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KOMMISSION FÜR BYZANTINISTIK
INSTITUT FÜR BYZANTINISTIK DER UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

**WIENER
BYZANTINISTISCHE STUDIEN**

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
HERBERT HUNGER

Band V

CONSTANTINE A. TRYPANIS

FOURTEEN EARLY BYZANTINE CANTICA

WIEN 1968

IN KOMMISSION BEI HERMANN BÖHLAUS NACHF., GRAZ—WIEN—KÖLN

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To the memory of

PAUL MAAS

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VORWORT DES HERAUSGEBERS

Als ich während des 13. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, Oxford 1966, den Autor dieses Bandes kennenlernte, kam das Gespräch sehr bald auf die neue Romanos-Ausgabe von Maas—Trypanis (Oxford 1963). Constantine A. Trypanis, Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek an der Universität Oxford, Schüler und Verwalter des wissenschaftlichen Nachlasses von Paul Maas, teilte mir damals mit, daß er die kritische Edition von 14 meist anonymen Kontakia des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts so gut wie fertig habe. Mit Rücksicht auf die aus technisch-wirtschaftlichen Gründen verzögerte Drucklegung des 2. Bandes der Romanos-Ausgabe war es ein Gebot der *amicitia byzantinologorum*, die Edition der 14 Kontakia im Rahmen der *Wiener Byzantinistischen Studien* anzubieten. Es bedeutet für mich eine besondere Genugtuung, daß die Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften das Manuskript zum Druck annahm, so daß es nunmehr früher als der 2. Band der Romanos-Ausgabe erscheinen kann.

Wien, im Februar 1968

Herbert Hunger

PREFACE

In presenting the critical edition of these fourteen early Byzantine cantica I am well aware of the many shortcomings a work of this nature is bound to have at the present stage of research in the field of Byzantine religious poetry; it is, however, hoped that through this edition a fuller picture of the literary genre of the *kontakion* in the sixth and the seventh centuries will become available to scholars, and that this will stimulate further research.

I am greatly indebted to the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes of Paris, the Vatican Library and the Library of the Abbey of Grottaferrata for the microfilms and photostats they put at my disposal.

The present work was started some years ago at the instigation of Paul Maas, and it is to his memory that I gratefully dedicate this volume. I should also like to express my thanks to Dr. K. Mitsakis, Mr. S. Davies and Mr. S. Winkley for the help they have given me in the preparation of this book.

Finally, I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the Austrian Academy of Sciences for including this volume in the *Wiener Byzantinistische Studien*, and Professor Herbert Hunger for the interest he has shown and the generous assistance he has given in bringing it to publication.

C. A. T.

General Introduction

The *kontakion*, the Byzantine sermon in verse accompanied by music¹, is undoubtedly the most important achievement of Byzantine literature. This literary genre reached its peak in the 6th century, when Romanos the Melodist composed *kontakia*, which have been called "masterpieces of world literature"².

But Romanos was not the only poet who distinguished himself in this field. A number of significant *kontakia* by other poets have survived, some of which have been convincingly attributed to the 6th and 7th centuries. Fourteen of these were singled out by Paul Maas as the most important³, and it was at his suggestion that I undertook to prepare a critical edition of them⁴. This, together with his edition of the cantica attributed to Romanos, would, he hoped, complete the picture of the *kontakion* from the end of the 5th to the middle of the 7th century, the great period of Byzantine religious poetry. It is my deep regret that this book was not finished until some years after Paul Maas' death, so that he never saw the final form of a study to which he contributed so greatly.

The majority of the fourteen *kontakia* included in this volume are anonymous. Only three are attributed to authors otherwise unknown, whose names are included in the acrostics. These are *Anastasios*, author of canticum III *On the Departed*, *Kyriakos*, author of canticum VI *On Lazarus*, and *Kosmas* the poet of canticum X *On the Assumption of our Lady the Mother of God*. Little, however, is known about the dates or the lives of these poets, as the reader can see in the separate introductions to the cantica in question.

Moreover, only three of these fourteen *kontakia* can be dated with any degree of accuracy: no. VII *On the Holy Fathers* can be dated between 638—40; no. XII *On the Inauguration of St. Sophia*, which was composed for the second

¹ On this see P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 19 (1910) 285; and P. Maas—C. A. Trypanis, *S. Romani Melodi Cantica Genuina*, Oxford 1963, pp. xif.

² See H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theol. Literatur im byz. Reich*, Munich 1959, p. 426.

³ See P. Maas in K. Krumbacher, *Miscellen zu Romanos*, p. 108, and P. Maas, *Frühbyzantinische Kirchenpoesie*, p. 12; see also J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra* I, *passim*.

⁴ Of these fourteen *kontakia* No. II *On the Pharisee and the Publican* has never been published; of the others, as the reader will see in the separate introductions to each canticum, a number have not been critically edited, or have been edited on the basis of only a few of the extant manuscripts. It is indeed strange that even the most famous of all Byzantine *kontakia*, the *Akathistos Hymn*, has never been properly critically edited, though editions of that canticum are certainly not lacking.

inauguration of that great cathedral, in 562 A. D.⁵, and no. XIII, *On the Raising of the Holy Cross* between 614 and 620 A. D.⁶ But there is no internal or external evidence for a closer dating of any of the other eleven cantica. Their subjects, however, their style and the metres employed point, as Cardinal Pitra and Paul Maas have already observed, to an "early" date in a period ranging from the end of the 5th to the middle of the 7th centuries⁷.

As would be expected from a group of fourteen heterogeneous cantica, their literary merits vary. They can be works of real inspiration and originality like no. I *The Akathistos Hymn*, and no. VII *On the Holy Fathers*, or they may be lesser writings, like no. III, Anastasios' canticum *On the Departed* and no. XII, the anonymous *kontakion On the Inauguration of St. Sophia*. But no matter what their individual poetic merits may be, they are all significant early Byzantine religious poems, which illustrate the religious spirit of those days and often throw light on the history of the church, occasionally even on Byzantine history as a whole.

At the same time, they are important monuments of the Byzantine literary language of the 6th and the 7th centuries. The classical scholar should be warned that in this period Greek has moved away from the Attic standards of the 5th and the 4th centuries B. C.; a number of Hellenistic usages (usages of the *koine*) and much of what is called "Translation Greek"⁸ had already permeated Greek religious writings from the early Christian centuries. Nor should the purist be surprised at the shifting of accents, which he will find, and at the Byzantine enclitics, which differ from those of classical Greek. For these the reader may consult the Metrical Appendix at the end of this volume.

These fourteen *kontakia* are also important monuments for the study of Byzantine metrics. Many of the cantica (I. II. III. V. VI. VII. X. XIII)

⁵ In connection with canticum XII one further point of general interest should perhaps be mentioned here. As this *kontakion* is clearly not by Romanos—neither the style is that of Romanos, nor is his name found in the acrostic—it can be deduced that the great melodist was dead, or no longer writing, before 562, when the second inauguration of St. Sophia took place; for it would be natural to assume that he of all writers of *kontakia* would have been commissioned to compose the one for that great festive occasion. Romanos' last datable work, 48 *On the Ten Virgins II* (P. Maas—C. A. Trypanis edition) refers to the violent earthquake which shook Constantinople in August 555. This may well be the work of an old man (cf. α' 6¹ ἡ ἐσχάτη ἐγγύς, though that may be equally well seen as referring to the Day of Judgement).

⁶ The reasons for the dating of these cantica are given in the individual introductions to them.

⁷ See the separate introductions to each canticum.

⁸ The form of Greek in which Jewish-Greek elements abound, due mainly to the influence of the language of scripture. The best book to consult on the language of the fourteen *kontakia* published in this volume is: F. Blass—A. Debrunner—R. W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and other early Christian Literature*, Cambridge 1961.

employ famous melodies and metres, some of which Romanos has already used, or even composed. Occasionally, as in the case of I. X. and XIII, they introduce the older famous metre⁹ with a new one in the prooemium. But others show complete originality in employing melodies and metres for the first time, as far as we know (IV. VIII. IX. XII and XIV); and they show great skill in the use of those complicated rhythms. Special mention should be made of the anonymous cantica IV *On the Departed* and VIII *On Elijah*, which are both in the same metre, one not otherwise found till very much later. But this does not necessarily mean that they are both works of the same poet¹⁰.

As in the case of Romanos, the fourteen *kontakia* published here have been transmitted mainly by *kontakaria*, i. e. medieval collections of metrical sermons¹¹. These range from the 10th to the 13th centuries and include the works of many poets.

The manuscripts used in the present volume can be divided into primary and secondary codices.

1. Primary Codices:

- A — Athous Batopediou 1041, saec. x—xi (which includes I, II, III, VII, IX, X, XI, XIII).
 B — Athous Laurae Γ' 27, saec. x—xi (which includes I, III, V, VII, IX, X).
 D — Athous Laurae Γ' 28, saec. xi (which includes I, IX, X, XIII).
 G — Sinaiticus 925, saec. xi (which includes I, III, VII, XII, XIII).
 H — Sinaiticus 926, saec. xi (which includes III, VII, IX, X).
 J — Sinaiticus 927, saec. xiii (which includes I, III, VII, IX, X, XIII).
 M — Mosquensis Synod. 437, saec. xi (originally in Batopedi, Mt. Athos, which includes I, III, VII, IX, XII, XIII).
 N — Neapolitanus II C. 13, saec. xiii (which includes XII).
 P = { Patmiacus 212, saec. xi
 { Patmiacus 213, saec. xi¹² (which include I, VII, IX, XIV).
 T — Taurinensis B iv. 34, saec. xi¹³ (which included I, III, VII, IX, X, XII).

⁹ Which indicates identity of melody.

¹⁰ See P. Maas, *Frühbyz. Kirchenpoesie*, p. 20.

¹¹ The exact liturgical purpose of these collections is not known.

¹² Q according to Krumbacher; see *Die Akrostichis in d. Kirchenpoesie*, p. 557.

¹³ Codex T was badly damaged by fire (see Krumbacher, *Die Akrostichis*, p. 557). The parts of it, which have been retrieved, have been numbered differently, and are not always in the correct order or legible. For that reason I had to rely, as the reader will see from the separate introduction to each canticum, on the readings of T as given by Pitra, Maas and Gassisi. By good fortune, however, the whole of canticum X, *Kosmas On the Assumption of our Lady the Mother of God*, is still to be found in a legible part of codex T. So I am able to report T's readings of this canticum, which are otherwise unknown, as neither Maas nor Pitra have published them.

$\Delta = \begin{cases} C & \text{— Corsinianus 366, saec. x—xi (written in Grottaferrata).} \\ V & \text{— Vindobonensis, suppl. gr. 96, saec. xii (probably also written in} \\ & \text{Grottaferrata). Of these C includes IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X,} \\ & \text{whereas V includes I, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI.} \end{cases}$

2. Secondary Codices:

b — Cryptoferratensis Δ . α . I, saec. xi—xii (which includes XIII).

e — Cryptoferratensis Γ . β . V, saec. xi (which includes III, IV).

p — Vaticanus gr. 1829, saec. xi (which includes XIII).

δ — Cryptoferratensis Γ . β . XLIII, saec. xii (which includes XIII).

φ — Cryptoferratensis Δ . α . XXV, saec. xii (which includes XII)¹⁴.

The collation of all the manuscripts for the present edition has been made by myself, with the exception of codex T for cantica nos. III, VII, IX, and XII, and codices N and φ for canticum no. XII. For the readings of T I had to rely partly on J. B. Pitra and partly on P. Maas, who had examined that manuscript before it was seriously damaged by fire in 1904¹⁵. For the readings of N and φ I rely on Gasissi's edition of canticum XII¹⁶. Although I repeatedly wrote to the Librarian of the National Library of Naples asking for a microfilm of N ff. 46^v—52^r, I never received an answer, so I was unable to examine that manuscript myself. I have, however, used the corrections D. Bassi made to Gasissi's readings, when he collated codex N for P. Maas¹⁷.

With the exception of no. I *The Akathistos Hymn*, which has been transmitted in numerous manuscripts, all the known codices of the other cantica have been examined¹⁸. In most instances the number is sufficient to enable the text to be established critically. The collation of these manuscripts has shown that, as in the case of Romanos, they are all to a greater or lesser degree related to one another. The transmission of the text is therefore

¹⁴ Further details on all these manuscripts can be found in K. Krumbacher, *Die Akrostichis* in d. griech. Kirchenpoesie, pp. 556f.; E. Mioni, *I Kontakaria del Monte Athos*, Venice 1939 (*Atti d. Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, xcvi 2 [1936—7]); G. Cammelli, *Romano il Melode*, Florence 1930, pp. 76f. and N. B. Tomadakis, 'Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελοφδοῦ Ἕμνοι, Athens 1952f., vols. II and III 1.

¹⁵ See K. Krumbacher, *Die Akrostichis*, p. 557.

¹⁶ *Roma e l'Oriente* 1 (1910—1) 165f.

¹⁷ See P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 20 (1911) 312.

¹⁸ By this I mean all those mentioned by K. Krumbacher in *Die Akrostichis* and by P. Maas in his notes, which are now in my possession (which include all that is to be found in N. B. Tomadakis, 'Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελοφδοῦ Ἕμνοι [Athens 1957], vol. III 1, *Κοντακάρια τοῦ Σινῆ*). I have not reported in this edition the readings of Codex Laur. Ashburnhamensis 64 (see C. Høeg, *Contactarium Ashburnhamense*, Copenhagen 1956; *Monumenta Mus. Byzantinae* IV), as it is a manuscript of the 13th century, which includes only the proemia and the first strophes of some of the cantica published in this volume, but with no important new variants.

“contaminated”, and no subdivision or grouping into families of manuscripts is possible.

In a contaminated transmission of this nature, where variants of equal value are so old and so abundant, the majority readings of the manuscripts must, *ceteris paribus*, be taken in every case as the most probable reading of the archetype. When readings are transmitted in an equal number of manuscripts, the choice is ambivalent. This is by no means a satisfactory method, but it is the best that can be done under the circumstances. The *apparatus criticus* is a full apparatus, which gives the readings of all the manuscripts—naturally *orthographica omittuntur*; the biblical and other sources of the cantica are only quoted when they help in establishing the text.

In the text the number of Krumbacher's *Akrostichis* is given in brackets after my numbering of each canticum. The names of the melodies which accompanied the *kontakia* are also given, but they indicate only the metrical pattern of each canticum and that of the proemia, as the music is now lost.

At the beginning of the apparatus of each *kontakion* a short introduction will be found giving information about the manuscripts on which the text is based, and all important editions. The title of the canticum, the festival for which it was composed, and the key of the music which once accompanied the poem are also given. None of these go back to the sixth or the seventh centuries; they are therefore of secondary importance. At the end of the volume a Metrical Appendix draws attention to certain unusual phenomena peculiar to medieval Greek metres and Byzantine Greek accentuation. An Index Nominum, prepared by Mr. S. Davies, concludes the volume.

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 W. Meyer, Anfang und Ursprung der lateinischen und griechischen rhythmischen Dichtung, *Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. und der histor. Klasse der K. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, München 1885, XVII. ii. 370f. = W. Meyer, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik, vol. II (Berlin 1905), 1f.
 J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, Parisiis 1876, vol. I.

Bibliography on each canticum will be found in the separate introductions which precede the text.

SIGLA

- A Athous Batopediou 1041, saec. x—xi
 B Athous Laurae Γ' 27, saec. x—xi
 D Athous Laurae Γ' 28, saec. xi
 G Sinaiticus 925, saec. x
 H Sinaiticus 926, saec. xi
 J Sinaiticus 927, saec. xiii
 M Mosquensis Synod. 437, saec. xii
 N Neapolitanus II C. 13, saec. xiii
 P { Patmiacus 212, saec. xi
 { Patmiacus 213, saec. xi
 T Taurinensis B iv. 34, saec. xi
 Δ { C Corsinianus 366, saec. x—xi
 { V Vindobonensis, suppl. gr. 96, saec. xii
 b Cryptoferratensis Δ. α. I, saec. xi—xii
 e Cryptoferratensis Γ. β. V, saec. xi
 p Vaticanus gr. 1829, saec. xi
 δ Cryptoferratensis Γ. β. XLIII, saec. xii
 φ Cryptoferratensis Δ. α. XXV, saec. xii

M^c, P^c etc. corrector in M, P etc., whether *inter lineas* or *in margine*

Πγρ variants (following γρ = γράφει) in the margin of P

∪ unaccented syllable

— accented syllable

◌̇ } syllable which may, or may not be accented (see *Metrical Appendix*)

dub. dubitanter

m. g. metri gratia

Krumb. = K. Krumbacher, Studien zu Romanos (see bibliography).

K. Krumbacher, Umarbeitungen bei Romanos (see bibliography).

K. Krumbacher, Romanos und Kyriakos (see bibliography).

K. Krumbacher, Die Akrostichis in der gr. Kirchenpoesie (see bibliography).

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Pitra, A. S., I = J. P. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, vol. I (see bibliography).

PG = J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series Graeca*.

I

ANONYMOUS

THE AKATHISTOS HYMN

The *Akathistos Hymn* is the most famous Byzantine *kontakion*, and is the only one which to this day is chanted *in extenso* in the Greek Orthodox church.¹ The name *Akathistos* derives from the practice of chanting the hymn before a standing congregation.² The canticum is also called *Oi chairetismoi τῆς Θεοτόκου*, The Salutations of the Mother of God, because of the repeated addresses to the Virgin, each beginning with *χαῖρε*, found in it.

As transmitted in the oldest *kontakaria*, the *Akathistos Hymn* consists of one prooemium (Prooemium II, Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ) and twenty four strophes, the initial letters of which form an alphabetic acrostic. The strophes are not all of the same length, nor do they all have the same refrain. Twelve long stanzas, each consisting of eighteen lines and ending with the refrain *χαῖρε, νόμφη ἀνώμρευτε*, alternate with twelve short ones, which are six lines long and end with the refrain Ἄλληλούια. In both long and short strophes lines 1—5 are metrically identical, which indicates that to that point they were accompanied by the same melody. Also, in both long and short strophes we find the deliberate use of rhyme. This is to be distinguished from the *homoiooteleuton* of rhetoric so often present in Byzantine religious poetry; for the metrical structure of the long strophes, which includes several pairs of lines of equal length, seems to have been specially devised for the use of rhyme.

Though the *Akathistos Hymn* is chanted in full to-day at the so-called Festival of the *Akathistos*,³ all the extant old *kontakaria* assign it to the Festival of the Εὐαγγελισμός of March 25.⁴ At first sight it would be reasonable

1 This takes place on the fifth Saturday of Lent, at the so-called Festival of the *Akathistos*.

2 In distinction from the *καθίσματα*, which are hymns inserted between the odes of a *kanon* and sung before a seated congregation. Cf. Christ—Paranikas, *Anthol. gr. carminum Christianorum*, p. LXII.

3 On this see P. de Meester, *Officio dell'Inno Acatisto in onore della santissima Madre di Dio*, Rome 1903; and L'Inno Acatisto, *Bessarione* N. S. VII (1905) 213f.; N. B. Tomadakis, *Θρησκευτική και Ἑθνική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* A (1962) 1147f.

4 The prelude to the 9th century Latin version of the *Akathistos* also connects it with the Festival of the Εὐαγγελισμός of March 25; cf. M. Huglo, L'ancienne version de l'hymne Acatiste, *Le Muséon* 64 (1951) 27f., and G. G. Meersseman, *Der Hymnus Akathistos im Abendland, Spicilegium Friburgense* 1—2 (1958) 1f.

to assume that the canticum was originally composed for that feast, as the message brought by Gabriel to Mary plays a prominent part in the poem. But a closer examination of content and structure present serious obstacles to that view. The actual story of the Annunciation, though it occupies the most prominent place in the canticum—the first four strophes—is but a small part of the whole. The *kontakion* falls into two main sections, which may be termed “historical” (strophes A—M) and “theological” (strophes N—Ω)⁵. In the first, after speaking about the Annunciation (strophes A—Δ) the poet proceeds to describe the visit to Elizabeth, the doubts of Joseph, the shepherds, the Magi, the flight to Egypt, the presentation in the temple; and then, in the second half, to discuss the significance of the Incarnation and to offer prayers to both Mary and Christ. Nor has it escaped the notice of critics that almost all the short strophes, which end with the refrain Ἀλληλοῦτα are addressed to Christ and not to Mary⁶. It is clearly a Hymn on the “Story of the Nativity”, and not one only on the Annunciation. This points to the composition of the canticum for a festival celebrating both the Annunciation and the Nativity⁷, a festival older than the Εὐαγγελισμός of March 25, which was established by Justinian between the years 530 and 550 A. D.⁸ Such a festival is known to have existed. It was probably celebrated on December 26 as a “Beifest” in honour of Mary, in which the Virgin was praised as the New Eve for the part she played in the salvation of humanity, and at which at the same time the miraculous nature of the birth of Christ was sung⁹. The view that the *Akathistos* was originally composed for such a common festival, and not for the Εὐαγγελισμός of March 25, is further supported by the fact that the story of the Annunciation is included in prose sermons on the Nativity written before c. 530 A. D., whereas it ceases to appear in them after the middle of the 6th century¹⁰.

The festival for which the *Akathistos* was originally composed is naturally closely connected with the vexed problems of date and authorship. Modern scholars have attributed it to authors living as many as five centuries apart: to Apollonius of Laodicea (4th c.)¹¹, Romanos the Melodist

5 See P. F. Krypiakiewicz, *Byz. Ztschr.* 18 (1909) 358f.

6 See P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 14 (1905) 644.

7 See R. A. Fletcher, *Byz. Ztschr.* 51 (1958) 63.

8 See H.-G. Beck, *Kirche u. theol. Literatur im byz. Reich*, p. 260.

9 Cf. M. Jugie, *Studi e Testi* 114 (1944) 82 and 177; A. Baumstark, *Liturgie Comparée* (Botte), Paris³ 1953, p. 179; and C. A. Trypanis, *Byz. Ztschr.* 58 (1965) 328.

10 Cf. R. A. Fletcher, l. c., pp. 61f.

11 See C. Economos, *Περὶ γνησίας προφορᾶς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, Petersburg 1830, pp. 667. M. I. Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικὸν πίννακον*, Constantinople 1890, pp. 240f., attributed the *Akathistos* to a date shortly after Julian's death.

(6th c.)¹², the Patriarch Sergius (7th c.)¹³, Georgios Pisides (7th c.)¹⁴, Georgios Sikeliotis (7th—8th cc.)¹⁵, the Patriarch Germanos I (8th c.)¹⁶, the Patriarch Photius (9th c.)¹⁷ and others¹⁸. Most of these are little more than arbitrary guesses. The field can be narrowed by recognizing that any attribution before 431, the date of the Third Oecumenical Council of Ephesus, when the Virgin was first recognized as a θεοτόκος, the Mother of God, can be precluded in a canticum which is composed to celebrate that very quality of Mary; and that any date after the middle of the 7th century is equally impossible, because the influence of the *Akathistos* on Byzantine literature becomes evident¹⁹ by then, and because reference is made to the “Persian Fire” and not to Islam as the enemy of Christianity²⁰. These considerations leave but three names to be considered, Romanos, Sergius and Georgios Pisides. The last is almost totally unsupported, and stylistic or other comparison with his extant religious and lay works²¹ speaks against him. Nor is the “traditional” attribution to Sergius substantiated. It arose by inference from the narratives of the “miraculous” salvation of Constantinople at the time of the siege of the Avars, Persians and Slavs in 626, in which he played such a prominent part. In none of these is the name of Sergius ever mentioned as that of the author of the *Akathistos*, nor does it appear in any manuscript transmitting the canticum before the 13th century²². Thus, for example, all that is said in the *Synaxarion* of the Feast of the *Akathistos* is: “Ὁ γε μὲν θεοφιλῆς τῆς Κωνσταντινουλαδὸς τῆ θεομήτορι τὴν χάριν ἀφοσιούμενοι, δλονύκτιον τὸν ὕμνον καὶ ἀκάθιστον

12 See F. Dölger, *Die byz. Dichtung in der Reinsprache*, Berlin 1948, pp. 53f.; H.-G. Beck, l. c., pp. 427f.; E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn*, Copenhagen 1957, p. xxvii; P. F. Krypiakiewicz, l. c., pp. 374f.

13 See J. Pitra, *Anal. Sacra* I, p. 250; Christ—Paranikas, l. c., p. LII; E. Bouvy, *Poètes et Melodes*, Nîmes 1886, pp. 370f.; cf. also Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Litteratur*², p. 671, and P. de Meester, *Bessarione* N. S. VI (1904) 162.

14 J. M. Quercius, PG 92, 1338f.

15 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Βυζαντικὸν* I (1909) 517f.

16 This attribution is found in Codex C. 78 of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, which contains the Latin version of the *Akathistos*; cf. M. Huglo l. c., G. G. Meersseman l. c., and I. Butyras, *Νεολόγου Ἐβδομοαδιατὰ Ἐπιθεώρησις*, 21 March/18 April 1893.

17 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος, οἱ Ῥῶς καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης Φώτιος (Βιβλιοθήκη Μαρασλή 214) Athens 1903, pp. 87f. (*Viz. Vremennik* 10 [1903] 357f.); J. Rehork, *Hymnos Akathistos, Eine Entgegnung*, in F. Altheim—R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt* II (Berlin 1965), p. 523.

18 Cf. S. Mercati, *Enciclopedia Italiana* s. v. Acatisto, and P. de Meester, *Bessarione* N. S. VI and VII (1904—5), L'Inno Acatisto, *passim*.

19 Cf. K. Krumbacher, *Byz. Ztschr.* 13 (1904) 253, to say nothing of the many points of contact of the *Akathistos* with the writings of Romanos.

20 On this point I fully agree with J. Rehork, l. c., p. 514f. The conquest of Persia by Islam can serve as a *terminus ante quem* for dating the canticum.

21 See also J. Rehork, l. c., p. 522.

22 See P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 21 (1912) 300.

αὐτῇ ἐμελώδησαν, ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγρυπνησάση καὶ ὑπερφυεῖ δυνάμει διαπραξαμένη τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τρόπαιον . . . Ἀκάθιστον δὲ ὠνόμασαν, διὰ τὸ τότε οὕτω πρᾶξιαι τὸν τῆς πόλεως κλῆρόν τε καὶ λαὸν ἅπαντα²³.

Neither from this, nor from any of the other narratives of the event²⁴, do we get any help in regard to the author of the celebrated *kontakion*. What does emerge from the *Synaxarion*, however, is that on that great thanksgiving vigil of August 7, 626 the hymn was sung for the first time before a standing congregation. This presupposes that it already existed, a fact further supported by the entire absence of anything in the main body of the canticum to suggest a "song of victory"²⁵; nor could a poem of such length and complexity have been composed in one day, or a preacher (or a choir) trained to chant it in such a short length of time. But, unlike the rest of the canticum, Prooemium II, Τῆ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ is a short song of victory, different in style and content²⁶ from the *oikoi*. This may, therefore, have been composed for the occasion, and the Patriarch Sergius, who had kept up the religious fervour of the people of Constantinople throughout the siege by means of sermons, night vigils and solemn processions, may well be its author. Bearing in mind, however, that on a day so full of excitement, the Patriarch, who in the Emperor's absence had assumed many of his duties, may not have had the time to compose even a short prooemium, it is not unlikely that he commissioned some other melodist to prepare it for the grand thanksgiving vigil to the Virgin.

These considerations led Krypiakiewicz to suggest²⁷ that Prooemium II had replaced the original *koukoulion* of the *Akathistos*, and that this is still to be found among the hymns chanted at the Festival of the *Akathistos*, even though the connection between the two has been obscured by the doxologies, psalms and chants which separate them to-day. His view, which has rightly been accepted by most modern scholars²⁸, is fully supported by the fact that Prooemium I contains the *argumentum* of the whole *kontakion*²⁹ and uses a vocabulary common to that of the main body of the poem³⁰. It

23 PG 92, 1352 B, cf. *Triodion*, Venice 1839, pp. 320f.

24 PG 157, 537ff.; cf. K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Litt.*², p. 672, note B and *Byz. Ztschr.* 18 (1904) 254.

25 Three isolated lines (Φ 9 χαιρε, ὡς βροντῆ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταπλήττουσα, Ψ 14—15 χαιρε, δι' ἧς ἐγείρονται τρόπαια, χαιρε, δι' ἧς ἐχθροὶ καταπίπτουσι) do not turn the canticum into a "song of victory" in battle, as J. Rehork (l. c., p. 518) seems to suggest.

26 Cf. A. Baumstark, *Byz. Ztschr.* 16 (1907) 656f.; Krypiakiewicz, l. c., pp. 361f.

27 L. c., pp. 361f.

28 See H.-G. Beck, l. c., p. 427.

29 The Archangel's visit to Joseph's home, his message to Mary as well as the "orthodox" Christological view on the Incarnation—'Ο κίνας τῆ καταβάσει τοὺς οὐρανοὺς χωρεῖται ἀναλλοίωτως ὅλος ἐν σοί—which we also find in strophe O 1^a—5³.

30 The words: ἀσώματος, ἀπειρόγαμος, λαβόντα δούλου μορφήν and ἐξίσταμαι.

also has the first two lines metrically identical, as was the practice in older proemia. But no matter how inferior a work of poetry Prooemium II may be, it is clearly responsible for turning the *Akathistos* into the great "thanksgiving hymn for victory" of the Byzantine Greeks, the Greek *Te Deum*, and this gained for the *Akathistos* its wide popularity³¹. For as such we know it to have been used later upon several great occasions: in 673, in the reign of Constantine IV, again in 719, in the reign of Leo III, when Constantinople was saved from the Arabs³², and even as late as 1421, when in the reign of Manuel II the city was saved from the Turks³³. And the very fact that the *Akathistos* was used as a thanksgiving hymn for victory for at least two great occasions before the lifting of the siege of 719 (in 626 and again in 673 A. D.)—and this is inconceivable without Prooemium II—militates against Huglo's view³⁴ that the Patriarch Germanos I is the author of the celebrated second prooemium³⁵.

The attribution of the *Akathistos* to Romanos the Melodist, which many distinguished modern scholars seem to favour³⁶—excluding, of course, Prooemium II—is not impossible, but it cannot be proved. The 16th century marginal note found on a 13th century manuscript of the Blataion monastery in Thessalonica³⁷, is unfortunately worthless as evidence³⁸; but the many points of contact—linguistic, metrical and theological—which have been shown to exist between the *Akathistos* and the writings of Romanos³⁹, are certainly suggestive. I should also like to draw attention to the common technique in the use of rhyme found in Romanos 17, *On Judas*, and in the

31 Perhaps nothing shows the popularity the *Akathistos* enjoyed among the Greeks as clearly as the demotic Greek nominative 'Η Περμάχῳ, which was formed from the initial words of Prooemium II Τῆ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ; cf. G. Hatzidakis, *Τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου ἐκδιδόμενα*, Athens 1888, p. 188.

32 See PG 92, 1353 A, and K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Litt.*², p. 672, n. 1.

33 See N. Tomadakis, *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Φιλολογίαν*, Athens 1952, p. 187.

34 L. c. pp. 27f.

35 Nothing need be said here about Prooemium III, a spurious later addition transmitted in one manuscript only (V); cf. Romanos 44 *On Joseph II*, Prooemium III.

36 See p. 19, n. 12.

37 Cod. Thessalon. Blataion 41, f. 193: † οὗτοι οἱ θεοὶ οἰκοὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ὡς τινες λέγουσι Σεργίου τοῦ τηρικῶτα τὸν θρόνον κο[σμοῦντος] Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἑωμα[νοῦ] οὗ ἡ ἐπίκλησις ὁ[ς] μελωδός (sic). δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν ιστορηθέντων. Cf. P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 21 (1912) 300 and C. Emereau, *Échos d'Orient* 21 (1922) 259f. In N. Tomadakis, l. c., p. 188 both the text and the number of the codex are given differently.

38 See P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 21 (1912) 300f.

39 See J. Pitra, *Anal. Sacra I*, pp. 251 and 254, and *passim* in the apparatus of the cantica of Romanos he published; P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 14 (1905) 644; *Byz. Ztschr.* 15 (1906) 19; P. F. Krypiakiewicz, l. c., pp. 371f. and E. Wellesz, *Dumb. Oaks Pap.* 9—10 (1953) 147f. There are other publications in which points of contact between Romanos and the *Akathistos* have been pointed out, but which need not be mentioned here.

long strophes of the *Akathistos*, where both internal rhyme and rhyme indicating the end of lines of equal length are used. This is significant, for with these two exceptions the deliberate use of rhyme is never found in early Byzantine religious or non-religious poems⁴⁰.

On the other hand, three passages of the *Akathistos*, which have been brought as internal evidence for a closer dating of the canticum, prove upon closer examination to be of little help. A brief examination of them is necessary: The first is str. O 1¹—6, which treats of the major theological issue of the Incarnation of the Word

“Ὁλος ἦν ἐν τοῖς κάτω καὶ τῶν ἄνω οὐδ’ ἕως
ἀπὴν ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος Λόγος·
συγκατάβασις γὰρ θεϊκῆ,
οὐ μετὰ βασις δὲ τοπικῆ γέγονε,
καὶ τόκος ἐκ παρθένου θεολήπτου ἀκουούσης ταῦτα·
“χαῖρε, θεοῦ ἀχωρήτου χώρα etc.

This passage we now know to depend on a sermon on the Mother of God by Basil of Seleucia⁴¹, and the connection with that source would naturally suggest an attack against the teachings of Nestorius, who did not recognize an Hypostatic Union of Father and Son, but attributed two natures and two persons to Christ⁴². Moreover, the celebration of the Virgin as θεοτόκος, which characterizes the *Akathistos*, supports an attack against Nestorius, who considered Mary a Χριστοτόκος, but not a θεοτόκος.⁴³ But even if the passage was a direct attack upon the Nestorians, a date as late as the 6th or even the 7th century would not be impossible. For in the genuine cantica of Romanos we also find a number of direct attacks against the Nestorians⁴⁴, and the anonymous canticum VII, *On the Holy Fathers*, which belongs to the 7th century⁴⁵, condemns all the older heresies. The second passage is strophe P 12¹⁻²: χαῖρε, τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς πλοικὰς διασπῶσα. This has been thought to refer to the closing of the philosophic schools of

40 See W. Meyer, *Abh. d. philol.-philol. Klasse d. K. Bayerischen Akad. d. Wiss.* xvii, 1885, 2, pp. 370f., who points out that the use of rhyme does not appear in Greek poetry till after the Fourth Crusade (1204 A. D.).

41 See P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 19 (1910) 304f.; PG 85, 448 A.

42 See H.-G. Beck, l. c., p. 45.

43 See Catholic Encyclopaedia (New York), X, pp. 755f.

44 See P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 15 (1906) 13f. In fact in Romanos 33 *On Pentecost* ζ' 4¹f. we find the very words Basil of Seleucia and the *Akathistos* use: οὐ γὰρ γέγονε μετὰ βασις ἢ συγκατάβασις, οὐδ' ὑπέμεινε μείωσιν· ἔνω γὰρ ἦν καὶ κάτω ἦν καὶ πανταχοῦ· θεία γὰρ φύσις ἄρρατος καὶ ἀφανής. But could not the same words be used in an attack against the Monophysites? Cf. I. Butyras, l. c. See also J. Rehork, l. c., who draws attention to passages of Theodore the Studite, which depend on these lines.

45 See pp. 87f.

Athens by Justinian in 529⁴⁶. But, as T. P. Themeles and G. G. Meersseman have pointed out⁴⁷, it is nothing more than a reference to *Acts* 17, 16f. and the speech of St. Paul to the Athenians. The same is probably true of Romanos 31 *On the Mission of the Apostles*, ις' 2² καὶ ἠττωνται Ἀθηναῖοι Γαλιλαίσις. In any case, the fame of Athenian rhetoric and philosophy was such in the Hellenistic and early Byzantine world, that no specific historical allusion need be seen in either passage⁴⁸.

Finally strophe I 10¹—16:

χαῖρε, τύραννον ἀπάνθρωπον ἐκβαλοῦσα τῆς ἀρχῆς·
χαῖρε, κύριον φιλάνθρωπον ἐπιδείξασα Χριστόν·
χαῖρε, ἡ τῆς βαρβάρου λυτρουμένη θρησκείας·
χαῖρε, ἡ τοῦ βορβόρου ῥυομένη τῶν ἔργων·
χαῖρε, πυρὸς προσκύνησιν σβέσασα·
χαῖρε, φλογὸς παθῶν ἀπαλλάττουσα·
χαῖρε, Περσῶν ὁδηγὲ σωφοσύνης·

This has been recently connected with the victories and the days of Heraclius by J. Rehork⁴⁹. He argues that strophe I, though based on Matth. 2, 1—12, goes far beyond it; that it represents two opposed worlds, a Christian and an enemy world, whose characteristics are fire-worship, deceit and uncleanness. This enemy world, he believes, can only be the Persia of Chosroes II, who was considered by the Byzantine Greeks as a forerunner of Antichrist (τύραννον ἀπάνθρωπον) and whose empire was seen as deceitful and unclean (τοῦ βορβόρου τῶν ἔργων). Rehork admits that the τύραννος ἀπάνθρωπος of line 10 is Herodes, but “a Herodes of the 7th century with all the characteristics of Chosroes II”; he also believes that line 14 χαῖρε, πυρὸς προσκύνησιν σβέσασα refers to the destruction by Heraclius of the Fire-Temple of Ganzak in 624, and this he takes as *terminus post quem* for the composition of the hymn. Moreover, he sees in strophe Ψ elements of a “song of victory”⁵⁰, and suggests that the whole canticum was composed for the Festival of the Εὐαγγελισμός of March 25, because upon that day Heraclius set out for the victorious campaign which destroyed the Fire-Temple of Ganzak. As *terminus post quem* he sees the siege of 626, and as author of the poem most probably Sergius.

46 See C. del Grande, *L'Inno Acatisto*, Florence 1948, p. 18.

47 T. P. Themeles, *Nέα Σιών* 11 (1911) 46f.; Meersseman, l. c., p. 38, n. 1. This view is supported by the concatenation which exists in the *χαρειαμοί* (as line 13¹⁻² runs: χαῖρε, τῶν ἄλιων τὰς σαγήνας πληροῦσα), and by Paul I Cor. 1, 19f., where the words συζητητής and μοραίνω occur.

48 Cf. P. Maas—C. A. Trypanis, *S. Romani Melodi Cantica Genuina*, p. xx, n. 3.

49 Der *Akathistos*, F. Altheim—R. Stiehl, *Geschichte der Hunnen V* (Berlin 1962), pp. 378f., and in greater detail in *Hymnos Akathistos, Eine Entgegnung*, F. Altheim—R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt II* (Berlin 1965), pp. 514f.

50 On this see p. 20, n. 25.

H.-G. Beck had rightly objected⁵¹ to so specific an interpretation of strophe I, and pointed out that, if a reference is made there to Byzantine victories over the Persians, the days of Justinian I could not be excluded.

But no reference to any victory of the Christian Byzantine arms over the Zoroastran Sassanids is made in this passage. The Persian Fire is simply seen as the *κατ' ἐξοχήν* pagan religion from which the Virgin saved mankind by giving birth to Christ, just as in Romanos 1 *On the Nativity*, υγ' 3¹sq. the Magi tell the Virgin:

“Μαθεῖν θέλεις, πόθεν ἠλύθαμεν ὄδε;
 ἐκ γῆς Χαλδαίων, ὅθεν οὐ λέγουσι· θεὸς θεῶν κύριος,
 ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος, ὅπου οὐκ οἶδασι
 τίς ὁ ποιητής τούτων ὧν σέβουσιν·
 ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθε καὶ ἤρην ἡμᾶς
 ὁ τοῦ παιδίου σου σπινθῆρ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ·
 πῦρ παμφάγον λιπόντες, πῦρ δροσίζον θεωροῦμεν
 |· παιδίον νέον, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων θεόν.” |

It will be observed that in both the *Akathistos* and Romanos 1 *On the Nativity* the Magi are addressing the Virgin, and that their attitude towards the fire-worshipping Persians is exactly the same⁵². Nor is there any difference between the Herodes of the *Akathistos* (Κ 5¹sq. and I 10¹ τῦραννον ἀπάνθρωπον) and that of Romanos 1 *On the Nativity* (ιζ' 5¹sq.; ιζ' 3¹sq.), to say nothing of Romanos 3 *On the Massacre of the Innocents*. All that can be deduced from strophe I of the *Akathistos* is that the canticum was written in a period, when the fire-worshippers were still seen as the great opponents of Christianity, and this does not exclude the days of Justinian I and Chosroes I.

At this point I should like to summarize my own conclusions about the date and the author of the *Akathistos Hymn*. I am inclined to agree with the scholars who attribute it (with the exception of Prooemium II) to the days of Justinian I. So fully finished a *kontakion* can hardly belong to an earlier period in the development of this literary genre, even though the insistence on the Virgin as the Mother of God (α θεοτόκος) and the triumphant expression of this suggests a date closer to the Council of Ephesus (431 A. D.). The Christological issue of the Incarnation (Prooemium I, 3¹—7 and strophe O 1¹—6) also points to the 6th century, for theological issues do not appear in Byzantine religious poetry before the days of Justinian I.⁵³ However, if the canticum was written, as seems likely, for the common festival of the Annunciation and

51 *Byz. Ztschr.* 55 (1962) 369.

52 *Akathistos* I 14f.: χαῖρε πυρὸς προσκύνησιν σβέσσασα· χαῖρε φλογὸς παθῶν ἀπαλλάττουσα· Romanos 1 *On the Nativity*: πῦρ παμφάγον λιπόντες, πῦρ δροσίζον θεωροῦμεν.

53 See P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 15 (1906) 24.

the Nativity, this precludes a date after c. 530—50, when the *Εὐαγγελισμός* was established on March 25 as an independent feast.

The attribution to Romanos is certainly possible, and even probable; but as no name is included in the acrostic of the poem, and no reference to any specific author is found in manuscripts before the 13th century, we cannot assign it with certainty to him or to any other of the known melodists of the early Byzantine world⁵⁴. It should not be forgotten that to the best of our knowledge one work only has survived from the pen of other important writers of *kontakia*, such as Kyriakos, Anastasios or Dometius, and that other important anonymous *kontakia* exist, whose authors cannot be identified. Finally, it may be added that the isolated use of rhyme in Greek at so early a date probably points to a Hellenized writer from the East, where rhyme was frequently used in Christian Syriac poetry. As for Prooemium II, it appears to have been composed for the celebrations of 626. Its author could be Sergius, but this too is by no means certain.

The *Akathistos Hymn* is rightly considered the greatest achievement in Byzantine religious poetry⁵⁵. Like most early Byzantine *kontakia* it draws on scripture and on a number of older prose sermons⁵⁶, yet it remains a remarkably fresh and in many ways original work. With a striking boldness of similes the poet succeeds in blending the overwhelming mystery of the Incarnation of the Word with the softer note of the cult of the Virgin, and the varied and intricate rhythms employed are enhanced by the music of the words⁵⁷. We may also say that in the *Akathistos* the literary genre of the *χαριετισμοί* has attained its highest point⁵⁸, even if the profuse and rhetorical praise of the Virgin occasionally reaches a pitch of studied exuberance.

The literary qualities of the *Akathistos Hymn*, the fact that it became the special thanksgiving hymn for victory, and the wide popularity the cult of the Virgin enjoyed in the East explain the far-reaching influence the canticum had upon subsequent Greek literature⁵⁹. It was recast in iambic trimetres⁶⁰,

54 See P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 21 (1912) 300f.

55 See P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 19 (1910) 286f.

56 Cf. e. g. S. Cyrilli Alex. archiep., *De incarnatione Domini*, PG 75, 1460; S. Procli episcopi, *Oratio in Laudibus St. Mariae* I, *ibid.* 65, 681, or *ibid.* 757 etc. See P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 19 (1910) 304f.; E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn*, pp. xxvif.

57 See J. L. Jacobi, *Ztschr. f. Kirchengeschichte* 5 (1882) 230.

58 On the *χαριετισμοί* see H. Chase, *Texts and Studies* 1/3, Cambridge 1891, pp. 168f.; E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn*, p. xx; *Dumb. Oaks Pap.* 9—10 (1953) 149f. and P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 14 (1905) 645, n. 4.

59 See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ο Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος, οἱ Ἦῶς καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης Φώτιος, pp. 87f., where the author, who attributes in this work the *Akathistos* to Photius, considers a number of the works which were influenced by it as sources of the poem; *Βυζαντικῆς* 1 (1909) 517f., and Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 14 (1905) 646.

60 See E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, Paris 1855—7, vol. II, pp. 317f.

in *politikoi* (fifteen-syllable) verses⁶¹, and many modern Greek paraphrases of it have been made⁶²; it even influenced Byzantine art, especially in the 14th—16th centuries, as the paintings of Mistras and Mount Athos show, and even frescoes as far north as Roumania⁶³.

The *Akathistos Hymn* is transmitted in a great number of manuscripts ranging from the 10th to the 16th centuries. For establishing the text I have selected nine of these⁶⁴, which are the oldest extant *kontakaria* and well known to me from the cantica of Romanos which they include. Prooemium I I have taken from W. Christ—M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, Lipsiae 1871, p. 61, as no *kontakarion* includes it. A work as famous as the *Akathistos* has naturally seen numerous editions since Aldo Manuzio's *editio princeps* appeared⁶⁵. Nearly all of them are based on one manuscript only—and nearly always it is a later manuscript—and are therefore of limited value. Two, however, of those based on more than one should be singled out, that of Christ-Paranikas and that of Pitra,⁶⁶ even though they too are outdated, as a number of important codices transmitting the *Akathistos* have become known since their day. There is also a vast bibliography on the *Akathistos Hymn*, most of which is now superseded⁶⁷. I here attach a short select bibliography, which the reader may find useful to consult:

- O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchl. Literatur*, Vol. V, Freiburg im Breisgau 1932, pp. 166f.
 H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1959, pp. 427f.
 H.-G. Beck, in: *Byz. Ztschr.* 55 (1962) 369 (review of S. Rehork, *Der Akathistos*, F. H. Altheim—R. Stiehl, *Geschichte der Hunnen* 5 [1962], pp. 378f.).

61 See J. Assemani, *Ephraem Syri Opera*, Rome 1732—46, vol. III, p. 545, where it is wrongly attributed to Ephraem.

62 On some of these and on translations of the *Akathistos* in modern European languages see P. de Meester, *Bessarione N. S.* 7 (1905) 36.

63 See Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, Paris 1926², vol. II, p. 640 and *passim*; M. O. Tafrahi, *Mélanges Schlumberger*, Paris 1924, pp. 45f. and A. Xyngopoulos, *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* I (1933) 388f.

64 These are: A ff. 125^r—130^v; B ff. 41^r—46^v; D ff. 137^r—144^r; G ff. 80^v—87^v; J ff. 165^v—173^v; M ff. 154^v—162^r; P ff. 209^r—212^r; T ff. 46^v + 49^v + 50^r + 52^{r-v} + 99^{r-v} (these are the new folio numbers in T after the parts of that codex, which were saved from fire, were put together again; they include only strophes Γ' 16 γνῶσιν—Ω, and these not in sequence); V ff. 83^v—88^v. For Prooem. II and strophes Α—Γ' 16 I report the readings of T as given by Pitra.

65 In *Poetae Christiani Veteres*, Venice 1501.

66 W. Christ—M. Paranikas, *Anthol. gr. carm. Christianorum*, pp. 140f.; Pitra, *Analecta Sacra* I, pp. 249f.

67 For important older bibliography consult P. F. Krypiakiewicz, l. c., pp. 380ff. and K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Litteratur*², pp. 692f.; see also H. Follieri, *Initia Hymn. Ecclesiae Graecae* IV (*Studi e Testi* 214), pp. 254f.

- C. del Grande, *L'Inno Acatisto*, Florence 1948.
 F. Dölger, in: *Byz. Ztschr.* 33 (1933) 379f. (review of O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchl. Literatur*, vol. V).
 R. A. Fletcher, Three early Byzantine Hymns, in: *Byz. Ztschr.* 51 (1958) 53f.
 J. L. Jacobi, Zur Geschichte des griechischen Kirchenliedes, in: *Ztschr. für Kirchengeschichte* 5 (1881) 177f.
 K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, Munich 1879, pp. 671f.
 K. Krumbacher, Die Akrostichis in der griechischen Kirchenpoesie, *Sitzungsber. der philos.-philol. und der histor. Klasse der K. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* (1903) 592.
 K. Krumbacher, in: *Byz. Ztschr.* 13 (1904) 252f. (review of A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἄκἀθιστος Ἕμνος, οἱ Ῥῶς καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης Φῶτιος*, Athens 1903).
 P. F. Krypiekiewicz, De hymni Acatisti auctore, *Byz. Ztschr.* 18 (1909) 357f.
 G. G. Meersseman, Der Hymnus Akathistos im Abendland, *Spicilegium Friburgense* 1—2 (1958).
 P. de Meester, *L'Inno Acatisto*, *Bessarione N. S.* VI (1904) 9—11, 159—165, 252—257 and VII (1905) 36—40, 134—42, 213—224 (there is also a separate offprint of this published in Rome 1905).
 P. Maas, in: *Byz. Ztschr.* 14 (1905) 643f. (review of P. de Meester's *L'Inno Acatisto*).
 P. Maas, Die Chronologie der Hymnen des Romanos, *Byz. Ztschr.* 15 (1906) 1f.
 P. Maas, Das Kontakion, *Byz. Ztschr.* 19 (1910) 285f.
 P. Maas, in: *Byz. Ztschr.* 21 (1912) 300f. (review of Π. Ν. Παπαγεωργίου, *Περὶ τῆς Ἀκἀθιστου Ἀκολουθίας, Νέα Ἡμέρα* (Triest) 1911, 4/17, 11/21 June and 2/15, 28/8 July—August).
 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἄκἀθιστος Ἕμνος, οἱ Ῥῶς καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης Φῶτιος* (Βιβλιοθήκη Μαρασλή 214), Athens 1903 (the same in *Viz. Vremennik* 10 [1903] 357f.).
 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Πηγαὶ καὶ Δάνεια τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸν Ἀκἀθιστον Ἕμνον, Βυζαντίς Α'* (1909) 517f.
 J. Rehork, *Der Akathistos*, F. H. Altheim—R. Stiehl, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, V (1962), pp. 378f.
 J. Rehork, *Hymnos Akathistos, Eine Entgegnung*, F. Altheim—R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, II (Berlin 1965), pp. 314f.
 E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn*, Copenhagen 1957.
 E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos, a study in Byzantine Hymnography*, *Dumb. Oaks Pap.* 9—10 (1953) 143f.

The metrical *schemata* of the strophes of the *Akathistos Hymn* are:

a) The short strophes

—U—UU—U UU—UU—U
 ὀ—UUU—UU—U
 UU—U—UU—
 UU—U—UU— —UU
 5 U—UU—UU—UU—UU—UU—U
 |: UU—U :|

b) The long strophes

±U±UU—U UU—UU—U
 U±UUU±UU—U
 UU—UU±UU—
 UU—U±UUU— —UU
 5 U—U±UU—U ;U U—UUU±U—U
 —UU—UU±U—U
 —UU—UU±U—U
 —UUU—UU—UU—UU
 —UUU—UU—UU—UU
 10 —U—UUU—UU UU±UU—
 —U—UUU—UU UU—UU—
 —UUUU—U UU—UU—U
 —UUUU—U UU—UU—U
 —UU—U—UU—UU
 15 —UU±UU—UU—UU
 —UU—UU—UU—U
 —UU—UU—UU—U
 |: —U—UU—UU :|

For the variant between half-line one and two in line 5 of the long strophe see strophes ζ', θ', ια' and ιε'.

I (100 Kr.)

ANONYMOUS

THE AKATHISTOS HYMN

Acrostichis: ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΑΜΝΕΟΠΡΣΤΥΦΧΨΩ

Prooemium I: Τὸ προσταχθὲν μυστικῶς

Τὸ προσταχθὲν μυστικῶς λαβὼν ἐν γνώσει
 ἐν τῇ σκητῇ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ σπουδῇ ἐπέστη
 ὁ ἀσώματος λέγων τῇ ἀπειρογάμῳ·
 “Ὁ κλίνας τῇ καταβάσει τοὺς οὐρανοὺς
 5 χωρεῖται ἀναλλοιώτως ἕλος ἐν σοί·
 ἔν και βλέπων ἐν μήτρᾳ σου λαβόντα δούλου μορφῇ
 ἐξίσταμαι κραυγάζων σοί·
 |: Χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε.” :|

Prooemium II: Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ

[Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ τὰ νικητήρια
 ὡς λυτρωθεῖσα τῶν δεινῶν εὐχαριστήρια
 ἀναγράφω σοί ἡ πόλις σου, θεοτόκε·

I Codices: A (Prooem. II et α'—κδ') B (Prooem. II et α'—κδ') D (Prooem. II et α'—κδ') G (Prooem. II et α'—κδ') J (Prooem. II et α'—κδ') M (Prooem. II et α'—κδ') P (Prooem. II et α'—κδ') T (Prooem. II et α'—κδ') V (Prooem. II, III et α'—κδ'). Prooem. I ex Christ-Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, Lipsiae 1871, p. 61.

Editiones: Pitra, A. S. I, p. 250sq.; Christ-Paranikas, *Anthol. Gr. Carminum Christianorum*, p. 140sq.; Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn*, Copenhagen 1957.

Titulus: The Akathistos Hymn, Trypanis: (Ὁ εὐαγγελισμὸς Α) τῆς παναγίας (ὑπεραγίας AMP: παναγίας om. B) θεοτόκου (θεοτόκου om. V) ABDGJMPV: om. Z

Dies Festus: Μαρτίῳ κε'

Acrostichis: τὸ (τὸν Α: Κατ' P) ἀφάβητον APV: ἀφάβητ(ον) M: om. BDGJZ

Ephymnium: τὸ (vel τοῦ) ἀλληλουία, etiam χαιρε ἡ κεχαριτωμένη nonn. codd. passim.

Prooemium I

Ex Christ-Paranikas, *Anthol. Gr. Carminum Christianorum*, p. 61

2¹ Ἰωσήφ (U—)

Prooemium II

ABDGJMPTV

3 τῇ πόλει B

ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχουσα τὸ κράτος ἀπροσμάχητον
5 ἐκ παντοίων με κινδύνων ἐλευθέρωσον,
ἐνα κράζω σοι·
|: "Χαῖρε, νόμφη ἀνύμφευτε". :|

Prooemium III: Οὐ παυόμεθα

[Οὐ παυόμεθα κατὰ χρέος ἀνυμνοῦντες σε,
θεοτόκε, καὶ λέγοντες·
|: "Χαῖρε, ἡ κεχαριτωμένη". :|]

Strophae: "Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης

- α' Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης οὐρανὸν ἐπέμφθη
εἰπεῖν τῇ θεοτόκῃ τὸ "χαῖρε".
καὶ σὺν τῇ ἀσωμάτῳ φωνῇ
σωματούμενόν σε θεωρῶν, κύριε,
5 ἐξίστατο καὶ ἴστατο κραυγάζων πρὸς αὐτὴν τοιαῦτα·
"Χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἡ χαρὰ ἐκλάμψει·
χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἡ ἀρὰ ἐκλείψει·
χαῖρε, τοῦ πεσόντος Ἀδάμ ἡ ἀνάκλησις·
χαῖρε, τῶν θαυμάτων τοῦ Εὐᾶς ἡ λύτρωσις·
10 χαῖρε, ὕψος δυσανάβατον ἀνθρώπινους λογισμοῖς·
χαῖρε, βάθος δυσθεώρητον καὶ ἀγγέλων ὀφθαλμοῖς·
χαῖρε, ὅτι ὑπάρχεις βασιλέως καθέδρα·
χαῖρε, ὅτι βαστάζεις τὸν βαστάζοντα πάντα·
χαῖρε, ἀστὴρ ἐμφαινῶν τὸν ἥλιον·
15 χαῖρε, γαστήρ ἐνθέου σαρκώσεως·
χαῖρε, δι' ἧς νεουργεῖται ἡ κτίσις·
χαῖρε, δι' ἧς προσκυνεῖται ὁ πλάστης·
|: χαῖρε, νόμφη ἀνύμφευτε". :|
- β' Βλέπουσα ἡ ἀγία ἑαυτὴν ἐν ἀγείᾳ
φησὶ τῷ Γαβριὴλ θαρσαλέως·
"Τὸ παράδοξόν σου τῆς φωνῆς
δυσπαράδεκτόν μου τῇ ψυχῇ φαίνεται·
5 ἀσπέρου γὰρ συλλήψεως τὴν κύησιν προλέγεις κράζων·
|: "Ἀλληλουῖα." :|

6 κράζω D

α' ABDGJMPTV

4¹ θεωρῶ ABDJ

8 ἀνάστασις DGPV

14—15 ἐμφαινῶν—γαστήρ om. A

16—17 ἡ κτίσις—προσκυνεῖται om. A

17 δι' ἧς] μεθ' ἧς V ὁ πλάστης] ὁ κτίστης T

β' ABDGJMPTV

4¹ τῇ] τῆς J5² τὴν om. G

- γ' Ἴνῶσιν ἀγνωστον γινῶναι ἡ παρθένος ζητοῦσα
ἐβόησε πρὸς τὸν λειτουργοῦντα·
"Ἐκ λαγόνων ἀγῶν ὑἱὸν
πῶς ἐστὶ τεχθῆναι δυνατόν; λέξον μοι."
5 πρὸς ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἔφησεν ἐν φόβῳ πρὶν κραυγάζων οὕτω·
"Χαῖρε, βουλῆς ἀπορρήτου μύστις,
χαῖρε, σιγῇ δεομένων πίστις·
χαῖρε, τῶν θαυμάτων Χριστοῦ τὸ προοίμιον,
χαῖρε, τῶν δογμάτων αὐτοῦ τὸ κεφάλαιον·
10 χαῖρε, κλίμαξ ἐπουράνιε, δι' ἧς κατέβη[δ]θεός·
χαῖρε, γέφυρα μετάγουσα τοὺς ἐκ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανόν·
χαῖρε, τὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πολυθρύλητον θαῦμα·
χαῖρε, τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων πολυθρήνητον τραῦμα·
χαῖρε, τὸ φῶς ἀρρήτως γεννήσασα·
15 χαῖρε, τὸ "πῶς" μὴδένα διδάξασα·
χαῖρε, σοφῶν υπερβαίνουσα γινῶσιν·
χαῖρε, πιστῶν καταυγάζουσα φρένας·
|: χαῖρε, νόμφη ἀνύμφευτε." :|
- δ' Δύναμις τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐπεσκίασε τότε
πρὸς σύλληψιν τῇ ἀπειρογάμῳ·
καὶ τὴν εὐκαρπον ταύτης νηδὺν
ὡς ἀγρὸν ἀπέδειξεν ἡδὺν ἅπασιν
5 τοῖς θέλουσι θερίζειν σωτηρίαν ἐν τῷ ψάλλειν οὕτως·
|: "Ἀλληλουῖα." :|
- ε' Ἐχουσα θεοδόχον ἡ παρθένος τὴν μήτραν
ἀνέδραμε πρὸς τὴν Ἐλισάβετ·
τὸ δὲ βρέφος ἐκεῖνης εὐθὺς
ἐπιγνοῦν τὸν ταύτης ἀσπασμόν ἔχαίρε
5 καὶ ἄλμασιν ὡς ἄσμασιν ἐβόα πρὸς τὴν θεοτόκον·
"Χαῖρε, βλαστοῦ ἀμαράντου κλήμα·
χαῖρε, καρποῦ ἀθανάτου κτῆμα·

γ' ABDGJMPTV

3 ἀγῶν] μου add. V

5¹ ἔφησεν] ἔφρασεν BMP: ἔφρασεν ὡς ἔφρασεν V5² ἐν φόβῳ] ἐκ φ... V πρὶν] πλην AM: periit ex V κραυγάζων οὕτως]... των V7 σιγῇ] σιγῆς AGJM: πηγῆ P σιγῇ—πίστις] τιμῆς ἀνωτέρα πάσης V 10² ὁ del.. Try-

panis m. g. 14 κηῖσασα GM 15 οὐδένα V

δ' ABDGJMPTV

2 τῆς ἀπειρογάμου DV

3 εὐκαρπον] ἔγκαρπον DMPT

4¹ ἀπέδειξεν] ἀνέ-

δειξεν BV: ἔδειξεν P

ε' ABDGJMPTV

1² παρθένος] Μαρία V

3 τὸ δὲ] καὶ τὸ V εὐθὺς om. A

4¹ ἐπιγνοῦς V

5 ἄλμασιν] αὐθμασιν (sic) B

6 κλήμα] ἡ ῥίζα M

7 ἀθανάτου] ἀκηράτου V

κτῆμα] κλίμα M

- χαῖρε, γεωργὸν γεωργοῦσα φιλόανθρωπον·
 χαῖρε, φυτουργὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν φύουσα·
 10 χαῖρε, ἄρουρα βλαστάουσα εὐφορίαν οἰκτιρμῶν·
 χαῖρε, τράπεζα βαστάζουσα εὐθηρίαν ἰλασμῶν·
 χαῖρε, ὅτι λιμῶνα τῆς τρυφῆς ἀναθάλλεις·
 χαῖρε, ὅτι λιμένα τῶν ψυχῶν ἐτοιμάζεις·
 χαῖρε, δεκτὸν πρεσβείας θυμίαμα·
 15 χαῖρε, παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἐξίλασμα·
 χαῖρε, θεοῦ πρὸς θνητοῦς εὐδοκία·
 χαῖρε, θνητῶν πρὸς θεὸν παρρησία·
 |: χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε." :|
 ζ' Ζάλην ἔνδοθεν ἔχων λογισμῶν ἀμφιβόλων
 ὁ σάφρων Ἰωσήφ ἐταράχθη
 πρὸς τὴν ἀγαμὸν σε θεωρῶν
 καὶ κλεψίγαμον ὑπονοῶν, ἄμεμπτε·
 5 μαθὼν δὲ σοῦ τὴν σύλληψιν ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔφη·
 |: "Ἀλληλοῦα." :|
 ζ' Ἦκουσαν οἱ ποιμένες τῶν ἀγγέλων ὑμνούντων
 τὴν ἔνσαρκον Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν·
 καὶ δραμόντες ὡς πρὸς ποιμένα
 θεωροῦσι τοῦτον ὡς ἄμνον ἄμωμον
 5 ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ Μαρίας βοσκηθέντα, ἦν ὑμνοῦντες εἶπον·
 "Χαῖρε, ἄμνου καὶ ποιμένος μήτηρ·
 χαῖρε, αὐλὴ λογικῶν προβάτων·
 χαῖρε, ἀοράτων θηρῶν ἀμυντήριον·
 χαῖρε, παραδείσου θυρῶν ἀνοικτήριον·
 10 χαῖρε, ὅτι τὰ οὐράνια συναγάλλονται τῇ γῆ·
 χαῖρε, ὅτι τὰ ἐπίγεια συγχορεύουσι πιστοῖς·
 χαῖρε, τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸ ἀσίγητον στόμα·
 χαῖρε, τῶν ἀθλοφόρων τὸ ἀνίκητον θάρσος·
 χαῖρε, στερρὸν τῆς πίστεως ἔρεισμα·
 15 χαῖρε, λαμπρὸν τῆς χάριτος γνώρισμα·
- 10² εὐφορίαν G 11² εὐθηρίας PT ἰλασμοῦ V 121¹⁻² post
 13² APV 17 θνητῶν] βροτῶν A
 ζ' ABDGJMPTV
 1² λογισμοῖς ἀμφιβόλοις V 3 πρὸς τὴν] ὅτι P: τὸ . . . M σὲ] δὲ G σὲ θεωρῶν]
 ἀμηχανῶν B 4¹ κλεψίγαμον] σε add. P 4² ἄμεμπτε] κύριε D: ἔχραντε T
 ζ' ABDGJMPTV
 3 metrum: U—U—U—U—U—: δραμόντες] ταχὺ add. V: πρὸς ποιμένα δραμόντες ταχὺ
 dub. Trypanis m. g.: ὡς πρὸς ποιμένα] ποιμένα ὄραν Laskaris ((et Pitra)): ὡς ἐπὶ βοσκῶν
 Keydell 5² εἶπον] εἶπωμεν J 6 μήτηρ BDV 8 θηρῶν] ἐχθρῶν M
 11² συγχορεύουσι πιστοῖς] συνεφραίνονται Χριστῷ V 12² στόμα] ἔσμα G 13² θάρσος
 DGJT 14 στερρὸν] πιστὸν V ἔρεισμα] ἔδρασμα JMP: ἔγερμα DV

- χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἐγυμνώθη ὁ Ἄδης·
 χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἐνεδύθημεν δόξαν·
 |: χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε." :|
 η' Θεοδρόμον ἀστέρα θεωρήσαντες μάγοι
 τῇ τούτου ἠκολούθησαν αἰγλή·
 καὶ ὡς λύχνον κρατοῦντες αὐτόν,
 δι' αὐτοῦ ἠρεῦνων κραταῖν ἄνακτα·
 5 καὶ φθάσαντες τὸν ἄφθαστον ἐχάρησαν αὐτῷ βοῶντες·
 |: "Ἀλληλοῦα." :|
 θ' Ἴδον παῖδες Καλδαίων ἐν χερσὶ τῆς παρθένου
 τὸν πλάσαντα χεiri τοὺς ἀνθρώπους·
 καὶ δεσπότην νοοῦντες αὐτόν,
 εἰ καὶ δούλου ἔλαβε μορφήν, ἔσπευσαν
 5 τοῖς δώροις θεραπεῦσαι καὶ βοῆσαι τῇ εὐλογημένῃ·
 "Χαῖρε, ἀστέρας ἀδύτου μήτηρ·
 χαῖρε, αὐγὴ μυστικῆς ἡμέρας·
 χαῖρε, τῆς ἀπάτης τὴν κάμινον παύσασα·
 χαῖρε, τῆς τριάδος τοὺς μύστας φυλάττουσα·
 10 χαῖρε, τύραννον ἀπάνθρωπον ἐκβαλοῦσα τῆς ἀρχῆς·
 χαῖρε, κύριον φιλόανθρωπον ἐπιδείξασα Χριστόν·
 χαῖρε, ἡ τῆς βαρβάρου λυτρομένη θρησκείας·
 χαῖρε, ἡ τοῦ βορβόρου βυομένη τῶν ἔργων·
 χαῖρε, πρὸς προσκύνησιν σβέσασα·
 15 χαῖρε, φλογὸς παθῶν ἀπαλλάττουσα·
 χαῖρε, Περσῶν ὄδηγέ σωφροσύνης·
 χαῖρε, πασῶν γενεῶν εὐφροσύνη·
 |: χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε." :|
 ι' Κήρυκες θεοφόροι γεγονότες οἱ μάγοι
 ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα,
- η' ABDGJMPTV
 4¹ δι' om. G δι' αὐτῶν ἔρευνῶν D κραταῖν] φαινὸν BV 5¹ τὸν] τὸ G
 5² ἐχάρησαν—βοῶντες] ἐβόησαν μητρὶ τῇ τούτου BV
 θ' ABDGJMPTV
 2 χερσὶ DGMP 4¹ καὶ om. V μορφήν ἔλαβε G 5¹ τοῖς δώροις] τοῖς
 τρόποις B θεραπεῦσαι] σοι add. G 5² ἐβόησαν V 6 ἀστήρ D μήτηρ DJT
 8 παύσασα] σβέσασα DJM(T?) 12¹⁻² post 13² P 12¹ ἡ om. M βαρβάρου]
 βορβόρου D: πολυθέου M 12²—13¹ λυτρομένη—βορβόρου om. G λυτρομένη] βυο-
 μένη ADM θρησκείας] τῶν ἔργων DJ 13¹ ἡ om. J τοῦ βορβόρου] τῆς βαρβάρου A:
 τῶν πνευμάτων D: τῆς πολυθέου J: τὴν ἔνθεον V 13² βυομένη] λυτρομένη AJ: ἰλα-
 στήριον D: καταυγάζουσα V τῶν ἔργων] κακείας A: πάντων D: θρησκείας J: πίστιν V
 14 σβέσασα] παύσασα AJPT 15 παθῶν] ἡμᾶς B 16 Περσῶν] πιστῶν JM
 ι' ABDGJMPTV
 2 εἰς] πρὸς G
- 3 Trypanis

- ἐκτελέσαντες σοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν
καὶ κηρύξαντές σε τὸν Χριστὸν ἄπασι,
5 ἀφέντες τὸν Ἡρώδη ὡς ληρώδη μὴ εἰδότα ψάλλειν·
|: “Ἀλληλούια.” :|
- ια' Λάμπας ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ φωτισμὸν ἀληθείας
ἐδίωξας τοῦ ψεύδους τὸ σκότος·
τὰ γὰρ εἰδῶλα ταύτης, σωτήρ,
μὴ ἐνέγκαντά σου τὴν ἰσχὺν πέπτωκαν·
5 οἱ τούτων δὲ ῥυσθέντες ἀνεβόων πρὸς τὴν θεοτόκον·
“Χαῖρε, ἀνόρθωσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων·
χαῖρε, κατάπτωσις τῶν δαιμόνων·
χαῖρε, τῆς ἀπάτης τὴν πλάνην πατήσασα·
χαῖρε, τῶν εἰδώλων τὸν δόλον ἐλέγξασα·
10 χαῖρε, θάλασσα ποντίσασα Φαραῶ τὸν νοητόν·
χαῖρε, πέτρα ἢ ποτίσασα τοὺς διψῶντας τὴν ζωὴν·
χαῖρε, πύρινη στυλεὶ ὁδηγῶν τοὺς ἐν σκότει·
χαῖρε, σκέπη τοῦ κόσμου πλατυτέρα νεφέλης·
χαῖρε, τροφή τοῦ μάννα διάδοχε·
15 χαῖρε, τρυφῆς ἀγίας διάκονε·
χαῖρε, ἡ γῆ ἢ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας·
χαῖρε, ἐξ ἧς ῥέει μέλι καὶ γάλα·
|: χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε.” :|
- ιβ' Μέλλοντος Συμεῶνος τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος
μεθίστασθαι τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος,
ἐπεδόθης ὡς βρέφος αὐτῷ,
ἀλλ' ἐγνώσθης τούτῳ καὶ θεὸς τέλειος·
5 διόπερ ἐξεπλάγη σου τὴν ἄρρητον σοφίαν κράζων·
|: “Ἀλληλούια.” :|
- 3 ἐκτελέσαντο V σοῦ] οὖν GJ: αὐτοῦ V 4¹ κηρύττοντες M σε] σου G
τὸν om. A 4² ἄπασι] κύριε D: ἄπαντες καὶ G: om. B 5² ληρώδη] εἴρωνα V
εἰδότα ψάλλειν] εἰδότες λαλεῖν G: εἰδότα λέγειν JM
ια' ABDGJMPTV
1¹ Λάμπαν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου G 2 τὸ σκότος τοῦ ψεύδους M 4¹ ἐνέγκαντος J
4² πέπτωκαν AMP 5¹ οἱ om. V 5² ἀνεβόων] ἐβόουν B: ἀνεβόων G: ἀνεβόησαν V
8 τῆς ἀπάτης τὴν πλάνην] ἢ τῆς πλάνης τὸ κράτος (σκότος M) MV 9 εἰδώλων] δαιμόνων
DG τὸν δόλον] τὴν πλάνην G 13 τὸν κόσμον J 14 τροφή] τροφῆ DG: τρυφῆς V
15 τρυφῆς] τροφῆς A: τροφ .. V 16 ἡ γῆ] πηγὴ D ἡ (ante τῆς) om. D
17 ῥέει] βρούει P γάλα καὶ μέλι JM χαῖρε—γάλα om. T
ιβ' ABDGJMPTV
2 τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος] πρὸς τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος V 3 ἐπεδόθη D 5¹ διόπερ] διὸ V
5² ἄρρητον] ἀπόρητον G: ἄρευστον V

- ιγ' Νέαν ἔδειξε κτίσιν ἐμφανίσας ὁ κτίστης
ἡμῖν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις,
ἐξ ἀσπύρου βλαστῆσας γαστροῦς
καὶ φυλάξας ταύτην, ὡσπερ ἦν, ἀφθορον,
5 ἵνα τὸ θαῦμα βλέποντες ὑμνήσωμεν αὐτὴν βοῶντες·
“Χαῖρε, τὸ ἄνθος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας·
χαῖρε, τὸ στέμμα τῆς ἐγκρατείας·
χαῖρε, ἀναστάσεως τύπον ἐκλάμπουσα·
χαῖρε, τῶν ἀγγέλων τὸν βίον ἐμφαίνουσα·
10 χαῖρε, δένδρον ἀγλαόκαρπον ἐξ οὗ τρέφονται πιστοί·
χαῖρε, ξύλον εὐσκιόφυλλον, ὑφ' οὗ σκέπονται πολλοί·
χαῖρε, κροφοροῦσα λυτρωτὴν αἰχμαλώτοις·
χαῖρε, ἀπογεννώσα ὁδηγὸν πλανωμένους·
χαῖρε, κριτοῦ δικαίου δυσώπησις·
15 χαῖρε, πολλῶν πταισμάτων συγχώρησις·
χαῖρε, στολὴ τῶν γυμνῶν παρρησίας·
χαῖρε, στοργὴ πάντα πόθον νικῶσα·
|: χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε.” :|
- ιδ' Ξένον τόκον ἰδόντες Ξενοδῶμεν τοῦ κόσμου,
τὸν νοῦν εἰς οὐρανοὺς μεταθέντες·
διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ ὑψηλὸς
ἐπὶ γῆς ἐφάνη ταπεινὸς ἄνθρωπος,
5 βουλόμενος ἐλκύσαι πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τοὺς αὐτῷ βοῶντας·
|: “Ἀλληλούια.” :|
- ιε' Ὁλος ἦν ἐν τοῖς κάτω καὶ τῶν ἄνω οὐδ' ἔλωσ
ἀπὴν ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος Λόγος·
συγκατάβασις γὰρ θεϊκῆ,
οὐ μετάβασις δὲ τοπικῆ γέγονε
5 καὶ τόκος ἐκ παρθένου θεολήπτου ἀκουούσης ταῦτα·
“Χαῖρε, θεοῦ ἀχωρήτου χώρα·
- ιγ' ABDGJMPTV
1² κτήτης G 3 γαστροῦς] σαρκὸς G: καρπὸς P 4² ἀφθορος B 5¹ ἵνα (U—)
5² ὑμνήσωμεν om. G 8 ἐκλάμπουσα] ἐπέχουσα M 9 ἐμφαίνουσα] ἐκφαίνουσα MV
10² τρέφοντες J 12² λυτρωσιν M αἰχμαλώτων D 13¹ ἀπογεννώσα] καρπο-
φοροῦσα JMP 14 δικαίου] τοῦ πάντων V 16 παρρησία ADGJFV
ιδ' ABDGJMPTV
2 οὐρανὸν AP 5¹ ἐλκύσαι] ἀνελκύσαι M: ἀνθρώπους A: om. T 5² πρὸς τὸ
ὑψος] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ AT τὸ om. J αὐτῷ] πιστῶς V βοῶντας] πίστει add. T
ιε' ABDGJMPTV
1² τῶν] τοῖς D 2 ἀπερίληπτος JM 4¹ οὐ—τοπικῆ] ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν G
5² ἀκουούσης M

- χαῖρε, σεπτοῦ μυστηρίου θύρα·
 χαῖρε, τῶν ἀπίστων ἀμφίβολον ἄκουσμα·
 χαῖρε, τῶν πιστῶν ἀναμφίβολον καύχημα·
 10 χαῖρε, ὄχημα πανάγιον τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ·
 χαῖρε, οἶκημα πανάριστον τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν Σεραφίμ·
 χαῖρε, ἡ τάναντία εἰς ταῦτο ἀγαγοῦσα·
 χαῖρε, ἡ παρθενίαν καὶ λοχείαν ζευγῶσα·
 χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἐλύθη παράβασις·
 15 χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἠνοιχθη παράδεισος·
 χαῖρε, ἡ κλεῖς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας·
 χαῖρε, ἐλπὶς ἀγαθῶν αἰώνιων·
 |: χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε." :|
 ις' Πᾶσα φύσις ἀγγέλων κατεπλάγη τὸ μέγα
 τῆς σῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ἔργον·
 τὸν ἀπρόσιτον γὰρ ὡς θεὸν
 ἐθεώρει πᾶσι προσιτὸν ἄνθρωπον,
 5 ἡμῖν μὲν συνδιάγοντα, ἀκούοντα δὲ παρὰ πάντων·
 |: "Ἄλληλούϊα." :|
 ιζ' Ῥήτορας πολυφθόγγους ὡς ἰχθύας ἀφώνους
 ὀρώμεν ἐπὶ σοί, θεοτόκε·
 ἀποροῦσι γὰρ λέγειν τὸ πῶς
 καὶ παρθένος μένεις καὶ τεκεῖν ἴσχυσας·
 5 ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ μυστήριον θαυμάζοντες πιστῶς βοῶμεν·
 "Χαῖρε, σοφίας θεοῦ δοχεῖον·
 χαῖρε, προνοίας αὐτοῦ ταμεῖον·
 χαῖρε, φιλοσόφους ἀσόφους δεικνύουσα·
 χαῖρε, τεχνολόγους ἀλόγους ἐλέγχουσα·
 10 χαῖρε, ὅτι ἐμαράνθησαν οἱ δεινοὶ συζητηταί·
 χαῖρε, ὅτι ἐμαράνθησαν οἱ τῶν μύθων ποιηταί·
 χαῖρε, τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς πλοκάς διασπῶσα·

7 σεπτῆ D 8 ἀπίστων] πιστῶν G χαῖρε—ἀκουσμα om. T 9 χαῖρε]
 τὸ add. A 10¹ πανύμνητον M 10² τοῦ] τὸ D 12¹ ἡ τάναντία] τὰ
 ἐναντία V 12² ταῦτο ἀγαγοῦσα] ταυτότητα ἄγουσα P 13² λοχείαν] τόκον A
 ζευγῶσα] ζευγῶσα G: ζευγῶσα P 14 ante 13 V 14 perit ex T
 ις' ABDGJMPTV
 1¹ φύσις] κτήσις J 3 τὸν] τὸ G 4¹ ἐθεώρου ADGPT 5² ἀκούοντος J
 παρὰ πάντων] παρ' αὐτῶν AP: οὕτως add. JMPγγ
 ιζ' ABDGJMPTV
 1² ἀφώνους] ἀφθόγγους AGMPV 2¹ ὀρώμεν] ὀρών μεν D 5² πιστοὶ
 βοῶντες G 7 ταμεῖον] σημειον P 8 δεικνύοντες G 9 τεχνολόγους ἀλόγους]
 τεχνολόγων τοὺς λόγους V ἀλόγος J 10¹ ἐμαράνθησαν] ἐμαράνθησαν J: ἐτυφλώθησαν
 M²: ἐνεφράγησαν P 10²—11¹ οἱ—ἐμαράνθησαν om. DG 11² ἐμαράνθησαν]
 ἐμαράνθησαν JM

- χαῖρε, τῶν ἀλιέων τὰς σαγήνας πληροῦσα·
 χαῖρε, βυθοῦ ἀγνοίας ἐξέλκουσα·
 15 χαῖρε, πολλοὺς ἐν γνώσει φωτίζουσα·
 χαῖρε, ὀλκάς τῶν θελόντων σωθῆναι·
 χαῖρε, λιμὴν τῶν τοῦ βίου πλωτήρων·
 |: χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε." :|
 ιη' Σῶσαι θέλων τὸν κόσμον ὁ τῶν ὄλων κοσμήτωρ
 πρὸς τοῦτον αὐτεπάγγελτος ἦλθε·
 καὶ ποιμὴν ὑπάρχων ὡς θεὸς
 δι' ἡμᾶς ἐφάνη καθ' ἡμᾶς ὅμοιος·
 5 ὁμοίω γὰρ τὸ ὅμοιον καλέσας ὡς θεὸς ἀκούει·
 |: "Ἄλληλούϊα." :|
 ιθ' Τεῖχος εἰ τῶν παρθένων, θεοτόκε παρθένε,
 καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰς σέ προσφευγόντων·
 ὁ γὰρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς
 κατεσκευάσες σε ποιητής, ἄχραντε,
 5 οἰκήσας ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ σου καὶ δεῖξας προσφωνεῖν σοὶ πάντας·
 "Χαῖρε, ἡ στήλη τῆς παρθενίας·
 χαῖρε, ἡ πύλη τῆς σωτηρίας·
 χαῖρε, ἀρχηγὲ νοητῆς ἀναπλάσεως·
 χαῖρε, χορηγὲ θεϊκῆς ἀγαθότητος·
 10 χαῖρε, σὺ γὰρ ἀνεγέννησας τοὺς συλληφθέντας αἰσχροῦς·
 χαῖρε, σὺ γὰρ ἐνουθέτησας τοὺς συληθέντας τὸν νοῦν·
 χαῖρε, ἡ τὸν φθορέα τῶν φρενῶν καταργοῦσα·
 χαῖρε, ἡ τὸν σπορέα τῆς ἀγνείας τεκοῦσα·
 χαῖρε, παστάς ἀσπόρου νυμφεύσεως·
 15 χαῖρε, πιστοὺς κυρίω ἀρμύζουσα·
 χαῖρε, καλὴ κουροτρόφε παρθένων·

13² πληρώσασα A: πληρώσας G 15 φωτίζουσα] πλουτίζουσα M²V 17 πλωτήρων]
 πληρῶν G
 ιη' ABDGJMPTV
 2 τούτην P αὐτεπαγγέλτως D 3 ὑπάρχων ποιμὴν V ὡς] καὶ JV
 4² ὅμοιος] ἄνθρωπος JT: πρόβατον MV 5¹⁻² ὁμοίω—ἀκούει] ὁμοίως (ὁμοίω BGPT)
 γὰρ (δὲ V) τὸ ὅμοιον καλέσας ἦλθεν (ἤθελεν DG: ἠθέλησεν PV: ἐθέλησεν T) ἀκούειν ABDGPTV
 ιθ' ABDGJMPTV
 2 προσφευγόντων] προστρεχόντων GJMTV 4¹ σε om. G 5¹ οἰκῆσαι BGV
 5² καὶ—πάντας] D: καὶ διδάξας προσφωνεῖν σοὶ πάντας ABDGPT: καὶ ποιήσας προσφωνεῖν
 πάντας M: καὶ πάντας προσφωνεῖν διδάξας V 8 νοητῆς] γηγενῶν GJM: τῆς Ἀδὰμ V
 9 ἀρχηγὲ T 10¹ ἀνεγέννησας] ἐσυνέτησας P: ἐγέννησας T 10² τοὺς—αἰσχροῦς]
 τοὺς συληθέντας (-ες G) αἰσχροῦς GM: τοὺς πλανηθέντας τὸ πρὶν P: τοὺς συληθέντας τὸ πρὶν V
 11¹⁻² σὺ—νοῦν] ὅτι ἐνέδυσας τοὺς γυμνωθέντας τῆς ζωῆς M 11² συλληφθέντας G
 14 χαῖρε] ἡ add. G νυμφεύσεως] νυμφίου G 16 καλὴ—παρθένων] κανὸν τῆς καλῆς
 παρθενίας B καλῆ] καλῶν G παρθένων] παρθένε V

- χαῖρε, ψυχῶν νυμφοστόλε ἁγίων·
|: χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε." :|
- κ' Ἕμνος ἄπας ἤττάται συνεκτείνεσθαι σπεύδων
τῷ πλήθει τῶν πολλῶν οἰκτιρῶν σου·
ἰσαριθμούς ψαλμούς καὶ ψδᾶς
ἀν προσφέρωμέν σοι, βασιλεῦ ἅγιε,
5 οὐδὲν τελοῦμεν ἄξιον, ὧν δέδωκας τοῖς σοι βοῶσιν·
|: "Ἀλληλοῦα." :|
- κα' Φωτοδόχον λαμπάδα τοῖς ἐν σκότει φανεῖσαν
ὀρῶμεν τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον·
τὸ γὰρ αὔλον ἄπτουσα φῶς
ὀδηγεῖ πρὸς γνῶσιν θεϊκὴν ἅπαντας,
5 αὐγῇ τὸν νοῦν φωτίζουσα, κραυγῇ δὲ τιμωμένη ταῦτα·
"Χαῖρε, ἀκτίς νοητοῦ ἡλίου·
χαῖρε, λαμπτήρ τοῦ ἀδύτου φέγγους·
χαῖρε, ἀστραπή τὰς ψυχὰς καταλάμπουσα·
χαῖρε, ὡς βροντὴ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταπλήττουσα·
10 χαῖρε, ὅτι τὸν πολύφωτον ἀνατέλλεις φωτισμόν·
χαῖρε, ὅτι τὸν πολύρρητον ἀναβλύζεις ποταμόν·
χαῖρε, τῆς κολυμβήθρας ζωγραφοῦσα τὸν τύπον·
χαῖρε, τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀναιροῦσα τὸν ῥύπον·
χαῖρε, λουτὴρ ἐκπλύνων συνείδησιν·
15 χαῖρε, κρατὴρ κερνῶν ἀγαλλίασιν·
χαῖρε, ὁσμὴ τῆς Χριστοῦ εὐωχίας·
χαῖρε, ζωὴ μυστικῆς εὐωχίας·
|: χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε." :|
- κβ' Χάριν δοῦναι θελήσας ὀφλημάτων ἀρχαίων
ὁ πάντων χρωλύτης ἀνθρώπων,
ἐπεδήμησε δι' ἑαυτοῦ
πρὸς τοὺς ἀποδήμους τῆς αὐτοῦ χάριτος·
17 ψυχῶν] τεμῆ (sic pro σεμῆ) V ἁγία G
κ' ABDGJMPTV
1¹ ἤττάται] καὶ αἶνος V 3 ψδᾶς καὶ ψαλμούς G 4¹ ἀν] ἀς DP: ἐάν J: κἂν T
ἀν—σοι] ἀφεροῦμέν σοι G: ἀναφερομέν σοι V 4² ἅγιε] εὐσπλαγχνε D 5² δέδωκας]
ἐδωκας JV σοι] πίστει V: om. G
κα' ABDGJMPTV
3 ἄπτουσα] αὐτῆς A φῶς] πῦρ JV 4¹ γνῶσει J 4² ἅπαντας] πάντοτε V
5² ταῦτα] ταύτη GMV: τοιαύτη B ταῦτα τιμωμένη D 6 νοητοῦ] νητοῦ (sic) A
7 ἀδύτου] ἀκτίστου V 8 καταυγάζουσα V 9 χαῖρε — 10² φωτισμόν] pereunt ex T
11¹ πολύρρητον] πολύδωρον V 11² ποταμόν] ποτισμόν BDMT: θησαυρόν J
13² ῥύπον] τύπον G 15 κερνῶν] κρατῶν V 16 τῆς] τοῦ G 17 ζωῆς (τροφή
M) μυστικῆς (μυστικῆς periit ex P) εὐωχία (-ας JM) ABGJMP
κβ' ABDGJMPT (nunc vix legitur) V
4¹ ἀποδήμους] ἀποδημοῦντας B αὐτοῦ] αὐτῆς G

- 5 καὶ σχίσας τὸ χειρόγραφον δοκῶει παρὰ πάντων οὕτως·
|: "Ἀλληλοῦα." :|
- κγ' Ψάλλοντές σου τὸν τόκον εὐφημοῦμεν σε πάντες
ὡς ἔμψυχον ναόν, θεοτόκε·
ἐν τῇ σῆ γὰρ οἰκήσας γαστρὶ
ὁ κατέχων πάντα τῇ χειρὶ κύριος
5 ἡγίασεν, ἐδόξασεν, ἐδίδαξε βοᾶν σοι πάντας·
"Χαῖρε, σκητὴ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Λόγου·
χαῖρε, ἁγία ἁγίων μείζων·
χαῖρε, κιβωτὴ χρυσοθεῖσα τῷ πνεύματι·
χαῖρε, θησαυρὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἀδαπάνητε·
10 χαῖρε, τίμιον διάδημα βασιλείων εὐσεβῶν·
χαῖρε, καύχημα σεβάσιμων ἱερέων εὐλαβῶν·
χαῖρε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁ ἀσάλευτος πύργος·
χοῖρε, τῆς βασιλείας τὸ ἀπόρρητον τεῖχος·
χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἐγείρονται τρόπαια·
15 χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἐχθροὶ καταπίπτουσι·
χαῖρε, φωτὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ θεραπεία·
χαῖρε ψυχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς προστασία·
|: χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε." :|
- κδ' Ὡ πανύμνητε μήτηρ, ἡ τεκοῦσα τὸν πάντων
ἁγίων ἁγιώτατον Λόγον,
δεξαμένη τὴν νῦν προσφορὰν,
ἀπὸ πάσης ῥῦσαι συμφορᾶς ἅπαντας
5 καὶ τῆς μελλούσης λύτρωσαι κολάσεως τοὺς σοι βοῶντας·
|: "Ἀλληλοῦα." :|

κγ' ABDGJMPT (1—8 nunc vix legitur) V

1² εὐφημοῦμεν] ἀνυμνοῦμεν BJ 4 κατέχων] τὰ add. B τῇ om. G 5² σοι
om. J 11² εὐλαβῶν] εὐσεβῶν G 12² ὁ om. G 16 φωτὸς] χρωτὸς BV
ἐμοῦ] κέμοῦ G 16 post 17 V 17 προστασία] σωτηρία MTV

κδ' ABDGJMPT (nunc vix legitur) V

1¹ μητὴρ JV(T?) 4² ἅπαντας G 5² τοὺς σοι βοῶντας] τοῖς σὲ βοῶσιν G: τοὺς
αὐτῷ βοῶντας AP: τοὺς οὕτω βοῶντας V