶ τὸν ὕπνον, δι' ὧν πλάσσεται τοῖς ἐμβαθύνουσι τῆ τοῦ βίου ἀπάτῃ τὰ ὄνειρώδη ταῦτα φαντάσματα· αἱ ἀρχαί, οἱ πλοῦτοι, αἱ δυναστεῖαι, ὁ τυφός, ἡ διὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν γοητεία, τὸ φιλόδοξόν τε καὶ ἀπολαυστικὸν καὶ φιλότιμον καὶ πάντα ὅσα κατὰ τὸν βίον τοῦτον τοῖς ἀνεπισκέπτοις διὰ τινος φαντασίας μάτην σπουδάζεται.

131-132: Just as in v. 130, it seems that also in v. 131 an elliptic μέ has to be supposed. After the narrator prays to be spared from *the deceit of life* (v. 130), he prays to be accepted *in the abodes of the saints*, which is in heaven. See for example Athanasios, *Quaestiones in scripturam sacram* [Sp.] (PG 28.749, ll. 41-43):

Κοῖται⁵⁸⁵ δέ εἰσιν αἱ μοναὶ τῶν ἀγίων, ἃς εὐρίσκουσι μετὰ θάνατον, καὶ ἀγάλλονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν.

After being freed of the earthly life, the logical next question is to be accepted in heaven (v. 131) and the hope to praise God together with the angels (v. 132).

132: A similar collocation appears in a hymn *In Sanctum Petrum Anachoretam* (5th of June, canon 2, ode 9, ll. 26-33; ed. Acconcia Longo – Schirò 1972):

Νοῦν καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα
ἐξ ἀμέτρων πταισμάτων
ὀρῶν νενοσηκότα μου, σοφέ,
ταῖς πρὸς τὸν κτίστην πρεσβεΐαις σου
εὐπροσδέκτοις, παμμάκαρ,
ἴασαι, ὥσπερ πάντας τοὺς πιστῶς
προσιόντας σοι, ὅπως
κάγῳ σε ἀνυμνῶ σὺν αὐτοῖς.

133-134: These verses identify **κάγῳ** (v. 132). Only in these final verses, the name of the narrator is revealed: John Komnenos.

ἄζυξ refers to the unmarried state of the monk. It is indeed a synonym of a monk. See Ps.-Zonaras, *Lexicon* (13th c.) (ed. Tittmann 1808: α 54, ll. 20-21): Ἄζυγες. οἱ μονάζοντες. καὶ ἀζυγῶν τῶν μοναστῶν. ἢ εὐθεῖα ὁ ἄζυξ. Also in v. 17 of Poem 3 (**LMN**), and possibly also on the first line of the introductory note to Poem 1, John Komnenos is said to be a monk.

⁵⁸⁵ As PGL (s.v. *κοίτη*) mentions, this word refers to a mystical union of the soul with God.

λάτρης: This word also appears in v. 13 of this poem, referring to the narrator. In these verses John Komnenos is described in a more humble way. He is a monk, a true servant of God, and his famous descent is only described as an earthly root. This down to earth description contrasts with the more laudatory description of John Komnenos in vv. 16-18 of Poem 3 (**LMN**).

Κομνηνῆς ρίζης κλάδος: A similar collocation appears in Nikolaos Kallikles (11th-12th c.), *Carmen* 26, l. 14 (ed. Romano 1980): Ἄννη σεβαστῆ, Κομνηνῶν ρίζης κλάδω.⁵⁸⁶

Prima nota: The note mentions that Poem 4 consists of 135 verses. The only extant complete version in **N** has only 134 vv. It seems thus that one verse got lost in the transmission of the text. Poem 4 is referred to as the verses at the end of *To the Shepherd*. This description refers only to the place of the poem – which in the manuscripts indeed appears at the end of the treatise *To the Shepherd* – and does not refer to any literary correspondence between Poem 4 and the treatise.

Near the end of this note there is a slight disagreement between **M** and **N**. Whereas **N** reads οἱ παρόντες ἐν τῷ τέλει δηλονότι, **M** has simply οἱ παρόντες δηλονότι. Since both readings make sense, it is hard to decide which reading was the original one. I preferred the reading of **N**, on the basis of the title of Poem 4: Ἀρχὴ τῶν στίχων τοῦ τέλους. This title does refer to the fact that the poem is preserved at the end, and not necessarily at the end of *To the Shepherd*. One might also suggest that the scribe of **M** forgot to copy ἐν τῷ τέλει because it already appeared just before in οἱ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ τριακοστοῦ λόγου. However, this argument can of course easily be reversed, when pleading for a dittography in **N**.

The next phrase of this note provides a short mathematical sum: Poem 1 (verses on the garden) + Poem 2 (the ladder in verses) + Poem 3 (verses at the end of step 30) + Poem 4 (these verses at the end). If we count with the number of verses mentioned in the notes of the respective poems (**LMN**) the sum is indeed correct: 102 vv. of Poem 1 + 222 vv. of Poem 2 + 19 vv. of Poem 3 + 135 vv. of Poem 4 = 478 vv. The sum of verses of the poems as they are preserved in the manuscripts (**LMN**), however, is: 102 vv. + 226 vv. + 19 vv. + 134 vv. = 481 vv.

Secunda nota: This note is a typical scribal colophon: the reader is asked to pray for the scribe. In **N**, there are five red crosses at the end of the first note, which is also the end of f. 420r. The second note is written on the next page, f. 420v. This second note is not preserved in **M**. Some stylistic features, however, are a clear indication that also this

⁵⁸⁶ See also Barzos (1984 vol. 2: 142 n. 5): Τὴν ἀπὸ ρίζης Κομνηνῶν καὶ γένους βασιλείου.

note was part of the original parapatexts to the cycle. First of all, it clearly resembles the second note in prose at the beginning of Poem 1, which also asks the reader to pray for the scribe. Secondly, the reader is again informally addressed as **ἀδελφέ μου**. Finally, just as the note before Poem 1, this note contains a quotation from the New Testament. In the note before Poem 1, Jc. 5:16 was quoted. Here the phrase **ὥ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν** is almost an exact quotation from Lc. 6:38: ὥ γὰρ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν. See for a similar passage Mt. 7:2: ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

Κλίμακα, τήνδ' ἀνίων, ὡς κεν Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἴδῃται, 185
Πηγὴν ἀκροτάτην οὐρανίων φαέων
Βαθμῶν τὸν μὲν ἔλειπεν, ὁ δ' ἴχνια νῦν ὑπέδεκτο,
Τοῦ δ' ἔχεται παλάμη, ὄμματα δ' ἄλλον ἔχει.

Besides, this passage beautifully describes the way of ascent (vv. 187-188). As is also the case with the *Ladder* of Klimax, the steps do not stand on their own. They are part of a larger framework. And when you have reached a certain step, you still have to continue to the next in order to be able to reach heaven.

3.5.2 Gregory's Presence in Poem 4

Below, I provide a rough overview of the intertextual references in Poem 4 to the poems of Gregory of Nazianzos:

2-10 ≈ *Carm.* I,1,3, vv. 41, 60, 72-74, 87-88

25 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,50, v. 106 (Paraphr. 1)

30-45 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,50, vv. 107-112 (Paraphr. 1)

40 ὕβριστῆς κόρος cf. *Carm.* I,2,16, v. 15; *Carm.* I,2,31, v. 25; *Carm.* II,1,1, v. 40

45 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,50, v. 112

46-51 ≈ *Carm.* I,2,31, vv. 5-6

52-56 cf. *Carm.* I,2,31, vv. 19-20

58 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 50, 52

61 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,1, v. 52

63 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 53-54

64-66 cf. *Carm.* I,2,29, vv. 55-58 (+ Aesopic fable)

68-73 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 56-60

72-73 cf. *Carm.* II,1,83, vv. 7-8

84-97 ≈ *Carm.* II,1,55, vv. 3-4

97-105 cf. *Carm.* II,1,55, vv. 5-6 (+ Gen. 4:1-8)

126-127 cf. *Carm.* II,1,11, vv. 984-985

From this list it may be clear that Gregory of Nazianzos was a main source for this poem. When we look to the way in which Gregory's poems are used, we see – at least as far as we can see – that the author did not use them consistently.⁵⁸⁸

In the case of the opening passage, only vv. 3 and 5 echo particular words of Gregory. However, the entire opening of Poem 4 (vv. 2-10) breathes out the Gregorian concept of the Trinity as it appears in *Carm.* I,1,3. In v. 10, the opening is concluded by an expression that was clearly borrowed from Gregory.⁵⁸⁹ Vv. 25, 30-45 are one long close transformation into dodecasyllables, not of *Carm.* II,1,50, vv. 106-112 itself, but of the corresponding passage in Paraphrase 1. Vv. 46-51 of Poem 4 are clearly inspired by *Carm.* I,2,31, vv. 5-6 (v. 6 of *Carm.* I,2,31 being a direct source of v. 51 of Poem 4). Moreover, vv. 46-51 are also inspired by Jer. 7:11 / Mt. 21:13 and do not slavishly follow Gregory. The entire passage of vv. 58-73 is clearly inspired by *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 50-62. However, near the beginning of this passage, only the words of vv. 58, 61 and 63 have clear correspondent words in Gregory's poem. Vv. 68-73, by contrast, present six verses in a row that consist of verbal borrowings from *Carm.* II,1,1. In vv. 84-97, the poet applies yet another strategy of using Gregory's poems. These 14 verses are an elaboration of only two verses of *Carm.* II,1,55 (vv. 3-4). The next verses, vv. 98-105, can be seen as an interpretation of the next two verses of *Carm.* II,1,55 (vv. 5-6).

There are two options when trying to explain the gaps in the references to Gregory: either they are genuine gaps and the author did not aim at making a poem which is entirely built with material from Gregory, or I simply did not manage to find all references. This last option might indeed be true when we take the observation into account that vv. 25, 30-45 are very close to Paraphrase 1. Perhaps the edition of more paraphrases of Gregory's poems in the future will reveal even more and closer parallels with the paraphrases, enabling to reduce some gaps. It might even turn out that the author did use Gregory's poems in a consistent way, namely following the paraphrases. One could, for example, consider vv. 84-97 as a case of an extended paraphrase, which might be taken from a paraphrase amplifying its model.

⁵⁸⁸ Compare with the poet's diverse approaches of summarizing the *Ladder* in the main part of Poem 2. The summary of some steps are close versifications of one specific passage from the *Ladder* (e.g. steps 7 and 22). Other summaries convey the same message, without echoing the exact words of Klimax (e.g. steps 3 and 14). In some other cases, the poet provides additions to Klimax' thoughts (e.g. steps 5 and 8). Cf. chapter 3.4.2 (commentary on Poem 2).

⁵⁸⁹ *Carm.* I,1,3, v. 60 (ed. Moreschini – Sykes 1997: 14): ἐκ μονάδος Τριάδος ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκ Τριάδος μονὰς αὐθις. Cf. commentary on Poem 4, v. 10 (chapter 3.4.4).

3.5.3 Paraphrases of Gregory's Poems

To the best of our knowledge, Poem 4 is the first known case of a paraphrase of one of Gregory's poems that was transformed again into poetry: a transition from elegiacs, to prose, to dodecasyllables. This does not necessarily mean that it is the only case. The Homeric language of Gregory's poems required commentaries and paraphrases in order to remain understandable for their readers. Simelidis (2009: 75-79) also points to the importance of paraphrases for didactical purposes. Besides, also commentaries were written in order to explain Gregory's poems. Three famous commentators are Maximus the Confessor (a. 580-662),⁵⁹⁰ Kosmas of Jerusalem (8th c.)⁵⁹¹ and Niketas David Paphlagon (late 9th / early 10th c.).⁵⁹² The latter wrote a paraphrase of 16 poems. This work is, quite incorrectly, known as the 14 paraphrases corpus.⁵⁹³ These paraphrases almost follow the poems verse per verse and were likely meant to be transmitted together with the respective poems (Tuilier et al. 2004: CLXXII). The 16 poems of which he wrote a paraphrase are: *Carm.* I,1,1-5.7-9, *Carm.* I,2,9.14-17, *Carm.* II,1,2 and *Carm.* I,2,31.33.⁵⁹⁴ The first poems in the series of paraphrases correspond to Werhahn's poem group VII (except for *Carm.* I,1,11), the so-called *Arcana*.⁵⁹⁵ Three poems of which Niketas wrote a paraphrase are also used in Poem 4: *Carm.* I,1,3, *Carm.* I,2,16 and *Carm.* I,2,31. His commentaries, however, do not leave any apparent traces in Poem 4.

There are also several anonymous paraphrases preserved in the manuscripts. They are not only useful for present day editors of Gregory's poems, but they also give an indication of the popularity, circulation and reception of the poems.⁵⁹⁶ Unfortunately, the paraphrases are not yet entirely published, nor discussed. This is of course a serious obstacle when looking for parallels between the paraphrases and the

⁵⁹⁰ He wrote a paraphrase of four poems of Gregory: *Carm.* I,1,12-14 and *Carm.* I,1,19. Cf. Simelidis (2009: 78 n. 193).

⁵⁹¹ Ed. Lozza (2000), PG (38.339-679). Cf. Simelidis (2009: 75). Každan (1999: 124) proposes to date the work to the 8th c. This date is followed by Tuilier et al. (2004: LXIV-LXV). Crimi – Demoen (1997), however, date the text to the 10th c.

⁵⁹² Simelidis (2009: 75) dates Niketas in the late 9th / early 10th c. Palla (2010) dates him in the early 10th c.

⁵⁹³ Tuilier et al. (2004: CLXXI), Sicherl (2011: 2). An edition of Niketas paraphrases of *Carm.* I.1-5 is provided by Moreschini – Costa (1992). The other paraphrases are available in Dronke (1840), reprinted in PG (38.681-842). Cf. Simelidis (2009: 75), who remarkably mentions that Niketas dealt with 17 Gregorian poems. Palla (2010: 133) mentions also the number 17. See also Palla – Kertsch (1985: 12-15, 24).

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. Tuilier et al. (2004: CLXXII), Moreschini – Sykes (1997: ix).

⁵⁹⁵ As is commonly known, *Carm.* I,1,6 was not an original member of the *Arcana*. It is no coincidence that it is the only iambic poem of this series. Moreschini – Sykes (1997: 56) explain that the unity of the *Arcana* was "broken by the Maurist-Migne insertion" of *Carm.* I,1,6, "for no better reason than similarity of subject-matter". On Werhahn's poem groups see below (chapter 3.5.4).

⁵⁹⁶ Ricceri (2013: 233), Palla (2010: 128-129).

cycle we are discussing. As already mentioned, the publication of these paraphrases could lead to new insights in Poem 4 that are presently hard to trace.⁵⁹⁷ Some paraphrases, however, have been published. Already Muratori (1709: 208-210) published a paraphrase of *Carm.* I,1,11.⁵⁹⁸ In PG, there are two anonymous paraphrases of *Carm.* I,1,12: a paraphrase of vv. 6-39 (PG 38.841-843) and another one of the entire poem (PG 38.843-846). Sargologos (1990: 337-339) edited two paraphrases of *Carm.* I,2,16.⁵⁹⁹ Bacci (1996) published two paraphrases of *Carm.* II,2,6. Regarding poem group I, Simelidis (2009: 79-80) notes that there are three different paraphrases, which he indicates by A, B and C. Simelides (2009: 247-264) published paraphrases A, B and C of *Carm.* I,2,17, *Carm.* II,1,10 and *Carm.* II,1,32; and paraphrases A and B of *Carm.* II,1,19.⁶⁰⁰ Moroni (2006: 305-357) edited two different paraphrases of *Carm.* II,2,4 and *Carm.* II,2,5. Ricceri (2013: 237-247), as already mentioned, edited two paraphrases of *Carm.* II,1,50.⁶⁰¹

Besides, the existence is known of paraphrases of *Carm.* I,1,12.13.19.14 in the Antiochos manuscript at Keio University.⁶⁰² Also Vassis (2002b: 61), in his description of *Vat. Pal. gr. 92* (14th c.), mentions the *incipit* and *desinit* of a paraphrase of *Carm.* II,1,55. According to Simelidis (2009: 77 n. 190), this is yet another paraphrase than A, B or C.

3.5.4 Werhahn's Poem Groups

The author clearly used several of Gregory's poems. Hence, it is useful to see how these poems are related towards each other in the so-called *Gedichtgruppen*. Werhahn indeed classed the poetic oeuvre of Gregory into 20 poem groups.⁶⁰³ A poem group is a series of poems that occur in a more or less fixed order in the manuscripts. Some poems are part of several groups. The order of poems which Werhahn observes, is only strictly followed in two poem groups: VI and XX. The first group is only preserved in two manuscripts and the latter is a Renaissance collection. Höllger (1985: 8-9) observes that the poem groups are indeed not the presentation of a rigid structure, but rather an image of tendencies that occur in the manuscripts. Moreover, Werhahn also observed that some

⁵⁹⁷ Simelidis (2009: 80 n. 201) mentions that Professor Carmelo Crimi (Catania) is preparing an edition of the paraphrases of the poems of Gregory.

⁵⁹⁸ It is indeed a paraphrase of *Carm.* I,1,11, and not of *Carm.* II,1,1 as Simelidis (2009: 80 n. 201) claims.

⁵⁹⁹ There seems to be no link between these two paraphrases and Poem 4.

⁶⁰⁰ Simelidis (2009: 77-78) mentions that paraphrases A, B and C are different from the two paraphrases of *Carm.* I,2,16, edited by Sargologos (1990: 337-339) as mentioned above.

⁶⁰¹ See also Palla (2010: 134).

⁶⁰² Simelidis (2009: 78). See Rapp (2005: 18) for the *incipit* and *desinit* of the paraphrase of *Carm.* I,1,12.

⁶⁰³ The list of poem groups is published together with a list of manuscripts that contain poems of Gregory and with a list of manuscript groups in Höllger (1985: 17-34). See also Palla (2010: 130-131).

poem groups appear together in the manuscripts. Based on this observation, Werhahn classified six manuscript groups. Also such combinations of poem groups in the manuscripts are not easily described as a fixed structure, but again rather as a tendency (Höllger 1985: 9).

It is indeed the case that several of the poems used in Poem 4 are part of the same poem group. Below I provide a list. The numbers that are given before the reference to the poem indicate the order of the poems in the poem groups as determined by Werhahn. They are thus an indication of the vicinity of the poems towards each other in the manuscripts. The number of poems of the groups is indicated between brackets.

poem group I (26 no.'s):	no. 1)	<i>Carm.</i> II,1,1 ⁶⁰⁴
	no. 16)	<i>Carm.</i> I,2,16
	no. 22)	<i>Carm.</i> II,1,55
poem group V (19 no.'s):	no. 2)	<i>Carm.</i> I,2,31
	no. 8)	<i>Carm.</i> II,1,83
	no. 10)	<i>Carm.</i> I,2,29
	no. 15)	<i>Carm.</i> II,1,50
	no. 17)	<i>Carm.</i> II,2,1
	no. 19)	<i>Carm.</i> I,2,31 ⁶⁰⁵
poem group VI (6 no.'s):	no. 4)	<i>Carm.</i> II,1,50
poem group VII (9 no.'s):	no. 3)	<i>Carm.</i> I,1,3
poem group VIII (9 no.'s):	no. 1)	<i>Carm.</i> II,2,1
	no. 4)	<i>Carm.</i> II,1,50
	no. 8)	<i>Carm.</i> I,2,29
	no. 16)	<i>Carm.</i> I,2,31
poem group X (7 no.'s):	no. 1)	<i>Carm.</i> II,1,11 ⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁴ Due to its autobiographical content, this poem is not only preserved in poem group I, but it is also transmitted together with Gregory's orations and letters (Sicherl 2011: 4). It was a common practice, for example also for Kosmas, to start with this poem as it can be used as an introduction (Tuilier et al. 2004: LXV).

⁶⁰⁵ According to Werhahn's list this poem appears indeed twice in poem group V (Höllger 1985: 28).

⁶⁰⁶ Höllger (1985: 9) states that it is in fact *epitaph* 119 which holds the initial position of poem group X, and not *Carm.* II,1,11.

<u>poem group XI (12 no.'s):</u>	no. 1)	<i>Carm.</i> II,1,11
<u>poem group XVIII (44 no.'s):</u>	no. 2)	<i>Carm.</i> I,2,29
	no. 16)	<i>Carm.</i> I,2,31
	no. 42)	<i>Carm.</i> II,1,50
	no. 43)	<i>Carm.</i> II,2,1
<u>poem group XX (42 no.'s):</u>	no. 41)	<i>Carm.</i> II,1,11

Firstly, it has to be noted that group XX is not relevant for our analysis, since it is a Renaissance collection consisting out of poems from groups V, VII, X-XVII and XIX.⁶⁰⁷ Regarding *Carm.* II,1,11, group X or XI seems a more plausible source. Also group VI is possibly not very relevant. It has only one relevant poem which is also found in other groups. Besides, this group is only present in two manuscripts: *Bodl. Clark. 12* (10th c.) and *Laurent. Plut. 7.10* (11th c.).⁶⁰⁸

Groups I, V, VII, VIII and XVIII are linked to one another because they form, together with groups II and III, the groups that consist of hexametrical or elegiac poems.⁶⁰⁹ This means that *Carm.* II,1,11 is the only iambic poem that would have been used in Poem 4. With only one occurrence in the *loci paralleli* to only two verses (vv. 126-127), the traces of this poem in the cycle, moreover, are not important. Clearly, the influence of Gregory's dactylic poetry is more easily discernible. When analysing these epic and elegiac groups, it has to be noted that there is a large overlap between poem groups V, VIII and XVIII when considering the poems that were used in Poem 4. In fact group V has only *Carm.* II,1,83 *en plus*, and this poem did certainly not leave many traces in Poem 4. The overlap between groups V and VIII on the one hand, and group XVIII on the other hand is easily explained. According to Sicherl (2011: 2), group XVIII is a collection that had its origin in the early 16th c., uniting several poems of groups I-III, V, VII and VIII.⁶¹⁰ It is remarkable that *Carm.* II,1,50, the poem that leads to Paraphrase 1, and *Carm.* II,2,1, the poem that was an inspiration for the preface of Poem 2, stand next to each other in group VIII (no.'s 42 and 43).

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. Sicherl (2011: 1), Tuilier et al. (2004: LXXXVIII).

⁶⁰⁸ These manuscripts, however, are of an interesting age and hold, together with *Ambr. gr. H 45 sup.* (11th c.), an important position in the text transmission of Gregory's poems. Cf. Sicherl (2011: 6-10); Tuilier et al. (2004: XC-XCI); Moreschini – Sykes (1997: x-xii).

⁶⁰⁹ Sicherl (2011: XI), Palla (2010: 138).

⁶¹⁰ It is, however, quite strange that group XVIII is dated to the early 16th c., when it already appears in *Par. gr.* 992 (15th c.). Cf. Hölger (1985: 23).

In conclusion, it seems likely that the author of the cycle had access to a manuscript, or manuscripts, containing at least poem groups I, V or VIII, and VII, *Carm.* II,1,11 and Paraphrase 1.

As may be clear from the list of manuscript groups (Höllger 1985: 23), poem groups I, V, VI, VII and VIII appear frequently together in the manuscripts. For example, *Laurent. Plut.* 7.10, which, as already mentioned above, is an important manuscript for the transmission of Gregory's poems, preserves all poems that were listed above as having an influence on Poem 4. Another example is *Par. Coisl.* 56 (14th - 15th c.). This manuscript preserves all relevant poems of groups I and V (except for *Carm.* II,1,83), and *Carm.* II,1,11, which stands at the beginning of the series of poems in this manuscript. It is also interesting to note that some of the relevant poems follow (directly or indirectly) upon each other. *Par. Coisl.* 56 has the following sequence of poems: *Carm.* II,150, *Carm.* II,2,1, *Carm.* II,2,7, *Carm.* I,2,31 (bis).⁶¹¹ Also *Laurent. Plut.* 32.16 (13th c.) has most of the relevant poems of groups I, V and VIII (again except for II,1,83). Contrary to *Par. Coisl.* 56, *Laurent. Plut.* 32.16 does not preserve *Carm.* II,1,11. However, just as *Par. Coisl.* 56, it preserves the sequence: *Carm.* II,150, *Carm.* II,2,1, *Carm.* II,2,7, *Carm.* I,2,31. A similar case is *Vat. Pal. gr.* 90 (13th - 14th c.), which together with *Laurent. Plut.* 32.16 forms the manuscript group C2. It preserves the same relevant poems and it has the same sequence. Also *Par. gr.* 1220 (14th c.) has the relevant poems from groups I and V (except again for *Carm.* II,1,83) and it has the same sequence. It also preserves *Carm.* I,1,3. It seems thus not to be a coincidence that two poems that were intensively used in Poem 4, stand next to each other in these manuscripts.

It is also noteworthy that *Marc. gr.* 82 (13th c.), the oldest manuscript preserving Paraphrase 1, has a relevant combination of poem groups. Also the two other manuscript preserving Paraphrase 1, *Rom. Coll. gr.* 8 (15th c.) and *Par. gr.* 991 (16th c.), although they are of a more recent date, have relevant groups.

3.5.5 The Influence of Gregory of Nazianzos on Poem 4

Why is a poem that is part of a cycle on John Klimax built out of references to the poems of Gregory of Nazianzos? We have to be well aware of Gregory's popularity in Byzantium and of his influence on its literary production in general and on poetry in particular.⁶¹² The Byzantines associated Gregory with his theological work; hence his epithet $\acute{\omicron}$

⁶¹¹ In *Laurent. Plut.* 7.10, this sequence does not appear. As already mentioned above, also in poem group XVIII, *Carm.* II,150 is followed by *Carm.* II,2,1.

⁶¹² For a discussion of Gregory's influence on the literary production see Simelidis (2009: 57-79); Demoen - van Opstall (2010: 223-48); Zagklas (2016). Cf. Wilson (1996: 23); Hunger (1978: 159); Rhoby (2007).

Θεολόγος.⁶¹³ He was especially important for the fixation of the dogma's on the Trinity, which found their way to the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon in 451.⁶¹⁴ Also his poems were used for theological purposes. For example, the so-called *Doctrina Patrum*, a collection from the 8th c., assembles several verses from different poems by Gregory, a.o. *Carm.* I,1,1 (on the Father) and *Carm.* I,1,2 (on the Son) (Tuilier et al. 2004: CLX-CLXI). The fact that Poem 4 opens with an invocation of the Trinity might indeed be a first possible reason why a reference to *Carm.* I,1,3 follows.

Carm. II,1,50 and Poem 4 deal with the same topics. In *Carm.* II,1,50, the topic is Gregory's illness (cf. the title: Εἰς τὴν νόσον). Moreover, the last verse of *Carm.* II,1,50, v. 118, reflects Gregory's awareness of his approaching death. In Poem 4, vv. 25, 30-45 are similarly placed in the context of remembrance of death (**Μνήμην θανάτου** v. 18). It can also be noted that both texts function as a prayer. Of course, in the *corpus Nazianzenum* such themes are not exclusively present in *Carm.* II,1,50.

The verses of *Carm.* I,2,31, being part of one of Gregory's gnomic poems, are taken more easily out of their context.⁶¹⁵ It might be telling that the first verses of this poem deal with the ship/body-metaphor, although it is widespread. The metaphor also appears in vv. 37-41 of Poem 4. Also the expression ὑβριστῆς κόρος appears some verses further on in *Carm.* I,2,31 (v. 25), and was borrowed in v. 40 of Poem 4. Verse 62, the last verse of *Carm.* I,2,31, also stresses the importance of the service of the Trinity, just as in v. 17 of Poem 4. But again, this topic is by no means exclusively found in *Carm.* I,2,31.

Carm. II,1,1, as already mentioned, was one of Gregory's most popular poems; it could easily serve as an introduction to the Saint's life. The passage referred to in Poem 4 fits because of its reference to the devil.

Carm. II,1,55 is a short poem of only 24 vv. that is entitled Ἀποτροπὴ τοῦ πονηροῦ, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπίκλησις (PG 37.1399). The title correctly describes the content of this poem which makes it a logical source of inspiration for Poem 4 that deals with the same theme.

Finally, the question remains: why make use of Paraphrase 1 and not of *Carm.* II,1,50 itself? As discussed in the commentary on v. 45, it seems that the author of Poem 4 did know Gregory's poem. Most probably, it is easier to transform a paraphrase in prose into dodecasyllabic verses, than it would be to start from an elegiac form. Clearly, the author had access to a manuscript containing Gregory's poem along with Paraphrase 1. It seems that he was not aware of Paraphrase 2, which confirms the observation by Ricceri (2013: 233) that both paraphrases had a separate manuscript

⁶¹³ On the implications and evolution of this title see Rhoby (2007: 410).

⁶¹⁴ Cf. Louth (2012: 252); Daley (2006: 41-42).

⁶¹⁵ Vv. 127-128 of *Carm.* I,2,32, another gnomic poem, are indeed frequently used as a book epigram. Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/350.

tradition. In general, the traces of Paraphrase 1 in Poem 4 are interesting in themselves. They are an indication of how these paraphrases were used in Byzantium and how they are a curious instance of the reception of Gregory's poems.

3.6 Synopsis

In this part, I provide a synopsis of the commentary on the four poems, in order to facilitate the understanding of the structure and of the meaning of the text. Only the essential remarks of the extensive commentary are included.

3.6.1 Poem 1

There are two main parts in this poem. Vv. 1-67 are an allegorical comparison of the book to a garden. In the second part, Klimax is invoked (vv. 73-78), the spiritual value of the book is stressed (vv. 79-89) and the poem is dedicated to Klimax (vv. 90-102).

The poem opens with a passage on flowers (vv. 1-6), based on the opening lines of John Chrysostom's *De eleemosyna* (PG 60.707).⁶¹⁶ These verses serve as a literary introduction to the allegory that follows. Vv. 7-14 describe the *Ladder* as a garden (explicit reference to John Klimax in v. 7). V. 15 is a hinge, after which the explanation of the metaphor follows (vv. 16-28): the garden (v. 7) is the book (v. 16), the moral lessons (v. 19) are the trees (v. 9), and they are expressed by the actual words of Klimax (v. 20), which are the branches of the trees. The leaves (v. 10) are compared to faith (v. 24). Finally, the deeds, the result of Klimax' lessons (v. 28), are the fruits of the trees (v. 8).

After a general description of the garden, depicted as a *locus amoenus*, the poet focuses on the birds that populate it (vv. 29-37). The birds metaphorically stand for monks. The repetition of Ἐν ᾧ and of the reading guide πετηνά (vv. 29, 32) arguably points to two types of monks. Vv. 29-31 refer to cenobitic monks as these birds are said to sleep in *abodes* / *monasteries* (μονὰς v. 31). Perhaps, they are even better interpreted as semi-eremitic monks. It could be argued that the marsh-meadow here stands allegorically for the Church, as the Apophthegmata Patrum mention that near Sketis there was a marsh-meadow (ἔλος), where churches were built (PG 65.249, ll. 53-54). Besides, the nests of birds, referred to in v. 31, are typically built only for a small number of birds and not for dozens. The second group of solitary birds refers to hermits. It is also possible that vv. 29-31 and vv. 32-36 stand for two aspects of monasticism. This

⁶¹⁶ Compare also the opening of John Moschos' *Pratum spirituale* (PG 87/3.2852, ll. 1-24).

is possibly meant by (the obscure) v. 37: 1) **λόγων** refers to the contemplative aspect of monasticism (vv. 32-36); 2) **πραγμάτων** refers to its practical aspect (vv. 29-31). V. 30 mentions that the birds go to the marsh-meadow, which, if interpreted as the church, could stand for the divine service.

The flowers, already mentioned in vv. 1-6, are the main topic of vv. 38-44. They stand for prayer, and together with fasting (v. 43) and psalmody (v. 44) they are part of the monastic activities.

Vv. 45–55, the central section of the poem, contain an allusive reference to the Trinity, by means of the image of the sun. Two aspects of sunlight in the garden are mentioned: the visible aspect, i.e. light (vv. 45–48) and the nourishing aspect, i.e. warmth (vv. 49–53). This second aspect means that, although the sun shines brightly, it does not burn the trees, but rather protects the fruits. The implication is that God the Father acts in a similar manner, protecting those who live in the garden. He collaborates with the Holy Spirit and the Logos (vv. 54–55).

The springs of the garden (vv. 56-59), announced by the water referred to in vv. 12-14, are a metaphor for tears. In v. 59, tears are said to grow the trees, which are the lessons (v. 19). Without πένθος, all attempts to reach virtues will turn out to be futile. Πένθος is described as a kind of dialectical teacher, taking and giving knowledge (vv. 60-64).

Vv. 68-72 conclude the allegorical part of the poem. The garden is resumed as flourishing and equated again with the *Ladder*. Vv. 73-78 are probably an invocation of Klimax as the author of the *Ladder* (cf. σου τὸ πυξίον v. 72). In vv. 79-89, the reader is addressed. φίλιτατε sounds indeed informal after the list of formal invocations. Because of the book, the reader can still increase his faith (v. 81) and *pick the spiritual flower of prosperity* (v. 82).

In the last section (vv. 90-102), the poem itself (Αὕτη (...) δεξίωσις ἐκ λόγων vv. 90-91) is dedicated to Klimax (σοὶ v. 90). παρ' ἡμῶν probably refers to John Komnenos and John the writer as the persons involved in the production of the poem. The poem is furthermore the proof of their spiritual zeal (πόθος) and a gift because of the zeal Klimax has aroused in them (vv. 92-93). Moreover, it is a depiction and a memory of Klimax' love and benevolence, which it will celebrate for all eternity (vv. 96-102).

3.6.2 Poem 2

This poem has a clear structure. It opens with a long prologue (vv. 1-33) and continues with thirty groups of six verses each, one per step of the *Ladder* (vv. 34-213). The poem is concluded by an epilogue (vv. 214-226).

The Proem

The first section of the proem (more specifically vv. 1, 9-18) is clearly based on Gregory of Nazianzos, *Carm.* II,2,1, vv. 264-272, itself based on famous passages from Herodotos.⁶¹⁷ It consists of a series of four exempla concerning the false happiness based on earthly goods only. The story of Kroisos is evoked to show how provisional and illusory richness can be (vv. 1-5). The Persian king was honoured because of his golden beard as well (vv. 6-8, inspired by John Chrysostom, *Hom. in epist. ad. Coloss.* 7,5; PG 62.350). In vv. 9-10, the ants who enriched the Indians are mentioned. Vv. 11-13, finally, refer to the richness that the Nile provides to the Egyptians.

From vv. 14-18, a priamel contrasts people who enjoy earthly wealth to Klimax (σοί v. 16). He cherishes something incorruptible (v. 18), which is explained as λόγος (v. 20). This word is ambiguous as it can stand for *word/Word, reason*, or, when referring to Klimax as an author, perhaps even for *literary skill*. λόγος is the subject of the following lines, until the end of the prologue. It is compared to a shining light which brings knowledge of both the mortal and the immortal world (vv. 26-28). The word has a didactic value, as it helps in choosing what is useful (vv. 31-33).

On a second level, we could say that vv. 27-28 also represent the structure of the entire proem. V. 27, on the transient world, corresponds to vv. 1-15 that represent the transient wealth of the earth, whereas v. 28, on the everlasting world, corresponds to vv. 16-33 that deal with the immaterial world and the Word. Klimax, addressed in v. 16, enables the transition of the material to the immaterial world. Possibly the prologue, which has a pronounced Christological character, counts 33 verses to symbolize Christ's age when he died upon the cross.

The meaning of this preface to the metrical summary of the *Ladder* is straightforward. It is an exhortation (cf. **παραίνεσιν** in the title) to the reader to abandon all vain materiality and to strive for God only. To climb the ladder means to abandon the (transient) world. Klimax is therefore an example to follow. It is implied that everyone is gifted with the λόγος (v. 20). If you allow your mind to be enlightened, by toil, sweat and faith, you can reach the end of the ladder.

Metrical Summary

This summary of the *Ladder* (quite logically) contains several intertextual references to Klimax' spiritual guide. However, the poet did not follow one method of transforming the *Ladder* into verses. The summary of some steps are close versifications of one specific passage from the *Ladder* (e.g. steps 7 and 22). Other summaries convey the same

⁶¹⁷ Cf. Herodotos 1.93; 3.102-105; 5.101.

message as the relevant steps, without echoing the exact words of Klimax (e.g. steps 3 and 14). In some other cases, the poet provides additions to Klimax' thoughts (e.g. steps 5 and 8).

Step 1: A first logical step when ascending a ladder is renunciation from the world. In this step, and throughout the entire metrical summary, the ideal ascender / reader of the *Ladder* is addressed in the second person (**ἔξέφυγες** v. 34). This step is divided into three distichs (vv. 34-35, vv. 36-37, vv. 38-39). Each time the first verse introduces a negative object (**Αἴγυπτον** v. 34, **Φαραώ** v. 36, **ἐπιστάτας** v. 38),⁶¹⁸ and the second verse gives a further (metaphorical) explanation. Egypt, the Pharaoh and the commanders call *Exodus* to mind.⁶¹⁹ Klimax, as a new Moses, has to lead us out of Egypt, which is not meant geographically (cf. **οὐ τοπικῆς** in the title), but metaphorically, as it stands for a luxurious life in the world.

Step 2: Dispassion allows the ascender to stick to his renunciation. The ascender surpasses Lot's wife (cf. Gen. 19:15-26) in two ways: 1) he does not change his mind, 2) even if he looks back to the world, he is not afflicted by it thanks to his excellent dispassion. Compare also with the exhortation at the end of step 1 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.644): Ὁ ἐπιβεβηκὼς μὴ στραφῆς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, which calls *Lc.* 9:62 to mind. Klimax mentions Lot's wife also in the exhortation at the end of step 2 (PG 88.657): ὁ τρέχων μὴ τὴν σύζυγον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Λῶτ μιμούμενος φεύγει.

Step 3: This step on exile completes the act of renunciation started in step 1. The many repetitions of **ξένος** give an effect of estrangement that is probably realized on purpose. The notion that exile implies a hidden life (vv. 50-51) appears in similar words in the opening of step 3 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.664B).

Step 4: Obedience to a spiritual father is a crucial aspect of the monastic life. Here, however, the act of submitting the flesh to the spirit is the true goal of obedience. V. 54 mentions that your **συνείδησις** (consciousness), which I interpret as 'internal obedience / internal motivation', is in fact **ἔλεγχος** (control), which I interpret as 'external obedience / the control of your superior'.⁶²⁰ In vv. 55-56, internal obedience (**νοουμένην** <ὕπακοήν>) precedes external obedience (**ὀρωμένην ὑπακοήν**). When you are internally motivated, you will easily obey your spiritual father. The mental aspect of obedience is stressed (cf. **ὑποταγῆς νοητῆς** in the title).

Step 5: The mention of Novatian, a so-called antipope in Rome (3rd c.), is remarkable since he is not mentioned by Klimax. The appearance of this heretic is probably triggered by the mention of the heretic Origen at the end of step 5 of the

⁶¹⁸ These negative objects are probably inspired by Gregory of Nazianzos, *Oratio* 1 (PG 35.397, ll. 9-12).

⁶¹⁹ Egypt and the Pharaoh appear as a similar metaphor in step 1 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.633, ll. 54-55 - 636, l. 1).

⁶²⁰ Cf. step 4 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.712, ll. 21-23): Τὸ συνειδὸς σοι ἔσοπτρον τῆς ὑποταγῆς ἔστω, καὶ ἀρκετόν ἐστιν.

Ladder (PG 88.781, ll. 47-51). The heresies of Origen and Novatian are extremes at opposite sides. Whereas Novatian denies forgiveness for the *lapsi*, Origen believes that eventually all will be saved. The first refuses post-baptismal repentance; the latter uses God's clemency as an excuse not to repent. The ideas of both lead to the contempt of repentance, the topic of this step. By putting Novatian's heresy to shame, the ascender will escape from the persistent shame, which is condemnation at the Judgement, by which all hidden thoughts / sins are disclosed (vv. 62-63).

Step 6: Weeping occurs frequently in the *Ladder* as a sign of repentance and mourning, often related to the remembrance of death and the Judgement. The notion that you always have to be ready for death, because you never know when it will come, is thematized in step 6 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.793, l. 35 - 796, l. 5). Klimax points to the beneficial consequence of this uncertainty: the need of constant repentance.

Step 7: Mourning continues the remembrance of the Judgement and eternal damnation. The whole summary of step 7 is a close *metaphrasis* of one particular passage from Klimax' step 7 (PG 88.804, ll. 31-37).

Step 8: Vv. 76-77 are based on the opening of Klimax' step 8 (PG 88.828C). Just as in the *Ladder*, it is implied that the tears of mourning extinguish the flame of anger. Hence the connection between the steps is stressed.⁶²¹ Vv. 78-81 compare the ascender to Abigail, and mention Nabal as a counterexample. The story of Abigail and Nabal is found in 1 Regn. 25. It is not mentioned in the *Ladder*. Here, it is alluded to because it is a clear example of freedom of anger.

Step 9: This step is the perfection of step 8. You do not act like a camel, which was a symbol of rancour in patristic literature. Vv. 83-84 contain three metaphors for rancour. The wolf is borrowed from Mt. 7:15. The expression on the snake goes back to an Aesopic fable (ed. Perry 1980²: 390, nr. 176), but is also mentioned in step 4 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.697, ll. 1-13). The metaphor of the worm is directly based on a passage from Klimax' step 9 (Sophr. 9.13).⁶²² Vv. 85-86 give an explanation of rancour and are reminiscent of *Iliad* 9.313, which became a popular expression. V. 86 is based on a specific passage from step 9 of the *Ladder* (Sophr. 9.2).⁶²³

Step 10: The ascender is sincere and refrains from slander. τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Λόγου stands for the power of speech, which is the gift from the Lord. We should not waste this gift by slanderous words (vv. 90-91), nor should we stain it by the simulation of love (vv. 92-93), i.e. by slandering someone in order to point him to his sins. As explained in step 10 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.845, ll. 6-25), this kind of love is no real love, but only a simulation, i.e. hypocrisy.

⁶²¹ Cf. Poem 1, vv. 21-22.

⁶²² I prefer Sophronios' reading of this passage. Cf. PG (88.841, ll. 51-55) for the corresponding passage.

⁶²³ Again, I prefer the reading of Sophr. Cf. PG (88.841, ll. 12-13).

Step 11: The syntax of vv. 94-96 is opaque. Regarding the content, **οὐκ** (v. 90) should still be valid, otherwise it would be implied that the ideal ascender commits the sin of talkativeness, which seems unlikely. Talkativeness is described as broadening various words with *fringes of linen*. This refers to the Pharisees who broaden their fringes out of vainglory.⁶²⁴ Vv. 97-99 are based on a *scholion* to step 10 of the *Ladder* (Sophr. 1970: 77 n. 2). However, the poet did not succeed in preserving its meaning. The passage in the *scholion* that corresponds to v. 98 runs: τὰ οἰκειᾶ ἔάσας, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων σκοπῶν (*not caring for your own (sins), but paying attention to those of others*), which makes better sense.

Step 12: The notion that a lie is the offspring of chatter and a destruction of love is based on the opening lines of Klimax' step 12 (PG 88.853). The reference to food (v. 102) comes quite unexpectedly and would rather fit step 14 on gluttony. In vv. 103-105, it is said that you can take Rahab as a model, but only when it is required by the situation, and on the condition that you have love and compunction. She saved Israelites, protected by God, by telling a lie (Jos. 2:1-14). At the end of step 12, Klimax criticizes people who use Rahab as an excuse to lie (PG 88.856, ll. 38-43). This does not mean that Rahab is a negative model, on the contrary. Klimax says that if you are completely free from lying, then you can lie as Rahab, "but only with fear and as occasion demands".

Step 13: After three steps on the (ab)use of words, the poet wonders how he should use the word in this step. In vv. 108-111, he answers his own question. As he said before (cf. step 7), the ascender mourns. The notion that mourning chases despondency away is based on Klimax: Ὁ ἑαυτὸν πενθῶν, ἀκηδίαν οὐκ οἶδεν (Sophr. 13.9).

Step 14: This step pleads for a balanced abstinence. On the one hand, you should banish the languid life (i.e. the consequence of gluttony); on the other hand, you should also chase away the life which darkens your mind because of a too extreme fasting (which is a cause of despair). If you understand that you should avoid both extremes, you walk the middle path (v. 117). This plea for moderation is probably inspired by a passage from Klimax' step 14 (PG 88.865, ll. 12-32).

Step 15: V. 118 continues the idea of v. 117. Moderation in food (step 14) leads to chastity (step 15). V. 122 is inspired by a passage from step 15 of the *Ladder*, based on Mt. 19:12 (PG 88.884, ll. 1-5), in which Klimax praises those who are 'daily' eunuchs by cutting off their bad thoughts as with a knife. τὸ Λευϊτικὸν ἀξίωμα likely refers to the rank of the Levites, a class of temple servants (cf. 1 Chron. 6; Hebr. 7:11).

Step 16: V. 124 is based on step 15 (PG 88.896, ll. 25-29), where Klimax says that he who has "conquered his body has conquered nature". In a rhetorical question, the poet

⁶²⁴ Cf. Mt. 23:5. The fringes are 'blue twisted threads at the four corners of a garment, a reminder to obey the commandments (Num. 15:38-40)' (Coogan 2001: Mt. 23:5).

asks whether you, after you successfully overcame the vice of fornication (step 15), will lose the battle against love of money (step 16) and suffer from suffocation. The rhetorical question implies that the battle against fornication is harder than the one against avarice. Probably, the first half of v. 127 is the explicit answer to the rhetorical question. It is not completely clear to whom **μάρτυρες** and **πρώτος αὐτός** refer. Perhaps the first proclaimer of freedom from avarice is chastity, as the topic of step 15 precedes that of step 16. Perhaps, the many witnesses are all holy men who went before us.⁶²⁵

Step 17: Contrary to the title of this step, the summary seems rather to continue the topic of the previous step. The generosity of the ascender (step 17) is the consequence of his victory over avarice (step 16). Compare with step 17 of PG (Περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης). Nevertheless, αἴσθησις τῶν γινομένων (cf. the title of this step in Poem 2) is present in this summary; in this case, however, the narrator, and not the ascender is a model of the respective virtue. **Οὐκ ἠγνόησα** implies that the poet does not suffer from insensibility. Also **φυλοκρινῶ** underlines his understanding. Finally, also v. 135 refers to (ἀν)αισθησία. It points to the fact that the notion of generosity, as described in vv. 132-134, escapes the notion of many (i.e. the non-ideal ascenders). In this way, the poet deliberately intertwines the topics of steps 16 and 17, again showing the steps of the *Ladder* as a continuum, and not as separate obstacles.

Step 18: Klimax' step 18 is not confined to psalmody alone, but also (and more extensively) discusses sleep and prayer. In this summary, psalmody is presented as the main topic. Although it was common for Byzantine monks to pray and to recite Psalms constantly, one passage from Klimax' step 19 seems to be used as a direct source of inspiration for vv. 138-139 (PG 88.940 Gr. 20, ll. 11-18). **παραστάσει ξέναις** refers to the monastic practice to stand up all night in prayer.⁶²⁶ **κορδακισμός**, a rare word, refers to the dancing of the **κόρδαξ**, which is a dance of the old Comedy (LSJ). It is the opposite of serious prayer and psalmody. In Byzantium, the dance was known as a part of street festivals and was also associated with the licentious Slavic culture (Koder 2006: 119).

Step 19: V. 142 is clearly based on Klimax' step 19 (PG 88.940 Gr. 20, l. 27): ἄγρυπνον ὄμμα ἠγνισεν νοῦν. The summary of this step probably means that you, the ascender, become a mystery by the purity caused by the practice of ἀγρυπνία. By climbing higher on the ladder, the ascender comes closer to God. Hence, as the image of God on earth, he can become a mystery too.

⁶²⁵ If the first proclaimer refers to one person in particular, one could think of John the Baptist. He is a forerunner (πρόδρομος) of Christ (Mt. 3:1-2) and is related to ἀφιλαργυρία since he lived his life in asceticism (Mc. 1:6). Another option is Christ. Supernaturally conceived in the virgin Mary, He is the first to be born from a chaste conception (step 15). Moreover, Christ proclaims ἀφιλαργυρία (Mt. 19:21).

⁶²⁶ For example PG (88.941 Gr. 20, ll. 8-10).

Step 20: Faith chases away the earthly rulers of darkness (Eph. 6:12). Vv. 152-153 further describe the ideal ascender's victory against the demons of fear. They are clearly based on a specific passage from step 20 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.945 Gr. 21, ll. 7-8): δειλία ἐστὶ νηπιῶδες ἥθος ἐν γηραλέῃ κενοδοξίῳ ψυχῇ. Cowardice is something for children, as they haven't reached complete understanding. To hang on to your childish behaviour when you grow old is of course ridiculous.

Step 21: Ἄπερ could refer to the negative elements of the previous step in general (vv. 150-152). Then it is said that the demons *conceive a viper-like offspring*. Another option would be that it refers to the topic of this step in general, as if the title would be τὰ περὶ κενοδοξίας. The last child in the list of *viper-like offspring* (vv. 158-159) indeed refers to vainglory. ᾧ καλεῖται (by which she is called) can be interpreted as by her name. κeno-δοξία shows her nature by her name. The other examples of devilish offspring, at least those of vv. 154-156, are clearly based on Michael Psellos' Poem 21, vv. 1-3. Vv. 155-6 are even almost identical to Psellos' vv. 2-3.

Step 22: Vainglory (step 21) leads to *the denial of God*⁶²⁷ and *the envy of men*, i.e. to pride (step 22) (v. 160). Pride in its turn is the root of blasphemy (step 23) (v. 163). As a whole, the summary of step 22 in Poem 2 is strongly based on the step's opening in the *Ladder* (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 4-12).

Step 23: Vv. 166-168 are clearly inspired by the opening of the corresponding step in the *Ladder* (PG 88.976, ll. 19-22). Just as in v. 163, blasphemy is described as the evil shoot which comes from arrogance. The metaphor of bad fruit coming from a bad tree is based on Mt. 7:18. Blasphemy is indecent words. Secondly, it is also related to the concealment of sin (v. 169). In step 23, Klimax explicitly mentions that the sin of blasphemy is hard to describe in words, and that it is not easy to confess this sin (PG 88.976, ll. 24-27). The notion that hiding sins strengthens the demons and bad thoughts is based on step 23 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.976, ll. 45-48).

Step 24: Wickedness is strengthened as a consequence of not confessing your sins (Ἐντεῦθεν = vv. 170-171). The appositions (vv. 174-176) to πονηρίαν (v. 172) are borrowed from the definition of wickedness in Klimax' step 24 (PG 88.981, ll. 24-26, 33-42). After a list of evils, the poet asks for a remedy (v. 177). The answer, a list of cures, will be given in the summary of the next step.

Step 25: The remedy of wickedness is humility (step 25), in combination with meekness, compassion, compunction and awareness of your own faults. V. 178 is inspired by Christ's words (Mt. 11:29). Vv. 180-182 echo specific words of Klimax' step 25 (PG 88.992, ll. 25-29).

⁶²⁷ The denial of God has to be understood as the denial of God's help, and not as an atheistic statement. Cf. (PG 88.965 Gr. 23, ll. 4-7).

Step 26: Vv. 184-185 are versification of a particular sentence of Klimax' step 26 (PG 88.1017, ll. 22-24): Οὗτος ὁρος, λόγος τε καὶ νόμος πνευμάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἐν σαρκὶ εὐσεβῶς τελειουμένων. From this passage, it is clear that the poet probably meant λόγος as a rule and not as a step of the *Ladder*. However, the ambiguity remains. Vv. 186-189 present the content of the law: non-judgment, discernment, hatred against evil, and obedience.

Step 27: Ἐπιστρέφεισθαι, echoing ἀποστρέφεισθαι (v. 189), indicates that vv. 190-192 continue the rule of step 26. Moreover, vv. 190-192 describe stillness of the soul, echoing a specific passage from Klimax' step 27 (PG 88.1100, ll. 8-9). Vv. 194-195 are also based on step 27 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.1100, ll. 35-40), where it is said that Paul was able to “penetrate to the very depth of the mysteries” because “he was caught up into Paradise, as into stillness”.⁶²⁸ This revelation enabled Paul to preach and to travel from city to city in order to convert pagans (vv. 194-195).

Step 28: Ἦν seems to resume ἦς (v. 194), which is ἡσυχία (v. 193). In this way, the connection between the steps is stressed again. A triad and a pair, standing for aspects of prayer, are said to establish stillness. The triad, I think, is στάσις, στεναγμός and λόγος (vv. 197-198). The pair then is φυλακὴ and συνοχή (v. 199). Vv. 196-199 are based on the vocabulary of the *Ladder*. στάσις ἀκλινῆς, for example, refers to ‘standing in prayer’.⁶²⁹ σώματος κατακρίτου points to the fact that you should consider yourself standing trial before God as before a judge.⁶³⁰ στεναγμός ἀλάλητος is taken from Klimax' step 28 (PG 88.1136, ll. 49-52).

Step 29: If you possess all virtues from the previous steps, you attain dispassion. The explanation of dispassion (vv. 203-205) is based on its description in Klimax' step 29 (PG 88.1148, ll. 10-13). Also the victory over the devil as a consequence of dispassion is found in the *Ladder*. The relevant passage, however, already appears in Klimax' step 25 (PG 88.1001, l. 45 - 1004, l. 1) and is itself inspired by Ps. 90:13.

Step 30: The title of this step differs from that of PG (88.1154) and Sophr.: Περὶ τοῦ συνδέσμου τῆς ἐναρέτου τριάδος ἐν ἀρεταῖς, stressing the union of the three Christian virtues: hope, faith and love.⁶³¹ Indeed the summary of step 30 in Poem 2 focuses on the union of man with God, which is also a topic of Klimax' step 30 (PG 88.1157, ll. 35-38). You will unite with Him by attaching the image of the Lord (i.e. you, as a human being)

⁶²⁸ Contrast 2 Cor. 12:2-5, where Paul explicitly mentions that he is not the one who was caught up into Paradise. However, it is commonly accepted that Paul made this distinction because of humility, in order not to credit himself of his divine prophecy. Cf. Harris (2005: 846-847); Buttrick et al. (1953: 406).

⁶²⁹ For example PG (88.1109, l. 30).

⁶³⁰ For example PG (88.1132, ll. 7-9).

⁶³¹ Discussed at the beginning of step 30 of the *Ladder* (PG 88.1153, l. 4 - 1156, l. 9).

to the Lord. In the summary of step 30, this idea appears twice: v. 210: **Θεῷ προσάψεις τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα** and v. 213: **τῇ δὲ Τριάδι τριάδα συναγάγοις**.

The summary of step 30 adds significance to the appearance of a triad in v. 196. In Klimax' step 28, it is said that only perfect prayer, i.e. after you are purified from all sins, can lead to an everlasting union with God (PG 88.1129, ll. 5-6). In step 28, vv. 196-199, **στάσις, στεναγμός** and **λόγος** are the trinity of prayer. In vv. 208-210, God appears three times at the beginning of the verse. Moreover, steps 28, 29 and 30 form the final triad of the *Ladder*. The unity of these three steps is stressed by a ring composition: **τριάς** from step 28 anticipates **Τριάδι τριάδα**. In this way, also the word 'trinity' appears three times in the summary of the last three steps.

It is no coincidence that the Trinity appears in the last verse of this summary of the *Ladder*. Just as love, the queen (who is a king) is found at the top of the *Ladder* (PG 88.1160, l. 36 - 1161, l. 15), so the Trinity, who is equal to God and thus also to love, appears at the end of Poem 2. **τριάδα** (v. 213) refers to the tripartite human being, i.e. mind, body and soul. These three parts are also implied in v. 15 of Poem 4. In v. 211, one could perhaps find an implicit reference to another human trinity: the mind, the spirit and the Word, although **Λόγου** does not stand on the same syntactical level. (These three elements do appear on the same level in v. 225.) Another option is that it refers to the trinity which is the topic of Klimax' step 30: faith, hope and love.

Epilogue: In this epilogue, the poet prays that the ascender may receive the benevolence and guidance of the Trinity, and that he may be united with the forefathers of Christ in Heaven *thanks to the prayers of my very holy father*.⁶³² This holy father who intercedes for the reader of the *Ladder* is probably Klimax himself. The *hapax legomena* of v. 222-223 refer to his rhetorical qualities, or maybe to his literary skills in general.

3.6.3 Poem 3

The third poem of the cycle takes the form of a colophon. The end of the *Ladder* is announced (v. 1) from the point of view of its readers (vv. 2-5). The **παθοκτόνοι** (v. 5) are the same as the **σαρκοκτόνοι** (v. 3). Their most important feature is that they are minds (**νόες**) that strive for renewal. It might be significant that soul (**ψυχή**), body (**σάρξ**) and mind (**νοῦς**) are mentioned in three of these compounds. The author seems to stress that of this human triad, the mind is the greatest. Thanks to the ascetic exercises provided by the reading of Klimax' work, the ascenders have abandoned their old life, are renewed and lifted up (vv. 7-10). The process of renewal is compared to a snake who

⁶³² **Ἡ** (v. 214) clearly refers back to **Τριάδι** (v. 213). In order not to disturb the reader, the title was placed in the margin in **M** and **N**, and in our edition.

sheds its old skin by passing through a small hole. This evokes Mt. 7:13-14. The metaphor of the narrow gate and the snake-metaphor appear together in Klimax' step 26 (PG 88.1085, ll. 8-14). This passage probably inspired vv. 7-8.⁶³³

There follows an invocation to Klimax, who is asked to grant the scribe and/or the patron to ascend the ladder. From v. 14 onwards the manuscripts provide different closings. Clearly, the version of **LMN**, preserving the names of both Johns (i.e. John the writer and John Komnenos), is the original one. The versions of **P**, **R** and **V** provide later adaptations and updates. In **LMN**, the first John is John the writer (v. 15), who is humbly described as a sinner.⁶³⁴ John Komnenos, by contrast, is praised for his noble descent (vv. 16-18).⁶³⁵

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that there is a book epigram on Klimax which displays remarkable similarities to Poem 3:⁶³⁶

Αὕτη κλίμαξ πέφυκεν οὐρανοδρόμος·
κλίμαξ ἐφ' ἣν χωροῦσιν οἱ θεῖοι νόες,
ἦν ὡς λίθοις ἤγειρας ἐν στερροῖς λόγοις.

It is hard to tell which one of both texts came first and possibly influenced the other one. Although the oldest manuscripts in which this book epigram was preserved, *Vatoped. 348* and *Timiou Staurou 93*, date to the 13th c., it is not impossible that the epigram was composed earlier. The date of composition of book epigrams is notoriously hard to pin down.⁶³⁷ One should indeed take both options into consideration. The first verse of both poems is quite similar. The concept of minds ascending the ladder appears in both poems. Verse 3 of the book epigram closely resembles v. 12 of Poem 3. The book epigram could be an abridged version of Poem 3 or Poem 3 could be an expanded version of the book epigram.

⁶³³ A close verbal parallel is also found in Theodoros Prodromos, *Carmina historica* (ed. Hörandner 1974: poem 24, v. 18): καὶ συνελὼν ἀπόξυσαι τὸ γῆρας ὡσπερ ὄφις.

⁶³⁴ Cf. Wendel (1950) on the typical self-denying way in which the 'Schreibermonche' portrayed themselves.

⁶³⁵ Moreover, Komnenos is called χαριτώνυμος (v.18), which PGL translates as *named after grace*, adding "i.e. with a name derived from Hebr. קָרַן". The Hebrew name קָרַן, which is the origin of the Greek name Ἰωάννης, incorporates indeed קָרַן, which means *grace* or *charm* (χάρις). Cf. Koehler – Baumgartner (1996: s.v. קָרַן, קָרַן י').

⁶³⁶ Preserved in Jerusalem, *Timiou Staurou 93* f. 164r-v (13th c.); *Vatoped. 348* (13th c.), at the end of the manuscript; *Monac. gr. 114* f. 182v (first half 14th c.). Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2259.

⁶³⁷ Cf. Lauxtermann (2003: 198-200), Bernard – Demoen (*forthcoming*).

3.6.4 Poem 4

The final poem of the cycle is a long prayer to the Trinity. The Trinitarian motif, however, seems recurrent in the cycle. The theme appears in some crucial passages, i.e. in the central section of Poem 1 and the end of Poem 2, as a sort of preparation to Poem 4, where the Trinity is a central topic.

Although containing some digressions, the poem's structure is logically built up. It opens with an invocation of the Trinity (vv. 1-11). Four requests are formulated: 1) request for help (vv. 12-14); 2) request to unite with the Trinity (vv. 15-17); 3) request for the remembrance of death and balance (vv. 18-45);⁶³⁸ 4) request for enlightenment (vv. 46-49). In the following section, the narrator motivates his requests by explaining their goal in two final clauses: 1) in order to have the Trinity in the heart (vv. 50-51); 2) in order to recognize the tricks of the devil (vv. 52-59). Thereafter follows a digression on the devil. First the hypocrisy of the devil is discussed (vv. 60-73); then his names (vv. 74-105). Two rhetorical questions follow on who might see through the devil's tricks (vv. 106-119). If the narrator were Paul, he would be able to slay the devil (vv. 120-122). However, he is not Paul, but he is weak (vv. 123-125). Hence, he can only conclude his prayer with some final requests, asking the devil's cutting and his own salvation (vv. 126-132). Only in the last verses, the name of the poetic I, John Komnenos, is revealed (vv. 133-134).

As the title of the poem suggests, it is preserved at the end of the manuscripts (see chapter 3.1.2 Order and Preservation of the Poems). The note in prose at the end indeed mentions that the poem follows upon the treatise *To the shepherd*. However, there is no further link with this text.

Invocation of the Trinity (vv. 1-11)

V. 1 is quite strange as an opening verse. In **N**, it appears as the last line on f. 417r, accompanied by the title in the right margin. This is probably the reason why it was not mentioned as the incipit of the poem in the catalogue (Vladimir – Grichine 1995: 239).⁶³⁹ A palaeographical detail makes this opening verse even more suspect: the first letter of this verse was written in black first and was later overwritten in red by the same hand. Moreover, the repetition of **καλῶν** is quite remarkable and does not sound elegant. In both **N** and **L**, there is a dot between the two occurrences of **καλῶν**. Besides, it is not

⁶³⁸ Possibly, the problematic v. 26 blurs our view on the structure of the surrounding verses.

⁶³⁹ The appearance of Poem 4 in **L** is even unnoticed in the catalogues.

clear what **Τούτων** refers to. Perhaps there was a constituent, comparable to **δότα**,⁶⁴⁰ appearing on a hypothetical preceding verse. There are yet two other arguments in favour of this hypothesis. Firstly, we find three pairs of three verses in vv. 3-11 (vv. 3-5 + vv. 6-8 + vv. 9-11).⁶⁴¹ An extra verse at the beginning could form a fourth group of three verses together with vv. 1-2, which would be a stylistic improvement. Secondly, the note in prose at the end mentions 135 verses, which is one verse more than the 134 preserved in **N**.

The articulation of the invocation into sections of three verses probably refers to the Trinity. Vv. 3-5 stress its unity. Vv. 6-8 mention each one person of the Trinity (**Πάτερ**, **Υιέ** and **Πνεῦμα**). Vv. 9-11 somehow synthesize the two preceding groups of three verses, mentioning the unity of the Trinity in the central verse of this group (v. 10) and referring to the parts of the Trinity in v. 9 and v. 11. In v. 9 the parts of the Trinity are compared to the sun: **ἥλιε** (Father), **φῶς** (Son), **ἄκτις** (Spirit).⁶⁴² In v. 11 a triad (**ἄκτιστε**, **ταυτόβουλε**, **σύμπνοια**) and a unity (**μία**) are combined. The three nouns refer again to the three persons of the Trinity. **ἄκτιστε** corresponds to the Father (cf. **ἀγέννητε** v. 6). **σύμπνοια** logically evokes the Spirit. Hence, it would be logical if **ταυτόβουλε** refers to the Son. In vv. 6-9, the same order of the Trinity appears: 1) **Πάτερ** (v. 6) / **ἥλιε** (v. 9), 2) **Υιέ** (v. 7) / **φῶς** (v. 9), 3) **Πνεῦμα** (v. 8) / **ἄκτις** (v. 9).

Four Requests to the Trinity (vv. 12-49)

After praying for support in general (first request: vv. 12-14), the servant asks the Trinity to bind his three parts (**Τὸ τριμερές μου**) together with the triple Trinity (second request vv. 15-17). Turpin (2015: 79) explains that ascetics perceived mind, body and soul as a triad. By wishing to bind one's own tripartite being together with the Trinity, one wishes a unification with the Trinity itself.⁶⁴³

After the second request (to unite with the Trinity), the third request (on the remembrance of death) does not come as a surprise. Vv. 19-20, constructed as a chiasm, provide an explanation of death. The synonyms **ἀποδημίας** and **ἐκδημίας** correspond to one another just as **κηδαρικής** corresponds to **ταβερναλιγκίου**. **ἀποδημίας** and **ἐκδημίας** can mean both *exile* and *death* (PGL). **κηδαρικής** and **ταβερναλιγκίου** are *hapax legomena*.

⁶⁴⁰ **δότα**, both in **N** and **L**, is abbreviated as **δότ**. Regarding the many vocatives in vv. 3-11, we opted to interpret it as a vocative.

⁶⁴¹ Also in the next part of the poem, groups of three verses can be discerned (certainly vv. 12-14 and vv. 15-17, and perhaps even further on).

⁶⁴² The comparison of the Trinity to the sun appears frequently in theological literature. Cf. e.g. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Oratio* 31 (par. 32, ll. 1-6 ed. Barbel 1963). See also Poem 1, vv. 45-55.

⁶⁴³ The union of man with God already appeared in Poem 2 (vv. 210, 213 and title of step 30). In the *Ladder*, it appears in step 30 (PG 88.1157, ll. 35-38) and at the beginning of step 28 (PG 88.1129, ll. 5-6).

κηδαρικῆς derives from Κηδάρ, which has three meanings: 1) Kedar in Hebrew is קִדְרָ, which derives from קָדַר (to become dark);⁶⁴⁴ 2) Kedar is the second son of Ishmael (Gen. 25:13; 1 Chron. 1:29); 3) it is the name of a nomadic Arabic tribe that flourished from the 8th to 4th c. B.C. In Jer. 2:10, it is metaphorically used to refer to the east. **ταβερναλῖγκίου**, just as **κηδαρικῆς**, is an adjective derived from a noun, *in casu* the Latin *tabernaculum*.⁶⁴⁵

Why are Kedar and the tabernacle mentioned in the context of exile and/or death? I think that vv. 19-20 metaphorically stand for the alienation of man from God; especially, the alienation of the human body from God. In Greek, the word for tabernacle is σκηνή, which metaphorically refers to the body (PGL). A clear example is found in 2 Cor. 5:1-10, where the human body is compared to an earthly tent, an image of the heavenly tent by which it should be covered. Paul stresses that the body ascends to heaven and is not left behind. Also Kedar, as it refers to a nomadic tribe, appears frequently in the Old Testament related to tents. A close parallel is found in Ps. 119:5: οἴμοι, ὅτι ἡ παροικία μου ἐμακρύνθη, κατεσκήνωσα μετὰ τῶν σκηνωμάτων Κηδαρ.⁶⁴⁶ It seems that Kedar metaphorically stands for the sinful world in which man is alienated from God. Interestingly, John Chrysostom in his commentary on Ps. 119 refers to 2 Cor. 5:1-10 (PG 55.341, ll. 34-44). He explains that these biblical passages are a metaphor for life itself, i.e. the alienation of man from God because of life. Probably, vv. 19-20 have a similar implication. The remembrance of death implies the remembrance of life. Life is banishment from God. Death is the journey home.

Together with the remembrance of death, the narrator asks for the destruction of his insensibility⁶⁴⁷ (vv. 21-24) and for perseverance (v. 25). Apparently, v. 25 is a versification of a Byzantine paraphrase (henceforth Paraphrase 1) of Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carmen* II,1,50, v. 106.⁶⁴⁸ Intriguingly, vv. 30-45 closely correspond to the paraphrase of vv. 107-112 of the same poem. This means that the reworking of Paraphrase 1 is interrupted by vv. 26-29.⁶⁴⁹ It is perhaps no coincidence that the first

⁶⁴⁴ Koehler – Baumgartner (1996: s.v. קִדְרָ). Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate* (4.4, ll. 21-22; ed. Aubineau 2011): Τὸ γὰρ σκότος τῆ Ἑβραίων φωνῆ “κηδάρ” ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν.

⁶⁴⁵ **ταβερναλῖγκίου** is then not the only Latin loan in the cycle. See **ὠρίων** (Poem 2, v. 12), which derives from *horreum*. Cf. PGL s.v. ὄριον.

⁶⁴⁶ Cf. also Cant. 1:5.

⁶⁴⁷ Insensibility is the topic of step 17 in the *Ladder* (18 in PG). The terms of v. 21 also appear in an antithesis to discernment in *Klimax*' step 26 (PG 88.1013, l. 46 - 1016, l. 5).

⁶⁴⁸ In her PhD dissertation, Ricceri (2013: 237-247) published two Byzantine paraphrases of *Carmen* II,1,50. Only the first one is directly relevant for our cycle.

⁶⁴⁹ On the paraphrase and the influence of Gregory on the cycle see above (chapter 3.5 The Presence of Gregory of Nazianzos in the Cycle).

verse of this interruption gives an incomprehensible text and has only 11 syllables.⁶⁵⁰ **ἐκτέρων** is a non-existent word which does not seem to make sense. Since we were not able to find a convincing conjecture, we placed cruces in this verse. However, I cautiously suggest the conjecture **ἐκατέρων**. This could fit in with vv. 30-45, where the request for measure is made by praying to be saved from two extreme opposites. In vv. 32-33, for example, the narrator asks not to be as loose as an unbridled horse (v. 32), but, by contrast, also not to be *fully distressed because of passions* (v. 33). Maybe **ἐκατέρων** could point to these two extremes.

Vv. 27-29 recall Ecclus. 4:23-26: *μη κωλύσης λόγον ἐν καιρῷ χρείας (...)* *μη βιάζου ῥοῦν ποταμοῦ*. The image of the stream of a river, which stands for the confession of sins, is clearly borrowed from this passage. When the moment is there, you should stop hiding your sins and confess them without shame. Hence, **τῶν ἀκουσίων**, echoing **ἀβούλων** (v. 25), may correspond to the sins mentioned in Ecclus. 4:26. Regarding the content, the Trinity cannot be the subject of **βιάσης** (v. 28) and **δώσεις** (v. 29): the Trinity would take the place of the sinner in *Ecclesiasticus*. If these verses are not a real interpolation, they can perhaps be understood as a side-note. The expression of v. 28 also appears in Gregory of Nazianzos' *Epistula* 178.4 (ed. Gallay 1967): *Τὸ δὲ μὴ βιάζεσθαι ῥοῦν ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἡ παροιμία κελεύει*.⁶⁵¹ Although there is, at first sight, no direct link with Poem 4, it might be relevant that the expression gained the status of a proverb. **γὰρ** (v. 28) might point to the proverbial use of the expression here. In v. 27, the narrator says that he would dare to confess even those sins which he committed involuntarily. Vv. 28-29 are then a proverbial parallel, an encouragement in general to v. 27.

In vv. 30-45, the narrator utters his request for balance, based on Paraphrase 1. The two extremes that are to be avoided are levity (vv. 30, 32) and despondency (vv. 31, 33). Therefore the narrator asks the Trinity's spur and reproofs (vv. 34-36). The passage on the metaphor of the ships repeats this message. The light ship (v. 38) stands for levity and is explained in vv. 40-41. The heavy ship (v. 39) stands for despondency and is explained in vv. 42-43. Again, corresponding to vv. 34-36, the narrator asks for a fair punishment (vv. 44-45).

In the fourth request (vv. 46-49), the narrator asks the Trinity to transform his dark mind, which is compared to a robber's den, into a temple of light (cf. Mt. 21:13).

⁶⁵⁰ Maybe it is also significant that v. 26 is the first verse on f. 418v in **N** (i.e. f. 418r according to our reconstruction).

⁶⁵¹ Compare also with Gregory, *Carm.* II,1,83, vv. 21-22 (PG 37.1430).

Two Final Clauses (vv. 50-59)

The first objective of the request is to have the Trinity (a queen) as a *foundation inside of the heart*.⁶⁵² Secondly, the enlightenment should enable the narrator to see through the traps of the devil (σκολιός (...) ὄφις).⁶⁵³ Hence, he hopes to escape from the thistles which the devil sows secretly (cf. Mt. 13:25-26). Moreover, the devil is said to rage *against us with the necessities of life*. This refers to the fact that some actions are necessary to remain alive, such as eating and sleeping, but they are a slippery slope leading to excess and sin.

Digression on the Devil (vv. 60-105)

The first part of this digression stresses the hypocritical character of the devil. He feigns to flee, but then attacks.⁶⁵⁴ He is a deceiving thief (v. 62). He looks good, but hides evil inside (vv. 63-64). He is as the jackdaw with forged plumes from the Aesopic fable⁶⁵⁵ (vv. 65-66). He is as food on a fishhook which deceives the fish bringing death instead of life (vv. 67-71). He is darkness resembling light (vv. 72-73). The notion of the hypocrisy of the devil in general is directly inspired by Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* II,1,1, vv. 50-62 (ed. Tuilier et al. 2004: 6).

Vv. 74-75 express the narrator's disgust for the devil. Vv. 76-77 present yet another example of the devil's mendacity. κλυτοτέχνης is a Homeric epithet of Hephaistos. Just as the god forged works of art in his smithy, the devil shapes forgeries. In vv. 78-80, the narrator humbly admits that, since he is not able to see all tricks of the devil, he is only able to name a limited number of them. This, however, is sufficient to characterize the devil himself (v. 80).⁶⁵⁶ Probably, εὔρον (v. 79) refers to the heuristics of the poet. The list of names that follow is indeed a list he found in Gregory of Nazianzos' *Carm.* II,1,55, vv. 3-4 (PG 37.1399): Κλώψ, ὄφι, πῦρ, Βελίη, κακίη, μόρε, χάσμα, δράκων, θήρ, / Νύξ, λοχέ, λύσσα, χάος, βάσκανε, ἀνδροφόνε. Except for Κλώψ, each noun of this passage, is elaborated in one verse of our poem. Vv. 97-105 correspond to vv. 5-6 of *Carm.* II,1,55. Gregory tells that the *murderer* (ἀνδροφόνε) brought death to the

⁶⁵² This is clearly based on Gregory, *Carm.* I,2,31, vv. 5-6 (PG 37.911): Αἰεὶ νηὸν ἔγειρε Θεῶ νόον, ὡς κεν ἄνακτα, / Ἰδρυμ' αὔλον, ἔχης ἔνδοθι σῆς κραδίης.

⁶⁵³ As will be emphasized by the rhetorical questions further on (vv. 106-119), such discernment to see through the snares of the devil is not easily obtained.

⁶⁵⁴ κέντρῳ (...) θανάτου (v. 61) corresponds to ἐμήσατο κέντρα μόροιο (Gregory, *Carm.* II,1,1, v. 52), which goes back to 1 Cor. 15:54-56.

⁶⁵⁵ Ed. Hausrath – Hunger (1957²: nr. 103).

⁶⁵⁶ LSJ (s.v. ὄνυξ): “ἐξ ὀνύχων λέοντα (sc. τεκμαίρεσθαι) to judge by the claws, i.e. by a slight but characteristic mark”.

forefathers (πρωτογόνοισιν). In Poem 4, ἀνδροφόνε is clearly interpreted as Cain, who has become an instrument of the devil (cf. Gen. 4:1-8).

Two Rhetorical Questions (vv. 106-119)

Both questions ask: Who could see through the tricks of the devil? The first question is more specifically: What kind of wise word-monger (v. 106), who is characterized by his pious *theoria* and *praxis* (vv. 107-111), and who is also a commander of his mind (v. 112), could see through the tricks of the devil⁶⁵⁷ (vv. 113-114)? The implied answer, as will be clear from v. 120 and following, is ‘nobody’.

Closing (vv. 120-134)

The following passage seems to give a possible answer to the rhetorical questions. Paul could see through the tricks of the devil. He is a trained boxer (cf. 1 Cor. 9:26), comparable to Achilles, who struck Thersites.⁶⁵⁸ After the *irrealis*, the narrator returns to reality and stresses his own weakness – a *topos* of humility. It reminds of the humility at the beginning of the prayer (cf. v. 14). The ring composition of ἄναλκις (v. 123), contrasting παναλκῆς (v. 2), announces the end of the poem. The narrator offers his unworthy tongue, metonymically standing for his supplication / poem, to the Lord. Moreover, he asks the devil’s cutting (τομήν), which might be understood as his castration (cf. Montanari s.v. τομή). Hence, the narrator hopes to be saved from the devil⁶⁵⁹ and to be received in heaven. Only in the final verses, the name of the poetic I is revealed: John Komnenos.

⁶⁵⁷ Λοξίας, an epithet for Apollo (LSJ), is related to the adjective λοξός (*slanting* and hence also metaphorically *ambiguous* LSJ). Here it is used again to refer to the hypocritical character of the devil.

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica* 1.741-747.

⁶⁵⁹ V. 128 is a versification of Ps. 67:31: ἐπιτίμησον τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ καλάμου. ‘The beast of the reeds’ refers to a hippopotamus or a Nile crocodile (Buttrick et al. 1955: 360). Here, it refers of course to the devil.

Appendix: *Hapax legomena* in the 12th-c. Cycle

The 12th-c. cycle on Klimax preserves 26 *hapax legomena*. For a discussion of these words see the commentary on the corresponding verses.

άντιταλαντόσταθμον (Poem 4, v. 45)

άντρανύχιον (Poem 4, v. 48)

άφθαρτοσωμάτωσις (Poem 2, v. 121)

είσπιδύων (Poem 4, v. 93)

ίσχνολεπτοβραχέας (Poem 1, v. 23)

καθυποσπείρων (Poem 4, v. 57)

κηδαρικῆς (Poem 4, v. 19)

λαμπροπυρσομορφογλωττοεργάτου (Poem 2, v. 222)

λογισμορέκτας (Poem 2, v. 39)

μελαμπόρου (Poem 4, v. 37)

μεσόρροπον (Poem 2, v. 118)

μηχανοπλανουργίας (Poem 2, v. 205)

μισοθύμω (Poem 2, v. 179)

μισοργιλοφθόνω (Poem 2, v. 179)

μνημημόρος (Poem 2, v. 111)

νοοκτόνοι (Poem 3, v. 4)

παθοσυγκαταθέσεις (Poem 2, v. 39)

προσαιτήματα (Poem 2, v. 219)

πυρσολαμπρομορφορηματοτρόπου (Poem 2, v. 223)

ταβερναλιγκίου (Poem 4, v. 20)

ὑπερπόσων (Roem 2, v. 129)

φιλοτιμοδωρίας (Roem 2, v. 131)

Χριστοπατράσιν (Roem 2, v. 220)

χρυσολιθομαργαροστεφοπλόκου (Roem 2, v. 224)

ψευσματοπλασματομηχανοπλόκος (Roem 4, v. 119)

ψυχόθηρ (Roem 4, v. 62)



4. ÖNB theol. gr. 207 f. 2r

Chapter 4

Metrical Summaries of the *Ladder*

Poem 2 of the 12th-c. cycle is, as far as we know, the longest preserved metrical summary of the *Ladder*. Below, I provide a description of other known metrical summaries of the *Ladder*. Some structural similarities and differences towards Poem 2 will be noted.

4.1 Manuel Philes

In the edition of the poems of Manuel Philes (ca. 1275 - ca. 1345) by Miller (1855: 380-388, CCXI), a dodecasyllabic summary of the *Ladder* (132 vv.) is included, inc. Στρουθὸς λογικὸς εὐρεθεὶς τῷ δεσπότη.⁶⁶⁰ In this case there is no prologue. Throughout the poem, the reader is addressed frequently (e.g. βέλτιστε in vv. 2, 5, 16 etc.). The poet gives him direct advice. See the imperatives, e.g.: παγίδας φύγε (v. 2); ἀπροσπαθῆς (...) μένε (v. 5); τοὺς ὄρους μάθε (v. 17). The future tense ἔξεις (v. 3) indicates that the addressee is an ascender who just begins his ascent.

⁶⁶⁰ For another epigram by Manuel Philes on the *Ladder* see Miller (1855: 60, CXXXIX), inc. Ἄφεις θεωρεῖν ἄς ὑφιστᾶς βαθμίδας. Another poem of Philes, inc. Ὁ Μιτυλήνης ἀρχιθύτης, ὦ ξένε, on Dionysios of Mytilene, refers to the ladder concept in vv. 20-24 (ed. Sakkalion 1889: 316):

Μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν κλίμακα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας
Εἰς νοῦν λαβὼν ἔπηξε τοῦ νοῦ τὰς βάσεις,
Καὶ τῷ γένει προὔθηκε τὴν κοινὴν χάριν,
Ὡς ἂν ἐπ' αὐτῆς πρακτικῶς ἀνατρέχοι
Πᾶς εἴ τις ἐκ γῆς πρὸς Θεὸν σπεύδει τρέχειν.

This poem is preserved in a codex from Athens, *EBE* 229 (first quarter 14th c.) Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/4509.

Whereas Poem 2 consequently summarised a step in 6 verses, Philes transforms each step into 4 verses. It is remarkable that Philes' ladder has 33 steps, instead of 30. Possibly, the 33 steps refer to the age of Christ when he died upon the cross.

The title of *Ph.* 4 runs: *Περὶ δειλίας*.⁶⁶¹ Miller (1855: 381) correctly notes that this is the title of step 21 (in PG; step 20 in *Sophr.*) The summary of *Ph.* 4 runs:

Ὅνειρος ἡδὺς γάργαλος φιληδόνοις·
Ὅ γὰρ ἀηδῆς φορτικὸς μικροψύχοις·
Δεῖ οὖν σε φυγεῖν τὴν ἐκατέρων βλάβην,
καὶ μηκέτι, βέλτιστε, λαγῶ ζῆν βίον.

The last verse indeed refers to cowardice. The ascender is advised not to live the life of a hare, which is a symbol of cowardice.⁶⁶² It is, however, not the case that Philes, for instance, switched the summaries of steps 4 and 21. *Ph.* 21 clearly deals with cowardice.⁶⁶³ Returning to *Ph.* 4, it can be noted that Philes' summary corresponds to the encore to step 3 concerning dreams. In his summary, this extra part to step 3 gains the status of an extra step, inserted between the summary of step 3 and 4 (the latter corresponding to *Ph.* 5). This already explains one of the three extra steps in this summary.

Philes' summary corresponds to the edition of *Sophr.* on two crucial points: 1) There is no separate step on φιλαργυρία and ἀκτημοσύνη (*Ph.* 17; step 16 in *Sophr.*); 2) There are two separate steps on ὑπερηφανία and βλασφημία (*Ph.* 23 and 24; steps 22 and 23 in *Sophr.*). In Philes, however, the second part of step 26 (on expert discernment) is a separate step. The codex *Vlatadon 90* similarly discerns two different steps on διάκρισις (discussed below). Since this manuscript is dated to the 13th c., the summary of Philes probably mirrors an existing redaction in the manuscript tradition.

At the end of Philes' *Ladder* there is a final, 33th part under the title *Εἰς τὴν ἄνοδον τῆς ἱερᾶς κλίμακος* (ed. Miller 1855: 388).⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶¹ '*Ph. x*' refers to a step of the *Ladder* in Philes' summary.

⁶⁶² Miller (1855: 381) refers to two similar passages: 1) Demostenes, *Pro Corona* 263 (ed. Butcher 1903): λαγῶ βίον ἔζης δεδιῶς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγῆσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ συνήδεις ἀδικοῦντι, 2) Libanios, *Epistula* 945.3, ll. 4-5 (ed. Foerster 1922): καταφρονοῦντα τῶν πολλὰ μὲν κεκτημένων, λαγῶ δὲ βίον ζώντων.

⁶⁶³ *Ph.* 21 is entitled *Περὶ τῆς ἀνάνδρου δειλίας* and runs (vv. 81-84; ed. Miller 1855: 385):

Ἄνανδρον οὐ χρὴ τινα δειλίαν φέρειν,
Ὅταν ὁ Σατὰν ἀυθαδῶς ὠπλισμένος
Τῶν πνευματικῶν ὀπλιτῶν κατατρέχη·
Δεινὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ νῶτα γυμνὰ δεικνύειν.

⁶⁶⁴ For a translation and discussion see Schroeder (2014: 228). In a manuscript from Mt. Athos, *Stauroniketa* 30

Ἴδου κλίμαξ, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ βαῖνε πρόσω,
Καὶ γῆθεν ἄρθεις μὴ στραφῆς βλέψαι μάτην,
Ἐπεὶ σε Χριστὸς ὁ βραβεὺς τῶν βαθμίδων
Καλεῖ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ προτείνει τὰ στέφη.

Regarding their style and content these final four verses resemble the epigrams of *Barocc. 141* (see chapter 5). They serve as an encouragement to the reader. In a manuscript from Saint Petersburg, RNB Φ. No. 906 (*Gr.*) *Gr. 102* (*Granstrem 427*) ff. 346-349, Philes' metrical summary is used as a book epigram on the *Ladder*. Just as the cycle in *Barocc. 141*, the poem appears at the end of the manuscript, preceded by Klimax' works.⁶⁶⁵

In Miller's edition (1855: 388 CCXII), Philes' metrical summary of the *Ladder* is followed by an epigram of 4 verses on *To the Shepherd*.

4.2 *Paris. Coisl. 87*

The first folio of *Coisl. 87* (14th c.) preserves an anonymous summary of the *Ladder* consisting of 92 dodecasyllables. The poem is edited and discussed by Antonopoulou (2014). It precedes the *Letters* of John of Raithou and John Klimax, and the *Ladder* accompanied by the commentary of Elias of Crete. Just as Poem 2, this metrical summary thus precedes the *Ladder*.

The first verse serves as a title to the poem,⁶⁶⁶ and is a typical announcement of a *pinax* (Antonopoulou 2014: 23): Πίναξ ὄδ' ἔστι τῆς παρούσης πυκτίδος.⁶⁶⁷ The opening verses, vv. 1-18, serve as a prologue. Some typical characteristics of the *Ladder* are described. It is said that those who are eager to climb the *Ladder* will suffer hard, but can obtain a spiritual crown. By contrast, those who do not want to ascend, will not reach

f. 260v (a. 1324), *Ph.* 33 functions as a real book epigram. It appears separately, next to an image of the *Ladder*. Cf. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi – Galavaris (2008: 130-132, fig. 371).

⁶⁶⁵ Cf. Granstrem (1964: 166-167).

⁶⁶⁶ In the manuscript, v. 1 is preceded by a real title, though from a later hand: βίβλος θείας κλίμακος (Antonopoulou 2014: 25).

⁶⁶⁷ Compare for example with the monostich Οὗτος ὁ πίναξ τῆς παρούσης πυκτίδος. Cf. www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/1866.

the light. Contrary to Poem 2 and Philes' summary, the ascender is not addressed directly.

Verses 19-87 provide the summary itself. In this case, the steps are not summarised in a fixed number of verses. The shortest summaries are monostichs; e.g. the summary of step 6 runs (v. 30): *Μνήμην καθυπέγραψεν ἔκτος θανάτου*. The longest summaries, those of steps 28 and 30, consist of 5 verses. The number of the concerning step is explicitly mentioned in each summary (cf. ἔκτος in the quoted v. 30). As Antonopoulou indicates, the poet was clearly inspired by the titles of the *Ladder* itself.⁶⁶⁸ A short epilogue (vv. 88-92), briefly mentions again that the *Ladder* leads to heaven.

Remarkably, there is a discrepancy between the *Ladder* itself in *Coisl.* 87 and the metrical summary preserved in the same manuscript. Whereas the title of step 16 in the *Ladder* (f. 177v) clearly corresponds to Sophr., including both φιλαργυρία and ἀκτημοσύνη, the metrical summary agrees with PG on the structure of the *Ladder*. As Antonopoulou (2014: 22) mentions, this discrepancy is an indication that the poem was probably not originally meant for this manuscript. This case reminds us again of the need of a thorough analysis of the manuscript tradition of the *Ladder*.

4.3 *ÖNB theol. gr. 207*

ÖNB theol. gr. 207 (2nd half of the 14th c.) is described by Hunger (1992: 28-31). It preserves the *Letters* of both Johns, the *Life* by Daniel, the *Ladder* and the treatise *To the Shepherd*. At the end of the manuscript (ff. 137r-138v), there is a cycle of epigrams on the *Ladder*.⁶⁶⁹

1) inc. Ἄριστα πάντα (καὶ) θεόπνευστα λίαν (17 vv.). This poem is written at the top f. 137r. The title above runs: Ἱεροθέ(ου) μονάζοντος, Εἰς τ(ὸν) κλήμακα πρόγραμμα. Hence, we know the name of the poet: Hierotheos the monk.⁶⁷⁰ The poem is also preserved in

⁶⁶⁸ In the edition, quotes of titles are written in italics (cf. *Μνήμην (...) θανάτου* in step 6).

⁶⁶⁹ For a diplomatic transcription of the epigrams preserved in the manuscript *ÖNB theol. gr. 207* see www.dbbe.ugent.be/manuscript/view/id/3582/ (diplomatic transcription revised by Renaat Meesters). Since I was not able to check all preserved occurrences of these poems, I opted to provide only a diplomatic transcription of *ÖNB theol. gr. 207* when quoting the poems. For a digital reproduction of the codex see: http://search.obvsg.at/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?institution=ONB&vid=ONB&onCampus=fals&lang=ger&docId=ONB_aleph_onb06000207224 (3 January 2017).

⁶⁷⁰ Bibliographical data of Hierotheos are scarce. Probably, he is also the author of some laudatory book epigrams on Symeon the New Theologian (ed. Kambylis 1976: 25 (II), 33 (XII); PG 120.307). Based on the title of one of these poems, we know that he was a monk and presbyter in the monastery τῆς ὠραίας πηγῆς (Koder

Escorialensis Σ.III.18 f. 1v (a. 1132).⁶⁷¹ In this codex, however, the name of the author is not explicitly mentioned. Besides, it is also preserved in a manuscript from Jerusalem, *Patriarchike bibliotheke, Hagiou Saba* 177 f. 1v (14th c.).⁶⁷² As Hunger (1992: 30) indicates, it is not entirely clear if the following poems in *ÖNB theol. gr. 207* are from the same author.⁶⁷³

In this first poem, the *Ladder* is praised as an excellent Patristic text. It enables to discern the chain of vices and to analyse their snares. As a ladder, it leads to vision of God and the Trinity.

2) Clearly, the second poem consists of several parts: a) an announcement of the summary in three parts, b) a first part of the summary, c) a second part of the summary, d) a third part of the summary, e) an epilogue.

2a) inc. Καὶ ζωγράφου χεῖρ εὐφυῶς κινουμένη (21 vv.). This first part of the second poem is accompanied by the title: Δήλωσ(ι)ς ἐκάστου λόγου ἐνοίας. These 21 verses do not form a poem on their own. They function as an introduction to the metrical summary that follows. Hence, the title pertains to the entire metrical summary, including its introduction. In this introduction, the reader is addressed (cf. v. 10: τ(ήν) ἐμφανὴ δὴλω|σιν ἀκριβ(ῶς) βλέπε). It is furthermore explained that the *Ladder* has 30 steps. This means 3 x 10. 'Three' is symbolically explained as referring to God, i.e. the Trinity. The introduction is followed by three parts, each giving a summary of 10 steps.⁶⁷⁴

1966: 187). The oldest manuscript in which these poems edited by Kambylis (1976: LXXXIX) are preserved is a codex from Venice, *Marc. gr. 494* (13th c.). Hence, the *termini post* and *ante quem* available for dating Hierotheos are Symeon the New Theologian, who lived from 949 (?) until 1022 (*terminus post quem*), and the codex *Escorialensis* Σ.III.18, dated to the year 1132, which is the oldest manuscript that preserves a poem by Hierotheos (on the condition that *ÖNB theol. gr. 207* correctly ascribes the poem inc. Ἄριστα πάντα τοῦ Hierotheos) (*terminus ante quem*).⁶⁷¹ Cf. Revilla (1936: 385). See also Spatharakis (1981: 41 nr. 137).

⁶⁷¹ Cf. Revilla (1936: 385). See also Spatharakis (1981: 41 nr. 137).

⁶⁷² Cf. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1894: 292). In the *Escorialensis* and in the manuscript from Jerusalem the incipit runs: Ἄριστα λίαν καὶ θεόπνευστα πάντα.

⁶⁷³ It seems that the *Escorialensis* does not preserve the other poems of *ÖNB theol. gr. 207*. I was not able yet to check the manuscript from Jerusalem. See also Vassis (2005: 374) who states that Hierotheos is also the author of the next poem inc. Καὶ ζωγράφου χεῖρ εὐφυῶς κινουμένη. However, he does only refer to Hunger (1992: 30). Vassis does not take into account the doubt that was mentioned there.

⁶⁷⁴ Compare also with a book epigram preserved in a manuscript from Lesbos, *Mone tou Leimonos* 34 (a. 1341) inc. Σὺ δέ μοι σκόπει κάλλιστα διὰ τριπλῆς δεκάδος (www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/912); or with inc. Τριπλῆς δεκάδος τὰς ἀναβάσεις βλέπων, preserved in a manuscript from Perugia, *Biblioteca Comunale Augusta F 53 (olim 379) f. 173r* (14th c.) and in *Vlatadon* 76 f. 216r (15th c.). A tripartite division of the *Ladder* is also described in the secondary literature. Cf. Chryssavgis (2004: 28, 29), Zecher (2015: 43-48). However, they do not separate the *Ladder* into three equal, but in three unequal parts. Besides, also pope Benedict XVI (2009) discerns three stages in the *Ladder*.

2b) inc. Ἡ βαθμὶς ἡ πρώτηιστα κειμένη κάτω (18 vv.). The first part of the metrical summary is accompanied by the title: ἡ α' δεκάς, written above the verses at the top of f. 137v. The first verse is written on the same line as the last words of the introductory 2a) (τοῦ ζωγράφου). The beginning of this new part of the poem is indicated by an ornamental initial. Just as was the case in *Coisl.* 87, the steps are not summarised in a fixed number of verses. The shortest summaries are monostichs. For example, step 8 runs: ἡ θνήσις ὀργῆς, βαθμὶς ἐστὶν ὀγδῶη. Another similarity with *Coisl.* 87 is that (in most cases) the number of the steps is explicitly mentioned (cf. ὀγδῶη above).⁶⁷⁵ The last two verses conclude this part of the summary by encouraging the ascender to progress to the second third.

2c) inc. Τὴν ἐνδεκάτην βαθμίδα πατεῖν θέλ(ων) (15 vv.). In the left margin, the title of this second part of the metrical summary appears: ἡ β' δεκάς. The form β', having the *alpha* written above the line, is used as an abbreviation for δευτέρα, comparable to the English '2nd'. The second part of summary is executed similarly as the first part. Regarding the structure, the summary agrees with PG, having a separate step on φιλαργυρία (16) and ἀκτημοσύνη (17).

2d) inc. Τρίτη⁶⁷⁶ δεκάδος ὁ προκείμενο(ς) τόπος (13 vv.). A title is written in the right margin: ἡ γ' δεκάς. Surprisingly, the steps on κενοδοξία (step 22) and ὑπερηφανία (step 23) are not mentioned. The numbers of the steps, however, agree with PG. Step 21 concerns δειλία; step 24 concerns ἀπλότης ἀκακία. Since there are only two steps missing, the poem clearly agrees with PG, and not with *Sophr.*, where the part on βλασφημία has the status of a separate step. One could suppose that the omission is due to a scribal mistake. This might be explained by looking at the first verses of this third part of the summary (vv. 1-4):

Τρίτη δεκάδος ὁ προκείμενο(ς) τόπος,
 τ(ῆς) δειλί(ας) λύτρωσ(ιν) | ἐντυποῦν θέλει:
 ὁ δ' αὖ τέταρτος ζωγραφεῖν | πάλιν θέλει,
 τ(ὶν) ἀπλοϊκὴν (καὶ) καλὴν ἀκακίαν: |

Here, Τρίτη refers to the 3rd third, which, since the 2nd third ended with step 20, logically opens with step 21. τέταρτος refers to the 24th step. Contrary to the poet of the summary

⁶⁷⁵ An exception is, for example, step 2: ἡ δ' αὖ μετ αὐτ(ιν). τ(ὸν) ἀπροσπαθὴ βίον. Here, αὐτ(ιν) (i.e. αὐτήν) refers to step 1.

⁶⁷⁶ Most likely this reading of the manuscript has to be corrected to Τρίτης.

of *Coisl.* 87, this poet did not take the effort to write the number in full. Grammatically, τέταρτος seems to correspond with τόπος (v. 1). The 4th place in the 3rd third is indeed 24. It might be that the scribe, after writing Τρίτη, already had number four in mind and hereby omitted steps 22 and 23.

2e) inc. Ἰωάννης τάδε γέγραφε(εν)⁶⁷⁷ εὐφυῶς πάνυ (21 vv.). These verses are not accompanied by a title. The initial of the first word is ornamentally executed, just as was the case with the other (parts of) poems in *ÖNB theol. gr.* 207. Moreover, τάδε deictically refers to the *Ladder* which was summarised in the previous parts. Hence, this part can be considered as an epilogue to the metrical summary. John Klimax is praised as the author of the *Ladder*. The reader is advised to follow the example of John and not that of the sinners, who suffer many tortures. Verses 10-11 run:

Ἐφρυξα,⁶⁷⁸ πιστεύσατε, πρὸς ταῦτα βλέπων,
ἑμαυτὸν ὡσπερ καθορῶν ἐν εἰκόνι.

Here, the narrator says that he was frightened himself when he saw the tortures of the sinner (ταῦτα) as if he was looking to an icon. This last phrase may perhaps be interpreted as referring to the icons, of which the author was aware, representing the *Ladder*. These icons picture demons attacking the ascenders, in order to throw them down into the mouth of hell. Compare, for example, with the famous 12th century icon of Mt. Sinai.⁶⁷⁹ Interestingly, the first letter of v. 10 is ornamentally executed in a similar way as the initials of the other poems in this manuscript. Since ταῦτα clearly refers to the torturing of the sinners alluded to in vv. 5-10, I think, the ornamental initial has to be interpreted here as an indication of a new part of the poem, rather than as the opening of a next one. The same is true for the following verses (vv. 12-21). Verse 12 runs: Ἄλλ' ὦ θεατᾶ τῆς παροῦσης εἰκόνοσ. The first *alpha* is again ornamentally executed. εἰκόνοσ, however, clearly corresponds to εἰκόνι of v. 11, indicating that the ornamental *alpha* stands only for an internal break, and not for the beginning of a new poem. This final part of the second poem is again an encouragement to the reader / ascender to follow the holy example of John Klimax.

⁶⁷⁷ The abbreviation is written clearly in the manuscript. Regarding the meter, the word probably has to read γέγραφε' in order to avoid a hypermetrical verse. Besides, one should read the *iota* of Ἰωάννης as a semivowel – a consequence of synizesis.

⁶⁷⁸ I.e. Ἐφριξα.

⁶⁷⁹ For an image see Moore (2012⁴: 4).

3) inc. Ἀστήρ φαεινὸς ἐδείχθης ἐν τοῖς πέρασι. This last poem is a hymn, a *kontakion*. Its title is written above the first verse: Κοντ(ά)κ(ιον) τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) ἰω(άννου)· Τὰ ἄνω ζητ(ῶν). Hunger (1992: 30) refers to a *kontakion* on Onuphrios (12th of June), ascribed to John of Damascus.⁶⁸⁰ In fact, this version of the *kontakion* is an adaptation, replacing Onuphrios by Klimax. This third poetic text concludes the short cycle on Klimax.

It is interesting to compare the metrical summary of ÖNB *theol. gr. 207* with the *pinakes* preserved in the manuscript. *Theol. gr. 207*, like **M** and **I**, preserves a *pinax* at the beginning of the manuscript and a *pinax* at the end (see chapter 3.1.4 *Pinakes*). In fact, *Theol. gr. 207* has even two *pinakes* preceding the text of the *Ladder* itself. The first *pinax* (f. 2r), is written in the shape of a ladder and is accompanied by images of ascending monks (see figure 4). This *pinax*, just as the *pinakes* of **M**, corresponds to the structure of the *Ladder* in PG 88.629 (and thus not to that of Sophr.).⁶⁸¹ Moreover, it resembles the *pinax* of **M** (f. 320v) reading: περὶ φυγ(ῆς) κόσμου A, περὶ ἀμνησικακί(ας) Θ, and περὶ οἰήσε(ως) ΚΓ.⁶⁸²

Also the second *pinax* (f. 3r) corresponds, with some variant readings, to the *pinax* of PG 88.629. The third *pinax* (f. 125r-v) is the same as the second *pinax* of **M** (f. 320v) and **I** (f. 114v), with some minor variations.⁶⁸³ This means that the three *pinakes* and the metrical summary of the *Theol. gr. 207* agree with PG on the structure of the *Ladder*. Interestingly, several verses of the metrical summary are clearly based on the titles as they appear in the third *pinax* (f. 125r-v). Clearly, the metrical summary of *Coisl. 87* is not unique in integrating the titles of a *pinax* into the poem itself. I provide two examples of *Theol. gr. 207* as a demonstration. The summary of step 11 runs:

Τὴν ἐνδεκάτην βαθμίδα πατεῖν θέλ(ων),
ἄσκει σιοπὴν | χυλέ(ων) ψυχῆς σκέπην:

When we compare this summary to the titles of Sophr., PG, **M** and **N** (see commentary on Poem 2 in chapter 3.4.2), we see that it closely resembles the version of **M** (f. 320v), which is exactly the same of as that of the *pinax* in *Theol. gr. 207* (f. 125v): Περὶ τῆς

⁶⁸⁰ For an edition of this *kontakion* see Ὁρολόγιον τὸ μέγα (1876: 200). Compare also with *Menaea Junii e codice Lesbiaci Leimonos 11* (11th c., ed. Spanos 2010: Acolouthia 12), where the text is preserved defectively.

⁶⁸¹ By contrast, the first *pinax* of **I** corresponds to Sophr. (see chapter 3.1.4 *Pinakes*).

⁶⁸² Remarkably, it seems to confuse steps 28 and 29, reading: περὶ προσευχ(ῆς): KZ and περὶ ἡσυχί(ας): KH.

⁶⁸³ Besides, also the main text itself agrees with PG. The title of step 16 runs (f. 69v): Περὶ φιλαργυρίας. Step 17 (f. 70r): Περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης. Step 23 (f. 78r): Περὶ ὑπερηφανίας. Step 24 (f. 82r): Περὶ πραότητος καὶ ἀπλότητος· καὶ ἀκακίας καὶ πονηρίας. This means that there is no separate step on βλασφημία.

ψυχοφυλακῆς σιωπῆς χειλέων. Another clear example is that of step 4. The summary of *Theol. gr. 207* runs:

ὑπακοὴ τέταρτον ἄχρι θανάτου:

Again, if we compare with the other titles (see chapter 3.4.2), the correspondence to the title of **M** (f. 320v) and *Theol. gr. 207* (f. 125v) is clear: Περὶ τῆς Χριστοῦ μιμήσεως μέχρι θανάτου ὑπακοῆς.⁶⁸⁴

4.4 Concordance

For reasons of clarity, I provide a concordance of the number of steps of the *Ladder* in the editions and in the metrical summaries discussed above.

M. Philes	Sophr. / Poem 2	PG / <i>Coisl. 87</i> / <i>Theol. gr. 207</i> ⁶⁸⁵
1-3	1-3a ⁶⁸⁶	1-3a
4	3b ⁶⁸⁷	3b
5	4	4
6	5	5
7	6	6
8	7	7
9	8	8
10	9	9
11	10	10
12	11	11
13	12	12
14	13	13
15	14	14
16	15	15

⁶⁸⁴ ÖNB *theol. gr. 207* has: Περὶ τῆς χ(ριστο)ῦ μιμήσεως ὑπακοῆς μέχρι θανάτου.

⁶⁸⁵ ÖNB *theol. gr. 207* omits steps 22 and 23.

⁶⁸⁶ 3a is step 3 without the encore on dreams.

⁶⁸⁷ 3b is the encore on dreams in step 3.

17	16	16-17
18	17	18
19	18	19
20	19	20
21	20	21
22	21	22
23	22	23a ⁶⁸⁸
24	23	23b ⁶⁸⁹
25	24	24
26	25	25
27	26a ⁶⁹⁰	26a
28	26b ⁶⁹¹	26b
29	27	27
30	28	28
31	29	29
32	30	30
33		

4.5 Thessalonike, *Vlatadon 90*

A final case I would like to discuss is the codex *Vlatadon 90*, which preserves some verses on particular steps of the *Ladder*. Although it does not offer a full summary, it is related to the metrical summaries. In his description of *Vlatadon 90* (13th c.), Eustratiades (1919: 148-149) mentions that several folios have been lost at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript.⁶⁹² The manuscript as it is preserved starts with step 6 and ends somewhere in step 30. Just as PG, this manuscript has two different steps on φιλαργυρία (16) and on ἀκτημοσύνη (17). By contrast, just as in *Sophr.*, there is a separate step on

⁶⁸⁸ The part on ὑπερηφάνια.

⁶⁸⁹ The part on βλασφημία.

⁶⁹⁰ First part on διάκρισις.

⁶⁹¹ Second part on expert διάκρισις.

⁶⁹² Eustratiades signs his articles with Ὁ πρ(ώην) Λ(εοντοπόλεως) Σωφρόνιος, which refers to the fact that he was the former Archbishop of Leontopolis. I was not able yet to check *Vlatadon 90* myself.

βλασφημία (23). The manuscript unites κενοδοξία and ὑπερηφανία into one step (22).⁶⁹³ Interestingly, *Vlatadon* 90, just as Manuel Philes' metrical summary, has two different steps on διάκρισις (see above). The last parts of the *Ladder* in this manuscript have curious titles, and without looking at the manuscript it is not entirely clear which status they have. After step 29 on προσευχή, the titles run (Eustratiades 1919: 149):

f. 100r: Περὶ τῆς ἐπιγείου τελειότητος καὶ ἀναστάσεως...

f. 107v: Περὶ προσοχῆς.⁶⁹⁴

f. 108v: Περὶ προσοχῆς.

f. 112r: Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου φιλήματος.

F. 112 is the last folio that was preserved, but it certainly was not the last of the original codex.

Throughout the manuscript, the beginning of a new step is sometimes accompanied by one or two dodecasyllables that refer to the content of the step (Eustratiades 1919: 148-149):

f. 13v, step 8:⁶⁹⁵ Περὶ ἀοργησίας καὶ πραότητος.

Verse: ὀργὴν προεστὴν ἐργάτιν τῶν ἀφρόνων.

f. 18r, step 10:⁶⁹⁶ Περὶ καταλαλιᾶς καὶ λοιδορίας.

Verse: φεύγων φεύγε προσφυῶς τοὺς λοιδοροὺς.⁶⁹⁷

f. 22v, step 14:⁶⁹⁸ Περὶ τῆς παμφίλου καὶ πονηρᾶς....

Verse: Μὴ δῆτα πλήσης εἰς κόρον τὴν γαστέρα.⁶⁹⁹

f. 35v, step 16:⁷⁰⁰ Περὶ φιλαργυρίας.

⁶⁹³ The title of step 22 in *Vlatadon* 90 f. 41v runs: Περὶ τῆς πολυμόρφου κενοδοξίας καὶ τῆς ἀκεφάλου ὑπερηφανίας.

⁶⁹⁴ The word προσοχή only occurs twice in the *Ladder* and neither of them in step 30. Cf. PG (88.929 Gr. 17, l. 18; 1113 Gr. 27, l. 43). According to Eustratiades, the titles on f. 107v and f. 108v coincide.

⁶⁹⁵ Vassis (2005: 544), when quoting this verse, mentions that it accompanies the 9th step. Eustratiades (1919: 148), however, his only source, clearly writes λόγος ὄγδοος. Besides, the 8th step of the *Ladder* indeed concerns ἀοργησία.

⁶⁹⁶ Vassis (2005: 836) has “grad. XI”.

⁶⁹⁷ Remarkably, this verse has only 11 syllables. When taking prosody into account, it seems that a light 3rd syllable is missing in the first part of the verse.

⁶⁹⁸ Vassis (2005: 458) has “grad. XV”.

⁶⁹⁹ Eustratiades (1919: 149) writes πλήσης, instead of πλήσης. δῆτα with an acute, instead of δῆτα, does occur in J. Staurakios (13th c.), *Oratio de miraculis sancti Demetrii*, sect. 17, l. 47; sect. 18, l. 22 (ed. Iberites 1940).

Verse: ἔχειν φέρειν τε μηδὲν εἰς χειῖρας θέλε.

f. 37r, step 18:⁷⁰¹ Περὶ ἀναισθησίας ἤγουν νεκρώσεως ψυχῆς καὶ θανάτου νοὸς πρὸ
θανάτου σώματος.

Verse: αἴσθησιν οὐδεὶς τῶν φιλυπνούντων ἔχει.

f. 56r, step 26:⁷⁰² Περὶ διακρίσεως λογισμῶν καὶ παθῶν καὶ ἀρετῶν.

Verse: κρινεῖς καλῶς ἄνωθεν εἰ γνῶσιν λάβης.⁷⁰³

f. 66v, step 27:⁷⁰⁴ Περὶ διακρίσεως εὐδιακρίτου.

Verses: Ζητῶν θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ πάντας λάβοις.

πίστει νοήσας τὴν σοφὴν αὐτοῦ κρίσιν.

In some verses, the reader / ascender is addressed directly by imperatives (φεῦγε step 10; Μὴ δῆτα πλήσης step 14; θέλε step 16). In one case, there is a first person (προεστὴν step 8); an impersonal subject (οὐδεὶς step 18); or a second person indicative, although with an exhortatory function (κρινεῖς step 26). In the two verses on f. 66v, the optative λάβοις functions as a main verb, governing the participle νοήσας on the next verse.⁷⁰⁵

Given the verses we have in this manuscript, it is not likely to conclude that they once were part of one coherent composition. The different narratological positions presumably contradict such a theory. By contrast, one could suppose that these verses once were part of a complete series of separate exhortatory verses, one on each step.

⁷⁰⁰ Vassis (2005: 275) has “grad. XVII”.

⁷⁰¹ Here, Vassis (2005: 22) has “grad. XVIII”, corresponding to the order in PG.

⁷⁰² In Eustratiades (1919: 149), this step is announced as λόγος ιζ’. I guess, however, that this is a typo. Moreover, the step on ἀκτημοσύνη between steps 16 and 18 is announced as λόγος ζ. Besides, after step 24 on ἀπλότης, the step on ταπεινοφροσύνη is called λόγος κς. Surprisingly, a 25th step is not to be found. Without looking at the manuscript, one can of course not be sure, but I suppose we are dealing with modern scribal mistakes.

⁷⁰³ Eustratiades (1919: 149) writes λάβης, instead of λάβης.

⁷⁰⁴ In Eustratiades (1919: 149), this step is announced as λόγος κη’. As explained by the previous footnote, I adapted it to “step 27”.

⁷⁰⁵ Eustratiades (1919: 149) writes a full stop at the end of the first verse of f. 66v. This punctuation mark indicates a metrical boundary, and not a syntactical one.

Κλίμαξ ὄραται τῷ μήκει βραχυτάτη.
Εἰ δὲ πείραν λάβοι τις καρδίας εἴσω,
πλοῦτον εὐρήσει ἀχώρητον τῷ κόσμῳ,
πηγὴν τε θεῖαν νάουσαν ζωὴν ξένην.

Theophanis the monk, *Κλίμακα θεῶν χαρίτων*, vv. 36-39
(ed. Rigo 2012: 145)

Chapter 5

Ascending the Ladder:

Editio Princeps of Four Poems on the *Ladder* of John Klimax (*Bodleian Baroccianus 141*)*

Four unedited paratexts on John Klimax in dodecasyllables are preserved anonymously in *Bodleian Baroccianus 141*. I provide here a description of the manuscript and of the poems, the *editio princeps*, a translation, and a brief commentary.

5.1 The Ladder in Epigrams

Many book epigrams on Klimax obviously refer to the ladder concept,⁷⁰⁶ for example: inc. βαθμούς διελθῶν γεννικούς τρισσῶς δέκα,⁷⁰⁷ inc. κλίμαξ ἄνω φέρουσα τοὺς ἐναρέτους⁷⁰⁸ and inc. τρίδομος κλίμαξ, τρισδέκα βαθμῶν πέλων.⁷⁰⁹ The cycle of four poems found in *Barocc. 141* is part of this broad tradition of book epigrams on the *Ladder*.

* This chapter is published in GRBS (Meesters 2016b). I opted not to retain the article's short introduction "John Klimakos and the Ladder" as it would cause unnecessary repetition of chapter 2. The part 5.1 (The Ladder in Epigrams) is shortened for the same reason.

⁷⁰⁶ [For a discussion on the ladder concept in Klimax, see chapter 2.2.]

⁷⁰⁷ <http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/4605>.

⁷⁰⁸ <http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/2751>.

⁷⁰⁹ <http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/5090>.

5.2 The Manuscript

Barocc. 141 (253 folios) was written on oriental paper ca. the second quarter of the 14th c.⁷¹⁰ Titles and initials are written in red ink. The manuscript contains the *Ladder* of John Klimax, accompanied by the still-unedited commentary of Elias of Crete.⁷¹¹ The commentary is written in the margin and begins on f. 1r, where it surrounds a preface, ascribed in the manuscript to Daniel of Raithou.⁷¹² The *Life* of John Klimax, written by the same Daniel, begins at the bottom of f. 1r (ff. 1r-6r),⁷¹³ and is followed by the *Letter* by John of Raithou and the reply by John Klimax (ff. 6r-9r); a prologue (f. 9r-9v);⁷¹⁴ a table of contents of the *Ladder* (ff. 9v-10r); the *Ladder* (ff. 10v-288r); the same prologue as on f. 9r-9v (f. 228r); a brief exhortation (f. 228r-228v);⁷¹⁵ the treatise *To the Shepherd* (ff. 228v-247r); *Poem 1 and 2* (f. 247r); *Poem 3* (f. 247r-247v); *Poem 4* (f. 247v); and quotes from various monks and church fathers, written by a different hand: Isaak the Syrian, Niketas of Herakleia, Theodoros Balsamon, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximos, Neilos, Markos, Thalassios, Basileios, and others (ff. 247v-251r). At the end of the manuscript there are diverse notes in a later handwriting (ff. 251r-253v).

In comparing the table of contents on ff. 9v-10r to the *pinax* given in PG 88.629 and to the one in Sophr. (1970: 185), it is clear that *Barocc. 141* corresponds more to the one in Sophr. The edition of Sophr. was based on manuscripts from the Dionysios monastery on Mount Athos, and *Barocc. 141* seems thus to be more closely related to these manuscripts.

5.3 The Poems

The four poems are written next to each other, divided into two columns. They are separated from the end of *To the Shepherd* by a simple red bar. The titles of the poems are

⁷¹⁰ The description of this manuscript is based on Coxe (1969: 241); Hutter (1982: 236); Canart (2008: 162); and on the digital reproduction of the manuscript via http://viewer.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/icv/page.php?book=MS._Barocci_141&page=1 (15 December 2015).

⁷¹¹ Inc. Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν κλίμακα.

⁷¹² Inc. Ἐσκόπησεν ὄντως ἀρίστως, entitled Προθεωρία τῆς ἀγίας κλίμακος. Cf. Sophr. (1970: 6).

⁷¹³ Inc. Τὸ μὲν τίς ἢ ἐνεγκαμένη (PG 88.596-605).

⁷¹⁴ Inc. Τοῖς ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς. Cf. Sophr. (1970: 11). See also PG 88.628C-D for the same prologue with a different closing.

⁷¹⁵ Inc. Ἀναβαίνετε ἀναβαίνετε (PG 88.1160D).

in red ink, except for the title of Poem 2, of which only the initial is red. The first letter of each verse is in red as well. The end of each poem is marked by three red dots. The import of this last palaeographical detail was not taken into account by Coxe (1969: 241). Coxe apparently assumed that the poems are to be read vertically, and hence has erroneously taken the second verse of Poem 2, 3 and 4 as the incipit.⁷¹⁶ This mistake could have been prevented by a correct understanding of the three red dots.

The black colour of the ink in which the poems are written is different from the brownish one of *To the Shepherd*. Interestingly, the comments in the margin on the previous folios are written in the same black ink. Moreover, the red used for the marginal *scholia* accompanying *To the Shepherd* is the same as that used for the poems. The red used for the initials in *To the Shepherd* itself is a slightly darker red. These palaeographical features might suggest that the poems were perceived as texts on a similar level as commentaries, as paratexts.

⁷¹⁶ Vassis (2005: 206, 376, 647), who follows Coxe, also makes the same mistake.

5.4 Critical Edition and Translation

Poem 1

Στίχοι ιαμβικοί εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν κλίμακα

Ἐένην φύσιν κλίμακος καὶ θέσιν βλέπω,
ἐξ ἀρετῶν ἔχει γὰρ αὐτῆς τὰς βάσεις,
εἰς οὐρανὸν φέρει δὲ πλὴν ξενοτρόπως·
τὸν γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀναβάσεως τόπον
5 βαθμίσι μετρεῖ τριάκοντα καὶ μόνας.
Τὸ χάσμα λοιπὸν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν βλέπε,
ἅπας ἀνελθεῖν ἀσφαλῶς ταύτην θέλων·
κἂν γὰρ πολὺ κέχηνε, λανθάνει δ' ὅμως.
Εἰ γὰρ μεταξὺ βαθμίδων διαστάσεις
10 κρημνοὶ τελοῦσι καὶ πλανῶσιν ὡς βάσεις,
καὶ τοὺς παραρρίπτοντας αὐταῖς τοὺς πόδας
αἴφνης καταστρέφουσιν εἰς ἄδου στόμα.
Δεῖ δὴ τολοιπὸν ἀκριβοῦς ποδηγέτου
ὡς εἰς ἀληθεῖς τοὺς πόδας στήση βάσεις
15 τῆς τῶν βαράθρων ἐκκαλούμενος πλάνης.
Μόλις γὰρ οὕτω τὴν κατάπτωσιν φύγῃς,
τὴν γῆν ὑπερβὰς καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν φθάσας.

2 γαρ αὐτ(ης) cod. 3 δε cod. 6 ἀναβάθμ(ων) cod. 8 κέχυνε cod.

Poem 1

Iambic verses on the holy ladder

I gaze upon the strange nature and setting of the ladder.
Its stairs consist of virtues
and it leads to heaven in a strange manner,
as the ladder divides the length of such a long track upwards
5 into only thirty steps.

Also, take a look at the chasm between the rungs,
you who are willing to ascend this ladder safely.
Although it is yawning widely, this still goes unnoticed.

10 If the separations between the rungs
are abysses that deceitfully present themselves as steps,
then they suddenly throw down into the mouth of hell
those who risk placing their feet in such gaps.

This being the case, it is necessary to have a guide,
who places your feet on the true stairs,
15 and who calls you back from the delusion of the deep pit.
That way, you will escape the fall with much effort
as you transcend the earth and reach for heaven.

Poem 2

“Ετεροι εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν βίβλον

Κλίμαξ προμήκης καθοῤαται μοι ξένη,
ἐκ γῆς πρὸς ὕψος ἀδύτων οὐρανίων
βροτοὺς φέρουσα· καὶ τίς ἡ κλίμαξ λέγε.
“Οὐκ ἀσφαλῆς ἡ πεῦσις.” Ἄλλ’ ἔτι διασάφει.

- 5 Μὴ γὰρ κλίμακα τὴν Ἰακώβ μοι λέγεις,
τὴν κατάγουσαν ἀγγέλους οὐρανόθεν,
βροτῶν παλαιστὰς τῆς χοϊκῆς οὐσίας;
“Οὐκ οὐν ἐκείνην, ἣν δ’ ἀνιστᾷ τεχνίτης
ἐκ τῆς καθ’ ἕξιν μυστικῆς λεπτουργίας
10 τῷ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τε καθηδρασμένῳ
εἰς ἀκρότητα τῆς τεχνουργίας φθάσας,
ἧς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐδράσας μέχρι πόλου,
πηξάμενός τε τὰς βάσεις πανευστόχως,
βάσιμον αὐτὴν τοῖς βροτοῖς σχεδιάσας
15 τὴν ἀνάβασιν εὐχερῆ προδεικνύει.”

5 μή γαρ cod.

Poem 3

“Ετεροι εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν βίβλον

Ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς φιλονεικήσας φθάσαι
πρὸς οὐράνιον ὕψος ὑπερηρμένον,
ἐξ ἀρετῶν ἠδρασε κλίμακα ξένην,
ἣτις διήκει καὶ μεταρσίους πύλας
5 τὰς οὐρανίους, καὶ θεοῦ πέλας φθάνει,
οὕτως ἔχουσα τῶν ἀρρήτων βαθμίδων.

Tit. τ(ον) αὐτ(ον) βίβλ(ον) cod.

Poem 2

Other verses on the same book

This elongated ladder seems to me a strange thing
since it leads mortals from the earth to the height of
the inaccessible places in heaven. What is this ladder? Tell me.
“It is risky to ascertain.” Come, explain more.

- 5 You do not speak of the ladder of Jacob, do you?
The one which leads the angels down from heaven,
those who wrestle against humans of material substance?
“Of course not of that one. I speak of the ladder set up by a craftsman,
who, with his experienced, fine, mystical workmanship,
10 his solid grasp of skill,
has reached the summit of craftsmanship.
He has placed the top of the ladder as far as heaven,
fixed its fundamentals most precisely,
and has devised it to be passable for mortals,
15 thus showing that its ascent is easy.”

Poem 3

Other verses on the same book

- A man who strove to arrive from the earth
at the exalted heavenly height,
has set up a strange ladder consisting of virtues,
which extends even to the heavenly gates
5 high in the sky, and which arrives close to God,
a ladder having such unutterable steps.

Poem 4

Ἕτεροι στίχοι εἰς τὸ αὐτό

Ἵψος πρὸς οὐράνιον εἰ φθάσαι θέλεις
καὶ κατιδεῖν, ἄνθρωπε, τερπνὰ τοῦ πόλου,
χοροὺς δόσιων, ἱεραρχῶν, μαρτύρων,
δήμους προφητῶν, πατέρων, ἀποστόλων,
5 τάξεις αἴθλους ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων
καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε συμμετασχεῖν ἠδέων,
ἄνελθε τὴν κλίμακα ταύτην εὐτόνως,
σταυρὸν ποδηγόν, χειραγωγὸν κατέχων.

Poem 4

Other verses on the same

If you want to arrive at the heavenly height
and to behold, O man, the delights of heaven,
the choirs of saints, of hierarchs, of martyrs,
the assembly of prophets, of fathers, of apostles,
5 the immaterial ranks of angels, of archangels,
and if you want to participate in the pleasures of that place,
then vigorously ascend this ladder,
with the cross as a leader and a guide.

5.5 Metrical Analysis

	Poem 1 (17 vv.)	Poem 2 (15 vv.)	Poem 3 (6 vv.)	Poem 4 (8 vv.)
<i>Binnenschlüsse</i> after the 5th syllable				
stress on the 3 rd syllable	0 / 17 vv.	5 / 15 vv.	2 / 6 vv.	0 / 8 vv.
stress on the 4 th syllable	4 / 17 vv.	5 / 15 vv.	2 / 6 vv.	3 / 8 vv.
stress on the 5 th syllable	7 / 17 vv.	3 / 15 vv.	1 / 6 vv.	2 / 8 vv.
total	11 / 17 vv.	13 / 15 vv.	5 / 6 vv.	5 / 8 vv.
<i>Binnenschlüsse</i> after the 7th syllable				
stress on the 5 th syllable	6 / 17 vv.	1 / 15 vv.	1 / 6 vv.	3 / 8 vv.
stress on the 6 th syllable	0 / 17 vv.	1 / 15 vv.	0 / 6 vv.	0 / 8 vv.
total	6 / 17 vv.	2 / 15 vv.	1 / 6 vv.	3 / 8 vv.

Overall, the verses aim at prosodic correctness. Of course, as is typical for Byzantine verses, there are deviations concerning the *dichrona*. In comparing the position of the *Binnenschlüsse* and stress positions, we get the results shown above.

There are also some ‘real’ mistakes concerning prosody and metrics. In Poem 2, v. 4 has 14 syllables; it is the only verse in the cycle not having 12 syllables. One could, however, consider replacing the more common *compositum* διασάφει by the rare *simplex* σάφει in order to get a metrical correct verse. Another solution would be that the author accidentally combined two heptasyllabic cola. This might be explained because each colon functions as a separate phrase in the dialogue, causing the *Binnenschluß* to be extra strong.⁷¹⁷

Of course, given the limited number of verses, it is difficult to advance a concrete thesis. However, some tendencies can be noticed. The metrical structure of Poem 1 rather contrasts with that of Poem 2 and 3. Poem 1 has no rare accent positions on the 3rd or 6th syllables and has, compared to Poem 2 and 3, a higher frequency of *Binnenschlüsse* after the 7th syllable. Besides, the number of prosodic mistakes regarding

⁷¹⁷ Personal communication with Mark Janse and Julie Boeten (28 January 2016).

the *dichrona* is more limited in Poem 1. Poem 2 has the most metrical deviations: a verse of 14 syllables and a high frequency of rare accent positions, especially on the 3rd syllable. The number of verses of Poem 3 and 4 is very limited and does not allow a complete statistical analysis. However, Poem 4, without rare accent positions and a higher frequency of *Binnenschlüsse* after the 7th syllable, seems to correspond to Poem 1. These metrical results might have some implications for the question of the authorship of the cycle (see below).

5.6 Literary Comments*

5.6.1 Poem 1

1: In the first verse, a unspecified spectator is introduced. For the rest of the poem he will function as an authorial narrator. Describing a ladder as having “a strange nature” is a motif that also appears in the description of Jacob’s ladder in the 12th/13th-c. Konstantinos Stilbes, *Versus sepulcrales*, Poem 1 vv. 12-14: ὁ πατριάρχης Ἰακῶβ ὑπνοῖ λίθῳ / πλὴν ἄλλ’ ὑπνοῖ, κλίμακα τὴν θείαν βλέπει / ἀνάβασιν τε καὶ κατάβασιν ξένην (ed. Diethart – Hörandner 2005: 1). The same theme appears in the poems of Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (ca. 1256 - ca. 1335), *Carmina*, Poem 4 stanza 10, vv. 3-4: κλίμακα δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἰακῶβ ἑώρα, / καὶ γέφυράν σε ἄλλος ξένην διέγραφεν (ed. Jugie 1929/1930: 371).

2: Stairs consisting of virtues are a typical aspect of the *Ladder* of Klimax. In some passages, it seems that he applied the ladder concept specifically to the steps concerning virtues. For example, on the first line of step 9, the virtues are compared to the ladder of Jacob, and the vices to the chains that fell from Peter.⁷¹⁸ Klimax indeed expands on virtues in steps 4-7 (fundamental virtues) and in 24-30 (higher virtues), whereas he deals with vices in steps 8-23 (Chryssavgis 2004: 28-29). In step 28, he clearly refers to the ladder as “the whole ladder of the virtues” (PG 88.1132, l. 27). The concept of a ladder consisting of virtues, however, was even older than Klimax. It already appears in Gregory of Nyssa, *In sanctum Ephraim* (PG 46.828, l. 56), referring to Ephraim the Syrian, who frequently refers to the ladder leading to heaven, but who does not yet

* [Compare also with chapter 2.2 The Ladder Concept in Klimax.]

⁷¹⁸ PG 88.840-841. Cf. Act. 12:7.

use the expression κλίμαξ ἀρετῶν.⁷¹⁹ V. 2 resembles a passage from Ephraim, bishop of Cherson,⁷²⁰

τῆς ἀληθοῦς κλίμακος, τῆς οὐ πρὸς γεώλοφόν τι ὕψος ἐπαναγαγούσης ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀναβάσειν, ὡσπερ τισὶ βαθμίσι, πρὸς οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ἡμᾶς διαβιβαζούσης

or from Gregory of Nazianzos,⁷²¹

ἀλλ' ἐπαινῶ καὶ τούτου τὴν οὐχ ὄραθεισαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαβαθεισαν κλίμακα ταῖς κατὰ μέρος εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀναβάσει.

John Chrysostom was also familiar with the concept of a ladder composed of virtues.⁷²²

3: The fact that the ladder leads to heaven is its most typical feature; it is a shared characteristic of the *Ladder* of Klimax and Jacob's ladder. ξενοτρόπως corresponds to the strange nature of the ladder in v. 1.

4-5: The strange nature of the ladder is explained in these two verses. The mystery is concealed in the paradox of a ladder reaching as high as heaven with only thirty steps. At the end of the *Ladder*, a brief exhortation explains that the number of thirty steps refers to the thirty years Christ lived on earth before he was baptized: in these years he "fulfilled the thirtieth step in the spiritual ladder" (PG 88.1160-1161).

6-8: Those willing to ascend the ladder are warned about the gap between the rungs. Klimax himself also warns about the chasm, but he does not associate it with the gap between the steps. For him the chasm is the burning pit of hell.⁷²³

9-12: These verses emphasize the dialectical aspect of the *Ladder*.⁷²⁴ The steps of the *Ladder* form a tight unity. You cannot reach heaven when missing one step, i.e. when stepping in the chasm between two steps. Even someone who is well advanced on the ladder cannot be sure of reaching heaven. This is what Klimax means when quoting Jc. 2:10, "He who shall keep the whole spiritual law, yet stumble in one passion, that is, fall into pride, has become guilty of all".⁷²⁵ The sudden fall is stressed by αἴφνης in v. 12.

⁷¹⁹ Ephraim the Syrian, *De patientia et consummatione huius saeculi* (ed. Phrantzoles 1992: 175); *De paenitentia* (ed. Phrantzoles 1994: 59); *Adhortatio de silentio et quiete* (ed. Phrantzoles 1995: 42); *Precationes ad dei matrem* (ed. Phrantzoles 1995: 362, 364).

⁷²⁰ Ephraim, *De miraculo Clementis Romani* (PG 2.636, ll. 5-8).

⁷²¹ Gregory of Nazianzos, *Oratio* 43, 71.21-23 (ed. Bernardi 1992: 284).

⁷²² J. Chrysostom, *In Joannem Homiliae* (PG 59.454, l. 59).

⁷²³ Step 7 (PG 88.804, l. 35).

⁷²⁴ On dialectics in Klimax see Chryssavgis (2004: 12); Zecher (2013: 133).

⁷²⁵ Step 26 (PG 88.1065, ll. 34-36).

Contiguous to this idea in the *Ladder* as a whole is the notion that someone on a lower step cannot be perceived as inferior. He is still ascending, and someone who has already well advanced can still fall into sin. This is why Klimax, giving advice on how to ascend the ladder, cites the famous passage from the gospels, “The last shall be first, and the first last”.⁷²⁶ In some manuscripts, this quotation sometimes appears next to the *pinax* represented as a ladder.⁷²⁷

13-17: After the warning of the fall, advice is given about how to prevent it. Having a spiritual father is a fundament to the monastic way of living. It reminds us of the letter of reply of Klimax to John of Raihtou (PG 88.625-628). In the letter, obedience is stressed as the argument because of which Klimax accepts the task to write the spiritual guide. Obedience is also the theme of step 4 of the *Ladder*, which is an exceptionally long step because of its importance. It logically follows upon steps 1, 2 and 3 concerning the renunciation of the world. After leaving the material world, the first condition for ascending the ladder is submission to your superior; or as Klimax puts it at the beginning of step 4, “As the flower precedes the fruit, so exile, either of body or will, always precedes obedience. For with the help of these two virtues, the holy soul steadily ascends to Heaven as upon golden wings” (PG 88.677C).

5.6.2 Poem 2

1: The content of this first verse is almost equal to v. 1 of Poem 1. In both, the ladder is seen by an unidentified first-person narrator, and its strange nature is stressed.

2: As in v. 3 of Poem 1, the most typical feature of the ladder, reaching from earth as far as heaven, is mentioned. The word ἀδύτων stresses the mystical character of the ladder: paradoxically, “the unreachable places in heaven” become within reach. The same paradox already occurs in a description of Jacob’s ladder by John Chrysostom: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄβατα τῶν χωρίων, καὶ ὑψηλότερα, βατὰ γίνεται, βάρων καὶ κλιμάκων ὑποτεθειμένων ἡμῖν.⁷²⁸

3-4: The concept of Jacob’s ladder being accessible to mortals is not yet explicitly present in Gen. 28:12. It was, however, a widely accepted idea and formed the essence of the ladder concept as applied by Klimax. In the second part of v. 3, a question is asked which initiates a dialogue with a second unidentified person. The evasive answer of the second speaker allows the first to interrupt him. A similar dialogue of someone asking

⁷²⁶ Step 27 (PG 88.1105, ll. 29-30); cf. Mt. 19:30, Mc. 10:31, Lc. 13:20.

⁷²⁷ See for example *Iveron 415 f. 193r, Mosq. Synod. 229 f. 320v.*

⁷²⁸ J. Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos* (PG 55.339, ll. 11-13).

an explanation about the ladder, in this case of Jacob's ladder, is found in Theodoros Prodromos' *Epigrammata in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*.⁷²⁹

5-7: The first speaker continues. It seems that he is well acquainted with Gen. 28:12. He immediately notices the difference between the ladder of Klimax and that of Jacob. As already noted, in *Genesis*, Jacob's ladder is not used by mortals, but by angels. An interesting parallel is again in *De miraculo Clementis Romani* by Ephraim of Cherson (PG 2.636, ll. 5-13):

Κλήμεντος, τῆς ἀληθοῦς κλίμακος, τῆς οὐ πρὸς γεώλοφόν τι ὕψος ἐπαναγαγούσης ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀναβάσεσιν, ὡσπερ τισὶ βαθμίσι, πρὸς οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ἡμᾶς διαβιβαζούσης· κλίμακος, καὶ τῆς Ἰακώβ ὄραθείσης οὐδὲν ἀποδεούσης, οὐκ ἀγγέλους δι' αὐτῆς ἀνιόντας καὶ κατιόντας ἡμῖν δεικνυούσης, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς ταῖς θειοτάταις παραινέσεσιν, ὡς ἐκ βαθμῶν εἰς βαθμοὺς δι' ἀρετῶν τῷ Θεῷ συνεισφερούσης.

Ephraim here makes a clear distinction between Jacob's ladder and the ladder of virtues, the first being used by angels, the second one by humans. In a similar way, a distinction between the two ladders is made in Poem 2. The wrestling angels in v. 7 refer to the famous passage in Gen. 32:25-33, in which an angel wrestles with Jacob.

8-15: The second speaker confirms the supposition of the first one and gives a longer explanation of the ladder. The craftsman mentioned in v. 8 is John Klimax. He is praised as a skilled craftsman/author, who built the ladder/book. It is possible that this praise, an acknowledgement of the qualities of Klimax, is an answer to his humbleness as expressed in two passages of his own works. In step 27 he mentions that he, "as an unskilled architect," has constructed a ladder of ascent (PG 88.1105, l. 24). At the end of the treatise *To the Shepherd*, he even rhetorically praises John of Raithou as if he were in fact the architect of the ladder of virtues, the one who laid its foundations and even completed it (PG 88.1205-1208). V. 14 again stresses that mortals can ascend the ladder. εὐχερῆ in v. 15 contrasts with μόλις in v. 16 of Poem 1 and gives a more optimistic vision, which is in agreement with Mt. 11:30, "For My yoke is easy and My burden is light".

⁷²⁹ -Τίς, ἢ κλίμαξ, σὺ καὶ τίς ἐστήριξέ σε; / πόσοις δὲ βαθμοῖς καὶ πόσου μέχρι φθάνεις; / τίνες δ' ἄνεισι καὶ τίνες κάτεισί σε; / -Τὸ Μωσαϊκὸν ταῦτ' ἐρώτα βιβλίον. / Κλίμακα αἰθερίην ποτὲ δέρκετο δίος Ἰακώβ (ed. Papagiannis 1997: 33).

5.6.3 Poem 3

Ἄνθρωπος mentioned in v. 1 again refers to John Klimax as the constructor of the ladder, without any specification. In fact, the whole poem is a collection of the various *topoi* on the *Ladder*, which are already mentioned in Poems 1 and 2. The ladder reaching as far as heaven (vv. 2, 4-5) is mentioned in Poem 1, vv. 3 and 17 and in Poem 2, vv. 2 and 12; the ladder consisting of virtues (v. 3) in Poem 1, v. 2; the strange nature of the ladder (v. 3) in Poem 1, vv. 1 and 3 and in Poem 2, v. 1. The only novelty is the expression τῶν ἀρρήτων βαθμίδων (v. 6), which might be a wordplay referring to the *topos* of the κλίμαξ ἀρετῶν and which underlines the mystical aspect of the ladder.

5.6.4 Poem 4

This fourth and final poem of the cycle is, like Poem 1, an encouragement to the reader, who is referred to by ἄνθρωπε (v. 2). In this poem, some verses explicitly deal with the desire to follow the example of many holy predecessors who ascended the ladder (vv. 3-5). As in Poem 1, vv. 13-15, the necessity of a guide is stressed, in this case represented as the cross (v. 8). Stylistically, the poet placed ποδηγόν next to χειραγωγόν, alluding to feet and hands as the physical parts of the body used when ascending a ladder.

5.7 Authorship and Cycle Aspects

As already mentioned, the four poems are preserved anonymously. Moreover, it is not entirely clear whether the four can be ascribed to a single poet. In the comments on metrics, Poem 1 and Poem 4 were described as having some distinctive metrical features. This might indicate that they were written by a different poet. It would, in any case, not be exceptional that book epigrams by different poets were placed next to each other. An example can be found in *Barocc. 194*, containing eight poems on the Psalms (f. 48r-48v).⁷³⁰ In that manuscript, a certain Makarios compiles several frequently occurring poems, which he combines with some of his own creations in order to form a well-organized cycle. In contrast to the cycle of Makarios, the cycle in *Barocc. 141* seems to lack such an internal structure. One could only state that the cycle starts (Poem 1) and

⁷³⁰ Ed. Meesters – Praet et al. (2016). [The case of *Barocc. 194* is also mentioned in chapter 1.2 Metrical Paratexts.]

ends (Poem 4) with an exhortation to the reader. This last encouragement would then be a parallel to the exhortation to the reader, inc. Ἀναβαίνετε ἀναβαίνετε (PG 88.1160), which in the manuscripts appears at the end of the *Ladder*.

Barocc. 141 is the only testimony for the four poems. It is, however, possible that a compiler has found the poems in several manuscripts, now lost, and put them together as a cycle. As demonstrated above, there are many repetitions of content in the poems. It might be that the assembled poems were selected because they have the same topic: the ascent of the *Ladder* of John Klimax. Given the lack of evidence from other testimonies, however, it remains possible that a single author was responsible for the whole cycle, whether or not the cycle was composed especially for *Barocc. 141*. Neither the option of a compilation nor the option of a unique composition can be proven with any certainty.

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