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Celebrating Orthodoxy: Miniatures for Gregory the Theologian’s “Unread” Orations (Ms. Basiliensis AN I 8)

With 1 figure and 6 plates

Abstract: Ms. AN I 8 in the University Library of Basel contains the second part of the *Commentary* on the so-called “unread” orations of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus composed by Elias the metropolitan of Crete presumably around 1120, a text that was rarely copied in Byzantium. This essay examines the hitherto little-studied miniatures that were added to the codex, two author portraits and fourteen illustrative frontispieces. Stylistic and especially iconographic evidence suggests that the book’s miniatures were commissioned during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180), most likely in or after 1166 when Manuel assembled a Church Council in the Great Palace of Constantinople which dealt with the interpretation of Christ’s phrase “My Father is greater than I” (John 14:28). The essay presents the first detailed analysis of the iconography of the miniatures in light of the theological writings contained in the volume. Painted at a time of intense doctrinal debates, I argue that these images first and foremost serve to celebrate Gregory as a religious leader and teacher of lasting authority in matters of Byzantine Orthodox theology. Codicological analysis reveals a complex production scenario and suggests that at least the frontispieces were added to the book as an afterthought; furthermore, it can be demonstrated that these paintings were not originally intended for the present volume but likely for another copy of the same text. Yet it seems that all sixteen miniatures were created within a short period of time by one and the same workshop comprising a large number of painters, who collaborated on what appears to have been a commission of highly unusual character.

1. INTRODUCTION

The following study is dedicated to the miniatures contained in ms. AN I 8 of the University Library of Basel (*Diktyon* 8896)¹. As I will argue in this article, these images were in all likelihood commissioned during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, more precisely in or after the year 1166, at a time of intensified doctrinal debates in which the ruler played a leading role. The manuscript contains the *Commentary* (ἐξήγησις) by Elias, Metropolitan of Crete, on 19 orations of Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390), which are included with the *Commentary*². Apart from an iconographic investigation of the sixteen full-page miniatures found in this book, two author portraits and fourteen illustrative frontispieces, I will also discuss the practicalities of their manufacture and insertion into

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Ueli Dill (Head of the Department of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books at the University Library of Basel) for facilitating my consultation of the original manuscript and generously providing me with digital images on multiple occasions. Francesco Carmenati, M.A. (Head of the Department of Conservation) and Friederike Koschate-Hennig (Conservator, Basel) shared with me their observations from the recent restoration project, for which I am grateful as well. While work on this article was in progress, I gave presentations at the Medieval Studies Workshop of the University of Chicago and at the Byzantine Studies Conference in Minneapolis. I would like to thank the attendees of both events for their helpful comments. I also wish to express my gratitude for the advice I received from the two anonymous readers who peer-reviewed this essay for *JÖB*.

² I have rendered the manuscript’s inventory number according to the usage for the description of manuscripts in the Basel University Library in “e-codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland.” In the present article, I use “orations,” “homilies,” “discourses,” or “sermons” interchangeably to refer to Gregory’s oratory works contained in ms. Basil. AN I 8; on terminology, see V. SOMERS, *Histoire des collections complètes des Orations de Grégoire de Nazianze* (*Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain* 48). Louvain-la-Neuve 1997, V; on the different literary genres represented in Gregory’s work (orations, letters, and poems), see B. WYSS, *Gregor II (Gregor von Nazianz)*, in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* XII, ed. T. Klauser. Stuttgart 1983, 793–863, 798–814.

the manuscript. Careful codicological analysis reveals a complex production scenario and suggests that the miniatures were added to the codex at different points in time. Just like Elias' expositions, these images reflect the appreciation accorded to Gregory Nazianzen and his theological writings in medieval Byzantium. As I will argue in this essay, the iconography of the frontispieces was clearly derived from the text of the homilies, rather than their exegesis. In a sense, they supply the book with yet another—visual—commentary. First and foremost, I argue, the set of images contained in this codex serves to celebrate Gregory's lasting authority in matters of Byzantine Orthodox theology.

The hitherto little-known codex has recently been subjected to restoration carried out by the Department of Conservation of the Basel University Library, which occasioned a thorough autopsy of its contents as well. Ms. AN I 8 is a heavy codex of large dimensions, now measuring ca. 380 × 270 millimeters. Its text was written on paper folia, whereas all sixteen miniatures that were added to the book are on parchment sheets³. A detailed description and digital facsimile of the codex is available in *e-codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland*, and I invite the reader to use the high-resolution photographs that are available online⁴. My investigation of the miniatures was originally begun as part of collaborative work with Caroline Macé and Patrick Andrist, who have recently published a fine article that focuses chiefly on the philological, codicological, and palaeographical analysis of the manuscript⁵.

The Basel codex is a highly unusual manuscript with regard to its textual content, its illuminations, and the complex procedures of its creation. Hardly anything is known about Elias of Crete, whose episcopate has tentatively been dated to around 1120⁶, and it is not clear where he composed his *Commentary* on Gregory's orations. The title provided in the Basel codex (f. 1r) mentions that Elias wrote his expositions "when he was in exile," the location of which is not named⁷. Byzantine witnesses of Elias' expositions are scarce, and the text remains unedited⁸. Only one codex, ms. Vat. gr. 1219 (*Diktyon* 67850), which has been dated to around 1200, preserves the text in its entirety⁹.

³ Paper became more common for the production of books from the mid-11th century on; N. OIKONOMIDES, Writing Materials, Documents, and Books, in: *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. E. Laiou. Washington, D. C. 2002, III 589–592, 590; N. OIKONOMIDES, Le support matériel des documents byzantins, in: *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris 21–25 octobre 1974 (*Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* 559), ed. J. Glénisson – J. Bompain – J. Irigoien. Paris 1977, 385–416, 390; J. IRIGOIN, Les débuts de l'emploi du papier à Byzance. *BZ* 46 (1953) 314–316, 314.

⁴ <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/searchresult/list/one/ubb/AN-I-0008> (accessed 23.07.2018).

⁵ C. MACÉ – P. ANDRIST, Elias of Crete's *Commentary* on Gregory of Nazianzus' Homilies in codex Basel AN I 8: a Philological and Codicological Approach. *Nea Rhome* 13 (2016 [2018]) 171–239. I wish to thank the authors for fruitful discussions of the original manuscript during several meetings at Basel University Library and while work on my own article was in progress.

⁶ V. LAURENT, Le rituel de la proskomidie et le métropolitain de Crète Élie. *REB* 16 (1958) 116–142, esp. 118–121; for critical discussions of the scarce textual evidence and its complications with regard to matters of dating, see MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 201–205; E. DE RIDDER, Elias Ekdikos as the Author of the *Anthologium Gnomicum* (CPG 7716): a Research Update. *REB* 73 (2015) 203–227, 223–226. In terms of chronology, the only secure evidence (providing a *terminus post quem*) is Elias' reference, in the commentary's prologue, to an earlier commentator on Gregory's orations, Basil the Lesser, whose activity may be dated to around 950; LAURENT, Rituel 118; MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 201.

⁷ ὑπερορίῳ τυγχάνοντι; MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 185. No exile is mentioned in the roughly contemporaneous ms. Vat. gr. 1219, the only complete copy of Elias' commentary; MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 190.

⁸ Partial translations of the commentary into Latin were published in the later 16th century by Johannes Löwenklau and Jacques de Billy; MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 188–189 (with the older bibliography). Löwenklau's translation, published in 1571, is based on the Basel codex; I. LEUNCLAVIUS [Löwenklau], *Operum Gregorii Nazianzeni Tomi tres, aucti nunc primum Caesarii, qui frater Nazianzeni fuit, Eliae Cretensis Episcopi, Pselli, & ipsius Gregorii librorum aliquot accessione*. Basel 1571, 2–393.

⁹ J. SAJDAK, *Historia critica scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni*, I. Cracow 1914, 98–99; MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias esp. 189–190; see also their detailed remarks on ms. Vat. gr. 1219 throughout the text and in Appendices II, IV–VI. The Vatican codex has recently been digitized (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1219.pt.1, and https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1219.pt.1).

Like the Basel codex, it was written on paper, but textual variants suggest that the two manuscripts are not directly related¹⁰. Yet it is significant that the order of the orations and their commentaries in the ms. Basiliensis AN I 8 conforms exactly to that of the second part of ms. Vat. gr. 1219¹¹. This observation suggests that only the second part of the complete *Commentary* was available—or of interest—to whomever commissioned the copy, because the first homily in the Basel codex is numbered λόγος πρῶτος (f. 1r), thus presenting the book as a complete entity to the reader. Aside from the Basel codex, only three other Byzantine manuscripts survive that contain parts of the *Commentary*, all of them dating from the 14th century¹².

Elias' expositions are limited to Gregory's "unread" (μὴ ἀναγινωσκόμενοι) orations, called thus in Byzantium to indicate that they were not read during the liturgy on feast days of the Church calendar¹³. In contrast, the so-called liturgical edition comprises sixteen of Gregory's sermons that were not commented upon by Elias. They were read annually on the occasion of special festivals¹⁴, were thus copied especially frequently (ca. 440 witnesses survive)¹⁵, and were often illustrated lavishly, as testified by at least three dozen preserved manuscripts¹⁶.

As stated in the prologue to his *Commentary*, it was a declared aim of Elias to offer expositions of the "unread" homilies because, unlike the "liturgical" ones, they had been largely neglected by previous exegetes¹⁷. Elias did not comment upon these discourses in their chronological sequence. Although his exegesis reveals that he was entirely familiar with their respective historical context, he appears to have been more interested in tracing their sources in the realms of Holy Scripture and especially ancient rhetoric and philosophy¹⁸. The characterization "unread" does not mean that all of these discourses were generally little known or copied rarely in Byzantium, though, as the manuscript tradition of Gregory's orations is very rich¹⁹. Over a hundred codices contain the so-called

vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1219.pt.2 (consulted 07/31/18; I would like to thank C. Macé for alerting me to its online availability). Seven partial copies of ms. Vat. gr. 1219 were produced after the manuscript's arrival in Italy; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 194–195 (nos. 2–7), 196 (no. 14).

¹⁰ Cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 189–193, 205.

¹¹ Ms. Basil. AN I 8 contains the lemmata and commentaries on Or. 27, Or. 28, Or. 20, Or. 29, Or. 30, Or. 31, Or. 32, Or. 6, Or. 23, Or. 22, Or. 33, Or. 26, Or. 36, Or. 3, Or. 9, Or. 13, Or. 12, Or. 17, and Or. 10; the contents of ms. Vat. gr. 1219 are Or. 2, Or. 4, Or. 5, Or. 7, Or. 8, Or. 18, Ep. 101, Ep. 102, Or. 25, Or. 34, Or. 27, Or. 28, Or. 20, Or. 29, Or. 30, Or. 31, Or. 32, Or. 6, Or. 23, Or. 22, Or. 33, Or. 26, Or. 36, Or. 3, Or. 9, Or. 13, Or. 12, Or. 17, and Or. 10; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias*, Appendices I, II, IV.

¹² MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 195 (nos. 8, 9, 13). One of these manuscripts contains the first part of the commentary (*ibid.*, no. 13, Appendix IV: V42), whereas the other two are miscellaneous collections, each containing a small selection of Gregory's "unread" orations accompanied by Elias' commentary.

¹³ The classification may be traced back to John Mauropous (11th century); MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 190; J. MOSSAY, La collection des Discours "non-lus-à-date-fixe" dans le ms. de New York Gordan Goodhart Gr. 44, in: II. Symposium Nazianzenum, Louvain-la-Neuve, 25–28 août 1981, ed. J. Mossay. Paderborn et al. 1983, 15–21. In addition to Gregory's "unread" homilies, Elias also commented on two of his letters (Ep. 101, 102); see MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias*, Appendix II.

¹⁴ V. SOMERS-AUVERS, Les collections byzantines de XVI discours de Grégoire de Nazianze. *BZ* 95 (2002) 102–135.

¹⁵ MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias*, Appendix III.

¹⁶ G. GALAVARIS, Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (*Studies in Manuscript Illumination* 6). Princeton 1969. The denomination "liturgical edition" is of modern origin. On the difference between Gregory's "unread" orations and the sixteen belonging to the so-called liturgical edition, see SOMERS, *Histoire* VI.

¹⁷ In the Basel codex, the text of the prologue was added at a later date on the reverse of the first frontispiece miniature (f. Br); MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 184–185; ed./trans., *ibid.*, 197–199. In his prologue, Elias refers to previous expositions of Gregory's "unread" discourses by Basil the Lesser (10th century) and a certain Gregory; see *ibid.*, 198, 200.

¹⁸ See the text of the commentary throughout (LEUNCLAVIUS, *Operum* 2–393) and its prologue (ed./trans. MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias*, esp. 198). On the relevance of ancient philosophy and rhetoric in 12th-century intellectual culture, see P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*. Cambridge 1993, 332–356.

¹⁹ According to Somers, writings by Gregory are found in over a thousand Greek manuscripts copied before ca. 1550; SOMERS, *Histoire* V.

complete collection, i.e., the full set of his forty-four orations (plus select further writings)²⁰, and over seventy additional manuscripts contain the collection of the “unread” orations²¹. Importantly, the latter works include Gregory’s esteemed Theological Orations, delivered at Constantinople in 380, which by the Early Byzantine period had earned him the honorary title “the Theologian.”²² They are found in the Basel codex as well, at the very beginning.

Commentaries on Gregory’s “unread” orations earlier than that of Elias do exist, and many manuscripts are equipped with abundant marginal scholia²³. In addition, details about Gregory’s life and the historical circumstances in which his writings originated were known from other writings, especially his lengthy autobiographical poem and the *Vita* drawn up by Gregory the Presbyter in the seventh century²⁴. In Elias’ *Commentary*, the text of Gregory’s discourses is split up into sections (*lemmata*), so that citations from the homilies alternate with sections of the commentary, which are significantly longer. In ms. Basil. AN I 8, the *lemmata* are written in vermilion red ink, while the commentary sections are rendered in black ink.

Given the paucity of surviving manuscripts containing Elias’ expositions, it is very unlikely that the text circulated widely in Byzantium. What is now the Basel codex thus presupposes an outstanding commission, launched by or at least aimed at an intellectually accomplished individual or group. The codex was among the roughly sixty manuscripts purchased between 1435 and 1437 in Constantinople by the Dominican theologian John of Ragusa (Ivan Stojković, †1443) for use during the Council of Basel, and numerous marginal notes testify to the intense consultation of the book throughout the early modern period²⁵. The current binding of the codex was commissioned by Stojković in Constantinople at the Monastery of St. John Prodromos in Petra, which was located in the vicinity of the imperial palace of Blachernae²⁶. A note added on the verso of the first flyleaf records the total price he paid for the manuscript with its new binding²⁷. This might suggest that the scholar also purchased the book itself at the monastery, which had an important library and was at the time one of the capital’s leading institutions of learning²⁸.

²⁰ SOMERS, *Histoire*, esp. 314–697, 707–708; V. SOMERS, *Description des collections complètes des Orations de Grégoire de Nazianze: quelques compléments*. *Byz* 71 (2001) 462–504.

²¹ MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias*, Appendix III.

²² The first secure evidence for the epithet is Gregory Nazianzen’s *bios*, composed by Gregory the Presbyter (seventh century), who points out that the only other individual to be honored with this title was St. John the Evangelist; *PG* 35, 244A, esp. 288C; cf. *ibid.*, 147A; WYSS, *Gregor* 796.

²³ J. NIMMO SMITH, *The Early Scholia on the Sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus*, in: *Studia Nazianzenica I (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 41; Corpus Nazianzenum 8)*, ed. B. Coulie. Turnhout 2000, 69–146.

²⁴ Gregor von Nazianz, *De vita sua*. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, herausgegeben, eingeleitet und erklärt von C. JUNGCK. Heidelberg 1974; *PG* 35, 243–304.

²⁵ A. KRCHŇÁK, *Ragusio, Johannes Stoyci*, in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, begründet und herausgegeben von F. W. Bautz, fortgeführt von T. Bautz. Herzberg 1994, VII 1256–1263; A. CATALDI PALAU, *Legature constantinopolitane del monastero di Prodromo Petra tra i manoscritti di Giovanni di Ragusa (†1443)*. *Codices Manuscripti* 37/38 (2001) 11–50, esp. 11–13; also see MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 186–189.

²⁶ CATALDI PALAU, *Legature* 15, 21, 32–35, esp. 32, 34; on the history and location of the monastery, see R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’empire byzantin, I: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, III: Les églises et les monastères*. Paris 1969, 421–429.

²⁷ *Constat cu(m) ligatura et o(mni)b(us) circha 12 ip(er)p(er)a*; cf. C. WALTER, *Un commentaire enluminé des homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze*. *CahArch* 22 (1972) 115–129, 115; CATALDI PALAU, *Legature* 32; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 186.

²⁸ E. MALAMUT, *Le monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrome de Pétra de Constantinople*, in: *Le sacré et son inscription dans l’espace à Byzance et en Occident: Études comparées*, ed. M. Kaplan. Paris 2001, 219–233, esp. 221–225; A. CATALDI PALAU, *The Library of the Monastery of Prodromos Petra in the Fifteenth Century (to 1453)*, in: A. CATALDI PALAU, *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*. Spoleto 2008, 209–218; B. MONDRAIN, *La réutilisation de parchemin ancien dans les livres à Constantinople au XIV^e et au XV^e siècle: quelques exemples de la “collection philosophique” aux folios palimpsestes du Parisinus gr. 1220*, in: *Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio*. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Villa Mondragone – Monte Porzio Catone – Università di Roma “Tor Vergata” – Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21–24 aprile

The appreciation accorded to this book in Byzantium is particularly evident in the set of elaborate full-page miniatures painted on parchment folia that were added to the paper quires of the codex. These paintings comprise two author portraits at the very beginning of the book and a set of illustrative frontispieces inserted at the beginning of the individual text units (λόγοι), fourteen of which survive²⁹.

Christopher Walter deserves credit for first introducing the miniatures of the Basel codex to art historical scholarship in an article published in 1972, which offers cursory descriptions of the individual scenes along with a first edition and translation (into French) of their inscriptions³⁰. However, the author's conclusions regarding the date of the codex are obviously not based on an autopsy of the original manuscript, which he assigns to the late thirteenth or first half of the fourteenth century, however, mostly on the grounds of mistaken assumptions regarding the materials employed in the manufacture of the codex³¹.

A thorough analysis by a specialist in palaeography of the various handwritings present in this codex still remains a desideratum. Based on cursory palaeographical comparisons, the Basel codex has been dated to the decades around 1200, but it has thus far not been possible to identify its main scribe or any of the scribes who added the captions to the miniatures, nor could the region of the manuscript's production be determined³². As will be discussed below, the stylistic evidence of the miniatures contained in the codex seems to point to a date of manufacture in the later 12th century. Iconographical details in fact strongly indicate a connection of the Basel codex with the doctrinal debates held during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Comnenos (r. 1143–1180), more concretely with the council assembled by Manuel in the Great Palace of Constantinople in 1166 which dealt with the interpretation of Christ's phrase "My Father is greater than I" (John 14:28). I suggest, therefore, that the Basel codex was created some time during the last fifteen years of Manuel's rule.

Hardly any of the illuminated manuscripts produced in Byzantium in the decades around 1200 can be dated and localized with certainty. Significantly, however, ms. Basil. AN I 8 appears to have no direct relation to the manuscripts associated with the so-called decorative style group, comprising

2004, ed. S. Lucà. Rome 2008, 111–129, 113–114; G. CAVALLO, Stralci di storia di un gruppo di manoscritti greci del secolo IX, in: *Ingenio facilis*. Per Giovanni Orlandi (1938–2007), ed. P. Chiesa – A. M. Fagnoni – R. E. Guglielmetti. Florence 2017, 3–64, 41, 46–47; A. CATALDI PALAU, The Manuscript Production in the Monastery of Prodomos Petra (Twelfth-Fifteenth Centuries), in: A. CATALDI PALAU, *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*. Spoleto 2008, 197–207.

²⁹ The frontispieces to Or. 20, 29, 32, 17, and 10 are now lost. Between ff. 352/3 and 361/2, respectively, one can see the stubs of former parchment leaves, the one inserted between ff. 361/2 preserving on its recto remnants of the outer black and inner red frames of the frontispiece miniature that once appeared on this page. It is possible that the painting once faced the incipit of Or. 20; because of the orations that have lost their frontispieces, only Or. 20 starts on a verso page (ff. 62v–78r). It cannot be ruled out, however, that the stub with the remnants of a frontispiece was bound into the manuscript upside down, possibly when it was rebound for John of Ragusa.

³⁰ WALTER, *Commentaire*; see also the author's summary of this article, published in the same year, C. WALTER, Un manuscrit byzantin conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Bâle, in: *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*. Paris 1972, 73–75. Some observations are repeated in later writings by the same author (esp. C. WALTER, *Biographical Scenes of the Three Hierarchs*. *REB* 36 [1978] 233–260, 238–240; C. WALTER, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* [*Birmingham Byzantine Series* 1]. London 1982, 29, 71, 75, 101, 131, 133, 135). The transcriptions of the labels in the present article correspond to those edited by Walter, except in the few cases where corrections were necessary. Abbreviations have been fully transcribed, and translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

³¹ It is likely that Walter worked with a microfilm and/or photographs of the codex, because he describes the material support of the miniatures as "bombycin" (oriental paper; WALTER, *Commentaire* 116, and *passim*) or "papier" (e.g., *ibid.*, 118, esp. 129). The measurements of the manuscript the author provides are also incorrect (*ibid.*, 116; WALTER, *Manuscrit* 73). Walter's misidentification of the materials employed as support for the text and images has far-reaching consequences for his argument regarding the—assumed—palaeological date of manufacture of the codex (WALTER, *Commentaire* 116, esp. 128–129; WALTER, *Manuscrit* 74). In later publications, Walter seems to have tentatively settled on a 13th-century date (WALTER, *Scenes* 218; WALTER, *Art* 71: "13th century [?]"). without, however, substantiating this revision of his earlier dating.

³² Most recently MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 175. The authors have consulted with several scholars who specialize in the study of Byzantine palaeography; *ibid.*, 171* (acknowledgements).

over a hundred codices, which make up the bulk of the illuminated manuscripts produced in Byzantium between ca. 1150 and 1250³³. Most of these illustrated volumes contain biblical writings, with the great majority being tetraevangelia, and some are manuscripts made for liturgical use³⁴. None of them are paper codices.

In spite of the important evidence provided by the miniatures of ms. Basil. AN I 8 with regard to the illustration of Gregory's homilies, these pictures have not invited much scholarly interest, aside from Walter's work. Whereas Walter conceived of the codex and its entire set of miniatures as the result of a single phase of production³⁵, it was Robert Nelson who suggested in passing that the illuminations, which he assigned to the 12th century, might represent later additions to the manuscript, possibly on the occasion of its rebinding for John of Ragusa in the 15th century³⁶. It may indeed be demonstrated that the miniatures, or rather the fourteen frontispieces, were added to the book at a later stage, but yet still within a short period after the manuscript was completed.

The later addition of miniatures is far from unusual in Byzantine manuscripts³⁷. However, in this case the fact that the parchment folia interrupt the text flow of the codex was apparently considered a problem by an early user: beneath the last line of text on the verso of a paper page preceding an inserted parchment folio was added in calligraphic writing the following recommendation to readers: "seek after the parchment [sheet]" (ζῆται μετὰ τὸ μέμβρανον)³⁸. The notes, somewhat odd and actually quite superfluous, are difficult to explain. They might indicate that where the codex was then kept, the presence of an illustrated manuscript was rather exceptional.

Whereas the two author portraits are likely to have been created specifically for the present volume, or, put more cautiously, to have been part of the book before the fourteen illustrative frontispieces were added, it seems that the latter were originally intended for a different codex. This conclusion

³³ See A. WEYL CARR, A Group of Provincial Manuscripts from the Twelfth Century. *DOP* 36 (1982) 39–81 (repr. in A. WEYL CARR, *Cyprus and the Devotional Arts of Byzantium in the Era of the Crusades*. Aldershot – Burlington 2005, I) and especially her meticulous study, before the arrival of digitization, of the associated manuscripts; A. WEYL CARR, *Byzantine Illumination 1150–1250. The Study of a Provincial Tradition*, Chicago – London 1987; more recently, K. MAXWELL, *The Afterlife of Texts: Decorative Style Manuscripts and New Testament Textual Criticism*, in: *Byzantine Images and Their Afterlives. Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr*, ed. L. Jones. Farnham – Burlington 2014, 11–38, based on textual data, challenges Carr's identification of a single "group" and its classifications into subgroups, according to palaeographic, artistic, and codicological observations.

³⁴ On the textual contents of the manuscripts associated with the "decorative style" group, see WEYL CARR, *Illumination* 1–2.

³⁵ WALTER, *Commentaire* 128 and 129.

³⁶ R. S. NELSON, *The Italian Appreciation and Appropriation of Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts, ca. 1200–1450*. *DOP* 49 (1995) 209–235, 223, esp. n. 90. However, Nelson was mistaken in assuming that Walter also believed that the miniatures were later additions. In fact, Walter argues that only the parchment was reused in order to accommodate the paintings (WALTER, *Commentaire* 116 and 129; it is odd that here the author describes the material employed as "parchemin," whereas throughout his article he claims that the miniatures were painted on "bombycin," or "papier;" see above n. 31).

³⁷ Most recently, D. BIANCONI, *Cura e studio. Il restauro del libro a Bisanzio (Hellenica 66)*. Alessandria 2018, 75–80; Hans Belting has argued that the later insertion into manuscripts of miniatures on single folia is encountered most frequently in codices of the Late Byzantine era; H. BELTING, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft*. Heidelberg 1970, 3–8, esp. 4. However, earlier examples do exist. Particularly prominent are the Paris Psalter (ms. Paris. gr. 139; *Diktyon* 49706) and the Leo Bible (ms. Vat. Reg. gr. 1; *Diktyon* 66171), both dating from the tenth century; J. LOWDEN, *Observations on Byzantine Psalters*. *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988) 242–260, 250–255 (Paris Psalter); I. HUTTER, *The Decoration*, in: *La Bible du Patrice Léon, Codex Reginensis Graecus 1. Commentaire codicologique, paléographique, philologique et artistique (StT 463)*, ed. P. Canart. Vatican City 2011, 195–272, n. 20 (Leo Bible; in this case, the insertion of the frontispieces for some of the biblical books was an afterthought). Based on codicological evidence, Leslie Brubaker has suggested that the famous Gregory manuscript (ms. Paris. gr. 510) might not originally have been intended to accommodate miniatures, but that this decision was only taken while its text was being copied; L. BRUBAKER, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*. Cambridge 1999, 8–11, esp. 10.

³⁸ The first note of this kind, which appears just before the now-missing frontispiece to Or. 20 (f. 62v), is more explicit than the following ones: "seek the continuation of the present discourse after the parchment sheet" (τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ ζῆται μετὰ τὸ μέμβρανον φύλλον). All surviving notes were written in magenta ink; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 182.

is based on codicological observations, chiefly regarding matters of page layout and measurements. However, given the overall stylistic conformity of the entire set of miniatures, the author portraits and frontispieces appear to have been created roughly at the same time, perhaps within only a few years. On stylistic and codicological grounds, it might very well be that all sixteen images originated from one workshop. Visible differences in painterly technique and quality permit the conclusion that this workshop comprised a large number of painters who collaborated on the realisation of what must have been a commission of a highly unusual character.

Aside from adding splendor to the manuscript, the miniatures contained in the Basel codex serve to celebrate Gregory Nazianzen as a theologian and religious leader of outstanding rank. Not only do these images present the Church Father as an individual imbued with divine inspiration and authority, but they also refer to key moments in his life, thus highlighting his merits as a leader in doctrinal, as well as in spiritual and moral, matters. It must be said, though, that few of these "biographical" scenes offer narrative details to actually illustrate the events; most of them instead show the Theologian preaching to a group³⁹. The images that illustrate confrontations between representatives of the "orthodox" faith and their adversaries were clearly intentioned to single out Gregory's leading role in defining Nicene Orthodoxy and its defense against heretical opponents. The iconography of the frontispieces is often restricted to represent simple teaching or preaching scenes. Some scenes that feature heretics and other enemies stand out due to the graphic depiction of their expulsion or physical punishment. Much of the interaction between the figures seen in the relatively reduced compositions that characterize this manuscript is rendered by means of gestures and sometimes exaggerated facial expressions. This tendency to depict strong human emotions is in fact typical of trends current in Byzantine painting of the later 12th century⁴⁰.

An unusual feature of the frontispieces is the abundance of inscriptions, which were added at different stages in order to connect the respective image with the oration it accompanies and explain who and what is depicted. Not only do these texts serve to summarize the contents of the images, but they also offer occasional clues to the historical circumstances in which the orations were delivered by Gregory. The incipit of the respective oration was added to each frontispiece in the Basel codex, which is a relatively uncommon feature of Byzantine illuminations⁴¹. Quite appropriately, the initial letters were usually added close to the head of Gregory, who thus appears to be uttering these words, so that the paintings share the authority accorded to the orations whose texts they introduce. Since the text flow was interrupted by the later insertion of the frontispieces into the quires, the quotations of the initial letters serve to link the respective image to the beginning of the oration so that the reader could perhaps locate the latter more easily within the dense text block on the facing page.

Only two illustrated codices containing the complete collection of Gregory's orations survive, the splendid ms. Paris. gr. 510 (*Diktyon* 50085), created in Constantinople between 879 and 882 for Emperor Basil I, and ms. Ambrosianus E 49–50 inf. in Milan (*Diktyon* 42694), likewise dated to the ninth century, to which most scholars have assigned an Italian origin⁴². Whereas ms. Paris. gr. 510

³⁹ On the biographical themes found in other illustrated manuscripts containing Gregory's orations, see WALTER, *Scenes* 235–243; BRUBAKER, *Vision* 119–146.

⁴⁰ E.g., K. M. SKAWRAN, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece*. Pretoria 1982, 82–83; S. PELEKANIDES – M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Kastoria*. Athens 1985, 57.

⁴¹ Many figures in the miniatures of ms. Ambros. E 49–50, including, oftentimes, Gregory the Theologian himself, hold inscribed scrolls in order to render the idea of oral speech. It deserves systematic investigation whether (all of) these texts represent quotations from the texts contained in the volume. In several instances, the incipit of a homily is cited on a scroll held by Gregory; e.g., *Codex. I tesori della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. Milan 2000, 35; A. DŽUROVA, *Byzantinische Miniaturen. Schätze der Buchmalerei vom 4. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*. Regensburg 2002, fig. 26.

⁴² Ms. Paris. gr. 510: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522082> (last accessed 25.03.2017); BRUBAKER, *Vision*; on the date and place of production, *ibid.*, 5–7; SOMERS, *Histoire* 392–396. Milan, ms. Ambros. E 49–50 inf.: GRABAR, *Grégoire*;

has attracted significant attention in art historical scholarship, the miniatures of the Milan codex remain understudied⁴³. None of the surviving manuscripts containing exclusively Gregory's "unread" orations are accompanied by figural illustrations, though this of course does not permit the conclusion that they were never illustrated in Byzantium.

The miniatures of the ninth-century manuscripts in Paris and Milan appear to be unrelated as far as layout and iconography are concerned⁴⁴. Although the Basel codex does share with ms. Paris. gr. 510 the feature of frontispiece miniatures, all three volumes in fact represent largely different approaches to illustration. Most of the images in the Paris codex represent figures or narratives derived from the text of Gregory's orations, many of them illustrations of biblical events⁴⁵. The miniatures of the Milan manuscript are for the most part unframed scenes or representations of individual figures that are painted in the margins, with pictures of larger dimensions being the exception⁴⁶. It should be emphasized, though, that in terms of textual content, the Basel manuscript differs fundamentally from the illustrated volumes in Paris and Milan. The former is in fact a very different type of manuscript, since it primarily presents a commentary on a selection of Gregory's discourses, which are complete, but split up in sections interrupted by Elias' lengthy explanations of each cited passage. Remarkably, though, nothing in the iconography of the frontispieces betrays the presence of the expositions; as I will demonstrate in the next section, most details find an explanation in the orations themselves or their historical context as it was known around the time when the images were painted. Yet the pictures occasionally display iconographic features that do not find an explanation in the orations nor in Elias' expositions, being either derived from other sources or added *ad hoc* by the painters.

The preserved miniatures contained in this codex will be discussed in the following section one by one in order to explain their iconography with regard to the book's textual content, including the inscriptions that accompany the paintings. This second section presents the first detailed iconographical analysis of each illumination in light of the historical context of the respective oration and its theological or historical subject matter. Given the paucity of surviving illuminated codices containing writings of Gregory the Theologian, especially his "unread" orations, the miniatures of the codex Basiliensis significantly enrich our understanding of approaches to the illustration of his discourses in Byzantium. Careful analysis of text-image relations also helps to shed light on the question of when these miniatures were most likely painted. Following upon the iconographical analysis, in the third section I will attempt to reconstruct the complex production stages of the manuscript in order to discuss questions of date and provenance further.

E. MARTINI – D. BASSI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*. Milan 1906, II 1084–1086; Codex, no. 10, 35; SOMERS, *Histoire* 565–571; recently M. D'AGOSTINO, *Il Gregorio Nazianzeno Ambr. E 49 inf. + E 50 inf. (gr. 1014). Un'indagine codicologica con qualche riflessione paleografica*, in: *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus est operatus: Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90° compleanno*, ed. P. Cherubini – G. Nicolaj. Vatican City 2012, 91–102, focusing on aspects of codicology and palaeography.

⁴³ It would be worthwhile to subject the Milan manuscript to a systematic iconographical analysis. The album published by Grabar in 1943 (GRABAR, *Grégoire*) presents photos of most, though apparently not all, of the miniatures. Regrettably, the images are generally isolated from their context on the respective page, and thus from the text to which they belong. Grabar (*ibid.*, 2) did plan to make an accompanying study based on this collection of photographs, but it was never published. A complete inventory of the miniatures is found in J. MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus*, vol. 1: *Codices Galliae (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums N.F., 2. Reihe, Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz 1)*. Paderborn – Munich – Vienna – Zurich 1981, 178–181. D'AGOSTINO, *Gregorio n. 93*, lists previous studies that discuss some of the miniatures.

⁴⁴ With regard to their textual content, the two manuscripts represent different types within the manuscript tradition of the complete collection; SOMERS, *Histoire* 708.

⁴⁵ For a detailed analysis of the iconography, see BRUBAKER, *Vision*; see *ibid.*, x–xi, for a summary of the topics.

⁴⁶ For depictions of select full pages in color, see Codex 35; DŽUROVA, *Miniaturen*, fig. 26.

2. THE MINIATURES: ICONOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

The reader is kindly asked to consult the high resolution digital images of the miniatures that are available in *e-codices*⁴⁷.

The Two Author Portraits (ff. Av and Cr):

The codex Basiliensis features two portraits that were painted on a parchment bifolium, depicting the (anachronistic) interaction of the individuals whose texts are contained in this volume. They are the only miniatures in the entire codex that have a golden background. The original arrangement of the two author portraits on facing pages [Pl. 1] has in a later binding been disturbed by the insertion between them of the folio that presents the first frontispiece miniature on its verso (f. B; see below).

The chief aim of the author portraits appears to have been the celebration of Gregory Nazianzen as a divinely inspired writer and lasting authority on matters related to Byzantine Orthodox thought. In both images the theologian receives his inspiration directly from heaven, in order to then, in turn, bestow authority upon Metropolitan Elias of Crete. It is a peculiar feature of this manuscript that these two author portraits, despite their differing iconography, convey a basically identical message to the beholder. In all likelihood, the image on f. Av was added as an afterthought to complement the one on the opposite page (f. Cr), although this must have happened around the same time because the paintings are similar in style and the inscriptions of both miniatures were added by the same hand. For the picture on f. Cr, which is of significantly higher quality and iconographic sophistication than the one on the facing page, the painter carefully prepared the page by ruling lines to set the outlines of the miniature. In contrast, the author portrait on f. Av though its elaborate frame is identical to the one on f. Cr, was placed on the opposite page of the bifolium with no prior ruling⁴⁸. It thus seems that the author portrait on f. Cr was painted first, which is further supported by iconographic details. As a result, I will discuss it before turning to the portrait that now precedes it on f. Av.

The ingenious composition on f. Cr serves to underscore the theological and doctrinal significance of the texts contained in the very volume it adorns. It makes a statement as to the origin, transmission, and continuity of religious authority that defines Byzantine Orthodoxy. In the upper part of the miniature, Gregory of Nazianzus is seen in the act of writing in red ink on a scroll the beginning of his *First Theological Oration, Against the Eunomians*, which is the first piece cited and commented on in the Basel codex (Or. 27)⁴⁹. The evidence seems to suggest that this portrait was originally intended to serve as an introduction to the entire codex before the later decision was made to provide the volume with illustrative frontispieces as well⁵⁰. The caption added next to the figure of the Church Father explains what is depicted: "Saint Gregory the Theologian beginning the writing of his own orations."⁵¹

That Gregory's sermons were, however, divinely inspired is visualized by means of the dove of the Holy Spirit, which has approached Gregory's right ear in order to dictate the text to the Church

⁴⁷ <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/searchresult/list/one/ubb/AN-I-0008>.

⁴⁸ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 179, comment that the preparatory ruling for the portrait on f. Cr was likely sufficient for both folia. However, no impressions of such ruling are to be seen on f. A, nor are there any pricking marks, which seems to suggest that the first author portrait (f. Av) was added *ad hoc*; on the ruling patterns in this codex, or, in some cases, their absence, see the third section of the present article.

⁴⁹ Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ κομψοῦς ὁ λόγος (ed. P. GALLAY, Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 27–31 [SC 250]. Paris 1978 [reprint 2006], 70).

⁵⁰ The incipit of Or. 27 is actually quoted twice in miniatures of the codex Basiliensis, as it can also be read in the frontispiece on what is now f. Bv originally facing the beginning of Or. 27 (f. 1r); see below.

⁵¹ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος ἀρχόμενος τῆς τῶν οικείων λόγων γράφης.

Father⁵². The scroll is elegantly rolled out down to the lower part of the miniature where Bishop Elias of Crete, depicted smaller in size than Gregory, is seen composing his expositions. He has copied the Theologian's text as it appears above in red, thus highlighting the sermon's primacy, whereas the incipit of the commentary is being added below in black ink⁵³. Elias' writing on the scroll reflects the arrangement and color distinction of the texts contained in the codex Basiliensis. The figure of Elias is accompanied by the caption "the Metropolitan of Crete beginning the exegesis of the orations of the Theologian".⁵⁴

The iconography underscores that it is St. Gregory the Theologian whose religious authority is of prime importance. Unlike the Church Father, the exegete does not receive his inspiration directly from heaven, but through Gregory as an intermediary. Yet, regardless of notions of hierarchy, the scroll that is shared by both scribes signifies that both the orations and their commentaries are composed by means of the same divine spirit⁵⁵.

While Gregory the Theologian is depicted in monastic garb, as in many of the portraits of him⁵⁶, the dress of Elias, labeled "the Metropolitan of Crete,"⁵⁷ is unusual because it appears to be of secular nature. The bishop wears a dark brown cloak with long, wide sleeves and white wristbands, which is covered by a short black poncho decorated with narrow white bands. On his head is a dome-shaped hat, headgear that was typical of certain court dignitaries and civil servants in Byzantium, including official scribes⁵⁸. While Byzantine officials appear in a great variety of costumes⁵⁹, domical caps identical to that of Elias are frequently worn, for example, by the numerous scribes who are depicted in the scenes that illustrate the activities of Julian the Tax Collector in the illustrated manuscripts of

⁵² Spatharakis has pointed out that the motif of the inspiring dove is rare, even in the case of the Evangelists; I. SPATHARAKIS, A Dove Whispers in the Ear of the Evangelist. *JÖB* 49 (1999) 267–288, 267.

⁵³ Inc. of the commentary: Πρὸς εὐνομιάνους ὁ λόγος τοῦς τῆς...; cf. f. 1r.

⁵⁴ Ἡλίας μητροπολίτης Κρήτης τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἀρχόμενος τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεολόγου.

⁵⁵ A similar distinction in terms of spiritual authority between the writings of saintly church fathers and those composed by worldly authors active at a much later date may also be observed in ms. Paris. gr. 1208 (*Diktyon* 50813), which was produced in the early 12th century and contains the Marian homilies recently composed by the monk James of Kokkinobaphos. The miniature on f. 1v represents Saints John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa seated prominently in front of lecterns with open books that display quotations from their writings. On the left, as the image appears to argue, Chrysostom refers the monk James, depicted as significantly smaller, to Gregory of Nyssa, perhaps after providing him with instructions as to the proper composition of homilies. To the right, Gregory of Nyssa addresses with a teaching gesture the monk who is seen in prostration in order to humbly receive the instructions of this second saintly master; J. C. ANDERSON, The Illustrated Sermons of James the Monk: Their Dates, Order, and Place in the History of Byzantine Art. *Viator* 22 (1991) 69–120, fig. 1, 70–76, esp. 72: "Above all, the composition expresses the debt James owes to two authoritative Fathers of the Early Byzantine period."

⁵⁶ Bishops and patriarchs depicted in monastic garb are frequently encountered in Byzantine manuscripts; see, for some examples, GALAVARIS, Homilies, ch. III.A; K. KRAUSE, Die illustrierten Homilien des Johannes Chrysostomos in Byzanz (*Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz*, Reihe B: *Studien und Perspektiven* 14). Wiesbaden 2004, ch. 5 and 6.

⁵⁷ Ἡλίας μητροπολίτης Κρήτης.

⁵⁸ See the remarks on this type of hat in M. PARANI, Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (*The Medieval Mediterranean* 41). Leiden – Boston 2003, 56, 68. Similar white caps are worn by two of the high court dignitaries flanking the enthroned emperor in ms. Paris. Coislin. 79 (*Diktyon* 49223), on f. 2r. They are the *Protoproedros* and the *Protovestiaros*, standing to the right of the ruler; C.-L. DUMITRESCU, Remarques en marge de Coislin 79. Les trois eunuques et le problème du donateur. *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 32–45, 38–39, fig. 3, with brief comments on the headgear in note 12. In the manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus, ms. Sinait. gr. 418 (*Diktyon* 26365) (f. 15v), three officials wearing white domical hats are watching monks ascending the ladder. The figures are interpreted as those seeking to abandon secular life in order to become monks; K. WEITZMANN – G. GALAVARIS, The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts, I: From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century. Princeton 1990, 154, fig. 594; J. R. MARTIN, The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus (*Studies in Manuscript Illumination* 5). Princeton 1954, 88–89. The same type of hat is also seen in the portrait of an anonymous donor clad in an elaborate chlamys in ms. Athos, Laura A103 (*Diktyon* 26913), f. 3v; PARANI, Reality, pl. 61.

⁵⁹ PARANI, Reality 32–72, 80, 88.

the liturgical homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus⁶⁰. Among the most elaborate compositions illustrating this oration are the three miniatures seen on f. 73v of the ms. Sinait. gr. 339 (*Diktyon* 58714)⁶¹. All of the figures, including Julian himself, wear white caps that have the shape of a semi-dome as well as two white bands⁶² similar to those that in the portrait of Elias are tied under his chin to hold the hat in place. Hence, Elias, who is in the red inscription explicitly identified as a metropolitan⁶³, is in this frontispiece represented as a secretary, a scribe, who humbly acts on the order of others—ultimately the Holy Spirit.

There might, however, be yet another explanation for the garb Elias wears. In Byzantine manuscripts one occasionally encounters the view that Elias the metropolitan of Crete was identical to the theologian and ecclesiastical judge Elias Ekdikos; the latter's activity as a writer has been dated to the decades around 1100⁶⁴. The evidence for the identification of the authors as being one and the same is scarce, not encountered before the fourteenth century, and has not convinced most modern scholars⁶⁵. It would seem relevant, though, that aside from his patristic commentaries, Metropolitan Elias of Crete also authored a series of canonical *responsa*, i.e., responses to inquiries regarding issues of ecclesiastical law⁶⁶. The painter of the miniature on f. Cr, whether justified or not from a modern perspective, might have taken the conflation of the two writers as given, in which case the secular dress of Elias might find an explanation in his function as an *ekdikos*, a judge at an ecclesiastical court (*ekdikeion*)⁶⁷.

If the painter did indeed intend to represent Metropolitan Elias as an *ekdikos*, the iconography would underscore the authoritative nature of Gregory's writings yet more strongly. Through his expositions, Elias would appear to be confirming their status as "legally" binding, in which case the scroll format would seem especially fitting as an allusion to a charter⁶⁸. In accordance with the texts in the book, many of which seek to define Orthodoxy and refute its adversaries, Metropolitan Elias would be presented in this image as a divinely supported "avenger," taking action to defend Orthodox belief by means of inspired writing⁶⁹. However, as appealing as such an interpretation may be, due to the scarcity of factual evidence and lack of comparative visual material for the depiction of

⁶⁰ Or. 19 (Or. 7 of the liturgical edition); *PG* 35, 1044–1064; on Julian the Tax Collector, GALAVARIS, Homilies 11, 42–44; see *ibid.*, 43, on the white cap as a distinctive feature of Julian, his scribes, and other officials.

⁶¹ GALAVARIS, Homilies, fig. 383; G. GALAVARIS, *Zographike vyzantinon cheirographon*. Athens 1995, color fig. 145.

⁶² The bands are best seen in the framed title miniature on f. 73v of the ms. Sinait. gr. 339 (see previous footnote); for similar examples of domed caps worn by Julian or his officials in other manuscripts of the liturgical orations, see GALAVARIS, Homilies, figs. 9, 46, 112, 128, 147, 454 (etc.).

⁶³ This conforms to his rank mentioned in the title of his commentary as provided in Byzantine manuscripts; MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 185.

⁶⁴ Most recently, DE RIDDER, Elias 216–217, 220; the dates roughly coincide with the assumed (!) date of the episcopate of Elias of Crete (see above, n. 6).

⁶⁵ Vitalien Laurent does not exclude the possibility that both authors are identical; LAURENT, Rituel 121–123; for a rejection of this theory, see most recently, MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 203, esp. DE RIDDER, Elias 223–226.

⁶⁶ S. TROIANOS, Byzantine Canon Law to 1100, in: *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500 (History of Medieval Canon Law)*, ed. W. Hartmann – K. Pennington. Washington, D.C. 2012, 115–169, 198, 200; *PG* 119, 986B–997A.

⁶⁷ Scholars have usually linked Elias Ekdikos to the *ekdikeion* at the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople; on the history and nature of this office, see J. DARROUZÈS, *Recherches sur les officia de l'église byzantine (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 11)*. Paris 1970, 323–332, esp. 327; J. A. MCGUCKIN, *St Gregory of Nazianzus. An Intellectual Biography*. Crestwood, N.Y. 2001, 344–345; Darrouzès has highlighted the almost sacramental character of the *ekdikeion* at Hagia Sophia; DARROUZÈS, *Recherches* 327. However, it has been pointed out that the office of *ekdikos* existed at other sees as well, and that *ekdikoi* were normally presbyters; DE RIDDER, Elias 218. This latter point is another indication of the unlikelihood, from today's perspective at least, that the metropolitan Elias of Crete and Elias Ekdikos were one and the same individual.

⁶⁸ A. VON BRANDT, *Werkzeug des Historikers. Eine Einführung in die historischen Hilfswissenschaften*. Stuttgart 1992, 68, 69; H. HUNGER, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*. Munich 1989, 116–120.

⁶⁹ To some degree this constitutes a parallel to the figures in some of the frontispiece illustrations who violently take revenge on heretics (Or. 13, 26, 30, 31; see further below).

ecclesiastical judges in Byzantium, the question of the precise identification and meaning of Elias' secular garb must at present remain open. After all, the exegete's unusual attire might just have been chosen to distinguish him in rank from Gregory. Since the painter chose to depict the latter in monastic garb, it would have been inappropriate to honor the commentator with episcopal dress. In any case, it seems that the painter of the author portrait on the facing page (f. Av) tried his best to depict the figures of both authors as conforming to the proper dress code.

The miniature on f. Av depicts the two authors, here appropriately dressed in episcopal garb, hovering awkwardly in front of the golden ground above a dark green meadow seen at some distance below their feet. Elias wears a monochromatic *phelonion* of dark brown color with the *omophorion*, the episcopal stole decorated with crosses. Gregory's pink cape originally was a monochrome *phelonion* as well, but the painter modified it by the addition of a cross pattern in black color to resemble a *polystaurion*, a liturgical garment that came into fashion in the course of the 12th century. It is first documented in Byzantine art around 1100, and as a garment appropriate for the depiction of patriarchs and certain holy bishops, the *polystaurion phelonion* gradually became more widespread in iconography, especially from the second quarter of the 12th century on⁷⁰. However, in the image on f. Av the painter has simply, and somewhat clumsily, added the cross pattern to the traditional *phelonion* of pink color⁷¹. The black crosses decorating *polystauria* are most commonly seen on a white or light-colored fabric⁷². The awkward "update" of the episcopal garb on f. Av according to the fashion that became more widespread in the course of the 12th century seems to indicate that the painter was either unfamiliar with the appearance of the *polystaurion* or it occurred to him late in the process of composition that he might honor Gregory with this modern and more prestigious garb. In fact, Byzantine painters continued to depict bishops of outstanding merit wearing the monochrome *phelonion* even long after the *polystaurion phelonion* had become widespread, and the latter is in fact entirely absent in the frontispieces of the Basel codex as well. It is possible that the painter thought it necessary to add the cross pattern to the simple *phelonion* in order to emphasize the patriarchal dignity of St. Gregory the Theologian and thus visually distinguish him in rank from the bishop Elias. This might have seemed all the more necessary, given that in the portrait on the facing page Gregory appears in monastic garb, and also because, in comparison, the costume of Elias experienced an even more significant upgrade.

Gregory the Theologian, depicted larger in size than Elias in this image as well, is in the act of receiving a scroll from the hand of Christ, who reaches down to the bishop from heaven visualized by a segment of a circle colored with shades of blue. The iconography of a rotulus or codex being handed down from heaven to a human recipient is common in Byzantine art to symbolize the transmission of a divinely inspired text⁷³. It is difficult to decide whether the scroll signifies the orations

⁷⁰ On the *polystaurion*, see most recently W. WOODFIN, *The Embodied Icon. Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium*. Oxford – New York 2012, esp. 15 and 20–25; see also S. GERSTEL, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries. Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary*. Seattle 1999, 25–28.

⁷¹ The cross pattern is by no means a later addition to the miniature (as shown through investigation aided by digital microscope imaging that was carried out at the Basel University Library); it was added to the *phelonion* before the grey contour lines of the *omophorion* were painted, which are a regular feature in the frontispiece images as well.

⁷² While no example of a *polystaurion* is extant, its existence and appearance is well documented in Byzantine art; see the figures in WOODFIN, *Icons*, Part I, and GERSTEL, *Mysteries*.

⁷³ For example, in a frontispiece miniature in the Psalter ms. Vat. Barb. gr. 320 (*Diktyon* 64863) (f. 1^{bisr}) David, with his hands outstretched, is about to receive the scroll containing the Psalms from the divine hand issuing from heaven; K. KRAUSE, *Göttliches Wort aus goldenem Mund. Die Inspiration des Johannes Chrysostomos in Bildern und Texten*, in: *Chrysostomosbilder in 1600 Jahren. Facetten der Wirkungsgeschichte eines Kirchenvaters*, ed. R. Brändle – M. Wallraff. Berlin – New York 2008, 139–167, 160, fig. 22. In ms. Athos, Dionysiou 61 (*Diktyon* 20029) (12th century), f. 1v, Gregory the Theologian delivers a

of Gregory, Elias' expositions, or both. With his left hand outstretched, Gregory points toward the exegete, who lifts his hands in a gesture of veneration or prayer to humbly receive the divine gift. Elias too, then, is the addressee of divine inspiration conveyed to him, not directly from heaven, but through the Church Father, who functions as an intermediary and is privileged to interact with Christ in person. In more general terms, the continuity of divinely authorized writing is expressed visually in this image as well, just as in the miniature on f. Cr. The latter part of the lengthy inscription that likely explained the exact meaning of the scene is now lost, due to the severe damage caused by humidity to parts of this page ("Saint Gregory the Theologian, giving to Elias the Metropolitan of Crete ..."⁷⁴). Just like in the image on f. Cr, the names of both authors are highlighted in hieratic majuscule as is, in the miniature on f. Av, the abbreviation of Christ's name⁷⁵.

*Frontispiece to Or. 27 (f. Bv): The First Theological Oration (Against the Eunomians)*⁷⁶

The argument of the continuing religious authority of Gregory and his writings, visualized in the author portraits, is similarly put forward in the frontispiece miniature on f. Bv, which originally faced the first text page of the first oration (Or. 27; f. 1r). The parchment folio has erroneously been inserted between the two author portraits, perhaps during the manuscript's last binding in the 15th century.

Prominently framed by an arch or canopy, Gregory is presented as if he were standing elevated behind a lavishly decorated curtain embellished with a golden cross. The Theologian, once again larger than the other figures, is preaching to gatherings of bishops labeled "the Orthodox"⁷⁷ to his right and "the heretical Eunomians"⁷⁸ on the opposite side⁷⁹. The two groups are engaged in dispute, as indicated by their gazes and agitated gestures.

Gregory points with his right hand toward the heretics, which is a direct illustration of the oration's incipit, "I shall address my words to those whose cleverness is in words."⁸⁰ The Eunomians are not explicitly named in the oration as Gregory's opponents, but a tradition going back to Rufinus identifies the later Arians as the primary adversaries addressed in Gregory's Theological Orations; accordingly, in the Byzantine manuscripts the Eunomians are named in the title of Or. 27⁸¹.

codex (presumably representing the one in which the image is contained) to a prince, possibly the patron of the manuscript; the saint simultaneously points upward to Christ, seen in a segment of heaven, thus underscoring the notion of the divine origin of the sermons contained in the volume that is being handed over; GALAVARIS, Homilies 205–207, fig. 355. Another example is a frontispiece miniature in ms. Sinait. gr. 418 (*Diktyon* 58793) (f. 4v), where the book of the *Heavenly Ladder* is handed over by Christ to John Climacus; WEITZMANN – GALAVARIS, Manuscripts, fig. 588.

⁷⁴ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος διδούς τῷ μητροπολίτῃ Κρήτης Ἠλίᾳ ...

⁷⁵ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς.

⁷⁶ SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 70–98.

⁷⁷ ὀρθόδοξοι.

⁷⁸ αἰρετικοὶ εὐνομιανοὶ (sic).

⁷⁹ At the time when the five *Theological Orations* were delivered at Constantinople, the Arians far outnumbered the so-called Orthodox, Nicene Christians, who were confined to the chapel of the Anastasis for their meetings; Faith Gives Fullness to Reasoning. The Five Theological Orations of Gregory Nazianzen. Introduction and commentary by F. W. NORRIS, translation by L. WICKHAM – F. WILLIAMS (*Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 13). Leiden – New York 1991, 57. The situation of the Nicene Christians at Constantinople changed with the arrival of Emperor Theodosius on 24 November 380, who supported the Nicene Creed and installed Gregory at the Church of the Holy Apostles, then the most important church of the capital; C. FREEMAN, AD 381. Heretics, Pagans and the Christian State. London 2008, esp. 91–104.

⁸⁰ NORRIS, Faith (trans. L. WICKHAM – F. WILLIAMS) 217; SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 70.

⁸¹ SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 70 (see also the title of this oration in ms. Basil. AN I 8, f. 1r); Gregor von Nazianz, *Orationes Theologicae* – Theologische Reden, übersetzt und eingeleitet von H. J. SIEBEN (*Fontes Christiani* 22). Freiburg – New York 1996, 66 and n. 3 on p. 67; NORRIS, Faith 53–54; on Gregory's attack of the Eunomians, also see A. E. SIECIENSKI, *The Filioque. History of a Doctrinal Controversy*. Oxford 2010, 40–43.

The composition is remarkable in that it unrealistically combines features of a teaching or preaching scene with an enlarged bust portrait of Gregory of Nazianzus⁸², which, given his strictly frontal alignment within the framing arch, renders the bust in a way strongly reminiscent of an icon. By referencing icons, the painter seems to have aimed at advancing the claim of the Theologian's perpetual presence and, thus, timeless authority regarding orthodox dogma and belief⁸³.

Around the figure of Gregory is a long inscription: "Saint Gregory the Theologian reasoning against the Eunomians in this way: (Inc.) 'I shall address my words to those whose cleverness is in words. Let me begin from Scripture: "Lo, I am against you and your pride, education, and thought ...";' the incipit cited in the caption differs from that in the text of the Basel codex and must thus have been quoted from a different source⁸⁴.

*Frontispiece to Or. 28 (f. Dv / f. 12'v): The Second Theological Oration*⁸⁵

Here Gregory the Theologian is addressing with a gesture of speaking a group of orthodox clerics and laypersons⁸⁶ who are gathered on a flight of steps, vividly engaged in conversation. The architecture in this miniature—two arches topped by a domed structure—primarily serves to underscore notions of hierarchy, since the figure of Gregory and the group of listeners appear in separate realms. Not only is Gregory once again depicted larger in size than all the other figures, but he is also being visited by the dove of the Holy Spirit, which descends from a segment of heaven onto his head⁸⁷. The iconography relates to a passage shortly after the beginning of Or. 28: "Well now let us go forward to discuss the doctrine of God, dedicating our sermon to our sermon's subjects, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that the Father may approve, the Son aid, and *the Holy Spirit inspire it*."⁸⁸ Hierarchical order is further enhanced in this miniature by the fact that the bishop who leads the Orthodox crowd stands prominently in the foreground and is portrayed as slightly larger than his followers—including a deacon⁸⁹—but still significantly smaller than Gregory. The scene is labeled "Saint Gregory the Theologian speaking on theology in this manner: (Inc.) 'Last time we used our discourse to cleanse the Theologian'."⁹⁰

Between this frontispiece and the next, which introduces Or. 30, the manuscript once possessed two now-lost frontispieces that introduced Or. 20, *On Theology and the Office of Bishops*, and Or. 29, *The Third Theological Oration (The First Oration on the Son)*, respectively⁹¹.

⁸² Not only does Gregory's portrait appear enlarged compared to the bishops representing his audience, but the head is also out of proportion in relation to the figure's bust.

⁸³ According to Byzantine image theory, through the resemblance between an icon and its prototype and through their shared name, the icon is united with the person depicted and participates in the grace of the prototype; see, for instance, K. PARRY, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries (The Medieval Mediterranean 12)*. Leiden – New York 1996, 22–33.

⁸⁴ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος πρὸς εὐνομιάνους προδιαλεγόμενος οὕτως: (Inc.) Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ κομψοὺς ὁ λόγος. Καὶ ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἄρξωμαι. ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν ὑβρίστριαν καὶ παιδευσιν καὶ διάνοιαν; cf. SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 70; the oration's incipit cited on f. 1r conforms to the version rendered in the critical edition of the text, whereas the version cited in the frontispiece represents a variant; cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 208, Appendix VII. I will discuss this evidence below.

⁸⁵ SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 100–174.

⁸⁶ Labeled στίφος ὀρθοδόξων.

⁸⁷ This area displays signs of erasure and repainting, which appear to be contemporaneous with the painting of the image.

⁸⁸ NORRIS, Faith 224 (trans. L. WICKHAM – F. WILLIAMS; my emphasis).

⁸⁹ On the garb of deacons, see WOODFIN, Icon 5–9.

⁹⁰ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος περὶ θεολογίας οὕτω διαλεγόμενος: (Inc.) Ἐπει δὲ ἀνεκαθήραμεν τῷ λόγῳ τὸν θεολόγον; SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 100 (critical apparatus).

⁹¹ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Appendix I; on the transmission of Or. 20 along with the five *Theological Orations* in the Byzantine manuscript tradition, see J. MOSSAY – G. LAFONTAINE, Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 20–23 (SC 270). Paris 1980, 28; St.

Frontispiece to Or. 30 (f. Er / f. 119'r):
*The Fourth Theological Oration (The Second Oration on the Son)*⁹² [Pl. 2]

In the upper register of this frontispiece, Gregory of Nazianzus and a group of laymen labeled “the Orthodox” witness “Jesus Christ Emmanuel”⁹³ reaching out of a segment of heaven and handing down a saw while looking at Gregory. The figure’s label, added in black ink, complies with the figure’s facial features, which are typical of Christ Emmanuel⁹⁴. Gregory points to the lower register of the miniature, where two angels are depicted in the act of sawing in half a bishop, identified as “Arius who divides (‘cuts’) the Son from the Father.”⁹⁵ Curiously, in the process of being severed, both halves of Arius’ body are left with a complete head. The identifying labels of St. Gregory the Theologian and the Orthodox in the upper scene as well as the brief summary of the scene in the lower tier are faded. Hence, they were written in a different, and obviously less durable, ink either before or after the reference to the oration’s title and its incipit were added (“[Saint Gregory the Theologian] reciting the second [oration] *On the Son*, the beginning of which is ...”⁹⁶).

In terms of the theological arguments it visualizes, the frontispiece of Or. 30 is the most complex image in the entire codex. However, the details of the iconography appear to be only loosely related to the content of Or. 30, since neither Arius nor Christ Emmanuel is explicitly referred to in the homily itself (nor in Elias’ expositions⁹⁷). The painter’s decision to depict the Emmanuel is surprising, at least on first sight, given that at the end of Or. 30 Gregory expounds on different epithets of Christ over two lengthy paragraphs (§20–21)—remarkably, without any reference to Christ Emmanuel and the prophecy of Isaiah 7:14, “Look, the virgin shall conceive in the womb and bear a son, and you shall name him Emmanuel” (LXX⁹⁸)⁹⁹. Intriguingly, however, in Byzantium Isaiah was believed to have experienced a violent death by being cut in half with a saw¹⁰⁰, and it seems thus likely that the miniature’s iconography was inspired by this tradition. The visual punishment of Arius in the frontispiece to Or. 30 makes sense in light of the anti-Arian Christology documented in the Nicene Creed and the fact that Constantinople was dominated by Arians at the time when Gregory delivered his Theological Orations¹⁰¹. Aside from the teachings of the Neo-Arians, these discourses are especially

Gregory of Nazianzus, *Select Orations*, translated by M. VINSON (*The Fathers of the Church* 107). Washington, D.C. 2003, 107, n. 1.

⁹² *SC* 250, ed. GALLAY, 226–274.

⁹³ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Ἐμμανουήλ (*sic*).

⁹⁴ On the appearance of the “paidariogeron”, see K. ONASCH – A. SCHNIEPER, *Ikonen. Faszination und Wirklichkeit*. Freiburg 1995, 134.

⁹⁵ Ἄρειος ὁ τεμὼν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 211, mention that in Or. 2 (§36–37) Gregory uses the same verb (τέμνω) to refer to Arius’ “division” of the Father and the Son; J. BERNARDI, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 1–3 (SC 247)*. Paris 1978 (reprint 2006), 138, ll. 12–13. I fail to see, however, the connection the authors draw between this passage, the iconography of the frontispiece to Or. 30 in the Basel codex, and the infamous death of Arius by intestinal hemorrhage (cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 210–211). In his autobiographical poem, Gregory broadly condemns all those who divide the indivisible nature of Christ (the verb he uses here is διατρέω); Gregor von Nazianz, *De vita sua*, ed. C. JUNGK, 110, v. 177.

⁹⁶ τὸν περὶ υἱοῦ δεῦτερον ἀποστοματίζων· οὐδ’ ἡ ἀρχή, (Inc.) Ἐπειδὴ σοὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν λογισμῶν στροφὰς; *SC* 250, ed. GALLAY, 226.

⁹⁷ This has already been pointed out by WALTER, *Commentaire* 119–120.

⁹⁸ ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ; <http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/online-bibeln/septuaginta-lxx> (consulted 25.03.2017).

On the problems of the translation of this passage in the Septuagint see M. KARRER – W. KRAUS, *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*. Stuttgart 2011, II 2521–2522; P. JAY, *Jesaja. RAC* 17 (1996) 764–821, 814; R. STAHL, “Immanuel” – Gott mit uns? *Mitteilungen und Beiträge der Forschungsstelle Judentum Theologische Fakultät Leipzig* 8 (1994) 19–36, 33–35.

⁹⁹ Is 7:14 is not cited in any of the *Theological Orations*, nor is Mt 1:23; *Orationes Theologicae*, trans. SIEBEN, 376, 377.

¹⁰⁰ See MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 211; on the textual sources and surviving images, see BRUBAKER, *Vision* 260–261.

¹⁰¹ F. DÜNZL, *A Brief History of the Doctrine of the Trinity in the Early Church*. London – New York 2007, 41–59, esp. 55–57.

directed against the Pneumatomachians¹⁰², and, accordingly, the other heretic visually defeated in the Basel codex, in the frontispiece of the next homily, is Macedonius “the Pneumatomachian” (cf. Or. 31, f. Fv).

It appears that in the first place the frontispiece to Or. 30 serves to visually underscore the Orthodox position that Christ is consubstantial with the Father, hence truly divine, as well as the doctrine of the hypostatic union of Christ, which affirmed that his human and divine nature were inseparable. These convictions formed the core of Gregory’s teaching in his *Theological Orations* and other writings.

The passage on the Emmanuel in the Book of Isaiah was understood in Mt 1:18-23 and early Christian exegetical writings as a prefiguration of the virgin birth of Christ (esp. Mt 1:23 “‘Look, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall name him Emmanuel,’ which means, ‘God is with us.’”¹⁰³)¹⁰⁴. The widespread iconographical type of Christ Emmanuel, of Byzantine origin and almost exclusively restricted to the Byzantine sphere, drew from this tradition and is charged with the doctrinal implications of the virgin birth¹⁰⁵. The type alludes to the Incarnation and thus Christ’s humanity, but also to his conception by a virgin, which emphasized his divine nature, characterizing him as the pre-existing and eternal divine Logos¹⁰⁶. Although Gregory does not use the term “Emmanuel” in this homily, the defense of Christ’s human existence as inseparable from his divinity was essential to his teaching; not only is it a recurring argument in his writings, but it is also central to the Christological reasoning put forth in his two orations titled *On the Son*¹⁰⁷. Strictly speaking, the depiction of Christ Emmanuel might seem a better fit as an illustration to the previous homily, Or. 29, the *First Oration on the Son* (the frontispiece of which, unfortunately, does not survive), where Gregory explains that Christ was begotten of a woman, which makes him human, and of a virgin, which makes him divine¹⁰⁸. However, the Greek numeral ε' (5), added in the upper left corner of the frame, suggests that this frontispiece was intended for Or. 30 and not the previous homily¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰² NORRIS, Faith 53.

¹⁰³ New Revised Standard Version (NRSV); see D. D. KUPP, Matthew’s Emmanuel. Divine Presence and God’s People in the First Gospel (*Monograph Series. Society for New Testament Studies* 90). Cambridge 1996, 163–175, for an interpretation of this verse.

¹⁰⁴ JAY, Jesaja 814–815; see also the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (451); Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, I: Nicaea I to Lateran V, ed./trans. N. P. TANNER. London – Washington, D.C. 1990, 78.

¹⁰⁵ K. LINARDOU, Depicting Salvation: Typological Images of Mary in the Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts, in: The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium. Text and Images (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies*), ed. L. Brubaker – M. Cunningham. London – New York 2011, 133–149, 139–141; E. LUCCHESI PALLI, II. Das Christusbild der byzantinisch-christlichen Kunst, in: Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, ed. E. Kirschbaum. Freiburg et al. 1968, I 371–399, 390; C. H. W. WENDT, Das Christus-Immanuel-Bild der Ostkirche. *Zeitschrift für Kunst* 4 (1950) 284–287; ONASCH – SCHNIEPER, Ikonen 134. The origins of this type of Christ in the visual arts, along with the theological nuances it highlights in different programmatic contexts, remain understudied phenomena; for general remarks on this type, see LINARDOU, Salvation 139–141, esp. 141; LUCCHESI PALLI, Christusbild 390–392; K. WESSEL, Christusbild, in: Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst I, ed. K. Wessel. Stuttgart 1963, 966–1047, 975–976, 1008–1010; ONASCH – SCHNIEPER, Ikonen 134, 158–159. There exist case studies for the 12th century when the image of Christ Emmanuel is encountered more frequently; see below.

¹⁰⁶ WESSEL, Christusbild 1010; LUCCHESI PALLI, Christusbild 391, 392; WENDT, Christus-Immanuel-Bild 284; ONASCH – SCHNIEPER, Ikonen 134, 158. The basis for this understanding of the image seems to be the parallel account to Mt 1:23 (“‘Look, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall name him Emmanuel,’ which means, ‘God is with us.’”) in Luke 1:35 (“The angel said to her, ‘The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you; therefore the child to be born will be holy; he will be called Son of God;’” NRSV). The theological argument is summarized in the Decrees of the Council of Chalcedon (451); Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 77–80 (citation of Isaiah’s Emmanuel passage on p. 78).

¹⁰⁷ On Gregory’s Christology, see C. A. BEELEY, Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God (*Oxford Studies in Historical Theology*). Oxford – New York 2008, 115–151, esp. 128–143.

¹⁰⁸ SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 218, § 19, ll. 10–12. Similarly, in § 4, where he refers to the Virgin, he highlights that she is the Theotokos; *ibid.*, 184, ll. 15–16. This oration, to a greater extent than Or. 30, explains why Christ is both God and man.

¹⁰⁹ In all likelihood, the numerals are an original feature of the frontispieces. I will discuss this question in the third section of this article.

The explicit link between the undivided union of Christ's divine and human natures and the Emmanuel was made at Church councils of later date, especially that of Ephesus (431). This council, condemning the heresy of Nestorius¹¹⁰, anathematized anyone who did not confess "that Emmanuel is God in truth, and therefore that the holy virgin is the mother of God"¹¹¹ (the *Theotokos*, or "God-bearer") along with those who denied the union of Christ, dividing his divine from his human nature¹¹². In the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (the Seventh Ecumenical Council) held in 787, the curse of Nestorius is reiterated multiple times and contrasted with the Orthodox position that Christ is both God and man, united and undivided in one *hypostasis*, or individual existence¹¹³. It is significant that the refutation of the heresy of Nestorius is in the Acts of Nicaea II supported by a repeated quote from Gregory's Or. 30¹¹⁴. Although the citations of the passage do not appear to have any direct bearing on the iconography of the homily's frontispiece in the Basel codex, the main function of the image, too, is to condemn any severing of the divine from the human nature of Christ as heretical. In this particular case, Arius, who had denied the true divinity of Christ and been anathematized at the Council of Nicaea in 325¹¹⁵, was apparently chosen by the painter to embody sectarian views that were incompatible with Gregory's teaching¹¹⁶. The iconographic type of the Emmanuel was cleverly chosen to epitomize the fundamental Orthodox doctrines of the divinity of Christ and his unity as both God and man, which Gregory the Theologian sought to defend; accordingly, it is him at whom Christ directs his gaze in approval or encouragement.

Whereas the presence of Christ Emmanuel in this miniature may be explained by the theological argument of this oration, the type does not appear to have been inspired by the text itself. Scholars have pointed out that the iconography of Christ Emmanuel became especially popular in monumental decoration of Byzantine churches of the Comnenian period, particularly during the 12th century as a reflection of contemporary doctrinal debates¹¹⁷. In section four of the present article I will argue that the iconography of the frontispiece to Or. 30 reflects the common parallels drawn between Christ Emmanuel and Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, as evidenced by texts as well as the imagery on coins and seals that were issued during Manuel's reign. As I will discuss below, the iconography seems to

¹¹⁰ Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 37–39; 61–62.

¹¹¹ Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 59 (1.); also see *ibid.*, 71.

¹¹² Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 59 (esp. 2.–3.); on the judgment against Nestorius, see *ibid.*, 61–62.

¹¹³ Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum, Concilii Actiones VI-VII (*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum sub auspiciis Academiae Scientiarum Bavaricae edita* II 3, 3), ed. E. LAMBERZ, adiuvante U. DUBIELZIG, indices confecit G. DUURSMA. Berlin – New York 2016, III 654, ll. 8–11.

¹¹⁴ Or. 30, § 8: "... when the natures are distinguished, the titles are differentiated along with the ideas;" NORRIS, Faith (trans. L. WICKHAM – F. WILLIAMS) 267. Gregory's point is that, despite the doctrine of the unity of Christ, the titles of "God" and "Father" may be distinguished; Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum, ed. LAMBERZ, III 652: l. 31–654: l. 2; for the same citation, again in refutation of Nestorius, see *ibid.*, 764, ll. 29–30; the same argument is referenced in yet a third passage on Nestorius; *ibid.*, 664, ll. 22–25.

¹¹⁵ On Arius and Arianism in the fourth century, see J. F. KELLY, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church. A History*. Collegeville, Mich. 2009, 20–27; F. M. YOUNG, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon. A Guide to the Literature and Its Background*. Philadelphia 1983, 58–64.

¹¹⁶ WALTER, *Commentaire* 119–120, points out that Elias in his Commentary on Or. 20 refers to the division by Arius of the Trinity into three entities (cf. Or. 20, § 6). It seems unlikely that, as one might be inclined to think, this frontispiece could possibly have been intended as the frontispiece to Or. 20, an image that is now lost. Aside from the fact that in Or. 20 the division refers to the Trinity, and not to that of God the Father from the Son, there is no reference to Christ Emmanuel. In addition, the painting on f. Er [Pl. 2] is numbered as the fifth (ε'), conforming with the arrangement of the texts in the Basiliensis, and it was thus intended to introduce Or. 30 (on these numbers, see below, section three).

¹¹⁷ N. GIOLES, *Christologische Streitigkeiten im 12. Jahrhundert und ihr Einfluß auf das ikonographische Programm dieser Zeit*, in: Λαμπηδών: Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη της Ντούλας Μουρίκη, ed. M. Aspra-Bardabake. Athens 2003, I 265–276, esp. 272–273; R. B. SCHROEDER, *Images of Christ Emmanuel in Karanlık Kilise*. *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008) 23–54.

relate directly to the Christological debates of the Council of Constantinople assembled by Manuel in 1166.

In Byzantine iconography images depicting the violent revenge of martyrs on their persecutors serve to emphasize the notion of the persecuted ultimately being triumphant over their adversaries¹¹⁸. Rather fittingly, then, in the frontispiece to Or. 30 it is Christ himself who not only orders the punishment of one of his opponents, but also provides the instrument of torture to his angels. It is possible that the frontispiece's violent iconography was also influenced by Gregory's reference to the Last Judgment in §4 of Or. 30¹¹⁹. Significantly, Mt 28:20 is cited here with Christ's promise of his continued divine presence ("I am with you always, to the end of the age"¹²⁰), intended by the Gospel's author to form an *inclusio* with the announcement of the Emmanuel ("God is with us") in Mt 1:23¹²¹.

The image leaves no doubt, in any case, that the divine Emmanuel will be solely with the righteous—the representatives of the "correct" faith, the so-called Orthodox who adhere to the teachings of Gregory Nazianzen.

*Frontispiece to Or. 31 (f. Fv / f. 147v): The Fifth Theological Oration: On the Holy Spirit*¹²²

In the upper tier of this frontispiece Gregory stands behind a curtain similar to the one in f. Bv which in this case is draped over what appears to be a chancel screen delimiting the sanctuary of a church. He preaches to a group of laymen, once again labeled as "the Orthodox." The audience is separated from the bishop by an elaborate building topped by a golden cross, which likewise indicates a church setting. Physically separating Gregory from his audience, the architecture was once again employed to define separate realms in terms of religious authority. Reminiscent of the frontispiece on f. Dv, Gregory is here too inspired by the dove of the Holy Spirit issuing from a segment of heaven. The addition of the dove represents a direct reference to the general topic and title of Or. 31, the fifth theological oration, "On the Holy Spirit," which is also cited in the miniature, before the incipit ("Saint Gregory the Theologian teaches on the Holy Spirit in this manner:...")¹²³.

Similar to the physical punishment depicted in the previous frontispiece to Or. 30, the lower part, now badly damaged by humidity, illustrates the punishment of a heretical bishop, identified by the inscription as "Macedonius,"¹²⁴ with the specification "the Pneumatomachian"¹²⁵ added by a different hand. An angel, labeled "Angel of the Lord,"¹²⁶ pierces the heretic with a spear, while three demons have placed a noose around his neck and are torturing him with what appears to be a pair of tongs. Blood is dripping from the neck of the collapsing bishop¹²⁷.

¹¹⁸ For some examples, see C. WALTER, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine (Archives de l'Orient chrétien 13)*. Paris 1970, 252–260, esp. 258–259.

¹¹⁹ *SC* 250, ed. GALLAY, 230–232; I wish to thank my colleague Margaret M. Mitchell (University of Chicago) for pointing me in this direction.

¹²⁰ NRSV. "Ἐσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος;" *SC* 250, ed. GALLAY, 232, ll. 12–13.

¹²¹ On Matthew's Christology as evident in the *inclusio* formed between Mt 1:23 and 28:20, see KUPP, Emmanuel, esp. 17–18, 175, 218–219, 222, 239, 242.

¹²² *SC* 250, ed. GALLAY, 276–342.

¹²³ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος οὕτω διδάσκων· (Inc.) Ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ λόγος, τοιοῦτος; *SC* 250, ed. GALLAY, 276 (critical apparatus).

¹²⁴ Μακεδόنيος.

¹²⁵ ὁ πνευματομάχος.

¹²⁶ ἄγγελος κυρίου.

¹²⁷ A similar scene is found in ms. Paris. gr. 510 (f. 367v), where, however, it is an Orthodox bishop who is being tortured and dragged away with ropes by two Arian soldiers; BRUBAKER, *Vision* 227, fig. 38, bottom register. The image is accompanied by the inscription "the Arians drag along a saintly old Orthodox man."

Or. 31 represents the Theologian's most important work on pneumatology, supporting his doctrine that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Father and co-equal to the divinity of the Son¹²⁸. Whereas this oration must be viewed in the larger context of the Eunomian controversy, it is directed more specifically against the heresy of the so-called Macedonians, named after their founder, bishop Macedonius of Constantinople (exiled in 360), who rejected the full divinity of the Holy Spirit¹²⁹. Although the Macedonians are only implicitly being referred to in this oration¹³⁰, the theological argument presented by Gregory is clearly directed against their doctrines¹³¹, which explains why the tortured bishop in the lower tier of the miniature is identified by his label as the arch-heretic who thus stands for the opponents of Gregory's pneumatology. From the fourth century on, the supporters of the heresy of Macedonius were commonly called the "Pneumatomachians" ("Combatants against the Holy Spirit," or simply "Spirit-Fighters")¹³², as reflected in the epithet "the Pneumatomachian" that was added at a later stage to the frontispiece below the caption "Macedonius."¹³³ Macedonius and the Pneumatomachians were anathematized along with other heretics during Gregory's lifetime at the First Council of Constantinople (381)¹³⁴, a condemnation that was confirmed by subsequent councils, including the Second Council of Constantinople (553) and the Second Council of Nicaea (787)¹³⁵.

The frontispiece of the following homily, Or. 32¹³⁶, no longer survives.

*Frontispiece to Or. 6 (f. Gv / f. 222v): First Discourse on Peace*¹³⁷

Gregory of Nazianzus is rendered here as a young man in priestly garb, gazing at the viewer and pointing at his father who stands to his right and is depicted in an attitude of grief. On the opposite side one can observe a group led by three figures in monastic garb and labeled "the crowd of the monks."¹³⁸ The architecture, composed of three arches topped by a series of roofed and domed buildings, serves to structure the tripartite composition that displays Gregory prominently at the center.

The historical background of Gregory's *First Discourse on Peace* was a schism between the monks and the ecclesiastic authorities of Nazianzus concerning the definition of the Holy Trinity¹³⁹. Gregory the Elder's expression of sadness explained in the figure's caption, "Gregory the Theolo-

¹²⁸ M. A. G. HAYKIN, *The Spirit of God. The Exegesis of 1 and 2 Corinthians in the Pneumatomachian Controversy of the Fourth Century (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 272)*. Leiden – New York 1994, 170–201, esp. 174–177; BEELEY, Gregory; C. A. BEELEY, *The Holy Spirit in Gregory Nazianzen: the Pneumatology of Oration 31*, in: *God in Early Christian Thought. Essays in Memory of Lloyd G. Patterson*, ed. Andrew B. McGowan – B. E. Daley – T. J. Gaden. Leiden 2009, 151–162.

¹²⁹ NORRIS, Faith 68–69, 183–184, 189; SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 51–54.

¹³⁰ Or. 31, §1; NORRIS, Faith 183–184.

¹³¹ See previous note and *Orationes Theologicae*, trans. H. J. SIEBEN, n. 1 on p. 272, n. 1 on p. 66.

¹³² BEELEY, Gregory 29, n. 88–89, and p. 157; MCGUCKIN, Gregory 105, n. 66.

¹³³ The minuscule script of this addition closely resembles, and is possibly identical to, that of the ζῆται-notes written in the lower margins, following the addition of the frontispieces to the codex. Elias, too, refers to the Pneumatomachians in his commentary (f. 149r); MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias §3.5 (3).

¹³⁴ Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 28, 31 (Canon 1), 35 (Canon 7). The frontispiece to Gregory's Or. 34 in ms. Paris. gr. 510 depicts the curse of Macedonius during the First Council of Constantinople with the heretic crouching on the ground in front of the assembled clergy and Emperor Theodosius (f. 355r); BRUBAKER, *Vision* 210–219, fig. 36.

¹³⁵ Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 119, 134 (Nicaea II: "We abominate and anathematize...Macedonius and those with him, properly called the Pneumatomachi..."); Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum, ed. LAMBERZ, *Horos* III 824, ll. 7–9.

¹³⁶ P. GALLAY – C. MORESCHINI, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 32–37 (SC 318)*. Paris 1985, 82–155.

¹³⁷ M. A. CALVET-SEBASTI, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 6–12 (SC 405)*. Paris 1995, 120–178.

¹³⁸ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μοναχῶν.

¹³⁹ On the historical background and issues of the debate, see SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 11–36; MCGUCKIN, Gregory 138–139.

gian's father, grievous after he was deceived because of his simplicity,"¹⁴⁰ relates to the prehistory of this sermon, which was delivered by the Theologian on the occasion of the successful reconciliation in the year 364¹⁴¹. The younger Gregory's mediation is reflected in the caption surrounding his head: "Saint Gregory the Theologian reconciling the schismatic monks with his father."¹⁴² The topic was also illustrated in the frontispiece miniature for this oration in ms. Paris. gr. 510 (f. 52v): on the right side of the lowest tier Gregory and his father are seen preaching side by side under a canopy and behind an altar; next to them, members of the community of Nazianzus embrace each other in reconciliation¹⁴³.

*Frontispiece to Or. 23 (f. Hr / f. 250'r): Second Discourse on Peace*¹⁴⁴

This two-tiered miniature displays two scenes composed in a similar manner. In the upper tier Gregory the Elder is seen confronting a group of monks. The first part of the inscription—"Gregory of Nazianzus, the father of the Theologian, once he had already made peace with the monks"¹⁴⁵—serves to draw a connection between this image and the previous miniature commemorating the reconciliation of Gregory the Elder with the schismatic monks of Nazianzus (Or. 6). In the lower zone, Gregory the Theologian, dressed in priestly garb, points with his *left* hand at a group of bishops and laymen, while turning away from them ostentatiously. The meaning of this scene is illuminated by its caption: "Saint Gregory the Theologian blaming those who rejoiced at the recent separation of the monks."¹⁴⁶

The occasion of this oration is much disputed among modern scholars. Based on the text itself, it is not clear whether it was delivered by the Theologian at the beginning of his career as a priest and should be seen in light of the conflict between the monks of Nazianzus and Gregory the Elder (Or. 6), or whether it originated later, in 379, in Constantinople during the schism of Antioch¹⁴⁷. However, the iconography and captions of this frontispiece clearly reflect the understanding of this sermon as being connected with the conflicts at Nazianzus: the dispute between Gregory the Elder and the monks addressed in the preceding discourse (Or. 6) has meanwhile been settled (upper tier of the miniature), but the Arians are reanimating it to their profit (lower tier)¹⁴⁸.

Whereas the oration itself is ambiguous as to the historical context and nature of the schism, Elias in his *Commentary* relates it to the events at Nazianzus. It would be tempting, then, to conclude that the iconography of the frontispiece and the historical context it presents must be seen as a consequence of the metropolitan's expositions¹⁴⁹. However, this interpretation was current well before Elias, as is reflected in the ninth-century ms. Ambrosianus E 49–50 inf. and its miniatures. There,

¹⁴⁰ Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατήρ δυσφορῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἠπάτηται ἐξ ἀπλότητος; cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 212.

¹⁴¹ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 31.

¹⁴² Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος εἰρηνεύων μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς τοὺς ἀποσχίσαντας μοναχοὺς. Then, after the introduction, "which begins in this manner:" (ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως) follows the homily's incipit, Λύει μου τὴν γλῶτταν ἢ προθυμία; SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 120.

¹⁴³ BRUBAKER, Vision 121, 221–224, fig. 10. ms. Ambrosianus E 49–50 inf. (p. 118) depicts Gregory the Theologian and his father engaged in conversation; BRUBAKER, Vision 122; GRABAR, Grégoire, pl. X, fig. 2.

¹⁴⁴ SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 280–310.

¹⁴⁵ ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατήρ Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζοῦ εἰρηνεύσας ἤδη μετὰ τῶν μοναχῶν. The inscription continues, "while the Theologian pronounced the following" (ἐνθα δὴ ὁ θεολόγος ἀποστομάτισε τὸ), followed by the incipit of Or. 23: θερμὸς ὁ ζῆλος, πρᾶον τὸ πνεῦμα; SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 280.

¹⁴⁶ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος μεμφόμενος τοὺς χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῇ πρώην διαστάσει τῶν μοναχῶν.

¹⁴⁷ SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 269–275.

¹⁴⁸ For the context, see SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 269, 273–274, and n. 1 on p. 290 (§ 5).

¹⁴⁹ See Mossay's commentary in SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 269, 273 (Mossay, erroneously, dates Elias' activity to the eighth century, 269).

the title miniature to Or. 23 (p. 119) shows the reconciled monks¹⁵⁰, and a second illustration (p. 122) depicts Gregory the Theologian and his father¹⁵¹.

*Frontispiece to Or. 22 (f. Ir / f. 267'r): Third Discourse on Peace*¹⁵² [Pl. 3]

This miniature introduces Gregory's *Third Discourse on Peace*, delivered in Constantinople between 379 and 381¹⁵³. Gregory, depicted in episcopal garb, stands behind a chancel screen that is once again equipped with a purple curtain, decorated with a golden cross. He points upward at the clipeus containing the personification of Peace depicted with an attitude that, in light of the oration's argument, may be interpreted as one of admonition¹⁵⁴. The face and hairstyle, in accordance with the gender of the noun, suggest a female, but the headgear is typical of males. The figure's label, ἡ εἰρήνη ("Peace"), originally formed part of a longer caption, possibly once comprising three lines of text, the first part of which was covered with blueish paint and is now illegible. Next to Gregory, and much smaller, are two separate groups of bishops, some of whom are arguing while others are turning away in an attitude of dissent. The meaning of this scene is explained by the caption "Saint Gregory the Theologian pacifying the quarreling bishops at Constantinople."¹⁵⁵

The clipeus with the personification hovers in the upper part of the miniature, in front of two roofed buildings that flank a tall dome at the center. Once again, architectural details are employed to define different realms: the personification of Peace and Gregory Nazianzen are honored with pictorial elements that indicate sacred space, while the disputing bishops are situated in a meadow outside the sacred realm embodying discord. They are thus visually relegated to a different sphere, the lawn serving to indicate profane space.

The iconography of the personification of Peace is unusual and appears to be without parallels in Byzantine art. Curiously, the figure has on an imperial *stemma*—a simplified and small version of a type of crown worn by (male) emperors¹⁵⁶—in front of a domed cap. While crowned personifications are encountered elsewhere in Byzantine art to indicate imperial virtues¹⁵⁷, the white cap does not form part of imperial headgear. Along with the personification's elaborately embroidered dress, the domed hat instead recalls those typically worn by high-ranking court dignitaries, thus serving to enhance the figure's noble status¹⁵⁸. The iconographical references to the court that do not find an ex-

¹⁵⁰ J. MOSSAY – B. COULIE, Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus VI. Codices Aegypti, Bohemiae, Hispanae, Italiae, Serbiae, Addenda et corrigenda (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums* N.F., 2. Reihe, *Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz* 14). Paderborn – Munich – Vienna – Zurich 1998, 177, 179 (not illustrated in Grabar, Grégoire).

¹⁵¹ Repertorium Nazianzenum VI, ed. Mossay – Coulie, 177, 179; GRABAR, Grégoire, pl. X, fig. 2.

¹⁵² SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 218–258.

¹⁵³ On the date and historical circumstances, see SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 201–206. Constantinople is explicitly mentioned in the title of this oration in some of the manuscripts, including ms. Basil. AN I 8; cf. SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 218, "Titulus."

¹⁵⁴ The multivalent gesture, with hands held in front of the breast, palms facing outward, may in other contexts mean prayer or veneration.

¹⁵⁵ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος· εἰρηνεύων τοὺς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μαχομένους ἐπισκόπους; then follows the introduction "that begins in this way:" (ἀρχεται δὲ οὕτως·) (Inc.:) Εἰρήνη φύλη, τὸ γλυκὸ καὶ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα; SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 218.

¹⁵⁶ PARANI, Reality 27–29, esp. pl. 12, 19, 20, 21.

¹⁵⁷ For example, in ms. Vat. Urb. gr. 2 (*Diktyon* 66469), f. 19v, two personifications (Charity and Justice) with imperial crowns are seen behind the throne of Christ, who symbolically crowns two emperors (John and Alexius Comnenus); Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Liturgie und Andacht im Mittelalter, Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum Köln. Stuttgart 1992, 140. In this case, the crowns seem to imply the virtuous rulership of the two emperors; on personified virtues accompanying portraits of emperors in Byzantine art, see P. MAGDALINO – R. S. NELSON, The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century. *BF* 8 (1982) 123–183, 143–146.

¹⁵⁸ See above, section two, the discussion of Elias' headgear seen on f. Cr.

planation in the texts contained in the Basel codex might indicate an origin of the iconography in the imperial sphere. The fanciful combination of the crown and the cap underscores the abstract meaning of the clipeus image, as does the personification's ambiguous gender. Most conspicuously, the figure has a cross nimbus. Reserved for depictions of Christ, this detail alludes to Gregory's claim that God (Christ) is peace, as explained in a passage near the beginning of the oration: "Beloved peace, my pursuit and my pride—in the expressions, 'the peace of God,' and 'the God of peace,' and 'he himself is our peace,' we hear that it belongs to God and characterizes God, God and his very essence."¹⁵⁹

In this oration, Gregory deals at length with the peace and unity of the Church being endangered by the conflicts that prompted his sermon¹⁶⁰. Hence, in this case too, the image, in going far beyond mere illustration most aptly illustrates the key concerns expressed in the text.

As I will argue below, the curious figure representing Christ as "Peace" may be understood as a direct reference to Emperor Manuel I and his concerns about the unity of the church in his own days. It is thus the second piece of evidence that suggests an original connection of what is now the Basel codex with the Comnenian ruler.

*Frontispiece to Or. 33 (f. Kr / f. 285'r): On the Arians and Himself*¹⁶¹

Oration 33 was composed shortly after Gregory's arrival at Constantinople in 379, during the religious conflicts between the Nicene Christians and the Arians; in it Gregory, highlighting his own modesty and poverty along with that of his followers, accuses the Arians of accumulating worldly riches and seeking imperial support for the dissemination of their errors¹⁶². In the frontispiece, Gregory the Theologian, framed by an arch, addresses a group of bishops who are placed under a separate arch. The scene is topped by elaborate architectural elements.

This is one of the least elaborate miniatures of the codex, and without its caption, added in magenta uncial across both arches, the meaning of the iconography would be obscure¹⁶³: "Saint Gregory the Theologian summoning to a contest of words (πρὸς ἄμιλλαν [sic] λόγων) those reproaching his poverty, Arians and others"¹⁶⁴ (followed by the homily's incipit¹⁶⁵). Through its placement, the second part of the caption ("those who reproached his poverty, Arians and others") serves to identify the group of bishops as representatives of the heretics¹⁶⁶.

Macé and Andrist believe that the miniature's caption was derived from the *Commentary* of Elias, who likewise used the noun ἡ ἄμιλλα to characterize the encounter between Gregory and the heretics as a "contest" or "conflict."¹⁶⁷ Whereas this might well have been the case, the choice of the noun ἡ

¹⁵⁹ Εἰρήνη φίλη, τὸ ἐμὸν μελέτημα καὶ καλλώπισμα, ἦν Θεοῦ τε εἶναι ἀκούομεν καὶ ἧς Θεόν, τὸν Θεὸν καὶ αὐτόθεον, ὡς ἐν τῷ· "Ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ"· καὶ "Ὁ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης"· καὶ "Αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν"; SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 218, § 1: 5–9; cf. Phil 4:7, 2 Cor 13:11, Eph 2:14 (SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 218, n. 1, c-e [e should read "Éphés. 2,14"]).

¹⁶⁰ Esp. §§ 2–3.

¹⁶¹ SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 156–196.

¹⁶² SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 20–28; on the date, *ibid.*, esp. 20–21 (cf. 156, n. 1, 185, n. 4).

¹⁶³ In contrast to the reduced composition in the codex Basiliensis, the frontispiece for Or. 33 in ms. Paris. gr. 510 (f. 367v) presents three scenes involving the Arians that were derived from the contents of the homily; BRUBAKER, *Vision* 225–238.

¹⁶⁴ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος προσκαλούμενος πρὸς ἄμιλλαν (sic) λόγων τοὺς ὀνειδίζοντας αὐτῷ πενίαν ἀρειανῶν καὶ λοιπῶν; ed. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 212–213 (trans. adjusted), correcting Walter's reading of the label; cf. WALTER, *Commentaire* 123.

¹⁶⁵ Ποῦ ποτέ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν πενίαν ἡμῶν ὀνειδίζοντες; SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 157.

¹⁶⁶ The "others" are named in §16 (the adherents of the heresies of Valentinian, Marcion, Montanus, Mani, Novatian, Sabellius, and Photinus); SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 190–194.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. ms. Basil. AN I 8, f. 285v: Γρηγόριος ... πρὸς ἄμιλλαν (sic) αὐτοὺς ἐκκαλεῖται; cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias §3.5 (5) and n. 144, where the authors comment that both variants of the noun, with *spiritus lenis* or *spiritus asper*, are attested in the Greek language.

ἄμιλλα does, on the other hand, not seem all that far-fetched in light of the highly polemic tone of this oration, which was prompted by the existing conflict between Gregory and the Arians. Hence, it might just be a coincidence that the word appears in Elias' text as well¹⁶⁸. As is suggested by the frontispiece's explanatory caption, the picture's composition, while serving to illustrate the confrontation between Gregory and the heretics more generally, appears to have been inspired by the very beginning of Or. 33. Fittingly, with his *left* hand outstretched Gregory addresses his adversaries in rage: "So where are those who reproach our poverty and boast with their wealth?"¹⁶⁹ (a question that is followed by a series of accusations).

*Frontispiece to Or. 26 (f. Lv / f. 303'v): Second Discourse about Himself*¹⁷⁰

In the upper register of this image, Gregory delivers his sermon to a group of people who are identified as the "Orthodox,"¹⁷¹ and the preacher is once again separated from his audience by means of architectural elements. His authority is further emphasized by situating him in the sacred realm of what appears to be an abbreviated depiction of the sanctuary of a church; the ecclesiastical setting is also indicated by the roofs and domes topping the two tall arches that house the figures. In the left part of the lower register is a building with its doors wide open. On the right, the painting is so badly damaged that it is difficult to discern the details of the scene, which is labeled, "the malicious philosopher Maximus being chased from the church by the Orthodox."¹⁷² Although Maximus is not explicitly addressed in Or. 26, he is named in the title for this oration as it appears in Byzantine manuscripts, including the codex Basiliensis: "About himself [Gregory], on his return from the country, after his struggle against Maximus."¹⁷³

The historical context of this oration is the so-called Maximus affair of 380, caused by the attempt of Bishop Peter of Alexandria to gain control over the bishopric of Constantinople by sending Maximus, a cynic philosopher, to usurp the capital's episcopal throne. Taking advantage of a temporary absence of Gregory, Maximus successfully took over, if only briefly, after being ordained by Alexandrian clerics¹⁷⁴. The scene depicted in the miniature's lower register illustrates the moment when Maximus was violently driven out from the Anastasia, the church of the Nicene Orthodox founded by Gregory, where the usurper had been celebrating mass¹⁷⁵. Two laymen are driving away with spears a bishop dressed in a pink *phelonion*; this figure, whose head has almost entirely been effaced, must be Maximus¹⁷⁶. Oddly, in spite of the crime for which he is being expelled, Maximus is depicted as much larger in size than the other figures. He is simultaneously being dragged along by a third layman who is climbing a flight of stairs. Another bishop, garbed in a brownish *phelonion* and who

¹⁶⁸ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 213, mention that Gregory himself uses ἄμιλλα in other contexts, though not in Or. 33.

¹⁶⁹ Ποῦ ποτέ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν πενίαν ἡμῶν ὀνειδίζοντες, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον κομπάζοντες; ...; SC 318, ed. MORESCHINI, 157.

¹⁷⁰ SC 318, ed. MORESCHINI, 224–272.

¹⁷¹ ὀρθόδοξοι.

¹⁷² ὁ σκαιὸς φιλόσοφος Μάξιμος διωκόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ.

¹⁷³ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἐπιστὰς μετὰ τὰ κατὰ Μάξιμον (f. 304v); MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Appendix V; cf. SC 284, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 224 ("Titulus").

¹⁷⁴ FREEMAN, AD 381, 88–90; A.-M. RITTER, Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol. Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des II. Ökumenischen Konzils (*Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 15). Göttingen 1965, 35: n. 1, 49–53.

¹⁷⁵ FREEMAN, AD 381, 89; on this church that Gregory had founded to "resurrect" Nicene Orthodoxy in Constantinople, see *ibid.*, 79–80. During the First Council of Constantinople in 381, Maximus' episcopate was officially annulled; Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 20, 32 (Canon 4); RITTER, Konzil 102, n. 2.

¹⁷⁶ It is difficult to determine whether this damage was caused by humidity, or whether the figure's head was deliberately erased by a user of this manuscript in an attempt to eliminate Gregory's opponent.

represents a member of the clergy loyal to Gregory, appears to be assisting the ejection of the adversary by pushing him from behind.

During the Maximus affair, Gregory was subject to betrayal from within his flock as well as criticism of his spiritual leadership, an experience of profound personal hardship and disappointment that caused him to temporarily retreat to the countryside¹⁷⁷. The image in the miniature's upper tier relates to his return to his Constantinopolitan community, as the inscription explains: "Saint Gregory the Theologian teaching the Orthodox, after his return from the countryside, in this way: (Inc.) 'I missed you, my children, and I have been missed in the same proportion'."¹⁷⁸ Originally only the first part of this caption ("Saint Gregory the Theologian teaching the Orthodox") and the label identifying the "Orthodox" were inscribed in the upper register of this miniature, whereas the incipit and its introduction appear to have been added by a different hand. In both tiers of this image there are traces of numerous adjustments to the composition¹⁷⁹. The stairs being climbed to the right of the somewhat awkward composition in the lower register do not seem to have any purpose specific to the content of this image¹⁸⁰.

*Frontispiece to Or. 36 (f. Mv / f. 325v): On Himself and to Those Who Said
That He Desired the See of Constantinople*¹⁸¹

This frontispiece has been misplaced, having originally been located opposite the beginning of the text of Or. 36 on f. 323r¹⁸². In this image, the architecture is a particularly elaborate design, again employed to structure the composition. The three arches serve to separate Gregory, at the center, from the two groups of bishops to his sides. Without the abundant inscriptions, the exact meaning of the scene would be unclear.

Or. 36 represents the inaugural sermon delivered by Gregory in mid-December of 380 on the occasion of his accession to the episcopal throne of Constantinople¹⁸³. Gregory, who is once again depicted as larger in scale and standing behind a lavish curtain, points with his left hand toward himself and with his right toward the group of bishops representing his adversaries, who had criticized his acceptance of the episcopal throne, insinuating, for example, that Gregory was driven by ambition¹⁸⁴.

The inscriptions of this miniature were added at two different stages, the original ones being the name label "Saint Gregory the Theologian" and the caption of the group of bishops depicted to his right, "those who say that he desired the see of Constantinople."¹⁸⁵ The inscription identifying the

¹⁷⁷ SC 284, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 115–141, esp. 115–120; J. BERNARDI, *La Prédication des pères cappadociens. Le prédicateur et son auditoire (Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Montpellier 30)*. Paris 1968, 168–181.

¹⁷⁸ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος διδάσκων τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους / μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἐπιστάσιαν οὕτως· (Inc.) Ἐπόθουν ὑμᾶς, ὃ τέκνα· καὶ ἀντεποθούμην τοῖς ἴσοις μέτροις;

¹⁷⁹ The adjustments of the design are particularly evident in the arcade framing Gregory in the upper register as well as, in the lower register, in the flight of stairs and in the figure ascending it.

¹⁸⁰ The stairs are probably purely decorative because a similarly purposeless flight of steps appears to the right of the upper register.

¹⁸¹ SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 240–268.

¹⁸² The frontispiece currently faces f. 326r. Resulting from humidity, parts of the red script citing a passage from Gregory's oration at the bottom of f. 323r have transferred onto the dark green strip of grass at the bottom of the miniature on f. Mr, beneath the group of the Orthodox bishops.

¹⁸³ On the historical context, see RITTER, *Konzil* 44–49, 53; BERNARDI, *Prédication* 192–198, esp. 193.

¹⁸⁴ BERNARDI, *Prédication* 195–197, esp. 197. Gregory himself insists on his modesty and on the fact that he was set upon the episcopal throne in spite of his vigorous protest (Or. 36, § 1–2).

¹⁸⁵ οἱ λέγοντες ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς καθέδρας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

"Orthodox" was added later along with the remaining inscriptions of this frontispiece. The oration's incipit and its introductory formula surround the head of Gregory: "[Saint Gregory the Theologian] very admirably stigmatizing their envy in this way."¹⁸⁶ (the incipit then follows). Along these same lines, further down yet another inscription has been added that quotes from the text of Gregory's homily: "Would envy be eliminated from human beings, the devourer of those who adhere to it."¹⁸⁷ Having been added close to Gregory's arm, which points at the bishops standing at his right, the quote further identifies the group as representatives of the bishop's envious opponents. The group on the far right of the frontispiece represent Gregory's loyal supporters, the Nicene Orthodox, to whom he addressed this sermon. It seems that the entire composition serves to visually support, in retrospect, Gregory's legitimate accession to the Constantinopolitan See, suggested in particular by the detailed labels that were added to it as an afterthought¹⁸⁸.

*Frontispiece to Or. 3 (f. Nv / f. 331'v): To Those Who in the Beginning Called,
But Did Not Move to Meet Him after He Became Priest*¹⁸⁹

Standing in an elaborate architectural setting and framed by an opened curtain, Gregory the Theologian, again depicted at the center of the composition and enlarged in size, addresses a group of people who gesture toward him in response. Seated to Gregory's right is his father, depicted in an attitude of sorrow, which seems to find explanation in the lack of affection and loyalty of the flock toward their shepherds, a theme addressed by the Theologian in this sermon with words of disappointment and reproach¹⁹⁰. That both Gregory the Theologian and his father were neglected by the flock of Nazianzus is clear from the text of the homily¹⁹¹.

In this image, too, the inscriptions were added at two distinct stages, and the additions made to the original inscriptions serve to provide information on the background of this sermon that in the Basel codex is isolated from its context of delivery as part of a series¹⁹². The inscription next to Gregory the Elder originally consisted of only the name label—"Gregory the father of the Theologian"—to which was then added the explanation, "who appointed his own son as shepherd of his flock."¹⁹³ Close to the Theologian's halo we read the original inscription, "Saint Gregory the Theologian blaming the flock of Nazianzus because they did not come eagerly to his [father's] teaching"¹⁹⁴ (the homily's incipit then follows¹⁹⁵, added at a later stage along with the second part of the inscription accompanying Gregory the Elder). Interestingly, whoever added the label next to the figure of the younger Gregory departed from the content of the sermon: in it, the Theologian in the first place reproaches the people for not coming to his *own* religious services. This is clear from the oration's title as well as from

¹⁸⁶ τὸν φθόνον στηλιτεύων θαυμασιώτατα ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως: (Inc.) Ἐγὼ θαυμάζω τί ποτέ ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς πεπόνθατε λόγους; SC 318, ed. MORESCHINI, 240.

¹⁸⁷ ὡς ἀπόλοιτο (sic) ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὁ φθόνος, ἡ δαπάνη τῶν ἐχόντων; SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 250, ll. 13–14 (§ 4). The vice of envy is dealt with at length in §§ 4–5 of this sermon.

¹⁸⁸ It is worth noting that soon after his election, during the Second Council of Constantinople (381), Gregory lost the Constantinopolitan see again; RITTER, *Konzil* 105–111.

¹⁸⁹ SC 247, ed. BERNARDI, 242–254; cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias*, Appendix VII.

¹⁹⁰ On the circumstances of this sermon, delivered in 362, on the Sunday following Easter, see BERNARDI, *Prédication* 100–101; SC 247, ed. BERNARDI, 24–28.

¹⁹¹ SC 247, ed. BERNARDI, 244, § 3, esp. ll. 8–10.

¹⁹² Or. 3 (ed. SC 247, ed. BERNARDI, 242–254) is the last sermon of a series of three delivered by Gregory in the spring of 362; BERNARDI, *Prédication* 96; SC 247.

¹⁹³ Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατήρ / τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ποιμένα τοῦ ποιμνίου προχειρισάμενος.

¹⁹⁴ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος μεμφόμενος τοὺς Ναζιανζηνοὺς τῷ μὴ προσεληλυθέναι προθύμως τῇ τούτου διδασκαλίᾳ.

¹⁹⁵ καὶ λέγων: ("and saying:") (Inc.) Πῶς βραδεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον ᾧ φίλοι καὶ ἀδελφοί; SC 247, ed. BERNARDI, 242.

the introduction to this sermon and its occasion, as provided by Elias of Crete¹⁹⁶. The writer of this caption perhaps sought to explain the father's pronounced expression of grief, which appears to be the result of the painter's interpretation of the overall situation, which occasioned the Theologian to admonish the flock of Nazianzus.

*Frontispiece to Or. 9 (f. Or / f. 336'r): To His Father and Basil the Great
When He Was about to Ordain Him as Bishop of Sasima*¹⁹⁷

The frontispiece depicts the consecration of Gregory of Nazianzus as Bishop of Sasima in Cappadocia, to which Or. 9 refers. In an elaborate architectural setting indicating the interior of a church we see Basil the Great ("Saint Basil"¹⁹⁸) issuing a blessing toward Gregory the Theologian, depicted in an attitude of reverence with his head inclined and his hands veiled. Behind Basil stands Gregory's father ("Gregory the father of the Theologian"¹⁹⁹), and on the far right is a crowd led by a deacon. The latter is dressed in a white *sticharion*, a long-sleeved tunic, with an *orarion*, a long, narrow stole worn over his left shoulder²⁰⁰, and holds a vessel, likely containing frankincense, and a *rhypidion*, a liturgical fan. The inscription above the head of Gregory the Theologian explains what is depicted in this scene: "Saint Gregory the Theologian being ordained Bishop of Sasima by Basil the Great, at which occasion he pronounced the following:"²⁰¹ Then follows the homily's incipit, "Again on me the unction and the spirit,"²⁰² which was placed close to the head of Gregory so that he appears to be speaking these very words.

The consecration scene depicted in the frontispiece to Or. 9 serves as an illustration of the title of this oration ("From the same [author], to his father and Basil the Great, when he was about to consecrate him [Gregory] Bishop of Sasima")²⁰³. Gregory's involuntary ordination was arranged as a consequence of the contemporary ecclesiastical disputes caused by the division of Cappadocia into two separate provinces²⁰⁴. In fact, Gregory never took up his episcopate at Sasima in person²⁰⁵.

The different titles of Or. 9 provided in Byzantine manuscripts represent varying traditions regarding as to whom this discourse was directed and who performed the consecration of Gregory as Bishop of Sasima²⁰⁶. The title of this homily in the codex Basiliensis accords with the iconography of the frontispiece in that it explicitly names Basil the Great as the consecrating bishop. However, this tradition is much older than the *Commentary* of Elias, because in the ninth-century codex Ambrosianus E 49–50 inf., Gregory's ordination is illustrated in a manner similar to that seen in the Basel codex. Here, too, it is St. Basil who performs the consecration by offering a gesture of blessing toward Gregory Nazianzen, while Gregory's father stands on the other side pointing at the consecration scene²⁰⁷. In ms. Paris. gr. 510, a different procedure of consecration is depicted in the lower register

¹⁹⁶ F. 331r (the commentary's very beginning is missing in ms. Basil. AN I 8; cf. LEUNCLAVIUS, *Operum* 361).

¹⁹⁷ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 300–314.

¹⁹⁸ ὁ ἅγιος Βασίλειος.

¹⁹⁹ Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατήρ.

²⁰⁰ On the dress of deacons, WOODFIN, *Icon* 5–9.

²⁰¹ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος χειροτονούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐπίσκοπος Σασίμου ὀπηνίκα ἀπεστομάτισε τὸ...; on the historical context, see BERNARDI, *Prédication* 113–118; BEELEY, *Gregory* 14–15.

²⁰² πάλιν ἐπ' ἐμὲ χρίσμα καὶ πνεῦμα; SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 300.

²⁰³ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, ὅτε ἤμελλεν αὐτὸν χειροτονεῖν ἐπίσκοπον Σασίμων (f. 336v); MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias*, Appendix V; for further variants of the title, see SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 300.

²⁰⁴ MCGUCKIN, *Gregory*, 189–192, 194–195; SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 84–99, esp. 85–86, 91–93; on the division of Cappadocia, see below.

²⁰⁵ MCGUCKIN, *Gregory* 197; RITTER, *Konzil* 104–105; SC 405, ed. CALVET – SEBASTI, 87–88.

²⁰⁶ MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 213.

²⁰⁷ GRABAR, *Grégoire*, pl. XI.1; XIII.1; BRUBAKER, *Vision* 122–123, fig. 50.

of the frontispiece to Or. 9: three bishops are seen holding the open Gospel book over the head of Gregory²⁰⁸.

*Frontispiece to Or. 13 (f. Pr /f. 342'r): Invocation Published on the Occasion of the
Consecration of Eulalius as Bishop of Doara*²⁰⁹

Whereas most of the frontispieces in the codex Basiliensis illustrate events in the life of Gregory the Theologian, the images in both registers of the frontispiece to Or. 13 are unusual as they refer primarily to events in the biography of Basil the Great rather than to Gregory. There is no critical edition of Or. 13, the historical circumstances and content of which remain understudied²¹⁰.

This frontispiece and its red frame are provided with lengthy explanatory inscriptions, all of which appear to have been added at the same time by one and the same scribe using vermilion red and black ink. The explanations have been crammed into the limited space around the figures in minuscule script, and due to lack of space, the title (introduced by a black cross) and incipit of Or. 13, written in black ink, had to be inserted into the upper bar of the red frame (which is why in this case the incipit is not introduced by a red initial as usual): "On the homily pronounced by the Theologian on the ordination of Eulalius as Bishop of Doara, the beginning of which is" (the incipit then follows)²¹¹.

The iconography of the upper register is similar to that of the ordination scene in the preceding frontispiece (f. Or). Three bishops—Gregory the Elder, Gregory the Theologian, and Basil—ordain a male labeled "Eulalius,"²¹² who bows and has his hands covered to humbly accept his ordination. Behind him is a canopy above an altar with a book on it. It is actually Basil who leads the group in the performing of the ordination with a gesture of blessing that is repeated by Gregory the Elder. On the opposite side is a group led by a deacon holding a *rhypidion* and container for frankincense. A lengthy inscription explains the scene: "Saint Basil, Saint Gregory the Theologian and the father of the Theologian ordaining Eulalius as Bishop of Doara."²¹³ Just like the label, the title of Or. 13 in the codex Basiliensis²¹⁴ identifies the ordained individual as Eulalius, bishop of the See of Doara in Cappadocia Secunda, as does Elias in his *Commentary*²¹⁵. It is remarkable that only in the case of the frontispiece to Or. 13 was the homily's title added to the image as well, apparently in order to provide it with the interpretation of the oration's enigmatic contents as offered by Elias. In the text

²⁰⁸ BRUBAKER, *Vision* 122–123, fig. 11 (fol. 67v); WALTER, *Scenes* 240–241. On the different rites for consecrating a new bishop, either by blessing him or by holding the Gospel book over his head, see WALTER, *Scenes* 241; WALTER, *Art* 130–136, 160–161. In addition, the two ninth-century manuscripts include Biblical scenes or figures that are inspired by the text of this sermon; ms. Ambrosianus E 49–50 inf., pp. 128, 129; *Repertorium Nazianzenum* VI, ed. MOSSAY – COULIE, 177, 179; GRABAR, *Grégoire*, pl. XI.1–2; BRUBAKER, *Vision* 281. Paris. gr. 510, f. 67v; BRUBAKER, *Vision* 122–123, 281–284.

²⁰⁹ See MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 213–214, for a discussion of this title and the interpretive problems arising from it.

²¹⁰ *PG* 35, 851–856; SOMERS, *Histoire* 277–287, identified 13 preserved Greek testimonies, but does not discuss the content or historical context of this homily. There is an English translation of Or. 13 in Gregory, *Orations*, trans. M. VINSON, 36–38, and a German translation in *Des heiligen Gregor von Nazianz Reden* (Rede 1–20), aus dem Griechischen übersetzt und mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen von P. HAEUSER (*Bibliothek der Kirchenväter* 59). Munich 1928, 269–273.

²¹¹ εἰς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεολόγου ἐκφωνηθεῖσαν ὁμιλίαν εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν Εὐλαλίου ἐπισκόπου Δοάρων ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ (Inc.) Δέξασθε τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον, ἀδελφοί; cf. *PG* 35: 832, which has a different version of the homily's title.

²¹² Εὐλάλιος.

²¹³ ὁ ἅγιος Βασίλειος, ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ θεολόγου χειροτονοῦντες τὸν Εὐλάλιον ἐπίσκοπον Δοάρων.

²¹⁴ "Invocation published on the occasion of the consecration of Eulalius as Bishop of Doara;" προσφώνησις ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ Εὐλαλίου ἐπισκόπου Δοάρων (f. 342v); MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 214 (trans. adjusted).

²¹⁵ The ambiguities present in the Byzantine manuscript tradition render difficult the identification of Eulalius and in fact raise doubts as to whether Eulalius the Bishop of Doara ever existed, and, if so, who ordained him; see MCGUCKIN, *Gregory* 214–215; esp. MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 213–216.

of Or. 13, Gregory merely alludes to the consecration of a new pastor without providing his name or specifying the location²¹⁶. However, the names of both the bishop (Eulalius) and his see (Doara) are also provided elsewhere at least from the 12th century on²¹⁷.

In the lower register there is an elaborately rendered building of a church, from which a heretical bishop is seized by a demon and being driven away by an angel. Both the face of the bishop and the demon appear to have been scratched out by a later user of the manuscript in an obvious attempt to thus “erase” evil. This scene, too, is explained by means of detailed inscriptions: (to the right of the angel) “an angel of God expelling Anthimus from the church as unworthy,”²¹⁸ (to the left side of the bishop) “Anthimus Bishop of Tyana who always devised and did something wicked against Basil the Great.”²¹⁹ In the lower right of the image, there is an erasure of what was likely a further inscription. The scene of the punishment of the bishop was apparently inspired by Gregory’s severe condemnation in Or. 13 of an (unnamed) enemy of Basil the Great (§ 3)²²⁰. This enemy is identified by Elias as Anthimus, and it seems likely that the individual who added the label to the miniature derived it from the *Commentary*²²¹.

Nonetheless, the conflict between Basil the Great and Anthimus alluded to in the inscriptions of the lower register is already attested in contemporary sources²²². It was caused by the division of Cappadocia into two separate provinces by Emperor Valens in 372, after which Tyana was declared the capital of Cappadocia Secunda. Anthimus’ claims to the metropolitan see of Cappadocia Secunda and his constant attempts to extend his influence and augment the revenue of his see posed a serious threat to the episcopal authority and power of Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, the capital of Cappadocia Prima²²³. It has been suggested that the ordination (at Doara), with which Or. 13 is concerned in the first place, most likely occurred with Anthimus present, whom Basil was approaching with peace negotiations by the autumn of 373; Gregory’s sermon would thus mark the success of these efforts, which led to the restoration of peace in Cappadocia Secunda and between Basil and Anthimus²²⁴. Hence, the violent scene involving Anthimus in the lower zone may be understood as a reference to the conflicts of the previous year, which were directly associated with the division of Cappadocia. Gregory refers to these and the hostility between Basil and Anthimus at some length in his autobiographical poem²²⁵. More than the iconography itself, the inscriptions that have been added to the two scenes illustrating the cryptic contents of Or. 13 strongly suggest the influence of Elias’ *Commentary* on their wording.

²¹⁶ Or. 13, §§ 1, 4; *PG* 35: 833B, 856A.

²¹⁷ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias n. 156.

²¹⁸ ἄγγελος θεοῦ τὸν Ἀνθιμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡς ἀνάξιον ἐξωθούμενος.

²¹⁹ Ἀνθιμος ἐπίσκοπος Τυάνων ὁ κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου πᾶν εἶ τι σκαιὸν μελετῶν ἀεὶ καὶ ποιῶν.

²²⁰ *PG* 35:833D–835A.

²²¹ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 214–216.

²²² MCGUCKIN, Gregory 187–188; P. GALLAY, *La Vie de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze*. Lyon – Paris 1943, 105–108, 116–118.

²²³ MCGUCKIN, Gregory 187–188; GALLAY, *Vie* 105–108, 116–118; *SC* 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 84–88; K. G. BONIS, *Basilios von Caesarea und die Organisation der christlichen Kirche im vierten Jahrhundert*, in: *Basil of Caesarea. Christian, Humanist, Ascetic. A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium*, ed. P. J. Fedwick. Toronto, I 281–335, 305.

²²⁴ See MCGUCKIN, Gregory 214–216, esp. 215. McGuckin, who seems to be unaware of the evidence provided by the frontispiece miniature of Or. 13 in the Basel codex, adduces information from both Gregory’s and Basil’s writings to support his interpretation of the historical circumstances of Or. 13. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 213–216, do not discuss McGuckin’s argument, but take it for granted that the miniature in the lower tier, or rather its inscription, were inspired solely by Elias’ *Commentary*, on the grounds that Elias identifies Basil’s enemy, to whom Gregory alludes in Or. 13 (§ 3; *PG* 35:833D–835A), as Anthimus (“this identification ... seems peculiar to Elias;” MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 216). But this connection is likewise strongly suggested by sources of earlier date that help illuminate the probable historical context of Or. 13; cf. MCGUCKIN, Gregory 214–216; see also Gregory, *Orations*, trans. M. VINSON, 37, n. 19.

²²⁵ Gregor von Nazianz, *De vita sua*, ed. C. JUNGK, vv. 426–462. As is so often the case, Gregory does not name Anthimus in his poem, either; for this identification, see the commentary on this passage, *ibid.*, 171–172.

*Frontispiece to Or. 12 (f. Qr / f. 347'r): On Himself and His Father When He Entrusted Him
With the Care of the Church of Nazianzus*²²⁶

This image, the last of the surviving frontispiece miniatures in the codex Basiliensis, introduces Or. 12, delivered in 372²²⁷ on the occasion of Gregory taking charge of his father's see at Nazianzus²²⁸. It depicts Gregory the Elder pulling along Gregory the Theologian dressed in priestly garb toward a gathering of people at whom he eagerly points with his raised left hand. The scene is explained by the inscription added next to the father's head²²⁹: "Gregory the Theologian's father dragging his son and handing over to him the shepherding of his own flock."²³⁰ The crowd assembled on the right, with a priest standing in the front row, is labeled "Church and flock of Nazianzus."²³¹ The assignment that Gregory the Theologian was reluctant to accept was in fact that of serving as an auxiliary bishop to his father²³², which the painter appears to have acknowledged by depicting the younger Gregory in priestly garb.

Once again, the architecture, consisting of three arches topped by a series of symmetrically arranged buildings, serves to structure the composition. The congregation of the people of Nazianzus is separated by means of a column from the two protagonists who are approaching them. This arrangement, along with the depiction of figures of the community as proportionally smaller, serves to indicate the distance—spatial as well as spiritual—between the flock and the two saintly clerics.

The iconography and its explanatory captions indicate rather unequivocally that Gregory was reluctant to accept the task imposed upon him by his father. In his autobiographical poem, Gregory describes the situation in much stronger words as being an act of coercion and tyranny by his father²³³. In Or. 12, he explains at some length the conflict between his own desire to lead a life of solitude and the desire of the Holy Spirit that he provide spiritual leadership to the community of Nazianzus²³⁴. Accordingly, the incipit of Or. 12 added above the younger Gregory's head makes it plain that he was in fact authorized by the Holy Spirit. The text relates Biblical words uttered by the newly appointed shepherd in direct speech: "I opened my mouth and drew in the Spirit" (Ps 118:131²³⁵). In the first paragraph introduced by this Psalm verse, the Theologian expresses his determination to accept his task as willed by the Holy Spirit, perceiving himself as a "divine instrument" to serve the Holy Trinity²³⁶. By presenting his leadership as brought about by divine will, the caption underscores Gregory's legitimacy to serve as shepherd of the community of Nazianzus. Just like in the previous frontispiece, and likely by the same hand, all captions of this frontispiece, too, appear to have been added to the image at the same time.

The frontispieces of the last two homilies of this volume that were commented upon by Elias (Or. 17 and 10) are now missing.

²²⁶ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 348–360.

²²⁷ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 88–89.

²²⁸ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 348–360; also see the introduction, *ibid.*, 97–99.

²²⁹ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 348.

²³⁰ Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατὴρ ἔλκων τὸν υἱὸν καὶ παραδίδους αὐτῷ ποιμαίνειν τὸ ἴδιον ποίμνιον.

²³¹ ἐκκλησία καὶ ποίμνη Ναζιανζοῦ.

²³² SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 98, 101, 350–354 (§§2–3).

²³³ Gregor von Nazianz, *De vita sua*, ed. C. JUNGK, 70, vv. 337–352.

²³⁴ §4: SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 354–356.

²³⁵ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος ἀπαγόμενος καὶ λέγων ("Gregory the Theologian carried away and saying:") (Inc.) "Τὸ στόμα μου ἤνοιξα, καὶ εἴλκυσα πνεῦμα"; SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 248. The Psalm verse ("I opened my mouth and drew breath") is by Gregory interpreted as a reference to the Holy Spirit (cf. SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 349); <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/24-ps-nets.pdf> (consulted 03/25/2017); M. KARRER – W. KRAUS, *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*. Stuttgart 2010, 877; KARRER – KRAUS, *Erläuterungen II* 1838.

²³⁶ ὄργανον...θεῖον; SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 348, l. 6 (cf. *ibid.*, 360, §6).

* * *

The full-page miniatures that were added to the Basel codex represent a unique and, at times, somewhat odd approach to book illumination. The iconography usually tends to be relatively simple and repetitive, which is especially obvious in the numerous preaching scenes, and some miniatures are rendered in an awkward manner by painters of obviously limited skill. Yet the codex also contains iconographically elaborate images that were created by more talented individuals. Many details in the frontispieces in fact reveal that their creators knew the content of the respective oration very well, and this holds particularly true in cases where elements of the composition offer an interpretation, rather than direct illustration, of an oration's content. The sophisticated rendering of the personification of Peace in the frontispiece of Or. 22 is a case in point, as is the miniature with Christ Emmanuel preceding Or. 30. Gregory may appear as a younger or older man depending on the occasion on which he delivered the respective homily; hence, portraiture reveals that the painters were familiar with the original historical contexts of the orations.

The numerous erasures present in the images and adjustments made with regard to the preparatory sketches permit the conclusion that the iconography was developed *ad hoc* with care for detail. As will be discussed in the following section on codicology, painters were at liberty to decide spontaneously to paint one single image on a folio that had been ruled for a two-tiered miniature, and vice versa. The workshop could not possibly have had at its disposal a rich set of iconographical models, because, judging from the surviving manuscripts, Gregory's orations were almost never illustrated in Byzantium, aside from those that belonged to the liturgical edition. As stated above, ms. Paris. gr. 510 and ms. Ambros. E 49–50 inf. in Milan are the only other extant manuscripts to contain images illustrating Gregory's "unread" orations, and these ninth-century books differ from the Basel codex in important ways, first of all their textual content. While some iconographical parallels do exist, they are altogether scarce, and there do not seem to be any obvious links between the miniatures in the ms. Basil. AN I 8 and those of the two earlier manuscripts.

The many explanatory captions that were added to the frontispieces of the Basel codex in several stages are symptomatic of the fact that Gregory's orations do not at all lend themselves easily to illustration²³⁷. Not only do these lengthy inscriptions contextualize the orations historically, but without them, some of the compositions would in fact remain largely incomprehensible as to their precise meaning, even for readers who were familiar with the texts to which they refer. In the majority of the paintings, the various inscriptions that identify figures and contextualize what is depicted were evidently supplemented at different stages and by several scribes. Palaeographical evidence suggests that all these labels were added close in time to the paintings themselves. It is conceivable, yet beyond proof, that some inscriptions were added after the frontispieces were already in place in what is now the Basel codex. The script of all these captions is of uniform calligraphic style and thus does not allow precise dating, nor is it possible to establish with precision how many different individuals were involved in their creation. Most often, their successive addition is suggested especially by the different shades of red ink that can be observed in the miniatures. Significantly, however, in none of the captions of the miniatures is the handwriting identical to that of the main body of the text on the paper quires.

Based on the text of the orations cited in the Basel codex, the great majority of the illustrative frontispieces visualize the various ecclesiastic, doctrinal, and personal conflicts Gregory was embroiled in during his life as a cleric, both in Cappadocia and in Constantinople. The subject matter

²³⁷ This equally holds true in the case of the 16 liturgical orations, which, owing to their liturgical relevance, were often accompanied by figural illustrations regardless of the difficulties these texts posed to painters (GALAVARIS, Homilies).

of most of the frontispieces contained in the Basel codex is polemic, or at least moralizing, and with this emphasis the images provide yet another—a visual—commentary to Gregory's orations. While some miniatures illustrate the punishment of Gregory's adversaries in the most drastic ways, in others, misbelievers and other wrongdoers are identifiable as such only by means of their labels. The meanings of Gregory's occasional gesturing towards his opponents with his left ("bad") hand and his physically turning away from them were beyond doubt understood by contemporary viewers. Along with their captions, the miniatures of the Basel codex clearly aim to confirm that Gregory was *always* right! This may in fact have been the main reason for the insertion of the frontispieces, most of which are characteristically bold and simple in their visual argument.

A conspicuous feature of this manuscript is the abundant and purposeful use of painted architecture to help structure compositions or harmonize them by creating symmetry. Obviously, architectural elements served to add splendor to the imagery, as they display a rich range of colors and decorative details. One cannot help thinking, though, that painters were also aware of the merits of architecture as the most obvious means to fill the large surfaces within the frames (that way, there would not be a lot of space left for them to try and visualize the abstract and often complicated theological reasoning presented in the homilies!). To be sure, architectural elements were employed most intelligently, as they frequently serve to underscore the argument put forward by the image: they separate opponents, function as a framing device to highlight individual figures, or serve to visualize notions of hierarchy by marking separate realms. This latter feature conforms well to the tendency of the painters to enlarge in size figures of special significance, especially Gregory Nazianzen.

First and foremost, the frontispieces aim to present Gregory of Nazianzus as a committed fighter for the Orthodox cause, as an outstanding authority in matters of religion, theology, and doctrine. Hence, the different biographical narratives that they visualize or allude to continue the visual argument put forth by the two author portraits placed at the beginning of the book, which present Gregory as a divinely inspired theologian and role model for others following in his footsteps. As I will argue in the next section, the 14 illustrative frontispieces were added to the codex as an afterthought, whereas the two author portraits are likely an original feature; at least they were in place before the addition of the frontispieces.

3. ASSESSING CODICOLOGICAL EVIDENCE: TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS AND PROCEDURES OF MANUFACTURE

The miniatures have, over the centuries, suffered from flaking and damage caused by humidity. Attesting to the appreciation accorded to these paintings by previous owners of the manuscript, the miniatures were at some point protected by means of textile coverings²³⁸: traces of glue employed to attach the fabric onto the page are still visible in the upper margin of the frontispieces, and two folios (B and D) display a row of sewing holes. In two cases, remnants of silk fabric in different colors are preserved in the glue²³⁹.

²³⁸ Textile covers of miniatures are rather widespread in Greek manuscripts and would merit systematic study. Although it would seem likely, it is currently unknown whether their use represents an original Byzantine feature. It seems possible that, beyond offering protection of the pictures, such textile covers might have been used on occasions of display, i.e., the unveiling of the picture in front of an audience or individual beholders. As of now, such scenarios are speculative; for thoughts and observations regarding manuscripts from the Latin West, see C. SCIACCA, Raising the Curtain. On the Use of Textiles in Manuscripts, in: Weaving, Veiling and Dressing, ed. K. M. Rudy – B. Baert (*Medieval Church Studies* 12). Turnhout 2007, 161–190.

²³⁹ On f. Br are preserved fine threads of dark purple silk, and on f. Lv there are remnants of woven silk fabric in a whitish color.

The parchment is of mediocre quality, and the folia are rather thick throughout the manuscript, some evidently being scrap material²⁴⁰. Some folia have holes in the margins or even in the painted area, and toward the end of the codex some of them display brownish traits of the skin's preparation on the reverse, which were not smoothed out before the sheets were used to accommodate the miniatures²⁴¹. The parchment folia are creased in numerous places and display significant distortions mostly due to tight binding.

The 14 frontispieces that illustrate the individual homilies and the two author portraits share a uniform tricolor design in their frames, which consists of broad carmine borders painted around a black line that limits each composition, with a thin strip of the parchment ground left visible in between. Whereas similarly broad red frames are a relatively rare feature in illuminated manuscripts, they are very common in mural paintings, and it is tempting to think that monumental art provided the inspiration for the color contrast that is characteristic of the miniatures' frames in the Basel codex²⁴². The frontispiece miniatures are provided with an additional frame, the features of which will be discussed further below. Remarkably, the multicolored and gilded flower petal ornamentation typical of the vast majority of illuminated manuscripts produced in Byzantium around the time when ms. Basil. AN I 8 was made, including the many codices associated with the "decorative style" group, is entirely absent from the codex. Given the poor quality of the parchment used for the miniatures and the fact that the manuscript was made of paper, the scarcity of gold might also be attributed to limited resources. Aside from the two author portraits, the use of gold was restricted in the miniatures to the decoration of haloes and to the highlighting of minor details like costume or architectural elements. Yet it is also possible that the lack of gold leaf in the background of the frontispieces may have been a matter of choice for practical purposes rather than mere necessity: it was certainly much easier to apply the abundant inscriptions directly on the parchment ground. Aside from facilitating their writing and legibility, the application of these labels directly on the parchment rendered them much more durable²⁴³.

Perhaps prompted by the relatively mediocre quality of the parchment folia and in order to make up for the absence of gold as an appropriate background color, an elaborate and highly unusual procedure was employed by the workshop to accentuate the appearance of the 14 illustrative frontispieces. The flesh side of the skin was used throughout as the painting surface, and was carefully scraped to become smooth and of an evenly whitish color. Each image was equipped with a complex system of frames: at some distance from the carmine border, an additional black line marks the outer limit of each composition. This thin line in fact constitutes the actual frame, as details of the iconography occasionally project beyond the red borders²⁴⁴. Outside the rectangle defined by the black line, the

²⁴⁰ F. A (with the first author portrait on its verso) displays two vertical lines in the center, which were added in order to accommodate the two columns of the text fragment present on fol. Ar (see ANDRIST – MACÉ, Elias 185–186); f. K toward the outer edge of the page has two ruled parallel lines running from top to bottom. There are, on the verso of this folio, remnants of line drawings of uncertain date; f. F has a vertical line of pricking marks originally intended for the addition of lines of text. Some folia (N, P, Q) are several centimeters shorter than usual.

²⁴¹ These streaks are encountered on ff. M, N, O, P and (less conspicuously) Q.

²⁴² Significantly, in wall paintings, a thin white line was frequently inserted between the red frame and the dark blue background of the painted scenes or figures to enhance color contrast; e.g., M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Byzantine Wall-Paintings*. Athens 1994, figs. 10–11, 23–27, 36–42, etc. It seems that in the Basel codex, the dark blue background typical of most Byzantine frescoes was "substituted" for by the inner black line delimiting the parchment-colored or gilded background of the miniatures.

²⁴³ Text written, normally in red inks, on gold leaf tends to flake off easily, as attested by many illuminated manuscripts. Furthermore, when the golden ground itself becomes abraded or otherwise damaged (e.g., by humidity), as is often the case, the inscriptions applied to it disappear as well. One can observe this in the Basel codex in the author portrait on f. Av.

²⁴⁴ E.g. ff. Br, Nv.

parchment was carefully covered with varnish of a light beige color²⁴⁵. Being of a darker color than the parchment ground, the varnish frame has the effect of further enhancing the shiny white surface adorned with colorful painting²⁴⁶. The extravagant framing procedure observed in the frontispiece pages of the codex Basiliensis is extremely unusual, perhaps even unique, among the illuminated manuscripts surviving from Byzantium.

Most of the 14 illustrative frontispiece miniatures preserve Greek numerals, written in a calligraphic script in the upper left corner of the outer black frame line, which indicate the position of the respective image within the manuscript. These numbers were likely added to ensure the correct placement of the frontispieces within the book, either the present ms. Basil. AN I 8, or, more likely, the book for which these paintings were originally intended. In the Basel codex there are no (preserved) corresponding numbers on the text pages facing each miniature, and, except for the very first one, the manuscript's individual texts are not numbered. It cannot be firmly established whether these numerals are an original feature of the frontispieces, or if they were added at a later stage. The former scenario seems more likely because there are no visible differences in the shade of black in the ink used for the frame line and the numeral on each page. Yet the evidence of the numerals remains ambiguous and in fact complicates the reconstruction of the production stages of the manuscript that is now ms. Basil. AN I 8. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that the addition of the frontispieces represents an afterthought. I further believe that the set of the frontispieces that introduce the individual discourses were not originally commissioned for this codex, a conclusion that follows from the layout of the miniature pages and other evidence discussed below. Hence, if the numerals in the frontispieces are indeed related to their original context of production, one would have to conclude that the texts there were arranged in the same order as in the Basel codex.

The dimensions of the folia that contain miniatures and particularly the measurements of their outer frames are too large for this book. As a result, the outer black border lines of some of the miniatures were cut off when the manuscript was rebound for John of Ragusa (or possibly during a previous binding)²⁴⁷, and in other cases, the inner vertical line of the frame disappears into the fold. The dimensions of the images, or rather their outer frames, were clearly not determined with regard to the dimensions of the text block in ms. Basil. AN I 8.

Given the inconsistencies just mentioned, it is striking that the outer black frames of the individual compositions were conceived with great attention to the page layout of the codex for which they were made. Importantly, this codex was very likely *not* the one that is now in Basel. Within the rectangle defined by the outer black frame line, the compositions with their red borders were deliberately, and consistently, placed off-center²⁴⁸. Judging from the principles that govern layout in Byzantine manuscripts (and in fact in printed books still today), the shifting of the image within its frame either to the right or to the left must have been devised with regard to the arrangement of the text on the opposite page. In Byzantine manuscripts, full-page miniatures—as well as columns of text—are typically

²⁴⁵ The chemical composition of this lacquer-like substance could not be determined by the conservators at the University Library; I would like to thank Friederike Koschate-Hennig for this information.

²⁴⁶ John Lowden has drawn attention to a white covering, possibly gesso, that has been applied to entire parchment pages of some illuminated manuscripts from the Late Byzantine period, apparently in an attempt to make the surface appear whiter and more even before the miniatures were added; J. LOWDEN, *Manuscript Illumination in Byzantium, 1261–1557*, in: *Byzantium Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. C. Evans. New Haven – London 2004, 258–269, 263. The unusual procedure observed in the Basel codex is rather distinct, yet in a sense aimed at a similar effect.

²⁴⁷ It is, of course, impossible to know how often the codex has been rebound, and to what extent the pages have been trimmed.

²⁴⁸ This distinctive feature of the frontispieces is lost in the schematic drawings of the layout included in MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Table 1 and Appendix VIII, which, unfortunately, convey the wrong impression that the paintings and their frames have been centered on the page.

oriented toward the facing page, which results in the outer vertical margin of pages being of significantly greater width than the inner margins [Fig. 1]²⁴⁹:

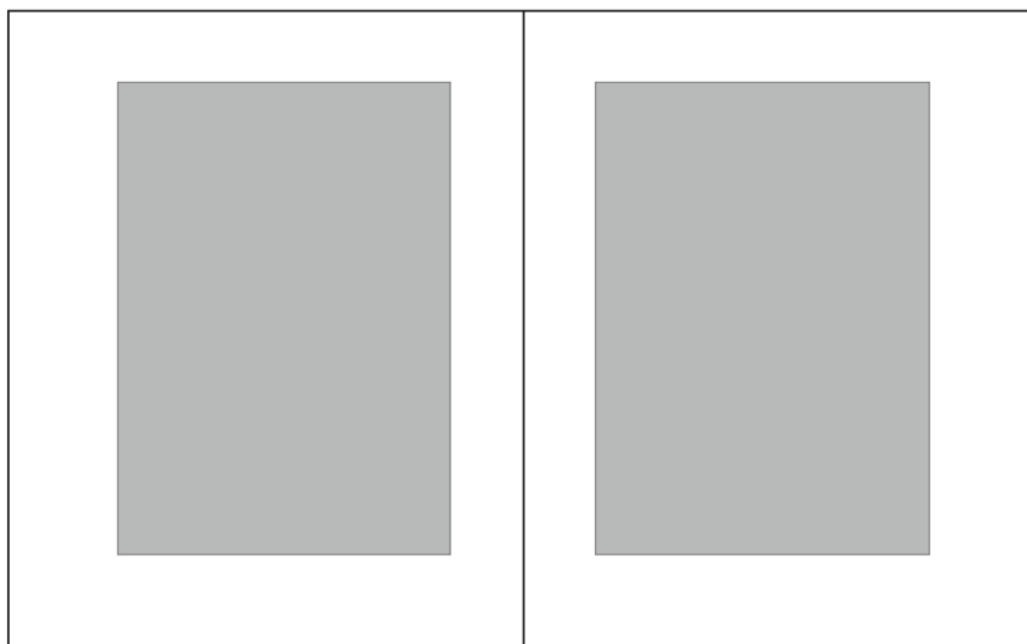


Fig. 1 Schematic rendering of two facing pages in a Byzantine manuscript showing the typical arrangement of text blocks or images shifted toward the fold of the quire.

It is thus quite likely that the off-centered arrangement of the images in the frontispieces of the codex *Basiliensis* adhere to the common Byzantine custom governing book design. However, it is this very presumption that creates major problems regarding the interpretation of the manuscript's procedures of manufacture, because the off-centered placement of the images in the codex *Basiliensis* follows no logical pattern. In fact, only six of the 14 preserved frontispiece paintings were shifted toward the center of the book within their outer black borderline, in accordance with normal practice [Pl. 4²⁵⁰]²⁵¹. Oddly, on most of the parchment pages the images are located closer to the outer vertical edge of their framing rectangle [Pls. 5 and 6].

There are several possible explanations for the odd placement of the majority of the frontispieces. If one were to assume that the frontispieces were commissioned specifically for the codex that is now ms. Basil. AN I 8, either carelessness on the part of the painters, or insufficient information as to the exact location of the initia of the individual text units, would seem to be plausible explanations for the ill-conceived layout. However, given the sophistication of the highly unusual frame design, and the significant additional effort it entailed, I think that sloppiness may safely be ruled out. A lack of communication between those who commissioned the illustrations for this manuscript and those who executed them would seem more conceivable, particularly if one were to imagine that the workshop

²⁴⁹ Today this feature is sometimes obscured by the fact that the outer margins of codices have been subjected to later trimmings. It is difficult to know whether this page design was chosen primarily for aesthetic reasons, or whether the procedure was originally adopted mostly for practical reasons, in anticipation of the wear and tear on a book that would necessitate trimming of the pages and rebinding.

²⁵⁰ For conservation reasons, only single pages could be photographed. Pls. 4 to 6 thus represent photomontages of the respective double page in the manuscript.

²⁵¹ F. Bv, Dv, Fv, Gv, Nv, and Or. The two author portraits (ff. Av, Cr) are likewise shifted toward the center within the borders.

in which the miniatures were created had no direct access to the manuscript itself. Yet such a scenario is difficult to prove, and, again, does not seem likely: the procedure chosen for the layout of the frontispiece pages required a great deal of extra time and care, and it is thus hard to imagine that such an extravagant method would have been employed, had the workshop been left with insufficient information as to whether the initia of the individual texts were located on recto or verso pages²⁵².

It seems far more likely, then, that the frontispiece miniatures of the codex Basiliensis were originally made for a different book, and not the one in which they are now found. In this hypothetical volume, the off-centered placement of the pictures within the rectangles defined by the outer black frames would have conformed to the practicalities and aesthetics of Byzantine book layout; this other codex would also have been a few centimeters larger in size.

However, it can safely be ruled out that the frontispieces were recycled, i.e., removed, from another manuscript in order to be reused in the Basel codex—a solution that might seem the most obvious in light of the oddities present in the layout. It can, in fact, be demonstrated that the miniatures were never actually bound into a codex other than the one now in Basel. There are no visible traces (such as additional sewing holes) on any of the parchment folia to suggest that they previously formed part of the quires of another manuscript. The claim is further substantiated by a close look at the lacquer-like coating applied around the black frame line. Two of the frontispieces that are now found on recto pages (ff. Hr [Pl. 5] and Qr) were originally conceived as verso pages, and a third frontispiece, now on a verso page (f. Lv [Pl. 6]), was intended as a recto page. Aside from these paintings being shifted to the wrong side, their misplacement is also evident from the fact that the outer vertical edge of each miniature page was left without the lacquer-like coating applied to the four margins outside the black frame line. This can be observed in Pls. 5 and 6, where the arrow indicates the edge of the lacquer coating applied to the outer vertical margin. The procedure finds a logical explanation because no coating would have been needed in the area that has been spared by the craftsman who applied it: the outer vertical parchment strip would originally have served as the fold for the insertion of the single folio into the quire, and the image would thus have been facing the opposite page in a correct manner, as was obviously intended by the painter (on a verso page, in the case of ff. Hr [Pl. 5] and Qr, and on a recto page in case of f. Lv [Pl. 6])²⁵³. No previous folds or sewing holes from an older binding are visible in the outer vertical margin on any of the three folios in question, which is why it seems logical to assume that the frontispieces were not used previously in another manuscript. The 14 frontispieces were clearly intended to be used in a codex in which the initia of the texts were laid out in a manner *different* from that in ms. Basil. AN I 8. What was the textual content of this other book?

As was explained in section two, all details of the iconography may be explained on the basis of the texts of the orations of Gregory of Nazianzus or their known historical context, and nothing in these compositions betrays the presence of the lengthy *Commentary* in the book. Is it possible, then, that the frontispieces were originally intended for a manuscript containing only Gregory's orations,

²⁵² If that had been the case, it would have been less laborious to omit the highly unusual outer black frame lines altogether. Had one simply cut parchment folia of a width greater than that of the text pages to accommodate the miniatures, the latter, in the process of their insertion into the manuscript, could conveniently have been moved toward the center of the book, independently of their being located on recto or verso pages; at the outer vertical edge the parchment could have been trimmed accordingly to fit the size of the text quires.

²⁵³ It is more than likely that this was a regular, original feature of all frontispiece miniatures, but the outer vertical margins of the "misplaced" folia are usually cut off today. Similar observations may be made on the present fold belonging to f. D, which is visible between ff. 12v and Dr: the fold measures up to 2.7 cm in width, and the lacquer-like coating only covers the inner side of the fold. This coated strip would originally have been seen on f. Dr, to the right of the miniature's outer black frame line, and the parchment would have been folded right next to it in order to insert the folio into the book for which it was originally intended. However, since the frame is too wide for the present codex, the coated area disappeared in the fold.

without Elias' *Commentary*? After all, this option would provide an explanation for the two odd instances in the Basel codex where the incipit of the oration cited in the frontispiece deviates from the incipit of the same oration in the text²⁵⁴. Given that two richly illuminated copies of the complete collection of Gregory's homilies survive (mss. Paris. gr. 510 and Milan, Ambros. E 49–50 inf.), it would not seem unlikely that the frontispieces surviving in the Basel codex formed part of a larger set that was originally intended for a similar book. However, an assessment of the situation is complicated by the presence of the Greek numerals in the frontispieces, which conform to the sequence of the homilies in the present codex. If these numbers were present right from the start (which, I think, was the case), the paintings were likely *not* made for a manuscript containing the complete collection in which the texts were arranged in different order²⁵⁵.

No illustrated manuscripts of Gregory's "unread" orations survive from Byzantium, so it is impossible to know whether they ever existed. Consequently, it is equally impossible to exclude the possibility that the frontispieces were intended for such a volume before they ended up in the Basel codex with both homilies and exegesis. After all, the fact that a volume containing Elias' *Commentary* includes such elaborate illustration must be regarded as even more unusual, since the text is of a relatively late date and appears to have been rarely copied in Byzantium. Yet, the numerals of the frontispieces—again, *if* they were added at the outset—render this scenario improbable as well. There are great variations in the sequences of Gregory's "unread" homilies among the preserved codices, but no collection has been identified that contains the orations commented upon in the Basel codex in an identical order²⁵⁶. Hence, if the numerals present on the frontispieces originate from the time when these paintings were created, it is very unlikely that the miniatures were originally intended to adorn a codex that contained Gregory's "unread" orations.

Significantly, however, the order of the orations and their commentaries in the codex Basiliensis does conform exactly to that of the second part of ms. Vat. gr. 1219, the only known manuscript to contain Elias' complete *Commentary*²⁵⁷. Therefore, if the numerals on the frontispieces are an original feature, it seems beyond doubt that the paintings were produced for a commentary volume just like the Basel codex, and not for a codex containing Gregory's orations alone. It is conceivable that several—at least two—copies of the text contained in the Basel codex were produced at the same workshop, and that the frontispieces were originally intended for a codex in which they were never included for unknown reasons. The textual content of this hypothetical "twin" volume would have been identical to the Basel codex, but with differing locations of the initia of the individual orations on recto or verso pages, and this codex must have been of yet larger dimensions²⁵⁸. It is possible, if not likely, that the volume for which the frontispieces were originally made featured certain textual variations because, as was noted above, the incipits of Or. 27 and Or. 30 quoted in the frontispiece

²⁵⁴ Cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Appendix VII, Or. 27, where the difference is especially obvious, and Or. 30.

²⁵⁵ If the numerals were added at the outset, the miniatures cannot possibly have been made for a codex belonging to classes M or N of the complete collection, in both of which the internal order of texts is entirely different (cf. SOMERS, *Histoire* 70; V. SOMERS, *Description des collections complètes des Orationes de Grégoire de Nazianze: quelques compléments*. *Byz* 71 (2001) 462–504, 465). Somers has pointed out that a large number of manuscripts contain Gregory's 44 orations in an order that differs from that in classes M and N and that varies among the manuscripts of this third class (class X; SOMERS, *Histoire* 76–82, 708). However, none of the surviving manuscripts arranges the texts in a manner corresponding to the Basel codex.

²⁵⁶ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 190, 193.

²⁵⁷ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Appendices II and IV (V36/V29), 189 (also see the Introduction of the present article).

²⁵⁸ In its current state, ms. Vat. gr. 1219, measuring 425 × 300 mm, is even larger than the Basel codex. It can, however, be ruled out that the Basel frontispieces were originally conceived for what is now the Vatican codex. Aside from the existing textual differences (see above, Introduction), the arrangement of incipits on recto/verso pages in the Vatican manuscript (cf. above, n. 9) is not compatible with the layout of the Basel frontispieces.

miniatures differ from the incipits quoted in the text. This evidence complicates the reconstruction of an identical "twin" volume copied at the same time from one and the same source, and the production scenario may in fact have been even more complex.

Whereas it is clear that the frontispieces were inserted into the present codex as an afterthought and appear to have been painted for another manuscript, their original purpose cannot be reconstructed with certainty. After having discussed the questions that arise from the unusual frame design and layout of the frontispieces, I will now describe other features of the parchment folios that offer insight into the creation of the manuscript's miniatures and their insertion into what is now ms. Basil. AN I 8.

The artistic quality of the paintings is very uneven, and there is plenty of evidence that the miniatures of the Basel codex are the result of a collaborative effort undertaken by several artists of different levels of skill in the same workshop, working hand in hand to complete what must have been an exceptional commission. There is also evidence to suggest that the painters worked under some time pressure and had to complete their task in a hurry. In the latter half of the codex especially, figures and architectural elements are often rendered with a certain degree of carelessness, and the elaborate ornamentation typical of the depictions of buildings (e.g., ff. Fv, Ir) is toward the end much reduced or entirely lacking (e.g., f. Qr). Oftentimes, only figures of outstanding importance or holiness were painted with care (e.g., the face of Gregory on f. Bv, or the face of the angel on f. Pr).

Codicological observations substantiate the view that a group of painters collaborated on the completion of the illustrations. Whereas the carmine borders of all the images appear to be uniform in design and dimensions, at least approximately²⁵⁹, there is evidence of several distinct approaches to the preparation of the parchment sheets. Six of the 14 frontispieces display carefully executed double rulings, running from the top to the bottom of the pages, to define the dimensions of the frames, with single rulings at the top and bottom to mark their horizontal edges²⁶⁰. Ultimately, however, when the painters added the red frames of the miniatures they did not consistently respect the previous rulings. Major changes were made to the original design, namely decisions to paint one rectangular image where a two-tiered miniature had been planned, and vice versa²⁶¹. This spontaneity accords with the numerous erasures and corrections present in the images themselves, suggesting an impromptu development of the details of the iconography as well. Four parchment folia completely lack rulings, but instead display preparatory drawings for the carmine frame in light brown ink²⁶². Two distinct ways of employing pricking marks to define the corners of the carmine frames may be observed on some, but not all, of the parchment folia, combined with either rulings or outlines executed in ink²⁶³.

²⁵⁹ I mean to say that there are no *huge* discrepancies in the overall frame design. The measurements provided by MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Table 2, Appendix VIII, 237–238, may be misleading because, due to the severe distortion of the parchment folia (likely owing to tight binding), it is simply impossible to take exact measurements of the frames. Aside from this problem, it is not apparent to me what benefits may be gained from these measurement charts. It is, for instance, impossible to relate their information to the existing differences regarding painterly style, or the preparation of the folia (ruling; pricking marks).

²⁶⁰ Significantly, the same ruling pattern is also found on f. C with the second author portrait on its *recto* (see below for a possible explanation for this). On three folia (ff. C, D and E) the vertical lines run from one edge of the page to the other; ff. B, F, K and Q have a very similar design, but the vertical parallel lines end in the margins, rather than continuing up and down to the borders of the page.

²⁶¹ On f. F the ruling prepared for a single framed image was ignored in order to render a two-tiered miniature, and on f. K the two-tiered design was in the end replaced by one single image.

²⁶² ff. G, H, I, M (fol. Q basically displays the ruling pattern described above, with the variant that the upper horizontal is an ink line).

²⁶³ They are one pricking mark on each of the four corners – ff. H, I, L, O, P, Q; and three pricking marks, in triangular shape – ff. K and M.

In six of the frontispieces the carmine frame was, without prior ruling or ink outline, applied directly onto the parchment²⁶⁴.

The variety of methods used in the ruling (or lack thereof) of the parchment folia is paralleled in the images themselves. Different approaches to preparatory drawing can be discerned: there are carefully rendered outlines in pale ink of varying colors in some cases and, in others, sketchy paintbrush designs. Aside from this, the images reveal obvious discrepancies in terms of conceptual skill. Some, such as the frontispieces on ff. Bv, Er, or Ir, display high levels of precision and thought, and the other extremes are awkwardly designed and crudely painted compositions, such as on f. Qr. Unfortunately, the different approaches to preparing the parchment pages for the accommodation of images do not seem to permit final conclusions as to the exact division of labor between different painters, nor is it possible to establish the exact number of individuals who collaborated on this commission²⁶⁵.

It seems beyond doubt that the bifolium containing the author portraits formed part of this book *before* the 14 frontispiece illustrations were added. When the author portraits were already in place, someone using the book appears to have spilled an oily substance onto it, most likely lamp oil. The mishap must have occurred when the book was open at the first text page because on this page and the facing (empty) verso of f. Cv the oil stains are most visible. The stains are quite visible on the paper sheets at the beginning of the book, as well as on both parchment folia with the two author portraits. Revealingly, they are not seen on the now-misplaced f. B with the first frontispiece on its verso that was originally inserted to face the beginning of the text²⁶⁶. Therefore, this unsoiled folio—and thus all the other frontispieces—cannot yet have been part of the manuscript when the misfortune happened, but must have been added to the quires later on.

The two author portraits lack the additional black outer frame line and coating that is characteristic of the frontispieces, yet it is especially because of the gilded ground that their visual appearance differs so significantly from the frontispieces. Based on stylistic and codicological observations, it is very likely, however, that all 16 miniatures of the codex were produced by one and the same workshop. The miniature depicting Gregory and Elias writing on a shared rotulus (f. Cr) has the same ruling pattern that is present in six of the illustrative miniatures²⁶⁷. Folio Av shares with six of the illustrative frontispieces the feature of the painting having been applied directly on the parchment page without prior ruling²⁶⁸.

As has been suggested above, it is possible that the author portrait on f. Av was added as an afterthought in order to complement the one on f. Cr. While it remains an oddity that both pictures, with varying degrees of sophistication, convey essentially the same message regarding the transfer and continuity of divine inspiration and authority, it is conceivable that the painter of the picture now situated on f. Av aimed at creating more-conventional portraits of both authors, who are in this image appropriately depicted in their episcopal regalia. Its color scheme corresponds closely to that used throughout the codex, and the design of the folds of the garments finds close parallels among the

²⁶⁴ These are ff. G, H, L, N, O, and P (f. N has no visible pricking marks). The same procedure of applying the miniature on the parchment without prior preparation (and without any pricking marks, like on f. N) is also evident in the first author portrait on f. Av (see below).

²⁶⁵ Aside from the fact that stylistic analysis lacks appropriate methods and is thus to some degree subjective, it is possible, if not likely, that several painters collaborated on one and the same miniature. In addition, painters of limited merits likely arrived at better results when they could simply copy from models, instead of devising an image entirely on their own. There are other uncertainties that render a precise reconstruction of work procedures impossible.

²⁶⁶ As has been stated above, f. B has been misplaced and is now found between the two author portraits; when it was added to the volume (obviously *after* the oil was spilled onto the book), the miniature on its verso faced the beginning of the first oration (Or. 27) and its commentary on f. 1r.

²⁶⁷ Cf. ff. B, D, E, F, K, and Q; see above.

²⁶⁸ Cf. ff. G, H, L, N, O, and P (ff. A and N have no visible pricking marks); see above.

frontispiece paintings. A recurring element in the figures of the bishops depicted on f. Av, encountered as well in many of the illustrative frontispieces, are the strong contour lines of the *omophoria*, which were applied in a greyish hue²⁶⁹.

The evidence of the oil stain suggests that the bifolium with the author portraits formed part of the book before the decision was made to include the frontispieces. Whereas it is beyond doubt that the addition of the fourteen frontispieces resulted from an afterthought, for stylistic and codicological reasons it is unlikely that a long period of time elapsed between the creation of the book and their insertion. This is also suggested by the presence of the prologue on f. Br, which, it seems to me, was written by the same hand as the main text²⁷⁰. The entire set of the surviving 16 miniatures that adorn what is now the Basel codex may easily have been produced within just a few months or years. The reconstructed production scenario must not necessarily have required a rebinding of the manuscript shortly after it was first bound, as it was not at all uncommon for Byzantine codices to remain without a cover, sometimes even over prolonged periods of time²⁷¹. It is impossible to reconstruct the concrete motivations for the addition of the frontispieces, which were not originally meant to accompany this text. Possibly, with these miniatures added, the resulting book served as a display copy, or it was intentioned as a gift delivered on a special occasion to impress its recipient. There is currently no way of knowing.

In the next, and last, section, I will address matters of the date and provenance of the Basel codex and discuss the historical circumstances that may shed light on the origin of this book, especially its miniatures. I suggest that the latter at least ought to be viewed in connection with the imperial propaganda of Manuel I Comnenus, which was devised to present the ruler as a guardian of orthodoxy²⁷².

4. SOME CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

When and where was ms. AN I 8 produced, and around which time were the frontispieces added to the codex? The difficulties in answering these questions with any degree of precision are grounded in the general methodological problems regarding stylistic dating of both art and script²⁷³, and, additionally, in the lack of comparable manuscripts from the decades around 1200 that could be securely dated and localized. Almost no dated or datable illuminated manuscripts survive from the late 12th and early 13th centuries, and none of the extant codices display obvious similarities to the Basel codex²⁷⁴. In the realm of monumental painting the situation is somewhat more favorable, although the evidence is still extremely fragmentary, and the surviving monuments are widely scattered across various regions of the Eastern Mediterranean²⁷⁵. Given that the manuscript was purchased by John of Ragusa in Constantinople only about 250 years after its creation, it seems at least possible that

²⁶⁹ Cf. ff. Dv, Er, Ir, etc.

²⁷⁰ Macé and Andrist seem to favor the view that two different scribes copied the prologue and main text at roughly the same time, but they do not exclude the possibility that one and the same individual wrote all of these texts because of the "strong affinities;" MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 184–185, quote 185.

²⁷¹ I owe this thought and bibliographical references to one of the anonymous readers of my essay for *JÖB*; BIANCONI, Cura 95–97; CAVALLO, Stralci 53–54; MONDRAIN, Réutilisation 114, n. 7.

²⁷² On this role of Manuel, see MAGDALINO, Manuel, esp. 316–412.

²⁷³ I have summarized the major methodological obstacles elsewhere; KRAUSE, Homilien 12–13.

²⁷⁴ I. SPATHARAKIS, Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453 (*Byzantina Neerlandica* 8). Leiden 1981. The frontispiece miniature of the Gospel Lectionary ms. Sinait. gr. 221, copied on the island of Crete (Heraklion) in 1175, displays the same unusual majuscule *sigma* in the shape of an inverted Latin "S" that is also present in some of the miniatures of the Basel codex (cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 179–180); however, the Lectionary does not display other features comparable to ms. Basil. AN I 8; SPATHARAKIS, Corpus, no. 162, 46, figs. 308–309, esp. 308; WEITZMANN – GALAVARIS, Manuscripts, no. 63, 176–180, color pl. XXVIII, a.

²⁷⁵ For an overview, see esp. SKAWRAN, Development, esp. 81–102.

the book originated in the capital; however, the codex may also have been brought from elsewhere. Judging from the surviving evidence, or rather the glaring lack of it, artistic production in the capital decreased significantly during the later decades of the 12th century, and the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1203/4 likely had a devastating effect on art production during the following decades. However, as will be explained below, there are strong indications that suggest a date of manufacture of the Basel codex in the later 12th century. Iconographical observations in fact reveal an association of the illuminations with the reign of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, and, more concretely, the Christological debates held at his court around 1166/70.

The relatively mediocre painterly quality of most of the miniatures contained in the Basel codex further complicates the assessment of the book's origin. Along with the fact that material resources were obviously restricted wherever the codex was made, the limited skills of some of the painters might point to its production somewhere in the provinces. Yet, after what has just been said about the artistic production in Constantinople around 1200, this is in fact far from certain. The problems in establishing the Basel manuscript's place of origin are paralleled in the assessment of the many dozens of illuminated manuscripts that have been associated with the so-called decorative style: whereas an origin on the island of Cyprus or in Palestine has initially been suggested for all or most codices belonging to the group, this provenance has recently been challenged; other places, including Constantinople and Lascarid Nicaea, have been suggested as well—if on somewhat shaky grounds, due to lack of convincing evidence²⁷⁶. It cannot currently be ruled out that the Basel codex originated in a Greek-speaking enclave outside of the Byzantine Empire. Aside from the many oddities present in the miniatures, an origin in the empire's periphery might also explain why palaeographers have not been able to identify the scribe, or at least pin down the region from where the manuscript originated.

Scholars have pointed out broader similarities between the handwriting of the text in the Basel codex with two codices dated to 1196 and 1200 respectively, but these comparisons (if found convincing at all) are of limited help for methodological reasons²⁷⁷. Similar methodological problems of course apply to the stylistic dating of works of art. As I will argue below, iconographical evidence suggests that the Basel miniatures were painted in the later 12th century. Stylistically, they find close comparisons in mural paintings that have variously been dated to the decades around 1200, such as in the Refectory of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on the island of Patmos²⁷⁸ and the Church of Hagios Nikolaos Kasnizis in Kastoria²⁷⁹. Frescoes in the monastery church of the Panagia in Myriocephala on the island of Crete, which have been dated to the second half of the 12th century, show close stylistic affinities with the Basel miniatures²⁸⁰. The similarities include the rendering of facial details and, for instance, the awkward depiction of arms hidden under the figures' garments in a way that makes them appear as stumps²⁸¹. Architectural designs similar in form and ornamentation

²⁷⁶ CARR, *Illumination*, esp. 1; for a summary of recent scholarship, see MAXWELL, *Afterlife* 12–14.

²⁷⁷ Ms. Vind. theol. gr. 19 (1196) (*Diktyon* 71686), and the inventory of the Patmos Treasury (1200; Monastery of St. John the Theologian, Archives, no. II, 15); see MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 175 (with the older bibliography). Aside from the problem of subjectivity applying to stylistic comparison of any kind, it is impossible to know how long a certain writing style was practiced by individuals, or how widespread it was.

²⁷⁸ SKAWRAN, *Development*, no. 58, 177–178, figs. 341–349 (second phase of the decoration).

²⁷⁹ SKAWRAN, *Development*, no. 46, 170–171, figs. 233–250; PELEKANIDIS – CHATZIDAKIS, *Kastoria* 50–65, esp. 58; ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Wall-Paintings*, figs. 39–45. The frescoes of both churches are, however, of a much higher painterly quality than the Basel miniatures.

²⁸⁰ I. SPATHARAKIS, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete, Rhetymnon Province*, I. London 1999, 2–3, 141–152, esp. 150–152, pl. 15b, 16a/b, figs. 192–195; I am grateful to one of the anonymous readers of my essay for *JÖB* for drawing my attention to these murals.

²⁸¹ Cf. SPATHARAKIS, *Crete*, pl. 15b, fig. 193 (figures of Sts. Peter and esp. John) and ms. Basel, AN I 8, ff. Bv (bishop in the front line on the left), Dv (St. Gregory), etc.

to those in the frontispieces of the Basel codex are found in Hagios Nikolaos Kasnitzis as well as in the murals of the Panagia Mavriotissa, likewise at Kastoria, which have variously been dated to the late 12th or early 13th centuries²⁸². Similar architectural shapes and embellishing details are seen in the mosaics of the nave of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, which were completed in 1169 and depict the seven ecumenical councils of the Church along with six provincial councils of the third and fourth centuries²⁸³. These mosaics refer to the synods not by means of figural representations, but by displaying texts belonging to the genre of the conciliar synopses²⁸⁴. At Bethlehem, the conciliar synopses are framed by elaborate architectural elements signifying the respective city where the council was held²⁸⁵. Aside from the principle of symmetry that governs the depictions of architecture, details such as ornamental bands, the design of roof tiles, and the shape of domes are very close to the mosaics and the Basel miniatures. The style of figures depicted in the narrative mosaics of the Church of the Nativity is also closely related to that of the miniatures, and, in some of the figures depicted at Bethlehem, we encounter pronounced depictions of human emotions that are a conspicuous feature encountered in several of the Basel frontispieces as well²⁸⁶. As scholars have pointed out, new interest in the portrayal of human psychology is first manifested in the murals of the Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi (Macedonia), painted in 1164²⁸⁷. An exaggerated display of emotions may also be observed in some of the murals at the Church of the Hospitallers at Abu Ghosh near Jerusalem. These frescoes, which have been convincingly dated to around 1170, reflect Constantinopolitan style and quality²⁸⁸. Some of the heads of the Apostles in the fresco of the Dormition of the Virgin find close parallels in the Basel miniatures, especially with regard to the dark shades applied around the eyes of some of the figures, and the strong color contrasts employed to render hair strands²⁸⁹. It must be said, though, that the Abu Ghosh frescoes are generally of a more refined quality than the illuminations of the Basel miniatures. Stylistic comparisons help situate the Basel miniatures within artistic trends that are typical of painting in the Eastern Mediterranean area around 1200 and especially the later decades of the 12th century. Yet they are of limited use for establishing with greater precision their date and place of manufacture.

²⁸² SKAWRAN, *Development*, no. 64, 180, figs. 377–391; PELEKANIDIS – CHATZIDAKIS, *Kastoria* 66–83, esp. figs. 11–12. Aside from the design of the architectural elements, the frescoes of the Panagia Mavriotissa do not suggest close parallels to the Basel miniatures.

²⁸³ Most recently, M. BACCI, *The Mystic Cave. A History of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem*. Brno – Rome 2017, 151–203; H. J. SIEBEN, *Studien zur Gestalt und Überlieferung der Konzilien (Konzilsgeschichte, Reihe B: Untersuchungen)*. Paderborn et al. 2005, 203–241; also see A. JOTISCHKY, *Manuel Comnenus and the Reunion of the Churches: the Evidence of the Conciliar Mosaics in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem*. *Levant* 26 (1994) 207–223; on the date, G. KÜHNEL, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst 14)*. Berlin 1988, 4–5, 145.

²⁸⁴ These texts, which are a typically Byzantine phenomenon, offer a brief outline of the reason why the particular council was assembled, summarize its definition, provide the name of its president along with the number of its participants, and name the individuals who were anathemized; on this genre, SIEBEN, *Studien* 189–265. Sieben has aptly summarized its main purpose: “Wie kaum in einer anderen Kategorie von Texten kommt in den Konzilssynopsen das Selbstverständnis der griechischen Kirche zum Ausdruck, Kirche der sieben Konzilien zu sein ...;” *ibid.*, 232.

²⁸⁵ See JOTISCHKY, *Manuel* 211, and BACCI, *Cave* 164, on the uniqueness and meaning of this approach to representing Church councils; the Greek inscriptions have been translated in WALTER, *Conciles* 268–270. Only the synopsis of the Second Council at Nicaea (787) is rendered in Latin, likely to signal that its decrees, which had been rejected by the Latin Church, were now being acknowledged by it; SIEBEN, *Studien* 229; BACCI, *Cave* 169.

²⁸⁶ Cf., for instance, N. CHATZIDAKIS, *Greek Art: Byzantine Mosaics*. Athens 1994, 152–155.

²⁸⁷ SKAWRAN, *Development*, 83; I. SINKEVIĆ, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi. Architecture, Programme, Patronage (Spätantike—Frühes Christentum—Byzanz, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 6)*. Wiesbaden 2000, 76–82, esp. 79–80.

²⁸⁸ See the fine analysis by A. WEYL CARR, *The Mural Paintings of Abu Ghosh and the Patronage of Manuel Comnenus in the Holy Land*, in: *Crusaders Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda. Oxford 1982, 215–243; also see KÜHNEL, *Painting* 149–180.

²⁸⁹ Cf., for instance, f. Nv, or f. Or in the Basel codex. It is difficult to find in publications good photographs of the murals at Abu Ghosh; see the plates accompanying the relevant sections in KÜHNEL, *Painting*.

While stylistic evidence tends to be ambiguous, certain iconographical features of the Basel frontispieces appear to indicate a time of origin of the manuscript during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, more concretely, in or after 1166. Among the most enigmatic motifs present in the Basel codex is the figure of Christ Emmanuel severing Arius in the frontispiece to Or. 30 (f. Er) [PI. 2]. As the iconographical investigation has demonstrated, the image of Christ Emmanuel conforms well to the doctrinal contents of the homily but has not been inspired directly by the texts contained in the manuscript. Likewise, the figure of Arius, whose body is being cut in half in the lower tier of the miniature, is not mentioned in this oration, nor in its *Commentary*. I argue that the iconography of this frontispiece may be explained in light of the Christological debates that triggered the Church council assembled by Emperor Manuel I Comnenus in early March of 1166 at the Great Palace in Constantinople in order to illuminate the meaning of Christ's statement, "My Father is greater than I" (John 14:28)²⁹⁰. The orthodox position (or rather what was *declared* as the orthodox position by Manuel) assumed legal status by virtue of an edict issued by the emperor on April 4. The latter announced the punishment of opponents to the synod's decisions, and Manuel had it inscribed on large marble slabs that were set up in the Church of Hagia Sophia—whose clerics were among the emperor's greatest opponents²⁹¹. The council's rulings were publicized on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (March 13, 1166), and relevant additions were made to the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, a document that was originally created in celebration of the defeat of Iconoclasm in 843 and served to supplement the decrees of the seven ecumenical councils²⁹².

Unsurprisingly, given the Christological subject matter of the debate, during the Church council of 1166 the theology of Arius was discussed extensively, and different patristic writings drawn up in response to Arius' positions were cited in its opening session²⁹³. While this might explain why it is Arius who in the frontispiece to Or. 30 is punished by Christ Emmanuel, the Biblical passages referring to the latter ("Look, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall name him Emmanuel, which means 'God is with us'"; Mt 1:23, cf. Is 7:14) are not cited anywhere in the council's proceedings. Revealingly, though, they are implicitly referenced in the concluding paragraph, in which the ruler and his accomplishments are praised. Aside from reflecting topoi common in Byzantium of the emperor being a representative and image of Christ on earth, the text alludes concretely to Christ Emmanuel as the namesake of Manuel I, saying that "*the Lord is with him* (i.e., the emperor)," and, as is "*consistent with his name,*" Manuel resembles God²⁹⁴.

²⁹⁰ The proceedings are edited in *PG* 140, 201–282; on the historical context, see P. CLASSEN, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und die Lateiner*. *BZ* 48 (1955) 393–408; H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*. Munich 1959, 622–623; G. SIDÉRIS, *Ces gens ont raison: La controverse christologique de 1165–1166, la question des échanges doctrinaux entre l'Occident latin et Byzance et leur portée politique*. *Cahiers de recherche médiévales et humanistes* 24 (2012) 173–195, esp. 173–176; SIEBEN, *Studien* 217–218, 237–241; for summaries of the different interpretations of the phrase, see CLASSEN, *Konzil* 355–356; G. THETFORD, *The Christological Councils of 1166 and 1170 in Constantinople*. *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 31 (1987) 143–161, 143–145, esp. 149–150; J. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantin des origines au XII^e siècle*. *TM* 1 (1965) 299–324, 216–221, esp. 218; A. SIMPSON, *Niketas Choniates. A Historiographical Study (Oxford Studies in Byzantium)*. Oxford 2013, 42–43.

²⁹¹ C. MANGO, *The Conciliar Edict of 1167*. *DOP* 17 (1963) 315–330; SIMPSON, *Niketas* 43; M. ANGOLD, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni 1081–1261*. Cambridge 1995, 84–85, 99–101; M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204*. London – New York ²1997, 264; CLASSEN, *Konzil* 343, n. 2; GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* 220, 223; on the practice and tradition of publicizing laws on monumental stone tablets, see SIEBEN, *Studien* 235–239.

²⁹² CLASSEN, *Konzil* 343, n. 2; GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* 21, esp. 218–219, 223–225, *ibid.* (ed.), II. 472–509; *PG* 140, 272B; on the additions made to the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* viewed in light of the persecutions of heretics during Comnenian rule, see MAGDALINO, *Manuel* 383–384.

²⁹³ *PG* 140, esp. 209–213, 229–231.

²⁹⁴ ... διότι Κύριος μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐστίν; *PG* 140, 280B. The argument continues as follows: Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν μέγιστον ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν κἀν τούτῳ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἐμφέρειαν σώζοντα, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐστὶ κοινόν τι προσαρμοζόμενον ὄνομα ...; *PG* 140, 280C, n. 46.

Manuel's "literary deification" by writers of the period and the comparisons of him with Christ Emmanuel have been studied exhaustively by Paul Magdalino²⁹⁵. In the visual sphere, the contemporary propaganda of Manuel as the God-like ruler is reflected in the seals and coins issued under his rule, which show the bust image of Christ Emmanuel on their obverse, and a portrait of the emperor on the reverse²⁹⁶. Given that the figure of Christ Emmanuel in the frontispiece of Or. 30 of the Basel codex finds no direct textual explanation in the book itself, I suggest that it was intended, first of all, as a crypto-portrait alluding to Emperor Manuel I²⁹⁷. Byzantine users of the book who were familiar with imperial propaganda conveyed by means of rhetoric and material artifacts must without doubt have made this connection. Hence, in the miniature it is Manuel (alias Christ) who acts as an "arbiter of Orthodoxy," a role that the emperor took seriously throughout his rulership²⁹⁸. The image strongly confirms Manuel's claimed orthodoxy, thus contradicting his opponents, who in fact viewed him as a heretic—not without reason, given the problematic position that the emperor assumed during the synod of 1166²⁹⁹. It is thus tempting to conjecture that the iconography of the frontispiece to Or. 30 reflects official imperial propaganda and was possibly devised by someone in the emperor's entourage. It would seem, then, more likely that the miniatures in the Basel codex originated in Constantinople rather than elsewhere.

There is yet another indication of iconographical nature to suggest that a connection existed between the Basel codex and Emperor Manuel. A second motif that finds no obvious explanation in the texts copied in the manuscript is the curious headgear of the personification of Peace with the *nimbus cruciger* in the frontispiece to Or. 22 (f. Ir) [PI. 3]. While the figure's gender is ambiguous, the *stemma* clearly points to a male ruler. When viewed in conjunction with the text at the beginning of Or. 22, a passage in the council's proceedings reveals that the odd visual "hybrid" of Christ/Peace was almost certainly intended as an allusion to Manuel as well. I suggest that, just like the figure of Christ Emmanuel in the frontispiece to Or. 30, it was designed to visualize the parallels between Manuel and Christ that were also claimed in official propaganda. At the end of the council's fifth session, Manuel is praised as a peacemaker who, being inspired by Solomonic wisdom, truly exalts the kingdom of Christ; in this passage, words from Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians are put in the mouth of Manuel, who exclaims, "For he [i.e., Christ] is our peace; in his flesh he has made both groups into one" (Eph 2:14)³⁰⁰. This is the very same verse that Gregory Nazianzen cites at the beginning of Or. 22 to substantiate his argument that Christ is peace³⁰¹. Consequently, as implied in the curious design of the personification of Peace of the Basel codex, Christ—alias Manuel—is Peace. It would be most interesting to know the original wording of the figure's label, and learn when and why it was partly overpainted.

²⁹⁵ MAGDALINO, Manuel, esp. 434–437, 481 (quote).

²⁹⁶ P. GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coins*. London – Berkeley – Los Angeles 1982, 36, 220, 231; W. SEIBT – M. L. ZARNITZ, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk*. Katalog zur Ausstellung. Vienna 1997, 39–40; <http://www.doaks.org/resources/online-exhibits/gods-regents-on-earth-a-thousand-years-of-byzantine-imperial-seals/rulers-of-byzantium/bzs.1958.106.607>; <https://www.doaks.org/resources/online-exhibits/byzantine-emperors-on-coins/the-komnenoi-and-angeloi-1081-1204/hyperpyron-of-manuel-i-1143-1180> (both accessed 26.03.2018); I. KALAVREZOU, *Imperial Relations with the Church in the Art of the Komnenians*, in: *Byzantium in the 12th Century. Canon Law, State and Society*, ed. N. Oikonomides. Athens 1991, 25–36, 32.

²⁹⁷ The label of the figure of Christ Emmanuel in the Basel miniature reflects Manuel's preference for an older type of omikron-epsilon ligature, as evidenced by almost all of his seals; SEIBT – ZARNITZ, *Bleisiegel* 40.

²⁹⁸ BECK, *Kirche* 622–623; MAGDALINO, Manuel, esp. 316–412; MAGDALINO – NELSON, *Emperor 148* (quote); SIMPSON, *Nike-tas* 38, 40–46.

²⁹⁹ SIMPSON, *Niketas* 42–44; MANGO, *Edict* 320–321; CLASSEN, *Konzil* 356.

³⁰⁰ NRSV; Χριστός ... ἐστὶν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν ὃ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμώτερα ἐν; *PG* 140, 264C–D.

³⁰¹ *SC* 270, ed. J. MOSSAY– G. LAFONTAINE, 218 (see above, section two).

When understood as allusions to Emperor Manuel I, the figure of Christ Emmanuel and the imperial headgear of the personification of Peace in the Basel codex find an intriguing explanation that is absent from the texts contained in the manuscript itself. The textual evidence derived from the conciliar proceedings of 1166 seems to furnish a date for these images, and thus likely also the remainder of the frontispieces, either in or after the year in which the council was held. The Christological issues that had triggered this synod were by no means settled by it, and the disputes arising in its aftermath soon led to another council, held in 1170, at which the emperor was also present; in fact, opposition to the rulings of both councils continued into the following century³⁰². It cannot be ruled out entirely that all or some of the Basel miniatures were copied from older sources, in which case the manuscript may be of later date. However, as was already observed above, the many erasures and changes of plan that are evident in the miniatures strongly suggest that their iconography was rather developed *ad hoc*. The above-mentioned parallels in style and architectural designs between the miniatures in the Basel codex and the dated mosaics of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem are also in line with the assumed time of origin of the Basel miniatures. It thus seems that, in all likelihood, the miniatures of ms. Basil. AN I 8 were created around 1166/70 when the two church councils were held in Constantinople, or in the decade prior to Manuel's death in 1180. The iconographical elements that point to the imperial sphere seem to suggest an origin of the manuscript in Constantinople, although a different provenance cannot be ruled out in light of the many puzzling features of this manuscript. It seems possible that the book containing Elias' expositions experienced an "upgrade" by the insertion of the frontispieces to transform it into an impressive display copy, perhaps to be viewed and used during theological debates conducted at Manuel's court. That, of course, remains speculation.

The stylistic similarities mentioned above that exist between the Basel miniatures and the mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem might suggest some sort of connection, given that Emperor Manuel I was the leading force among the patrons who commissioned these mosaics³⁰³. The subject matter of the mosaics in the nave, the early Church councils, ought to be seen in light of the ambitions evident under Manuel's rule to emphasize the continuity between his own empire and "that of the remote Christian past."³⁰⁴ It has rightly been pointed out that Manuel's reign witnessed a "revival" of the same christological and trinitarian disputes that had been the subject of the early church councils depicted in the mosaics on the nave's walls³⁰⁵. Scholars have highlighted the self-understanding of Comnenian rulers, and Emperor Manuel I in particular, as the overseers and defenders of Orthodoxy³⁰⁶. In fact, the Basel miniatures visualize most poignantly the climate of doctrinal disputes, anti-heretical discourse, and religious persecution that were particularly intense during the 12th century³⁰⁷.

Future research must establish whether the creation of the Basel codex and its miniatures, just like the Bethlehem mosaics, was possibly triggered by the political, religious, and doctrinal struggles between Byzantium and the Latin West under Manuel's rule³⁰⁸. It may not be insignificant for the reconstruction of the origins of the Basel codex that Elias' expositions attracted enormous interest

³⁰² THETFORD, Councils; CLASSEN, Konzil, n. 2; GOUILLARD, Synodikon 221–225.

³⁰³ The decoration was a joint venture by the Byzantine emperor, King Amalric of Jerusalem, and Ralph, Bishop of Bethlehem; KÜHNEL, Painting 4–5, 145–146. Most scholars have assumed that the mosaics were executed by Byzantine craftsmen; *ibid.*, 147; for a summary of different scholarly positions, see JOTISCHKY, Manuel 218. On Manuel's patronage and its quality-enhancing effects on local art production in Palestine, see CARR, Paintings 221–224.

³⁰⁴ MAGDALINO – NELSON, Emperor 177; MANGO, Edict 330; also see CLASSEN, Konzil 344; CARR, Paintings 221–222.

³⁰⁵ JOTISCHKY, Manuel 210.

³⁰⁶ ANGOLD, Church 73; MAGDALINO, Manuel 316–412; MAGDALINO – NELSON, Emperor 148; JOTISCHKY, Manuel 219.

³⁰⁷ MAGDALINO, Manuel 316–412, esp. 366–392.

³⁰⁸ MAGDALINO, Manuel 26–108; CLASSEN, Konzil; SIDÉRIS, Controverse; specifically on Bethlehem, JOTISCHKY, Manuel. As Jotischky has demonstrated, the inscription relating to the First Council of Constantinople privileges Byzantine Orthodox,

from scholars during the early modern period, after the arrival of both the Basel codex and ms. Vat. gr. 1219 in the West³⁰⁹. In light of Emperor Manuel's ambitions to reunite the Churches³¹⁰, one should recall that, centuries later, John of Ragusa purchased the Basel codex specifically for use at the Council of Basel, which pursued the same aim.

In order to further unravel the circumstances that brought about this most unusual book, it may be promising to launch further research into establishing the significance of the "unread" orations of Gregory Nazianzen and their expositions by Elias of Crete in twelfth-century Byzantium and the larger Mediterranean area. Given that ms. Vat. gr. 1219 dates from approximately the same time as the Basel codex, it might be fruitful to investigate further the role these writings played in the refutation of heresies during the later Middle Ages, particularly in the decades around 1200³¹¹. Not only is a critical edition of Elias' *Commentary* needed, but so is scholarly inquiry into both its sources and the history of its reception. Research on Gregory's writings has focused almost exclusively on their doctrinal relevance in the late fourth century³¹². Given that Gregory's writings survive in a multitude of Greek manuscripts, the far-reaching lack of scholarship on the significance, especially of the Theologian's "unread" orations in medieval Byzantium, is astonishing³¹³. More specifically, the relevance of his writings in the doctrinal debates of the Comnenian era deserves systematic investigation, also in light of the suggested date for Elias' expositions of the "unread" orations around 1120 (an assumption that remains in need of verification³¹⁴).

In light of the probable origin of the Basel miniatures during the later years of the reign of Manuel I Comnenus, as has been suggested in the present essay, it seems important to mention that the proceedings of the synod of 1166 contain multiple references to the authority of Gregory of Nazianzus, in addition to direct quotations from his first and second orations *On the Son* (Or. 29, 30)³¹⁵. After all, the importance of Gregory's *Theological Orations* for the doctrinal debates held at Manuel's court may also supply the reason why only the second part of Elias' expositions was copied in what is now the Basel codex, in which these homilies are found right at the beginning³¹⁶.

The *Theological Orations* contributed significantly to Gregory's outstanding position among the patristic authors of the Greek East. Significantly, he was in Byzantium even likened to the Twelve Apostles, which became manifest when in 946 Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos transferred his relics from Cappadocia to the capital and deposited them in the sanctuary of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the altar of which enshrined relics of some of the latter³¹⁷. Gregory's sarcophagus

not Latin, religious policy regarding the definition of the procession of the Holy Spirit (*filioque* debates); JOTISCHKY, Manuel 214–215.

³⁰⁹ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 186–189, 193–197.

³¹⁰ JOTISCHKY, Konzil; SIDÉRIS, Controverse.

³¹¹ As is well known, heresies of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods remain understudied along with the relevant writings; for an overview, see, for example, A. CAMERON, How to Read Heresiology. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (2003) 471–492; GOUILLARD, Hérésie; MAGDALINO, Manuel 366–412; Alicia Simpson's recent monograph on Niketas Choniates presents new insight into a major, yet not fully published, work on heresiology, Niketas' *Dogmatike Panoplia*; SIMPSON, Niketas 36–50.

³¹² See the works cited above throughout the iconographical analysis of the Basel frontispieces.

³¹³ The manuscript inventories provided in the volumes of the *Repertorium Nazianzenum* and the critical editions that have been published of most of Gregory's orations would seem to supply a sound basis for further research.

³¹⁴ See above, Introduction, and MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 202–203.

³¹⁵ PG 140, 209A (Or. 30), 217C–D (Or. 29), 232D–233A, 240A, 240C, 241C, 244D, 245A.

³¹⁶ See the Introduction of the present article.

³¹⁷ B. FLUSIN, Le Panégyrique de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète pour la translation des reliques de Grégoire le Théologien (BHG 728). *REB* 57 (1999) 5–97; B. FLUSIN, L'empereur et le théologien. À propos du retour des reliques de Grégoire de Nazianze (BHG 728), in: AETOS. Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango Presented to Him on April 14, 1998, ed. I. Ševčenko – I. Hutter. Stuttgart 1998, 137–153.

was set up symmetrically opposite that of St. John Chrysostom, whose remains had been present in the Apostoleion since 438³¹⁸. The emperor also institutionalized a new feast day in Gregory's honor (Jan. 19), to be celebrated annually with a major procession in commemoration of the translation, for which Constantine composed and personally delivered a panegyric³¹⁹. Furthermore, the initiative signals that the emperor aimed at honoring the Theologian as equal in rank with the famous Golden Mouth³²⁰. In the following century, the joint veneration of the Theologian and John Chrysostom was further enhanced by the institution of yet another festival, the Feast of the Three Hierarchs (Jan. 30), which also included St. Basil of Caesarea³²¹. It is thus clear that St. Gregory Nazianzen's cult had become more prominent in the capital relatively late, only during the Middle Byzantine period.

In a work of art that was almost certainly commissioned by Emperor Manuel, the Theologian and the Golden Mouth featured prominently as equals in matters of doctrinal authority. One of the epigrams related to works of art, which are documented in ms. Marcianus gr. Z 524 (*Diktyon* 69995) along with brief descriptions of the artifacts, testifies to a now-lost picture that showed the divinely inspired emperor. Manuel was depicted beneath the descending dove of the Holy Spirit and accompanied by Christ, who was whispering in his ear. Also included in the image were the Apostles Peter and Paul, as well as saintly bishops handing the ruler books that contained their writings. Only John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus are explicitly named by the poet, and were thus likely depicted in prominent positions close to the ruler³²². Magdalino and Nelson have associated this image, probably a monumental work of art, with the doctrinal debates of Manuel's reign³²³. This is indeed likely, given that the epigram neatly summarizes the Orthodox position within the major christological and trinitarian disputes of the time³²⁴:

“You, O Child, speak to the emperor; he wishes to proclaim what his ear has heard, how You are one although You have two natures, both unmixed in one person. And you, O Spirit, give grace from above, for he teaches the faithful to revere your procession from the Father alone, and your one origin.”³²⁵

Significantly, the formulation “O Child” suggests that in this image, too, Christ was depicted in the iconographical type of the Emmanuel. The picture's iconography, presenting the ruler as a divinely authorized herald of the true faith, must have appeared most extravagant to contemporary viewers. In Byzantine art, the inspiration of humans through direct interaction with Christ is extremely rare and was limited practically exclusively to figures of biblical authors³²⁶. Hence, if the description in the Marcianus can be fully trusted, in this image Emperor Manuel claimed for himself a visual privilege that artists seem to have denied even to the saints. In this lost image, Gregory Nazianzen along with the Golden Mouth assumed leading roles as the emperor's learned advisors and saintly witnesses to his divinely inspired orthodoxy³²⁷.

³¹⁸ FLUSIN, *Panegyrique* 22–25; KRAUSE, *Homilien* 2.

³¹⁹ *BHG* 728; FLUSIN, *Panegyrique*, esp. 10–12, ed./trans. (French) 40–81.

³²⁰ On Constantine's intense veneration of both these saints, see FLUSIN, *Panegyrique* 11–12, n. 33.

³²¹ KRAUSE, *Homilies* 2–3, 197.

³²² See MAGDALINO – NELSON, *Emperor 147–149*, for a full quotation of the description and epigram in Greek and English.

³²³ MAGDALINO – NELSON, *Emperor 148*; see also KALAVREZOU, *Relations* 31–32.

³²⁴ For a useful summary of the debates, see SIMPSON, *Niketas* 40–45.

³²⁵ Trans. MAGDALINO – NELSON, *Emperor 148*.

³²⁶ Judging from the surviving images, Christ is never portrayed in the act of personally whispering words of inspiration into the ears of humans, but employs saints for the task; on such scenes, see KRAUSE, *Inspiration*.

³²⁷ It is possible, albeit beyond proof, that the picture formed part of the splendid pictorial decoration designed to celebrate Manuel's deeds in his newly constructed throne hall at the Great Palace, where the synod of 1166 was assembled; *PG* 140, 236; on this hall, see SIMPSON, *Niketas* 44.

The unusual set of miniatures that was added to Elias' *Commentary* to create the Basel codex in its present form is remarkable for celebrating Gregory of Nazianzus not only as an outstanding theologian and religious leader of his time, but as an individual of lasting authority for the definition of Byzantine Orthodoxy. In a sense, as is clear from his chosen role as a guardian of orthodoxy, Emperor Manuel I strove for similar distinction, perhaps most decidedly when he assembled the Church council of 1166 at the Great Palace. As I have argued in this essay, this is likely the historical context in which the creation of the Basel codex ought to be viewed.



Pl. 1: Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8: Reconstructed original arrangement of the two author portraits on facing pages, ff. Av-Cr (Photomontage).



Pl. 2: Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8, f. E: Frontispiece to Or. 30, Gregory of Nazianzus, The Fourth Theological Oration



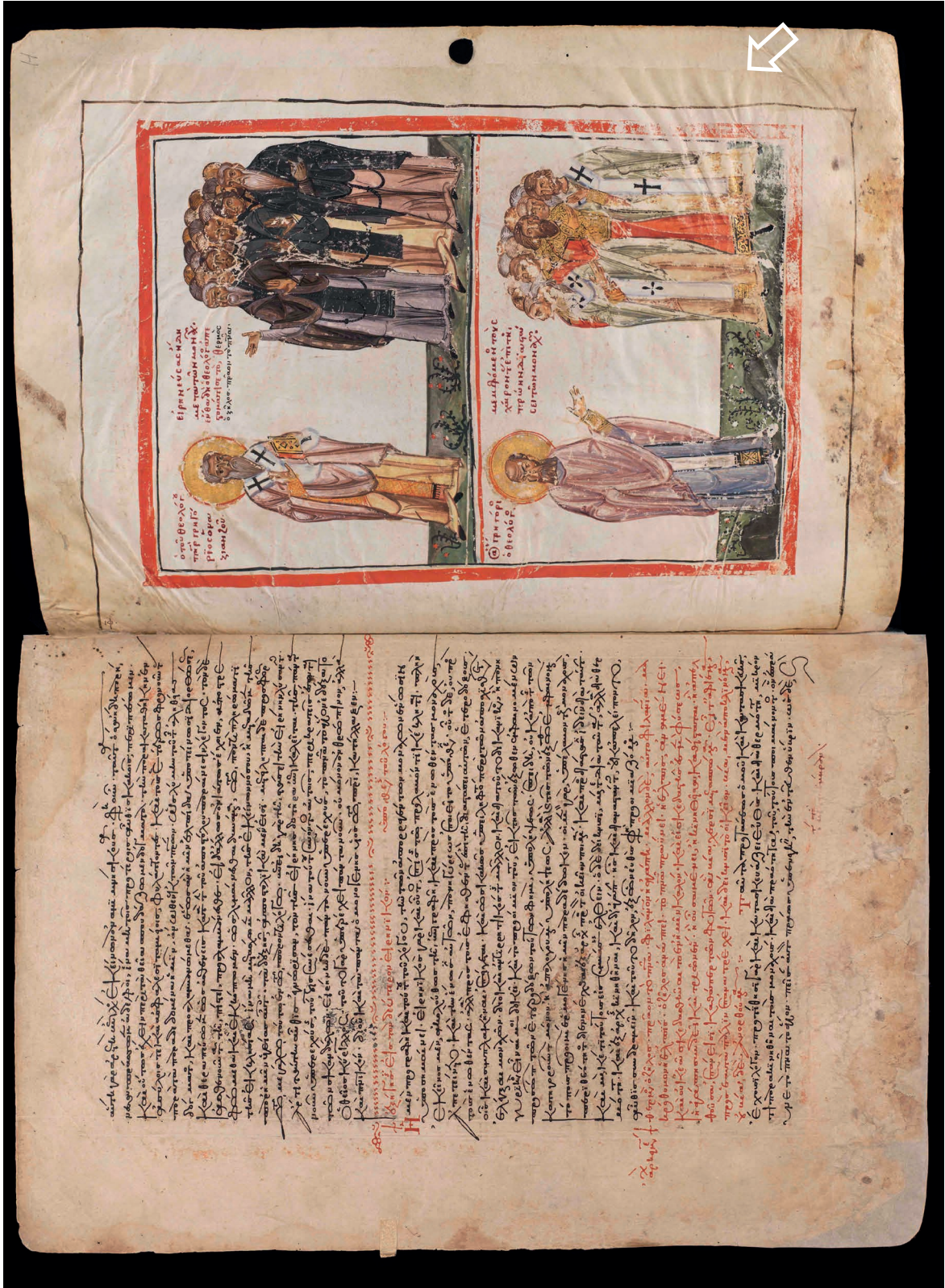
Pl. 3: Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8, f. I: Frontispiece to Or. 22, Gregory of Nazianzus, Third Discourse on Peace



Pl. 4
 Basel, Universi-
 ty Library, Ms.
 AN I 8:
 Example of a
 double page
 (ff. F^v-148^r)
 with the image
 shifted to the
correct side
 (toward the
 book's center)
 within its frame
 defined by the
 outer black
 rectangle

Pl. 5
Basel, Universi-
ty Library, Ms.
ANI 8:

Example of a
double page (ff.
250^v-H) with
the image shift-
ted to the wrong
side within its
frame defined
by the outer
black rectangle;
the frontispiece
was conceived
to serve as a
verso (the arrow
marks the limit
of the lacquer
coating applied
around the outer
black frame
line)



Pl. 6
Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8:

Example of a double page (ff. L^v-304^r) with the image shifted to the wrong side within its frame defined by the outer black rectangle; the frontispiece was conceived to serve as a *recto* (the arrow marks the limit of the lacquer coating applied around the outer black frame line)



