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Κῆπος ἀειθαλῆς

Studi in ricordo di Augusta Acconcia Longo

I

a cura di

Francesco D'AIUTO - Santo LUCÀ - Andrea LUZZI

ELIAS OF CRETE'S COMMENTARY ON GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS'S HOMILIES IN CODEX BASEL AN I 8: A PHILOLOGICAL AND CODICOLOGICAL APPROACH*

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations* = G. GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, Princeton 1969 (Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 6).
- LAURENT, *Le rituel* = V. LAURENT, *Le rituel de la proskomidie et le métropolitain de Crète Élie*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 16 (1958), pp. 116–142.
- MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, I–VI = J. MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus*, I: *Codices Galliae*, Paderborn 1981 (Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz, 1); ID., *Repertorium* [...], II: *Codices Americae, Angliae, Austriae*, Paderborn 1987 (Forschungen [...], 5); ID., *Repertorium* [...], III: *Codices Belgii, Bulgariae, Constantinopolis, Germaniae, Graeciae (pars prior)* [...], Paderborn 1993 (Forschungen [...], 10); J. MOSSAY – L. HOFFMANN, *Repertorium* [...], IV: *Codices Cypri, Graeciae (pars altera), Hierosolymorum*, Paderborn 1995 (Forschungen [...], 11); J. MOSSAY, *Repertorium* [...], V: *Codices civitatis Vaticanae*, Paderborn 1996 (Forschungen [...], 12); J. MOSSAY – B. COULIE, *Repertorium* [...], VI: *Codices Aegypti, Boemiae, Hispaniae, Italiae, Serbiae. Addenda et corrigenda*, Paderborn 1998 (Forschungen [...], 14).
- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus* (...). *Series Graeca* (...), accurate J.-P. MIGNE, I–CLXI, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1857–1866.
- RgK, I–III = E. GAMILLSCHEG – D. HARLFINGER – H. HUNGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, I: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens*; II: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens*; III: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan*, Wien 1981–1997

* This article presents the initial results of research carried out in collaboration with Karin Krause, who will be separately publishing an analysis of the pictures in the codex (her article, entitled *Celebrating Orthodoxy. Miniatures for Gregory the Theologian's «Unread» Orations [MS Basiliensis AN I 8]*, has been submitted for publication). The authors would like to express their gratitude to the following people: Ueli Dill, conservator of manuscripts at the Universitätsbibliothek Basel, who has encouraged our work since the beginning; Jost Gippert, who took multispectral pictures of several folios of the manuscript and provided many valuable comments; Paul Canart, Ernst Gamillscheg and Inmaculada Pérez Martín for most insightful discussions. A draft of this article was presented by Caroline Macé at the *Congrès International de Paléographie Grecque* on September 27, 2013 in Hamburg and the authors would like to thank Christian Brockmann for this opportunity. They also thank Roderick Saxey, who revised the final version of this article and proposed many improvements.

- (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, 3/1-3).
- SAJDAK, *Historia critica* = J. SAJDAK, *Historia critica scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni, Pars prima*, Cracoviae 1914 (Meletemata Patristica, 1).
- SC 208 = Grégoire de Nazianze, *Lettres théologiques*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par P. GALLAY, Paris 1974 (Sources Chrétiennes, 208).
- SC 247 = Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 1-3*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. BERNARDI, Paris 1978 (Sources Chrétiennes, 247).
- SC 250 = Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 27-31* (...), introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par P. GALLAY (...), Paris 1978 (Sources Chrétiennes, 250).
- SC 270 = Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 20-23*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. MOSSAY avec la collaboration de G. LAFONTAINE, Paris 1980 (Sources Chrétiennes, 270).
- SC 284 = Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 24-26*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. MOSSAY avec la collaboration de G. LAFONTAINE, Paris 1981 (Sources Chrétiennes, 284).
- SC 309 = Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 4-5. Contre Julien*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. BERNARDI, Paris 1983 (Sources Chrétiennes, 309).
- SC 318 = Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 32-37*, introduction, texte critique et notes par C. MORESCHINI (...), Paris 1985 (Sources Chrétiennes, 318).
- SC 358 = Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 38-41*, introduction, texte critique et notes par C. MORESCHINI (...), Paris 1990 (Sources Chrétiennes, 358).
- SC 384 = Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 42-43*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. BERNARDI Paris 1992 (Sources Chrétiennes, 384).
- SC 405 = Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 6-12*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par M.-A. CALVET-SÉBASTI, Paris 1995 (Sources Chrétiennes, 405).
- SOMERS, *Histoire* = V. SOMERS, *Histoire des collections complètes des Orationes de Grégoire de Nazianze*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1997 (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 48).
- WALTER, *Un commentaire* = C. WALTER, *Un commentaire enluminé des homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *Cahiers archéologiques. Fin de l'Antiquité et Moyen Âge* 22 (1972), pp. 115-129.

The codex known as AN i 8 in the Basel Universitätsbibliothek is an intriguing object containing the commentary of Elias Cretensis (11th-12th century?) on 19 orations by Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 330-ca. 390)¹,

¹ For the exact contents, see Appendix I. In all the Greek texts edited in this article, the orthography of the manuscripts has been respected (including accentuation; especially the accent is kept *gravis* before a comma), but abbreviations have been tacitly resolved, grammatical iotas (often adscribed in the manuscripts) have been subscribed, and proper names have been capitalized. According to the rules of this journal, a space is added after the apostrophe, although this modern custom does not make much sense: cf. J. NORET, *Les règles byzantines de la division en syllabes*, in *Byzantion* 77 (2007), pp. 345-348. This article is the result of a close collaboration between Caroline Macé, who was primarily responsible for the philological analysis

as well as 16 full-page illustrations. These were brought to scholarly attention in 1972 by Christopher Walter; but apart from Walter's article, the text, the images and the manuscript's early history have remained largely unstudied and mysterious². The present article, which offers a new description of the codex and analyses several aspects of its content from a philological perspective, represents a first attempt to fill in this gap.

I. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript³ is made of 369 paper leaves (without watermarks), foliated 1-369⁴. These are, for the most part, organised into quaternions and contain the written text. 16 parchment leaves independently foliated with the Latin letters A-Q (the letter J being omitted) are added at the beginning of the codex, and into the quires at the beginning of each oration (in addition to five leaves that are now lost); these contain the miniatures⁵. There are also two upper and four lower flyleaves from the 15th century. The dimensions of the leaves – ca. 380×270 mm (trimmed) – make it a codex of considerable size.

Two systems of quire numbers, mostly agreeing with one another, are partially preserved. The older numbers, in black ink, are located in the upper righthand corner of the first recto and in the lower righthand corner of the last verso of the quires, and date from before the restora-

and the translation from the Greek, and Patrick Andrist who focused on the physical aspects of the codex and its reconstruction. Both authors fully support the conclusions put forward in this article.

² WALTER, *Un commentaire*.

³ The manuscript has been completely digitized by the Universitätsbibliothek Basel and the images, together with a description and bibliography by Patrick Andrist is available on *e-Codices* (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch>) since July 2017.

⁴ F. 369v is wrongly paginated 370, while the first lower flyleaf, which is wrongly foliated 369, is designated here 369bis.

⁵ The current quire composition, according to the improved Chroust system (cf. P. ANDRIST, *The physical description*, in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction*, ed. by A. BAUSI [ET AL.], Hamburg 2015, p. 524), including the current quire numbers in Greek is: (custod.: I^{s.n.}), s.n.(I+I^{f.B})^{f.A-C}, α'(IV+2^{f.9-10})^{f.1-10}, β'(II+I)^{f.11-12,D,13-14}, β'_{<bis>}(I)^{f.15-16}, γ'-ι'(8.IV)^{f.17-80}, ια'(V)^{f.81-90}, ιβ'(III)^{f.91-96}, ιγ'-ιδ'(2.IV)^{f.97-112}, ιε'(IV+I)^{f.113-119,E,120}, ις'-ιη'(3.IV)^{f.121-144}, ιθ'(IV+I)^{f.145-147,F,148-152}, κ'-κζ'(8.IV)^{f.153-216}, κη'(IV+I)^{f.217-222,G,223-224}, κθ'-λα'(3.IV)^{f.225-248}, λβ'(IV+I)^{f.249-254,H,255-256}, λγ'(IV)^{f.257-264}, λδ'(IV+I)^{f.265-267,J,268-272}, λε'(IV)^{f.273-280}, λς'(IV+I)^{f.281-285,K,286-288}, λζ'(IV)^{f.289-296}, λη'(IV+I)^{f.297-303,L,304}, λθ'-μ'(2.IV)^{f.305-320}, μα'(IV+I)^{f.321-325,M,326-328}, μυ'(IV+I)^{f.329-331,N,332-336}, μδ'(IV+2)^{f.O,337-342,P,343-344}, με'(IV+I)^{f.345-347,Q,348-352}, μς'(IV+I)^{f.361}^{f.353-361}, s.n.(2.II)^{f.362-369}, (custod.: II^{f.369bis,3f.s.n.}). – There are many «artificial» bifolios.

tion of the 15th century. The more recent numbers, dating from the restoration⁶, are less frequent (the new foliation is often omitted when it coincides with the already-present older numbering); they are written in light brown ink and found in the same corners but closer to the text⁷. It is clear from the analysis of the text and the quire numbers that quire 42 ($\mu\beta'$), containing part of homily 36, is lost today (after f. 328)⁸. In addition, the order of the folios in quaternions 11-12 ($\iota\alpha'$ - $\iota\beta'$, ff. 81-96) and 41-43 ($\mu\alpha'$ - $\mu\gamma'$, ff. 321-336) is disturbed. The end of the text is preserved, but a probably empty last folio is lost⁹.

Our analysis reveals that the codex contains six distinct production units (in addition to the binding). They are presented separately here.

1.1. *The paper leaves (ff. 1-169) (Production unit 1)*

The text is copied in one column, with the number of lines varying from 37 to 44. The actual text lines are not ruled, but the writing surface is always delimited, at least on the sides; the ruling types used, as described in Muzerelle's system¹⁰, are 2-2:*/0/1-1:E/0 or 2-2:*/0/0/0¹¹. The writing for the most part hangs from the horizontal line (when available). The position and size of the writing surface varies: for exam-

⁶ These quire numbers are sometimes found on the paper used for restoration.

⁷ For more details, see the description by P. Andrist on *e-Codices*.

⁸ In the current state of our documentation, the size of this lost quire is difficult to reconstruct. If the missing texts of Elias and Gregory (seven and a half paragraphs of Gregory's text, plus the commentary) were copied in the normal fashion, they would more easily fit a ternio than a quaternion (by comparison, the *Or.* 3, which consists of eight paragraphs, and its commentary are copied on six folios). However, the quires are very consistently quaternions (except at the end, as often in Byzantine manuscripts).

⁹ The reconstructed quire composition of the main block in the 13th century is most probably as follows: s.n.(I)^{f.A,C}, α' (IV+I)^{f.B,1-8}, β' (IV+I)^{f.9-12,D,13-16}, γ' - ζ' (5.IV)^{f.17-56}, η' (IV+I)^{f.57-62,deest,63-64}, θ' (IV)^{f.65-72}, ι' (IV+I)^{f.73-77,deest,78-80}, $\iota\alpha'$ (IV)^{f.90-96,81}, $\iota\beta'$ (IV)^{f.82-89}, $\iota\gamma'$ - δ' (2.IV)^{f.97-112}, $\iota\epsilon'$ (IV+I)^{f.113-119,E,120}, $\iota\zeta'$ - $\iota\eta'$ (3.IV)^{f.121-144}, $\iota\theta'$ (IV+I)^{f.145-147,F,148-152}, κ' - $\kappa\gamma'$ (4.IV)^{f.153-184}, $\kappa\delta'$ (IV+I)^{f.185,deest,186-192}, $\kappa\epsilon'$ - $\kappa\zeta'$ (3.IV)^{f.193-216}, $\kappa\eta'$ (IV+I)^{f.217-222,G,223-224}, $\kappa\theta'$ - $\lambda\alpha'$ (3.IV)^{f.225-248}, $\lambda\beta'$ (IV+I)^{f.249-254,H,255-256}, $\lambda\gamma'$ (IV)^{f.257-264}, $\lambda\delta'$ (IV+I)^{f.265-267,J,268-272}, $\lambda\epsilon'$ (IV)^{f.273-280}, $\lambda\zeta'$ (IV+I)^{f.281-285,K,286-288}, $\lambda\eta'$ (IV)^{f.289-296}, $\lambda\theta'$ (IV+I)^{f.297-303,L,304}, $\lambda\iota'$ - μ' (2.IV)^{f.305-320}, $\mu\alpha'$ (IV+I)^{f.321-322,326,324-325,M,323,327-328}, $\mu\beta'$ (IV?)^{f.345-347,Q,348-352}, $\mu\gamma'$ (IV+I)^{f.329,335,331,N,332-334,330,336}, $\mu\delta'$ (IV+2)^{f.O,337-342,P,343-344}, $\mu\epsilon'$ (IV+I)^{f.345-347,Q,348-352}, $\mu\zeta'$ (IV+I)^{f.<R>,353-360}, $\mu\zeta'$ (III+I)^{f.361-365,<S>,366}, $<\mu\eta'>$ (II?)^{f.367-369,deest}. – See the reconstruction of the initial quire as well as of quires α' (1), $\mu\gamma'$ (43) and $\mu\zeta'$ (47), below, p. 191 n. 27.

¹⁰ D. MUZERELLE, *Pour décrire les schémas de réglure. Une méthode de notation symbolique applicable aux manuscrits latins (et autres)*, in *Quinio* 1 (1999), pp. 123-170.

¹¹ Corresponding to Leroy's types V 20D1 and U 20/1.

ple, f. 12r, 44 lines: 374×257 mm = (44) 271 (59)×(23) 176 (58) mm;
f. 201r, 43 lines: 378×269 mm = (44) 278 (56)×(22) 190 (57) mm.

The text was written by a single hand (Hand A; see Plates 7 and 8), which we could not identify or precisely locate. Jan Sajdak dated it to the late 12th or early 13th century¹². A comparison with the elder part of the codex Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Theol. gr. 19, dated from 1196, as well as with the famous inventory of the treasures of the monastery in Patmos, dated to 1200¹³, prompted Herbert Hunger to suggest a similar dating¹⁴.

This production unit contains the commentaries of Elias Cretensis on 19 homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. The structure of the commentary on each homily is as follows:

- (1) title of the commentary (in vermillion ink), corresponding to the title of the oration commented upon (see Appendix VII);
- (2) usually a short introduction (ὑπόθεσις) by Elias (in black);
- (3) the text of Gregory divided into lemmata of various lengths (from one or two lines up to half a page), copied in vermillion ink;
- (4) a rather lengthy piece of commentary following each lemma is written in black ink (except the first letter, which is vermillion).

In addition, subtitles (in vermillion) sometimes identify the beginning of the ὑπόθεσις, the beginning of the homily, and the beginning of the commentary proper. These are written by the same hand (Hand A), either in the body of the text or in the margin, and read ὑπόθεσις, ἀρχὴ τοῦ λόγου, and κείμενον.

The title of the first commentary (to *Or.* 27) on f. 1r (see Plate 7) is directly preceded by a general title: Ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τοὺς τοῦ θεολόγου λόγους· πονηθεῖσα τῷ εὐτελεῖ μητροπολίτῃ Κρήτης Ἡλίας, ὑπερορίῳ τυγχάνοντι («commentary on the orations of the Theologian, written out with toil by the lowly metropolitan of Crete, Elias, when he was in exile»). This general title is itself preceded by a band-shaped headpiece in vermillion ink, most probably by the copyist. The indication λόγος πρῶτος («first oration») is written above the headpiece, also by Hand A. Except for this

¹² SAJDAR, *Historia critica*, p. 100 and n. 2 and 4.

¹³ Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, Archives II. 15; cf. Ch. ASTRUC, *L'inventaire dressé en septembre 1200 du trésor et de la bibliothèque de Patmos. Édition diplomatique*, in *Travaux et Mémoires [du] Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance* 8 (1981), pp. 15–30: 18.

¹⁴ H. HUNGER, *Gibt es einen Angeloistil?*, in *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 32–33 (1990–1991), pp. 21–35: 33 and fig. 16 (f. 12v).

indication, neither the commentaries nor the orations are numbered in the manuscript, and there is no pinax¹⁵.

The copyist seems to have worked simultaneously with the two inks. On f. 91v, for example, the last word of the lemma (in vermillion), which does not fit on the last line, is not written at the beginning of the next line but at the end, and is circled; the first line of the following commentary (in black) does not go until the end of the line, since it is occupied by the last word of the lemma. On many occasions a correction to the text of the commentary is marked with a sign in vermillion in the text and in the margin, whereas the marginal correction itself is written in black (ff. 75r, 92r etc.).

1.2. *Two sets of miniatures?*

Sixteen parchment leaves, foliated A–Q and containing 16 full-page miniatures, were added to the quires. Certain codicological, thematic and visual elements lead us to divide these parchment leaves into two groups: (1) ff. B, D–Q (frontispieces to Gregory's homilies), and (2) ff. A and C (author portraits of both Gregory and Elias). If the topic of f. Av and Cr sets them apart from the other miniatures, this is not the only objective difference between the two groups.

First of all, ff. A and C form a singulion (currently artificially interrupted by f. B, as we will show below)¹⁶, whereas the other miniatures are painted on isolated singular leaves. Second, the preparation of the background of the paintings is different between the two groups: the two author portraits are painted against a golden background, while the background of the other miniatures has been carefully scraped in such a way that it would become very smooth and almost white (we are grateful to Karin Krause for this information). Third, all the miniatures are found within a frame made of a rather thin black line, itself surrounded by a vermillion border. However, only on the frontispiece miniatures (ff. B, D–Q) does a second frame made of a thin black line surround the first one and so mark the limit of the whitened parchment¹⁷.

¹⁵ For the numbers on the pictures, see below, p. 182, and Appendix I. A later hand added a Greek number to the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh homilies, beginning on ff. 78r, 119v, 148r, 186r (from γ' to ζ' [sic]).

¹⁶ See p. 179.

¹⁷ Perhaps an ornamental band which would have covered this external space was planned but never executed?

Interestingly, in the frontispiece miniatures the distance between both frames (as well as the resulting spaces) varies considerably (see example below, and Appendix VIII) and appear quite irregular. While the red borders give a sense of unity throughout the whole series of miniatures, a closer look shows an intriguing discrepancy between the coherence of the dimensions in the two portrait miniatures on the one hand, and a lack of coherence in the frontispieces on the other hand. As an example, Tables 1 and 2 below gives the measurements (in millimetres) of the layout of the first four miniatures¹⁸.

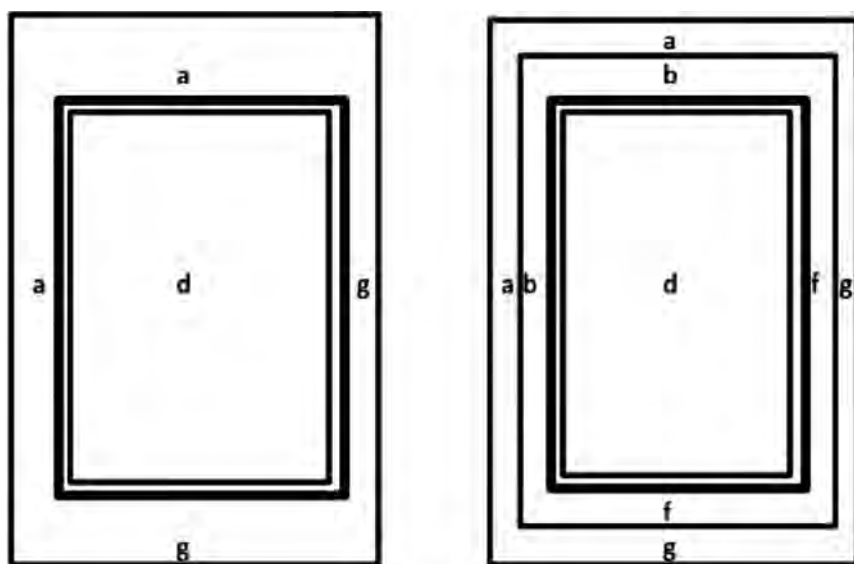


Table 1. Pattern of the frames in the portraits (left) and the frontispieces (right) (proportions not represented) and position of the main measurements in Table 2.

¹⁸ Since the general size of the pages increases in the middle of the book, for reasons well known and linked to binding techniques, we have chosen miniatures located at the beginning of the volume. All the measurements are taken from the middle of the page. They were taken using a slip of paper, in order to compensate somewhat for the small creases in the parchment. The dimensions of the vertical elements are given starting at the top; the sum of the values must match the height of the page. The dimensions of the horizontal elements are given starting at the fold; as a result, the direction changes according to the side of the folio (recto vs. verso); the sum of the values must match the width of the page. The black lines were arbitrarily set to 1 mm. About this method of measuring pages and page-areas, see MUZERELLE, *Pour décrire* cit. (n. 10), pp. 155–156.

	Page height	Page width	Vertical dimensions (top to bottom)								Horizontal dimensions (from fold to external side)								
			a		b	c	d	e	f	g	a		b	c	d	e	f		g
f. Av	378	255	39			9	269	11		50	24			11	180	11			29
f. Cr	377	257	40			10	267	12		48	21			10	181	11			34
f. Bv	371	258	18	1	23	11	257	10	33	1	17	10	1	14	10	184	10	29	19
f. Dv	371	258	22	1	35	11	247	9	36	1	9	7	1	13	11	189	13	24	20

Table 2. Layout of the miniatures.

The frontispiece folios (ff. Bv and Dv) are shorter than the portrait ones (ff. Av and Cr) by 6–7 mm. While the size of the red-framed central area (in bold in the table) is basically the same in the two portraits, since they were probably ruled together (see below), this area is 10 mm shorter in f. Bv, whereas it is 20 mm shorter and 8 mm wider in f. Dv. If one compares the distance between the two frames in the frontispieces, there is a difference of 12 mm at the top (23 mm in f. Bv and 35 mm in f. Dv). Greater differences may be observed on other folios, as Appendix VIII clearly shows. Finally, the Greek numbers on the frontispiece folios, in the upper lefthand corner of the outer black frame (irrespective of the miniature's being on a verso or a recto) do not include the initial portraits²¹. The presumption that the frontispiece miniatures were added later than the portrait miniatures has received a further confirmation by Karin Krause. She noticed that the large stain visible on f. A, C and 1 sqq. is not to be found on f. B.

Walter dated the miniatures to the end of the 13th century at the earliest, doing so on the basis of the comparison with other illustrated manuscripts of the same period, and because he (wrongly) thought that the painter had used parchment leaves from an older manuscript²². Robert

¹⁹ The folio was trimmed by the binder and the original external margin between the black frame and the end of the page is lost. Therefore, the last value matches the remaining part of the white space between the vermillion border and the current end of the page on the left, and so is not appropriate for comparison here.

²⁰ Similar situation to f. Bv.

²¹ For a list of the preserved numbers and their implication for the numbers on missing pictures, see Appendix I below.

²² WALTER, *Un commentaire*, p. 129. The stylistic aspects and the resulting dating will be discussed by Karin Krause in her forthcoming article. However, Walter's description can be improved upon in a few other points. None of the painted folios are in «bombycin» or paper, as he stated sometimes in his description, but are all in

Nelson proposed a date in the later 12th century, suggesting that the miniatures might have been added to the volume in the 15th century, when it was rebound²³. But, as we will demonstrate below, the miniatures must have been added at a much earlier date.

1.3. *The author portraits (ff. A and C) (Production unit 2)*

There are good reasons to believe that the position of f. B is not original. First, the miniature on f. Bv ought to face the beginning of *Or.* 27 (f. 1r), for which it is meant to be a frontispiece (the caption in the miniature repeats the beginning of the corresponding homily, as in all other frontispieces). Second, there is no reason why this leaf should have been bound inside of the bifolio A[^]C, where it artificially separates the two author portraits (ff. Av and Cr), which must originally have faced each other (see Plates 2 and 3). The present situation must be due to a mistake by the 15th-century restorer, who misplaced f. B²⁴. Table 3 below, which presents the first two quires of the codex as they are now and as they can be reconstructed, shows how this was a mistake one could all too easily have made (see p. 180, Table 3). In the reconstructed original order, the two author portraits faced each other (see Plates 2–3), while the miniature on f. Bv faced the beginning of the first commentary (see Plates 6–7).

Only f. C is ruled; but as ff. A and C form a bifolio, it is probable that a single ruling was sufficient for both leaves.

The captions in the miniatures on ff. Av and Cr are all written in vermillion ink (against a golden background). The names of the personages, Gregory (ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος) and Elias (Ἠλίας μητροπολίτης Κρήτης), are written in hieratic majuscule, with explanations in minuscule. One peculiar feature of this handwriting is a sigma majuscule shaped like a Latin S but inverted, a letter-form found sometimes, but not

parchment. He believed that those pages were reused material, because f. Ar contains the beginning of Gregory's *Or.* 1 (*ibid.*, p. 116). In fact, as explained below, we have good reasons to believe that this text was copied after the miniatures were added to the codex. Moreover, there are mistakes in his description of certain miniatures as being on verso side: in reality the miniatures on ff. C, H, K, O and Q are not on a verso, but on a recto.

²³ R.S. NELSON, *The Italian Appreciation and Appropriation of Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts, ca. 1200-1450*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), pp. 209-235: 223 and n. 90.

²⁴ This is not the only case of folios being misplaced, as we have explained above. See also the table of contents in Appendix I.

very commonly, in miniatures²⁵. The same type of sigma is also found on f. Gv (the final sigma of Γρηγόριος – the Theologian – written in magenta ink in majuscule) and on f. Pr (the final sigma of the caption identifying Εὐλάλιος, written in vermillion ink in minuscule). The presence of this peculiarly shaped letter may perhaps point to the identification of one hand, working in the captions of at least those four miniatures.

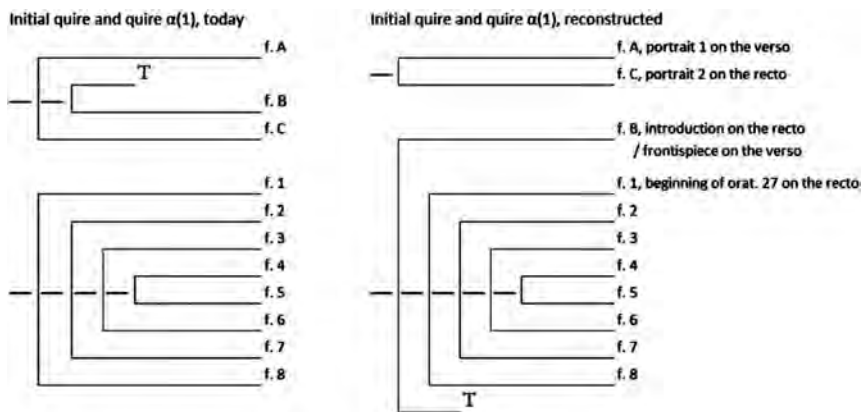


Table 3: (a) Current and (b) reconstructed quire structure at the beginning of the codex.

The explanation next to Gregory's portrait on f. Av is damaged: διδούς τῷ μητροπολίτῃ Κρήτης Ἠλίου [...] («[Gregory] giving to the metropolitan of Crete, Elias [...]'). The text that follows (approx. 60 letters) is no longer legible.

On f. Cr Gregory and Elias are represented writing on the same scroll, which goes down from Gregory to Elias. The captions next to the two personages state that Gregory is «beginning to write his own discourses» and that Elias is «beginning the exegesis of the Theologian's discourses».

²⁵ See for example Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 79, f. 2v (the manuscript is digitized and available on *Gallica*, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>; end of the 11th century: see D. BIANCONI, *All'ombra dell'imperatore. Sui caratteri grafici, materiali e decorativi del Paris. Coisl. 79 (e del Lond. Add. 11870)*, in *Storie di cultura scritta. Studi per Francesco Magistrale*, I, a cura di P. FIORETTI, Spoleto 2012 [Collectanea, 28], pp. 127–171); Jerusalem, Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Παναγίου Τάφου 3, f. 255v (reproduced in P. VOCOTOPoulos, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, transl. from the Greek by D. M. WHITEHOUSE, Athens-Jerusalem 2002, fig. 25; second or third third of the 13th century: *ibid.*, p. 59).

ses» (Ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος ἀρχόμενος τῆς τῶν οἰκείων λόγων γραφῆς and Ἡλίας μητροπολίτης Κρήτης, τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἀρχόμενος τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεολόγου). On the white scroll (with blue border), Gregory is writing the *incipit* of *Or.* 27 (πρὸς τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ κοιμῶντες ὁ λόγος) in majuscule and vermillion, while the scroll in front of Elias bears again the same *incipit*, also in vermillion and under a line in the same colour Elias is writing (in black ink and in majuscule) the beginning of his commentary on *Or.* 27 (πρὸς εὐνομιαν τοὺς ὁ λόγος τοὺς τῆς). The scribe has thus reproduced in the scroll the use of different inks in the manuscript (vermillion for Gregory's text, black for the commentary). The insistence that the commentary on *Or.* 27 be at the beginning of the book (ἀρχόμενος is used twice) is all the more striking if one bears in mind that it is in this manuscript alone that *Or.* 27 is the first discourse commented upon by Elias²⁶.

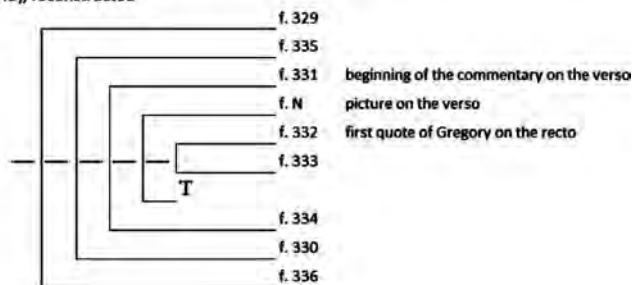
1.4. *The frontispieces to Gregory's homilies (ff. B, D-Q) (Production unit 3)*

Each of these 14 parchment leaves is inserted as closely as possible to the beginning of the corresponding commentary, for which the inserts act as frontispieces. They face, however, the first lemma of Gregory's oration, rather than the introduction to it (ὑπόθεσις) by Elias²⁷. Since the beginning of a new oration is not written on a new recto, but orations

²⁶ See below, Appendix iv.

²⁷ In two cases, the title of the homily, followed by an ὑπόθεσις by Elias Creten-sis, and the first lemma of the homily are on different pages; in each case the frontispiece was not inserted in front of the title, but in such a way that it faces the initial lemma: f. Kr (facing the first lemma on f. 285v, whereas the title of *Or.* 33 is on f. 285r) and Nv (now misplaced but previously facing what is now the first lemma (on f. 331r), whereas the title of *Or.* 3 is now on f. 335v, as shown in the following reconstructed quire (see also the overall reconstructed quire composition above, p. 174 n. 9):

Quire μγ(43), reconstructed



and commentaries follow each other without interruption, the miniatures are not always found on a verso, but on six occasions on a recto. Further, since the commentaries usually do not begin at the top of a recto (except for *Or.* 27, which opens the series, and by some chance *Or.* 28), the parchment leaves interrupt the normal flow of the text. As a result, a note indicating that the text is interrupted by a miniature was added in the lower righthand corner of each verso of the paper page preceding a parchment leaf; this was done in magenta ink and by another hand (Hand C; see Plate 8), who tells the reader he should «seek [the continuation] after the parchment»²⁸.

The frontispieces before five of the orations are currently missing. However, the presence of the aforementioned advisory notes on ff. 62v, 77r and 185v, as well as the preserved Greek numbers accompanying the miniatures²⁹, shows there were also miniatures at the beginning of the commentary to *Or.* 20, 29 and 32. As far as the last two orations are concerned (*Or.* 17 and *Or.* 10, beginning on ff. 353r and 366r), such a note cannot be seen, because a thick restoration paper covers the place where it probably lies and there are no ways to check for a gap in the numbering of the miniature. However, in both cases a small piece of parchment is preserved at the place where the frontispiece must have been³⁰. As a result, it is possible to ascertain that all 19 of the orations present in the codex once had frontispieces (see the reconstructed table of contents in Appendix I).

²⁸ The first note of this kind is found on f. 62v (before what must have been the frontispiece to the third commentary, to *Or.* 20, now missing). There are no notes before the frontispiece to the first commentary (to *Or.* 27), which is not preceded by any paper page; there are also none before the frontispiece to the second commentary (to *Or.* 28), since the commentary begins at the top of f. 13r, so that the frontispiece to this homily does not interrupt the text. The first note on f. 62v is a bit more explicit than the following ones: τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ ζητεῖ μετὰ τὸ μέμβρανον φύλλον («seek the continuation of the present discourse after the parchment leaf»). All the following notes display the shorter form: ζητεῖ μετὰ τὸ μέμβρανον. For the location of those notes, see the reconstructed table of contents in Appendix I. On several occasions the bottoms of the folios where the notes must have been written were heavily restored and any notes, if they existed, have been either obscured or lost (ff. 336v, 342v, 347v, 352v, 365v).

²⁹ See the reconstructed table of contents in Appendix I for the list of numbers, still visible or reconstructed.

³⁰ A small coloured piece of parchment of what must have been the frontispiece to *Or.* 10 is now preserved between ff. 361 and 362; see Appendix IX for details. Similarly, another piece of parchment linked to quire μζ' (46) is most probably a remnant of the frontispiece to *Or.* 17.

The 14 remaining parchment leaves display a set of heterogeneous ruling patterns, which prepared the layout of the miniatures (or no rulings at all, as on ff. G, H, I, M). For example:

	Number of registers	Type	Writing surface	Internal margin
f. Bv	One	2-2/0/1-1/0	263 × 189	32
f. Dv	One	2-2/0/2-2/1	249 × 195	27
f. Er	Two	2-2/0/1-1-2/0	265 × 188	48
f. Kr	Two	2-21/0/12-21/0	263 × 194	38

Table 4. Ruling patterns in the miniatures.

One notes strong differences in the number of vertical and main ruling lines, both the vertical and horizontal size of the writing surface, and the internal margin.

The captions in the miniatures (ff. Bv, Dv, Er, Fv, Gv, Hr, Jr, Kr, Lv, Mv, Nv, Or, Pr, Qr) are written by several professional hands, or at least in several types of writing, and use at least three different inks³¹. We could not find any element that would enable us to relate these scripts to Hands A, B or C – or, on the contrary, to positively exclude any relationship. The act of carefully writing on parchment around painted images takes place under very different conditions from that of copying the text on large, prepared paper surfaces. In addition, the texts in the captions, although much lengthier than usual, are limited enough that they do not allow for a satisfying palaeographical comparison.

At least three types of scripts were used: a common majuscule script (normally for the names of people: Gregory of Nazianzus, his father, Basil, the ὁρθόδοξοι, and a few others), a common minuscule and, much less frequently, a more «hieratic» majuscule (ff. Fv and Kr). Normally a «vermillion» (red towards orange) or a «magenta» (red towards violet) ink is used for the names of people, the explanations concerning them, and the titles of Gregory's homilies (see Appendix VII). A black ink is used for the *incipit* of the homilies (except the initial letter, which is in vermillion or magenta). There are four occurrences of labels identifying per-

³¹ The text of these captions is discussed below, see pp. 210–216.

sonages that are written in black: f. Bv (ὁρθόδοξοι, αἰρετικοί, εὐνομιανοί in minuscule), f. Er (in majuscule: Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Ἐμμανουήλ), f. Jr (in majuscule: ἡ εἰρήνη), f. Or (identification of Gregory *père*, in minuscule, Γρηγόριος / ὁ τοῦ Θεολόγου πατήρ). In these four cases the captions are written against a painted, coloured background, whereas all other captions are written against a white background (the only exception being the *incipit* on f. Pr, which is written inside the red border of the miniature).

It does not seem possible to associate unequivocally one type of writing with one kind of ink: for example, the «hieratic» majuscule is written with vermillion ink on f. Fv and with magenta ink on f. Kr. In seven miniatures different moments of writing can be discerned, either because of what seems to be a change of ink (but without any obvious change of handwriting) or because something was erased. On f. Er, the captions identifying ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος, the ὁρθόδοξοι, and Ἄρειος ὁ τεμὼν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός, were written in a reddish ink that is now almost completely faded away, whereas the title of the homily (Or. 30) in vermillion ink has remained. On f. Fv the article ὁ before Μακεδόνιος (written in vermillion ink, in «hieratic» majuscule) was erased, probably when the epithet ὁ πνευματομάχος (in magenta ink and in minuscule) was added after the name. On f. Jr something was erased above the caption ἡ εἰρήνη. On ff. Lv, Mv, Nv, and Or the text of the captions written in vermillion ink is completed by a few words in magenta ink introducing the subsequent *incipit*³².

1.5. *The prologue (f. Br) (Production unit 4)*

The recto of the leaf containing the first frontispiece miniature (f. Bv) is occupied by a prologue to the commentary of Elias written in

³² On f. Lv ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος, διδάσκων τοὺς ὁρθοδόξους is written in vermillion (like the other captions), whereas the continuation of the sentence μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἁγροῦ ἐπιστασίαν οὕτως (and the initial of the *incipit*) are written in magenta. Again, on f. Mv, ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος is written in vermillion (as are the other captions) and the rest is written in magenta: τὸν φθόνον στηλιτεύων θαυμασιώτατα ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως. On f. Nv, the captions Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατήρ and ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος μεμφόμενος τοὺς Ναζιανζινοὺς τῷ μὴ προσεληλυθέναι προθύμως τῇ τούτου διδασκαλίᾳ are written in vermillion, whereas the respective continuation of each (τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ποιμένα τοῦ ποιμνίου προχειρισάμενος and καὶ λέγων, introducing the *incipit*) are written in magenta. On f. Or the caption ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος χειροτονούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐπίσκοπος Σασίμων is written in vermillion, while the sentence introducing the *incipit* ὁπηνίκα ἀπεστομάτισε τὸ is written in magenta.

black ink by a different hand (Hand B) (see Plate 5). This script shows strong affinities with Hand A and must be more or less contemporaneous, even though it is more carefully written and less «creative». It is difficult to assess how far the differences between the two handwritings may be due to different writing conditions (painted parchment, perhaps already bound, versus sheets of paper) and to a supposed temporal distance between the two writing events.

The prologue is preceded by a general title (in magenta ink, under a simple decorated line with interlaces), which is almost exactly the same as on f. 1r: ἐξήγησις εἰς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου, πονηθεῖσα τῷ εὐτελεῖ μητροπολίτῃ Κρήτης Ἡλίου, ὑπερορίῳ τυγχάνοντι προθεωρία («commentary on the orations of Saint Gregory the Theologian, written with toil by the lowly metropolitan of Crete, Elias, when he was in exile. Prologue»). The fact that the same title is repeated twice and that the prologue is written by another hand on the recto of a miniature raises the suspicion that the prologue was added later, at the time when the miniatures were integrated into the volume – a conclusion which we will see reinforced by further pieces of evidence below.

1.6. *The lower and upper scripts of f. Ar (Production units 5-6)*

Today f. Ar is a palimpsest (see Plate 1). The text underneath was executed in minuscule in a single column. Despite having used UV light and multispectral imaging, it was possible neither to identify this text nor to date the script (Hand E) with certainty, though the letter-forms that could be discerned do not point to an early minuscule. There is no other palimpsest page in the entire codex. The upper text is copied in brown ink by another hand (Hand D), datable to the 13th century (it seems more recent than Hand A), in two columns marked by only two ruling lines (no other ruling lines are clearly visible on this page). The text is written according to the same direction of writing than the underneath text (the folio was not turned before being re-written, as is often the case), and it contains about 75% of Gregory's *Or.* 1, up until the words οὐδὲ ῥαδίως ἀπαλειφομ[ένους] (*Or.* 1, § 1.1-6.17 [SC 247])³³; the end of the homily was perhaps written on the front pastedown of the now-lost

³³ The last letters are not visible because of a tear in the parchment. The title written above the two columns, without any decoration, is: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου, λόγος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα καὶ εἰς τὴν βραδυτήτα.

binding. Most likely both texts, in the under- and in the upper layer, were successively added after the codex was manufactured, since we would not expect a full-page miniature on gold to have been painted on the other side of a parchment which had already been written on (and had not been carefully washed)³⁴.

2. ELEMENTS IN THE LATER HISTORY OF THE CODEX (SINCE CA. 1435)

Nothing is known about the history of the codex before it was restored in the 15th century in Constantinople, possibly at the convent of Saint John Prodromos in Petra³⁵. The restorers used scraps of paper from one or several older manuscripts to repair the margins of numerous pages³⁶. This restoration, which also included the addition of a new binding, was made around 1435–1437 for John of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) (Ivan Stojković, ca. 1390–1443), who bought the codex «with the binding» for 12 *hyperpyra* during his stay in Constantinople between 1435 and 1437³⁷.

³⁴ It is not uncommon to find writing added on the other side of an illumination; for a specific example see R.S. NELSON, *Theoktistos and Associates in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Illustrated New Testament of A.D. 1133*, in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987), pp. 53–78: 57; a similar situation is found at the beginning of the Tetraevangelium El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, X.III.15, f. II, where a homily of John Chrysostom was copied on the recto of the first miniature.

³⁵ A. CATALDI PALAU, *Legature constantinopolitane del monastero di Prodomo Petra tra i manoscritti di Giovanni di Ragusa († 1443)*, in *Codices Manuscripti. Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde* 37/38 (2001), pp. 11–50: 32–33 [repr. in EAD., *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, I, Spoleto 2008 (Testi, studi, strumenti, 24), pp. 235–280: 270–271]. On this monastery, whose library and hospital were very important in the 14th and 15th centuries, see E. MALAMUT, *Le monastère de saint Jean Prodrome de Pétra de Constantinople*, in *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident: études comparées*, sous la direction de M. KAPLAN, Paris 2001 (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 18), pp. 219–234.

³⁶ On ff. 76–79, 147 there are several scraps from one page of a biblical manuscript. The recognisable text includes paratexts to the Gospel of Matthew: [A.] (ff. 79v, 147v, 78v) from the recto: *Capitula in Matth. cum capitulis parallelis* Nr. μθ'–νζ', νη'–ξ', cf. H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, I, Berlin 1902, p. 407; [B.] (ff. 79r, 147r) from the verso: the end of the *Excerptum ex Irenaeo de quattuor evangeliiis* (τῇν σάρκωσιν ... ἐμπανίξει), cf. *ibid.*, p. 303 nr. [82]). See the description by P. Andrist on *e-Codices*. – The partial remains of a watermark («scissors») can also be seen on another type of restoration paper on f. 366 (without any text). In theory one cannot exclude the possibility that another restoration had already occurred prior to 1435–1437, but it is not documented.

³⁷ According to a note by John of Ragusa's hand on the verso of the first fly-leaf: «Constat cum ligatura et omnibus circha 12 ippa», cf. A. VERNET, *Les manuscrits grecs de Jean de Raguse († 1443)*, in *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 61 (1961), pp. 75–108: 91 nr. 30.

This is still the current binding, whose dating is confirmed by the water-marks on the flyleaves³⁸.

John of Ragusa's role during the council of Basel (1431-1449) is well known, as is the fate of the approximately 60 Greek manuscripts he had acquired during his stay in Constantinople³⁹. He bequeathed his manuscripts, including what is now codex AN i 8, to the Dominican convent in Basel, where they were kept after his death⁴⁰. While in the Dominican convent, codex AN i 8 was used by Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) and Johann Cuno (1462-1513), among others⁴¹. In 1559 most of the Dominicans' library, including all the remaining manuscripts of John of Ragusa, entered the library of the University of Basel (which had existed at least since 1471).

Marginal notes in Greek and Latin attest that the manuscript was read by scholars after it arrived in Western Europe. One of them, Martinus Crusius (Martin Kraus, 1526-1607)⁴² left the following note in the

³⁸ Close to Piccard «Turm 512» (1417-1439), but the window is bigger. For more details on the binding, see CATALDI PALAU, *Legature constantinopolitane* cit. (n. 35), pp. 32-33 [repr., pp. 270-271], and the description by P. Andrist published on *e-Codices*.

³⁹ VERNET, *Les manuscrits grecs* cit. (n. 37); NELSON, *The Italian Appreciation* cit. (n. 23), pp. 222-224; A. CATALDI PALAU, *Jean Stojković de Raguse († 1443): l'influence de ses manuscrits dans la diffusion de la culture byzantine en Suisse et en Allemagne*, in *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia «St. Kliment Ohridski», Centre de Recherches Slavo-Byzantines «Ivan Dujčev»* 96 (2011), pp. 93-132; P. ANDRIST, *Entre théologiens, érudits, imprimeurs et bibliophiles, les errances helvétiques de quelques manuscrits byzantins*, in *Byzance en Suisse*, [catalogue de l'exposition: Genève, 2015-2016], sous la direction de M. MARTINIANI-REBER, Genève 2015, pp. 537-543; 538-539; see also *ibid.*, pp. 474-477.

⁴⁰ On John of Ragusa's will, see VERNET, *Les manuscrits grecs* cit. (n. 37), pp. 75-76, and CATALDI PALAU, *Jean Stojković de Raguse* cit. (n. 39), p. 94 et n. 11 (p. 123); R. BEER, *Eine Handschriftenschenkung aus dem Jahre 1443 (Johannes de Ragusio's Bibliothek)*, in *Serta Harteliana*, Wien 1896, pp. 270-274; C. ESCHER, *Das Testament des Kardinals Johannes de Ragusio*, in *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 16 (1917), pp. 208-212. A picture of this will is reproduced in ANDRIST, *Entre théologiens*, cit. (n. 39), p. 475. Our manuscript bore the shelfmark Gr. 31 in the Dominicans' library, as is attested by a list drawn up by Beatus Rhenanus in 1513 and found at the beginning of the manuscript *Selestadiensis* 102 (VERNET, *Les manuscrits grecs* cit. [n. 37], p. 91), and by the label which is still glued to the front cover and reads «Gregorii sermones theologi magni – Gr. 31».

⁴¹ See respectively CATALDI PALAU, *Jean Stojković de Raguse* cit. (n. 39), pp. 100-101, and M. SICHERL, *Johannes Cuno: ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutschland. Eine biographisch-kodikologische Studie*, Heidelberg 1978 (Studien zum Fortwirken der Antike, 9), pp. 136-137.

⁴² On Crusius's use of the Greek manuscripts of Basel, see T. WILHELMI, *Martin Crusius als Benutzer griechischer Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel*, in *Codices Manuscripti. Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde* 6 (1980), pp. 25-40.

external margin of f. 31v (the note is found close to the lemma of *Or.* 28, § 15.14–28 [SC 250]): «On the 19th of June 1579, when a thunderbolt fell down on the fortress of Tübingen and 100 barrels of gunpowder burst into flames, the roof was blown off and the building crashed in on itself – a lamentable disaster at the fortress; on that day I, Martin Crusius, was reading this book up to the present place»⁴³. Another marginal note by the same Crusius, written vertically in the internal margin of f. 201r, was already edited by Sajdak: «I, Martin Crusius, read through all this volume in Tübingen, from the 14th of June to the 7th of August of the year of Christ 1579; [this volume], being quite old, was entrusted to me by the most famous theologians of the city of Basel, Ulrich Koch and Johann Jakob Grynaeus – whom Christ keep sound in his protection»⁴⁴.

In 1571 Iohannes Leuvenclaus (Johann Löwenklau, 1541–1594) published in Basel on Herwagen's press a Latin translation of Elias's commentaries based on codex AN i 8⁴⁵. That translation prompted a

⁴³ As far as we know, this note was never edited: τῇ 19^ῃ μηνὸς ἰουνίου ἀφοθ' σκηπτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐν Τυβίγγῃ ἀκρόπολιν κατενεχθέντος, καὶ ρ' τονῶν [sic] κόνεως βομβαρδικῆς συγκαταφλεγενδῶν [sic, probably for συγκαταφλεγέντων], ἀποστεγασμὸς καὶ συνθλασμὸς τῷ ἐκεῖ οἴκῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οἰκτρὰ λῶβη· ἐν ἧ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγὼ Μαρτ(ῖνος) ὁ Κρούσους [sic], τὴν βίβλον ταύτην, κατὰ τὸν παρόντα τόπον, ἀνεγίνωσκον. In his *Annales Suevici*, Crusius refers to the same event: «Iun. 19. post horam I. pomeridianam, cū mecum esset M. Stephanus Gerlachius: de caelo icta est terribili cum sonitu, turracula arcis Tybingensis: habens magnam vim in pulueris tormentarij. Quae momento oculi diſipata est fenestra arcis, et vicinarum domorum tecta confracta. ἦμα ὁ τε σκηπτὸς καὶ ὁ συνθλασμὸς καὶ ἀποστεγασμὸς» (M. CRUSIUS, *Annales Suevici siue Chronica rerum gestarum antiquissimae et indytae Suevicae gentis*, 3: *Ab Anno Christi MCCXIII usque ad MDXCIII annum perducta* [...], Francoforti 1596, p. 768).

⁴⁴ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, p. 104 (we reproduce Sajdak's text; the beginning of the note is hardly visible today): Διανέγων ἐγὼ Μαρτῖνος ὁ Κρούσιος ἐν Τυβίγγῃ ὄλον τὸ τεῦχος τὸδε, ἀπὸ τῆς 19^ῃ ἰουνίου, ἕως τῆς ζ' αὐγούστου, ἔτους Χ(ριστοῦ) ἁ ἀφοθ', πάνν παλαιὸν ὄν· χρησθέν μοι ὑπὸ τῶν κλεινοτάτων θεολόγων τῆς Βασιλείας πόλεως, Οὐλδρίχου Κοκκίου καὶ Ἰω(άννης) Ἰακώβου Γρυναίου, οὓς ἐπιτολὴ ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) φυλάξειεν. In his *Annales Suevici*, Crusius indeed wrote: «Iun. 14. commodatò mihi Basileà missum à Doctoribus Vlrico Coccio (Rectore tunc Academiae) & Iacobo Grynaeo, venit ingens M. Scr. volumen operum Gregorij Nazianzeni, Graecum, & antiquum: quod etiam iusto tempore εὐχάριστος remisi, est 587. Foliorum» (CRUSIUS, *Annales Suevici* cit. [n. 43], p. 768). It is surprising that Crusius says that the manuscript contains 587 folios, since the Basiliensis AN i 8 only numbers 369 folios (389 when counting the miniatures and the additional flyleaves).

⁴⁵ On this edition, see F. HIERONYMUS, *Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen. Katalog der frühen griechischen Drucke aus Basel in Text und Bild von Frank Hieronymus* (1992), hrsg. und für das Internet aufbereitet von C. SCHNEIDER – B. VÖGELI, Basel 2011 (<http://www.ub.unibas.ch/cmsdata/spezialkataloge/gg/>), nr. GG 46; R. PALLA, *Tra filologia e motivi confessionali: edizioni e traduzioni latine di Gregorio Nazianzeno dal 1569 al 1583*, in *I Padri sotto il torchio. Le edizioni dell'antichità cristiana nei secoli XV–XVI*, a cura di M. CORTESI, Firenze 2002, pp. 176–178.

counter-translation from the Catholic side by Jacques de Billy, based on another manuscript and published after Billy's death in 1583 (see below, p. 193).

Codex AN i 8 also served for Albert Jahn's 1858 edition of excerpts of the Greek text of the commentary⁴⁴.

The codex was restored by Friederike Koschate-Hennig und Francesco Carmenati in 2013–2014 at the request of the Universitätsbibliothek Basel. On this occasion, the former front paste-down was loosed from the board revealing, on its recto side, a table of content of Gregory homilies, dating from the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century⁴⁷. Some coloured silk threads (probably from the endbands of the previous binding) were also found during the restoration.

3. PHILOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

3.1. *The manuscript tradition of Elias's Commentaries on Gregory's Homilies*

The only known copy of Elias's complete set of commentaries on Gregory of Nazianzus is [I.] Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1219⁴⁸. This manuscript is a very large codex (425×300 mm, 626 folios, 35/36 ll., 315/325×225/245 mm) written on paper without watermarks and now bound in two volumes. One hand, which can be dated to the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century – i.e. exactly the same period as the Basel manuscript –, copied the whole codex⁴⁹. The manuscript contains a note on the last folio (f. 626v) which attests that it was the property of Theodosius Princeps (Theodosius IV, patriarch of Antioch 1275–1283/1284)⁵⁰.

⁴⁶ *Eliae metropolitae Cretae commentarii Nazianzeni orationes XIX, e codice ms. Basileensi excerptis et annotationem cum in Eliae commentarios tum in S. Gregorii orationes XIX adjecit Albertus JAHNIUS*, [Bern 1858] = PG 36, coll. 737–902.

⁴⁷ For more details, see the description by P. Andrist on *e-Codices*.

⁴⁸ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, pp. 107–110; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, V, pp. 86–87; cf. *Pinakes* (<http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>), Diktyon 67850.

⁴⁹ We would like to thank Francesco D'Aiuto for the dating of this unusual handwriting. On ff. 606r, 607r–v, 610r, another hand took over, using the same ink, never for more than half a page.

⁵⁰ G. MERCATI, *Origine antiochena di due codici greci del secolo XI*, in *id.*, *Opere minori*, VI (1937–1957), Città del Vaticano 1984 (Studi e Testi, 296), pp. 315–326 [originally printed in *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 [1950], pp. 210–222]; C. CONSTANTIDINES, *Ο βιβλιόφιλος Πατριάρχης Αντιοχείας Θεοδόσιος IV Παύγκων (1275–1283)*, in *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 11 (1981–1982), pp. 371–384; P. ANDRIST, *Genavensis gr. 30. Un manuscrit d'Ephrem dans la bibliothèque de Théodose IV Princeps?*, in *Scripto-*

The manuscript contains the text of and the commentary on 29 of Gregory's orations⁵¹. The copyist used two inks: the first words (sometimes only one word or even one letter) of both Gregory's text and Elias's commentary are written in red; the rest of the text is written in black (see Fig. 1). Alongside Gregory's text, quotation marks in red are to be found in the outer margin, and a red asterisk in the margin indicates the beginning of Elias's commentary. All the orations are numbered in the margin and in the pinax (f. 1r-v, written by another hand). The manuscript begins with a title, followed by a prologue before the beginning of the commentary on *Or. 2* (f. 2r) (see Fig. 2).

The title of the *Vaticanus* (f. 2r) is: ἐξήγησις τοῦ ἱερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Κρήτης κυροῦ Ἡλίου (*sic*), εἰς τοὺς μὴ ἀναγινωσκομένους λόγους τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τοῦ θεολόγου («commentary by the most holy metropolitan of Crete, master Elias, on the unread orations of our father among the saints Gregory, archbishop of Constantinople, the Theologian»). Contrary to the *Basilien-sis*, the *Vaticanus* does not mention any exile of Elias (see above p. 185, and below p. 212) and it characterizes the orations commented upon as μὴ ἀναγινωσκόμενοι («unread»), which refers to a specific category of Gregory's orations which were not read at a fixed date in the liturgical calendar (in contrast to the 16 «liturgical» orations)⁵². The first mention of the «unread» (μὴ ἀναγινωσκόμενοι) homilies is found in an epigram by John Mauroπους (ca. 1000–ca. 1075)⁵³. The order of the «unread» homilies is different in almost every witness, and so far it has not been possi-

rium 52 (1998), pp. 12–36; V. CUOMO, *Athos Dionysiou 180 + Paris. suppl. grec 495: un nuovo manoscritto di Teodosio Principe*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 98 (2005), pp. 23–34; A. CATALDI PALAU, *Ancora sui manoscritti di Teodosio IV Princeps: il codice di Genova, Biblioteca Franzoniana, Urbani 17*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99 (2006), pp. 69–71.

⁵¹ See the detailed contents in Appendix II.

⁵² See Appendix III.

⁵³ Epigr. 29: Εἰς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Θεολόγου τοὺς μὴ ἀναγινωσκομένους, ed. P. DE LAGARDE, *Joannis Euchaitorum Metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt*, Göttingen 1882 (Abhandlungen der Historisch-Philologische Klasse der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 28); see also 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. Actes du colloque international (...)*, éd. par J. MOSSAY, Paderborn 1983 (Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz, 2), pp. 15–21: 19–20. On John Mauroπους, see A. KAZHDAN, *Some Problems in the Biography of John Mauroπους*, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 43 (1993), pp. 87–111; A. KARPOZIOLOS, *The Biography of Ioannes Mauroπους Again*, in *Ελληνικά* 44 (1994), pp. 51–60.

[illegible]



Fig. 2. Vat. gr. 1219, f. 2r (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

ble to identify a manuscript that follows the exact same order as *Vat. gr. 1219*. It must be noted, in addition, that Elias does not comment upon *Or. 37*, which belongs to the «unread» orations.

The manuscript was bought out of the *Nachlaß* of Annibal Caro (1507–1566) by Cardinal Antonio Carafa (1538–1591) in 1576 for his own collection, which later entered the papal library⁵⁴. In 1575 Carafa had written a letter to Jacques de Billy (1535–1581), who had published a Latin translation of Gregory's works in 1569, to ask him whether he would like to republish his translation, revised and expanded with the recently discovered commentaries of Elias⁵⁵. As Irena Backus has shown, Billy was very eager to compete with the translation of Löwenklau published in 1571 (see above pp. 198–199), whom he considered a heretic, and he spent the rest of his life in this endeavour. In 1579, Carafa sent Billy a copy of Elias's commentaries on *Or. 4* and *5* as contained in *Vat. gr. 1219*⁵⁶. We do not know for certain whether Billy received other transcriptions of the *Vaticanus*, but he certainly used more of Elias's commentaries for the third edition of his Latin translation of Gregory's works, published posthumously in 1583 in Paris⁵⁷. As we will see, the effect of Elias's commentary on Western scholarship on Gregory of Nazianzus, thanks to Billy's translation and prompted by Löwenklau's work, will be much greater than one might expect (Billy's translation was in turn even put into Greek: see below manuscripts [10.]–[12.]).

Sajdak lists a dozen other manuscripts, dated from the 14th to the 18th century, which contain parts of the text of Elias. We must make brief mention of those manuscripts and, on certain points, update and complement Sajdak's already remarkable work. The contents of the manuscripts are described only as far as Elias is concerned. Sajdak mentions the following manuscripts as partial *apographa* of *Vat. gr. 1219* (which we have numbered [1.] above):

⁵⁴ On the history of this acquisition by Carafa, see G. CARDINALI, *Un acquisto «poco giudizioso» del cardinale Antonio Carafa: il Gregorio Nazianzeno commentato da Elia di Creta Vat. gr. 1219*, in *Néa Pólyi* 10 (2013), pp. 303–318.

⁵⁵ I. BACKUS, *La Patristique et les guerres de religion en France. Étude de l'activité littéraire de Jacques de Billy (1531–1581) O.S.B., d'après le MS. Sens 167 et les sources imprimées*, Paris 1993 (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen Âge-Temps Modernes, 28), p. 106.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112; SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, p. 98; PALLA, *Tra filologia cit.* (n. 45), pp. 184–185.

[2.] Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. gr. 35⁵⁸ is a composite manuscript copied by several scribes⁵⁹. The part containing the text of and commentary on *Or.* 27 and 28 (ff. 1–36) was copied by Μιχαήλ Ψωσάιτος (ca. 1500–1544)⁶⁰;

[3.] Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1218⁶¹, copied in 1559 in Rome by Ἰωάννης Μαυρομάτης⁶². It contains the following texts by Gregory, with Elias's commentary (at least in part): *Or.* 32, *Or.* 25, *Or.* 13, *Or.* 12, *Or.* 17, *Or.* 33. The manuscript belonged as well to Antonio Carafa;

[4.] An *apographon* of *Vat. gr.* 1218: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. gr. Pii II 6⁶³, copied by Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–1585) for his own use⁶⁴;

[5.] Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. gr. 6⁶⁵, copied by Μανουήλ Γλυνζούνιος (1540–1596, active mostly in Venice)⁶⁶ and Μανουήλ Προβατάρης (died in 1571/1572)⁶⁷, in the second half of the 16th century. It contains the following texts by Gregory, with Elias's commentary: *Or.* 7, *Or.* 8, *Or.* 18, *Ep.* 101, *Ep.* 102, *Or.* 25, *Or.* 34;

[6.] Cambridge, Trinity College, O.3.8 (1180)⁶⁸, also copied by Μανουήλ Γλυνζούνιος⁶⁹, contains the text of and commentary on *Or.* 2;

⁵⁸ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, pp. 111–112; *Codices manuscripti graeci Ottoboniani*, recensuerunt E. FERON – F. BATTAGLINI, Romae 1893 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti), pp. 28–29; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, V, p. 159; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 65276.

⁵⁹ *RgK*, III, nr. 48, 283, 417, 418, 551.

⁶⁰ *RgK*, III, nr. 467.

⁶¹ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, p. 107; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, V, p. 86; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 67849.

⁶² *RgK*, III, nr. 283. See also CARDINALI, *Un acquisto «poco giudizioso»* cit. (n. 54), p. 313.

⁶³ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, p. 107; *Codices manuscripti graeci Reginae Suecorum et Pii PP. II* recensuit et digessit H. STEVENSON sen., Romae 1888, p. 156; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, V, pp. 190–191; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 66365.

⁶⁴ *RgK*, III, nr. 154. See also CARDINALI, *Un acquisto «poco giudizioso»* cit. (n. 54), p. 313.

⁶⁵ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, p. 111; FERON – BATTAGLINI, *Codices (...) Ottoboniani* cit. (n. 58), p. 10; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, V, pp. 158–159; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 65247. Just before the *Ott. gr.* 6, Sajdak mentions the *Ott. gr.* 5, but according to MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, V, pp. 157–158 and the images available on the website of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (*DigiVatLib*, <http://digi.vatlib.it>), this manuscript does not contain Elias's commentary, but a collection of the 16 liturgical orations of Gregory.

⁶⁶ *RgK*, III, nr. 409.

⁶⁷ *RgK*, III, nr. 418.

⁶⁸ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, pp. 105–106; M.R. JAMES, *Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, III, Cambridge 1902, pp. 189–190; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, II, p. 41; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 11979.

⁶⁹ *RgK*, I, nr. 248.

[7.] Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, E.III.570, copied in the 18th century, contains extracts of *Vat. gr.* 1219.

Two further manuscripts are listed by Sajdak; it is not clear where they were copied from:

[8.] Oxford, Lincoln College, gr. 171, 14th century; at the very end of this manuscript, a miscellany of patristic contents, one finds the text of *Ep.* 101 and 102 and the accompanying commentary;

[9.] Milano, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, AD XV. 572, also dated to the 14th century; it contains the text of and commentary on *Or.* 32, 25, 13, 12, and the text of *Or.* 17 and 33, each preceded by the introduction (ὑπόθεσις) by Elias. The manuscript also contains some of the *Historiae mythologicae* by Pseudo-Nonnus (6th century)⁷³ and some of the commentaries on Gregory's poems by Nicetas David the Paphlagonian (ca. 885–ca. 950)⁷⁴.

In addition, Sajdak mentions three 18th-century manuscripts from Mount Athos which contain a back-translation into Greek from Jacques de Billy's partial Latin translation of Elias (see above):

[10.] Athos, Μονὴ Ἑσφιγμένου, 93 (Lambros 2106);

[11.] Athos, Μονὴ Παντελεήμονος, 189 (Lambros 5696);

[12.] Athos, Μονὴ Παντελεήμονος, 198 (Lambros 5705).

The *Repertorium Nazianzenum* identifies two more manuscripts containing the commentary by Elias, which Sajdak was unaware of:

[13.] Athina, Ἑθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, 675, 14th century, contains the prologue of Elias and the text of

⁷⁰ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, p. 110; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, VI, p. 98; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 9842.

⁷¹ Today in the Bodleian Library; SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, pp. 106–107; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, II, pp. 94–95; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 48655.

⁷² SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, p. 106; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, VI, pp. 182–183; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 43280.

⁷³ J. NIMMO-SMITH, *A Revised List of the Manuscripts of the Pseudo-Nonnus Mythological Commentaries on four Sermons by Gregory of Nazianzus*, in *Byzantion* 57 (1987), pp. 93–113; 100.

⁷⁴ On Nicetas David, see S. PASCHALIDIS, *Νικήτας Δαβίδ Παφλαγόν· τό πρόσωπο καί τό ἔργο του*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1999 (Byzantine Texts and Studies, 28).

⁷⁵ MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, III, p. 128; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 6403.

and commentary on 10 homilies (the same 10 pieces that are present in the *Vaticanus* and absent in the *Basiliensis*, in exactly the same order)⁷⁶. The manuscript is copied by two different hands: ff. 111r–129v (prologue and *Or.* 2), ff. 130r–408v. The prologue and the beginning of *Or.* 2 must have been copied on a damaged exemplar, since the copyist left some spaces blank in the text, where he could presumably not decipher his model (f. 111r–1v). He could not read the title of his exemplar either, as he left a few lines empty before the beginning of the prologue.

[14.] London, British Library, Royal 16 D V and 16 D VI⁷⁷, copied towards the end of the 16th century by Camillo Zanetti (Camillus Venetus)⁷⁸ and Μανουὴλ Γλυνζούνιος, contains *Or.* 4, 5, 7, 8, 18, 34. This manuscript was most probably copied on *Vat. gr.* 1219.

The manuscript tradition of Elias's commentary on Gregory's «unread» homilies can be summarized as follows⁷⁹: as Sajdak already stated, only *Vat. gr.* 1219 (= V36; *Vaticanus*, copied ca. 1200) contains the complete commentary. The six preserved partial copies of the *Vaticanus* were all made when the latter was already in Italy. Four other manuscripts are known: Basel, UB, AN i 8 (= V29; *Basiliensis*, copied ca. 1200), containing the second part of the commentaries⁸⁰, and three 14th-century manuscripts: Athina, Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, 6 (= V42; *Atheniensis*), containing the first part; Oxford, Lincoln College, gr. 1 (a patristic collection); and Milano, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, AD XV. 5 (a collection of commentaries on Gregory's texts, of mixed origin)⁸¹.

The complete series of Elias' commentaries, therefore, survived, it seems, only in V36, and we do not know of any direct copy made before this manuscript was taken to Italy. As we will see, however, the

⁷⁶ See the list and order of the texts in Appendix IV.

⁷⁷ MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, II, p. 62; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 39810. A notice and the images are available on the British Library website.

⁷⁸ *RgK*, I, nr. 212.

⁷⁹ The name of each primary manuscript is followed by the siglum it has received in the database of Gregory's manuscripts: see Appendix III.

⁸⁰ By way of comparison, in the *Vaticanus* the text before the beginning of *Or.* 27 takes up 307 folios, the text from *Or.* 27 onwards 315 folios.

⁸¹ N. MILADINOVA, *The Panoplia Dogmatike by Euthymios Zygadenos. A Study of the First Edition Published in Greek in 1710*, Leiden-Boston 2014 (Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity, 4), Appendix 4, claims that the manuscript Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων, 281 (Lambros 4401), a manuscript of the *Panoplia* dated to the 14th century, contains scholia by Nicetas and Elias on *Or.* 29–31, but the description is very confused and this information should be verified.

Vaticanus may have served as a model for a «summary» of Elias's commentaries, made by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos in Constantinople, probably before the end of the 13th century (see below, pp. 204–205). The relationship between V36 (*Vaticanus*), V29 (*Basiliensis*) and V42 (*Atheniensis*) is so far unclear; we will compare the text of the prologue in the three manuscripts, and the text of Gregory's *Or.* 27 in both V29 and V36 (see § 3.4 below); V29 and V42 cannot be compared, since they contain different texts.

3.2. *The prologue – edition, translation and notes*

Although the prologue of the commentary on Gregory's orations was already published by Jahn in 1858 (see n. 46; reproduced by SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, pp. 96–97) on the sole basis of *Basiliensis*, we believe it is worth editing it again, with an English translation, because it clearly sets forth the intentions of Elias's commentary. For this new edition we use the following witnesses: B = *Basiliensis*, f. Br; V = *Vaticanus*, f. 2r; M = *Atheniensis*, f. IIIr (the lacunae in this manuscript are not noted); J = Jahn (cited only when it differs from B). The division into paragraphs has been imposed by us for convenience in reading. The general title has been discussed above, only B adds προθεωρία («prologue») before the beginning of the text (see pp. 175, 185, 190).

[1.] Ἐν πεντηκοστῷ δευτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τῶν τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ τῆς θεολογίας φερωνύμου⁸² περιγραφόμενων λόγων – λόγους γὰρ καλῶ καὶ τὰς συναριθμηθείσας τούτοις ἐπιστολάς, δι' ἃς αἰτίας εἶπομεν⁸³ ταύτας ἐπεξηγούμενοι – οἱ μὲν ἑξκαίδεκα τούτων ἐν περιοχῇ μιᾷς συνειλημμένοι βίβλου, πολλῶν ἐξηγητῶν εὐμοιρήκασιν⁸⁴ καὶ⁸⁵ παλαιῶν καὶ νέων, εὖ τεθηγμένους τὰς γλώσσας ἔχόντων ἐπὶ λόγοις.

[2.] οἱ δὲ γε λοιποὶ τούτων, ὕπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπὶ δυνάμει λόγου ἀκμασάντων καὶ τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος συγκρίνειν εἰδόντων μετὰ τοῦ

[1.] Among the fifty-two orations written by our holy father Gregory, who bears the name of the theology (for I call «orations» also the epistles that are numbered along with them, for reasons which in my commentary I explained in detail), sixteen, which were gathered together into a single book, have fared well under the care of many exegetes both old and new, who came to the work with language finely honed for treating of orations.

[2.] As for the rest of the orations, their lot (as far as we know) is that they have not met with adequate exposition

⁸² πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ τῆς θεολογίας φερωνύμου VM: τούτου B.

⁸³ εἶπομεν V: εἶπωμεν But vid. M εἶπαμεν J.

⁸⁴ εὐμοιρήκασιν BV: εὐμοιρήσαντες M.

⁸⁵ καὶ BV: om. M.

πνεύματος, μετρίας (γούιν ὅσα ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι) τετυχήκασιν⁸⁶ ἀναπτύξεως, μόνοι δέ τινες⁸⁷ Βασίλειος καὶ Γρηγόριος, οἱ καὶ⁸⁸ τοῖς ἑξ-καίδεκα τούτου λόγοις ἐπιβεβλήκασι, προεθυμήθησαν μὲν σχολικὰς τινὰς παρασημειώσεις καὶ εἰς τοὺς προκειμένους νῦν ἐπὶ θεωρίᾳ λόγους ἡμῖν καταλιπεῖν. τὸ⁸⁹ δὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀδιδάκτους ἡμᾶς εἶσαν, οὐ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θειογράφου γραφῆς, οὐ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θύραθεν ὅλως φροντίσαντες χρήσεων, οὐ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενός, ὧν τὰ μὲν παρωδῶν, τὰ δὲ προσκολλῶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλοιων καὶ πολυτρόπως καταποικίλλων ὁ μέγας οὗτος τούτους συνύφανεν.

[3.] ὧν πολλῷ κατόπιν ἐλθὼν αὐτός, καὶ θαμνιώτερον τούτοις προσομιλῶν, ἐσφάδαζον μὲν καὶ μαμῶσαν εἶχόν μου τὴν καρδίαν τῷ ὕψει τούτων ἐπιβαλεῖν⁹⁰, ὥκνον δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ἀνεδύομην, μὴ θεμιτὸν μὴ δ' ἀσφαλές εἶναι καθαροῦ μὴ καθαροῖς ἅπτεσθαι διδασκόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἶπω, πολλοὺς παρακαλοῦντας εὗρον πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ παραθίγοντας οὐκ ἄνεν, οἶμαι⁹¹, θειότερας κινήσεως, τὸν τε ὄκνον ἀπεσκευσάμεθα, καὶ τῷ ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος διδόντι λόγον τεθαρρηκότες, τὴν ὅποιαν οὖν ταύτην ἐξήγησιν κατὰ τὸ ἡμῖν⁹² ἐφικτόν, ἐκδεδώκαμεν· τὰ μὲν θεολογικά, θεολογικῶς· τὰ δὲ φυσικά, φυσικῶς· καὶ τὰ ἡθικά, ἡθικῶς· καὶ ἵνα συνεχῶς εἶπω, καταλλήλως ἕκαστον τούτων ταῖς ἐφεστώσαις τέχναις τὲ καὶ ἐπιστήμαις⁹³ αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσοντες⁹⁴

from any of those who most abound in powerful speech and who know how to interpret the things of the spirit with the spirit⁹⁵. Only a certain pair, Basil and Gregory, who committed themselves as well to his sixteen orations, had enough zeal to leave us some scholarly notes also to the orations presently under consideration. But, as far as the actual contents of the orations themselves, they've left us none the wiser, as they made no consideration whatsoever of Gregory's use of holy writ or of profane literature or of any of the rest – some of which elements this great man parodied, some of which he joined together, and some of which he altered, as he wove these homilies in varied and clever and colourful ways.

[3.] Since I am myself coming long after them and have a closer familiarity with these orations, I was greatly excited and had a heart most eager to commit myself to their sublime character, and yet I hesitated and held back, having learned that «it is neither allowed nor safe for those who are not pure to touch what is pure»⁹⁶. But since – for lack of a better way to say it – I had found many people urging me to to the work (who were incited, I think, not without a movement quite divine), we have put off our hesitation and, taking confidence in the one «who giveth utterance at the opening of the mouth»⁹⁷, we have written this commentary to the best of our abilities: treating theological questions in

⁸⁶ τετυχήκασιν BM: τετύχηκεν V.

⁸⁷ μόνοι ... τινες VM: μόνος ... τις B.

⁸⁸ καὶ BM: δὲ V.

⁸⁹ καταλιπεῖν. τὸ BV: καταλιπόντες M.

⁹⁰ ἐπιβαλεῖν BV: ἀποβαλεῖν M.

⁹¹ οἶμαι post θειότερας transp. B.

⁹² τὸ ἡμῖν BV: om. M.

⁹³ τὲ καὶ ἐπιστήμαις VM: om. B.

⁹⁴ ἀναπτύσσοντες BV: ἀναπτύξαντες M.

⁹⁵ Cf. I Cor. 2.13: πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες.

⁹⁶ Or. 27, § 3.7–8, SC 250: μὴ καθαρῷ γὰρ ἅπτεσθαι καθαροῦ τυχόν οὐδὲ ἀσφαλές.

⁹⁷ Ephes. 6.19: ἵνα μοι δοθῇ λόγος ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματός μου.

ἀξιῶ οὖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, μὴ τὸ ἀκριβὲς σκοποῦντας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ πρόθυμον ἡμῶν ἀποβλέποντας, οὕτως ἀποδέχσθαι τὰ εἰρημένα:-

a theological way, natural ones in a natural way, ethical ones in an ethical way and, to put it briefly, opening each of these matters up in a way fitting to the art and scholarship relevant to them. And so I think that whoever chances upon this, if they examine it not with excessive precision but with an eye to our efforts, will agree in this way with what I have said.

Elias is the first author to mention this «canonical» number of 52 texts of Gregory, which according to Tadeusz Sinko refers to a collection he has called «N», precisely because it contains, in a specific order, 52 (νβ') pieces, i.e. 44 orations and eight other texts – not only letters, as Elias states, but also poems⁹⁸. It must be noted, however, that there are 52 pieces in at least seven complete collections which do not follow the specific order of «N»⁹⁹, as well as in six «liturgical» collections supplemented by the «unread» homilies¹⁰⁰; Elias is therefore not necessarily referring, as Sinko believed, to a complete collection «N» *stricto sensu*.

The prologue states that Elias will explain why some letters are counted among the homilies and indeed he does so at the beginning of his commentary on *Ep. 101*: ἐπιστολὴ μὲν καὶ ὁ προκείμενος οὗτος λόγος καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς τούτω· διὰ δὲ τὸ δογματικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ λογοειδὲς, συνετάγησαν τοῖς λόγοις («the present discourse is a letter, as well as the following one,

⁹⁸ T. SINKO, *De traditione orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni*, I, Cracoviae 1917 (Meletemata Patristica, 2), p. 2. For a list of texts, an explanation as to the types of collections, and more recent bibliography, see Appendix III.

⁹⁹ The manuscripts which do not follow the specific order of collection «N» (nor the order of collection «M») have received the siglum «X» (see Appendix III). The following contain 52 pieces: from the 9th century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 510 (X.11); from the 10th century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. gr. 215 (M7/X16), Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Suppl. gr. 177 (X7), Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 479 (X38); from the 11th century, Athina, Ἑθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, 433 (X19), Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1446 (X39); from the 11th-12th century, Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης, gr. 347 (X8).

¹⁰⁰ The «liturgical» collections have received a siglum «L» (see Appendix III). The following contain 52 pieces: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1249 (10th century; L10); Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 402 (11th century; L105); Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A vii 1 (12th century; L172); Athos, Μονὴ Παντοκράτορος, 234 (Lambros 1268; 13th century) (L261); Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 456 (13th century; L295); Sofija, Centăr Ivan Dujčev, gr. 219 (14th century; L379).

but because of their dogmatic content and their form as discourse, they are classified with the discourses», *Vat. gr.* 1219, f. 255r). This explanation, however, is not found in the *Basiliensis*, since it does not contain the commentary on *Ep.* 101. This again points to the fact that, although the prologue (also found in the *Basiliensis*) concerns the complete set of commentaries, the *Basiliensis* contains only the second part of the commentaries, even though the first homily in the *Basiliensis* (*Or.* 27) is indicated as λόγος πρῶτος above the title on f. 1r.

Elias alludes to the fact that previous commentators of Gregory's orations concentrated on the 16 homilies (i.e. the liturgical collection; see Appendix III). Only two commentators, he says, also wrote notes on the other homilies. Basil the Lesser, who dedicated his commentary to the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (*reg.* 913–959)¹⁰¹, wrote commentaries on nearly all the homilies, but it is true that they were often transmitted as scholia with the liturgical orations¹⁰². Elias mentions one Gregory as a commentator on Gregory Nazianzus, but no such Gregory is known. Sajdak identifies him as George Mocenus¹⁰³, but George Mocenus, as far as we know, wrote commentaries only on the 16 liturgical orations¹⁰⁴. This Gregory the commentator may be one of the numerous (and for us anonymous) scholiasts whose work is preserved in several manuscripts of Gregory's tradition¹⁰⁵.

A look at the critical notes to the text of the prologue shows that in six cases we have chosen a reading of B and V against M, in four cases a reading of V and M against B, and in two cases a reading of B and M

¹⁰¹ *Basilii Minimi In Gregorii Nazianzeni orationem XXXVIII commentarii editi a Th.S. SCHMIDT*, Turnhout 2001 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 46; Corpus Nazianzenum, 13), p. xi.

¹⁰² See Th. SCHMIDT, *Les Commentaires de Basile le Minime: liste révisée des manuscrits et des éditions*, in *Byzantion* 70 (2000), pp. 155–181 and the online database of the manuscripts of commentaries on Gregory at pot-pourri.fltr.ucl.ac.be/manuscrits/Commentateurs (last consulted on December 8, 2015). F. LEFHERZ, *Studien zu Gregor von Nazianz. Mythologie, Überlieferung, Scholiasten*, Bonn 1958, p. 140 and n. 54 thinks that Elias had only access to the «sylloge» version of Basil's commentary.

¹⁰³ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, p. 97.

¹⁰⁴ See the recapitulative table in SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, pp. 296–297.

¹⁰⁵ J. NIMMO-SMITH, *The Early Scholia on the Sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus*, in *Studia Nazianzenica*, I, ed. by B. COULIE, Turnhout 2000 (Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca, 41; Corpus Nazianzenum, 8), pp. 69–146; J. NIMMO-SMITH, *Sidelights on the Sermons. The Scholia Oxoniensia on Gregory Nazianzen Orations 4 and 5*, in *Studia Nazianzenica*, II, ed. by A. SCHMIDT, Turnhout 2010 (Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca, 73; Corpus Nazianzenum, 24), pp. 135–201.

against V. The text is too short and the readings are not all significant enough to draw any solid conclusion, but from these elements it seems that the three manuscripts are independent from one another, at least as far as the prologue is concerned.

3.3. *The date of Elias's Commentaries*

Little is known about Elias, metropolitan of Crete¹⁰⁶. Sajdak dates his commentary on Gregory to the 11th century, because, as we have seen, its prologue refers to Basil the Lesser (*fl.* ca. 950), and because, according to Sajdak, Euthymius Zigabenus (ca. 1050–ca. 1120)¹⁰⁷ used it for his own commentary on Gregory¹⁰⁸. Zigabenus's commentary on Gregory is preserved in a single manuscript, according to Sajdak (and indeed no other manuscript could be identified): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 975A (V59)¹⁰⁹, from the 13th century and written in a script close to the «style arrondi chypriote»¹¹⁰. In that manuscript the text of Gregory is copied in the centre of the page and surrounded by scholia, the layout varying widely, depending on the number of scholia to be accommodated on the page. The manuscript contains 27 pieces, not all of which are the same as in *Vat. gr. 1219*: the *Vaticanus* contains *Or.* 2, *Or.* 3, *Or.* 25, *Or.* 26, *Or.* 36, *Ep.* 101, *Ep.* 102, which are not found in the *Parisinus*, and the *Parisinus* has other pieces that are not in the *Vaticanus*: *Or.* 37,

¹⁰⁶ See F. TRISOGLIO, *Mentalità ed atteggiamenti degli scolasti di fronte agli scritti di S. Gregorio di Nazianzo*, in *II. Symposium Nazianzenum*, ed. by J. MOSSAY, Paderborn 1983 (Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz, 2), pp. 239–248, for a general presentation of Elias's commentary.

¹⁰⁷ On Euthymius, see H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959 (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 12; Byzantinisches Handbuch, 2/1), pp. 614–616.

¹⁰⁸ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, p. 98. Euthymius's main work, the *Panoplia dogmatica*, is dedicated to the emperor Alexius I Comnenus, who died in 1118; on the *Panoplia*, see A. RIGO, *La Panoplie dogmatique d'Euthyme Zigabène: les Pères de l'Église, l'empereur et les hérésies du présent*, in *Byzantine Theologians. The Systematization of their own doctrine and their perception of foreign doctrines*, ed. by A. RIGO – P. ERMILOV, Roma 2009 (Quaderni di Νέα Ρώμη, 3), pp. 19–32.

¹⁰⁹ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, pp. 187–191; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, I, pp. 75–76; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 50565; a microfilm copy of the manuscript is digitized and available on *Gallica* cit. (n. 25).

¹¹⁰ P. CANART, *Les écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XI^e au milieu du XIII^e s. et le style palestino-chypriote «epsilon»*, in *Scrittura e Civiltà* 5 (1981), pp. 17–76: 60 and n. 167 [repr. in *Id.*, *Études de paléographie et de codicologie*, I, Città del Vaticano 2008 (Studi e testi, 450), pp. 677–747: 720 and n. 167].

Ep. 202, *Ep.* 243, *Ez.*, *Ecl.*, *Vg.* (see Appendix III for an explanation of these abbreviations). The order of the common pieces also differs between the two manuscripts (see Appendix IV). Since the scholia of the *Parisinus* are unedited, it is difficult to assess the validity of the authorship and to verify the assertion of Sajdak that this commentary depends heavily upon Elias, an assertion which has been repeated since then but never carefully verified¹¹¹. Sajdak's opinion is mostly based on his transcription of the commentary on *Or.* 29 found on f. 2r-v of the *Paris. gr.* 975 A¹¹². The texts contained in f. 2r-v, however, although written by the same hand as the rest of the manuscript, could be a distinct production unit since the text of *Or.* 29 begins on f. 3r, at the start of a new quaternion, and is preceded by a decorated band-shaped headpiece and a title, often indicating the beginning of a circulation unit. The prologue on f. 2r (also edited by Sajdak) is preceded by a simple decorative line and followed by a brief continuous commentary on *Or.* 29, which indeed resembles Elias Cretensis's own ὑπόθεσις to his commentary on *Or.* 29. The text on f. 2r continues on f. 2v but only for three and a half lines, the rest of the folio being empty. Since the title on f. 2r, Πρόλογος τοῦ συγγραφέως· τοῦ Ζιγαβενοῦ (*sic ut vid.*; from the main hand), is the sole argument for the attribution to Zigabenus, this attribution does not seem sufficiently well founded.

Some arguments have been put forward by Vitalien Laurent to date Elias's episcopacy to around 1120¹¹³. Laurent's argument is mostly based (1) on an episcopal list where an Elias appears as metropolitan of Crete between 1089 and 1166, and (2) on the mention in a text attributed to Elias in a late 13th-century manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1234) of the patriarch Nicholas III (d. 1111) as dead¹¹⁴. Although these two elements are not entirely convincing, no other argument has so far been put forward. The mention of an exile, for which the title in the *Basiliensis* is the sole witness, has not yet found an explanation¹¹⁵. Laurent thinks that Elias studied and perhaps worked in Con-

¹¹¹ For example, BECK, *Kirche* cit. (n. 107), p. 615: «Als Scholiast des Gregorios von Nazianz hat sich Euthymios damit begnügt, Elias von Kreta auszuscheiden, ohne irgend etwas wesentliches daran zu ändern». Beck does not seem to have any other reason to claim this than the opinion of Sajdak.

¹¹² SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, pp. 188–189.

¹¹³ LAURENT, *Le rituel*, pp. 118–121.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 124–142 for an edition and translation of this text.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120. Jahn thought that this exile could have been caused by an attack of Arabs, but this is unlikely in the 12th century; the riots that occurred in the island

stantinople, because he seems to know the liturgy of Hagia Sophia very well and because he used many sources for his commentary, which he must have read in the libraries of the capital¹¹⁶. However, it can be objected that Elias could have known the liturgy of Hagia Sophia from written sources rather than from personal experience, and that libraries existed outside of Constantinople. At any event, the supposed presence of Elias in Constantinople is one of the lines of argument that Laurent uses for the possible identification of Elias Cretensis with Elias Ecdicus – an identification which remains very doubtful¹¹⁷.

Besides his commentary on Gregory's orations and some questions-and-answers concerned with liturgy, Elias wrote a commentary on John Climacus, which is largely unedited¹¹⁸. The oldest manuscript known by Sajdak is Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. IX.11, from the 12th century¹¹⁹. Additionally, the online database *Pinakes* identifies two further manuscripts from the 12th century: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1635¹²⁰, and Moskva, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Sinod. gr. 229 (Vladimir 192)¹²¹.

in 1090–1092 could also have been a possible explanation if Elias's episcopacy had not been dated by Laurent to some 30 years later. D. TSOUGARAKIS, *Byzantine Crete from the 5th century to the Venetian conquest*, Athens 1988 (Historical monographs, 4), p. 215, writes that the reason for Elias's exile «is a question to which a number of answers can be given, all more or less hypothetical».

¹¹⁶ LAURENT, *Le rituel*, pp. 122–123.

¹¹⁷ Laurent finds another line of argument in two (presumably) independent, but fragile and rather late, witnesses: (1) a 14th-century marginal note in the 12th-century manuscript Jerusalem, Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Αγίου Σάβα, 66, an ascetic compilation probably written in Cyprus: see J. DARROUZÈS, *Autres manuscrits originaux de Chypre*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 15 (1957), pp. 131–168: 146 (this marginal note was discovered by SAJDÁK, *Historia critica*, pp. 119–120, but he did not give it much credence); (2) and in the subscription of a canon allegedly composed by Elias (but the date of this subscription is unclear). Those pieces of evidence are extremely weak and have not convinced other scholars: E. DE RIDDER, *Elias Ekdikos as the Author of the Anthologium gnomicum (CPG 7716): A Research Update*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 73 (2015), pp. 223–226.

¹¹⁸ SAJDÁK, *Historia critica*, pp. 112–120; see also *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48). Maxime Vennetkov, who is preparing a doctoral dissertation on Elias' Commentary under the direction of Bernard Flusin (Paris IV), has made a more complete and more accurate list of the manuscripts.

¹¹⁹ A.M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* (...), I, Firenze 1764, p. 406; cf. *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 16099. The manuscript is digitized and available on the website of the Laurenziana (<http://teca.bmlonline.it>).

¹²⁰ *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 68266. RgK, III, nr. 60. The manuscript was copied by the scribe Bartolomeo di Bordonaro around the middle of the 12th cen-

Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (ca. 1270–ca. 1330) prepared epitomes of Elias's commentaries, both on Gregory and on the *Scala Paradisi*, for his teaching activities in Constantinople¹²². The epitome of the commentary on Gregory is preserved mainly in three manuscripts: Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z 76 (coll. 355; V40) and gr. Z 77 (coll. 502; V41)¹²³, and Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 59 sup. (gr. 521; V45)¹²⁴. The two Venetian manuscripts are written in a «Fettaugen-Mode» script¹²⁵ and dated by Mossay to the 13th–14th century; V45 is dated to the end of the 14th century. The text of the homilies is copied in the centre of the page, with numerated marginal scholia. V40 contains 29 pieces (it contains scholia on *Ep.* 243, which is not commented upon in V36, but does not contain any scholia on *Or.* 3); V45 contains 19 pieces in exactly the same order as V40 (i.e. the second part of V40, starting with *Or.* 27); V41 has 27 pieces (the same as in V40, but not the scholia on *Ep.* 243 and on *Or.* 20) in a slightly different order (the theological orations [*Or.* 27–31] are moved to the end of the collection). The order of the texts in V40 is a bit different from the order in V36, but not

tury in the monastery San Salvatore di Messina: cf. S. LUCÀ, *Il Vaticano greco 1926 e altri codici della Biblioteca dell'Archimandritato di Messina*, in *Schede medievali* 8 (1985), pp. 51–79: 54–57; *Id.*, *I Normanni e la «rinascita» del sec. XII*, in *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 60 (1993), pp. 1–91: 83; M.B. FOTI, *Il monastero del S.mo Salvatore in Lingua Phari. Proposte scrittorie e coscienza culturale*, Messina 1989, p. 49 and fig. 42. For more recent bibliography on Bartolomeo, cf. S. LUCÀ, *Dalle collezioni manoscritte di Spagna: Libri originari o provenienti dall'Italia greca medievale*, in *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 44 (2007), pp. 38–96: 67 n. 59. The title is partly illegible (especially the name of the author of this ἐξήγησις) because the upper external corner of f. 1 has been cut off, but the beginning of the text corresponds to what is found in *Laur. Plut.* IX.11.

¹²¹ *Pinakes* cit. (n. 48), Diktyon 43854. *Pinakes* also mentions Moskva, Gosudarstvennyj Istoriceskij Muzej, Sinod. gr. 199 (Vladimir 191) from the 11th century (*Pinakes* cit. [n. 48], Diktyon 43824), but it is dated to the 13th century by B. FONKIČ – F.B. POLJAKOV, *Grečeskie rukopisi Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj biblioteki: paleografičeskie, kodikologičeskie i bibliografičeskie dopolnenija k katalogu archimandrita Vladimira (Filantropova)*, Moskva 1993, p. 73.

¹²² Th. ANTONOPOULOU, *The «Brief Exegesis of John Climacus' Heavenly Ladder» by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. Remarks on its Nature and Sources*, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007), pp. 149–168: 151–152; the bibliography on Xanthopulus is listed *ibid.*, p. 149 n. 2.

¹²³ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, pp. 194–195; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, VI, pp. 247–248 and 249–250.

¹²⁴ SAJDAK, *Historia critica*, pp. 192; MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, VI, pp. 165–166.

¹²⁵ Cf. H. HUNGER, *Die sogenannte Fettaugen-Mode in griechischen Handschriften des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 4 (1972), pp. 105–113.

dramatically so (groups of homilies thematically linked to each other are still recognizable, even though they may have changed places in the collection)¹²⁶. The question of whether the scholia on *Ep.* 243 were composed by Xanthopulus himself, or whether a commentary on that text by Elias existed but is now lost, remains open.

3.4. *Gregory's text in Elias's commentary*

Comparing the text of Gregory contained in all these manuscripts may help us to better situate the context of their copying. We have sufficient data only for *Or.* 27, which has been studied in Caroline Macé's doctoral dissertation¹²⁷. On the basis of the analysis of the variants in all the manuscripts containing *Or.* 27 (140 manuscripts, from the 9th to the 16th century), it is clear that V40 and V41 (manuscripts of Xanthopulus) were copied on the same exemplar, which could be V36 (the *Vaticanus*); V45 could be a (partial) copy of V40 (second part). V36 belongs to the largest family of Gregory's manuscripts (family α). V59, on the other hand (containing scholia allegedly by Zigabenus, though we have seen that attribution to be questionable), clearly belongs to the other family (family γ)¹²⁸.

The situation of the *Basiliensis* (V29) is more complex: Gregory's text as found in the lemmata of V29 seems to be a contaminated form of the text, closer to family γ , whereas Gregory's text as found in the commentary is generally closer to the form of the text attested in V36.

A comparative table in Appendix VI gives all the differences in the lemmata between the two manuscripts, as well as the differences between the lemmata and Gregory's text as quoted in the commentary (both in

¹²⁶ See the comparison of the contents in Appendix IV.

¹²⁷ Some homilies have been critically edited in the collection *Sources Chrétiennes* on the basis of a dozen of manuscripts chosen, more or less arbitrarily, among the oldest complete collections. *Or.* 10 and 12 were edited in 2006 by Justin Mossay on the basis of the complete manuscript tradition, but this edition has been found to contain serious flaws: see C. MACÉ, *À propos d'une édition récente de Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *L'Antiquité Classique* 77 (2008), pp. 243–256. As for *Or.* 27, see C. MACÉ – P.V. BARET – A.-C. LANTIN, *Philologie et phylogénétique: regards croisés en vue d'une édition critique d'une homélie de Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *Digital Technology and Philological Disciplines*, ed. by A. BOZZI – L. CIGNONI – J.-L. LEBRAVE, Pisa 2004 (*Linguistica Computazionale*, 20–21), pp. 305–341, which is a summary of C. MACÉ, *La tradition des discours de Grégoire de Nazianze. Edition critique du discours 27*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2002 (unpublished).

¹²⁸ See Appendix III for more information.

V29 and in V36) and some of the differences between the lemmata in both V29 and V36, on the one hand, and on the other hand what we find in one of the two main families of Gregory's manuscripts (α and γ). From this table, we can state the following:

(1) The text of V36 generally conforms to α (in four cases, V29 follows α as well – those cases are in bold print): see variants n° 8, **10**, **13**, **17**, 21, **23**, 24, 25, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 48, 50. Seven cases are problematic: n° 1, 2, 12, 15, 42, 47, 49.

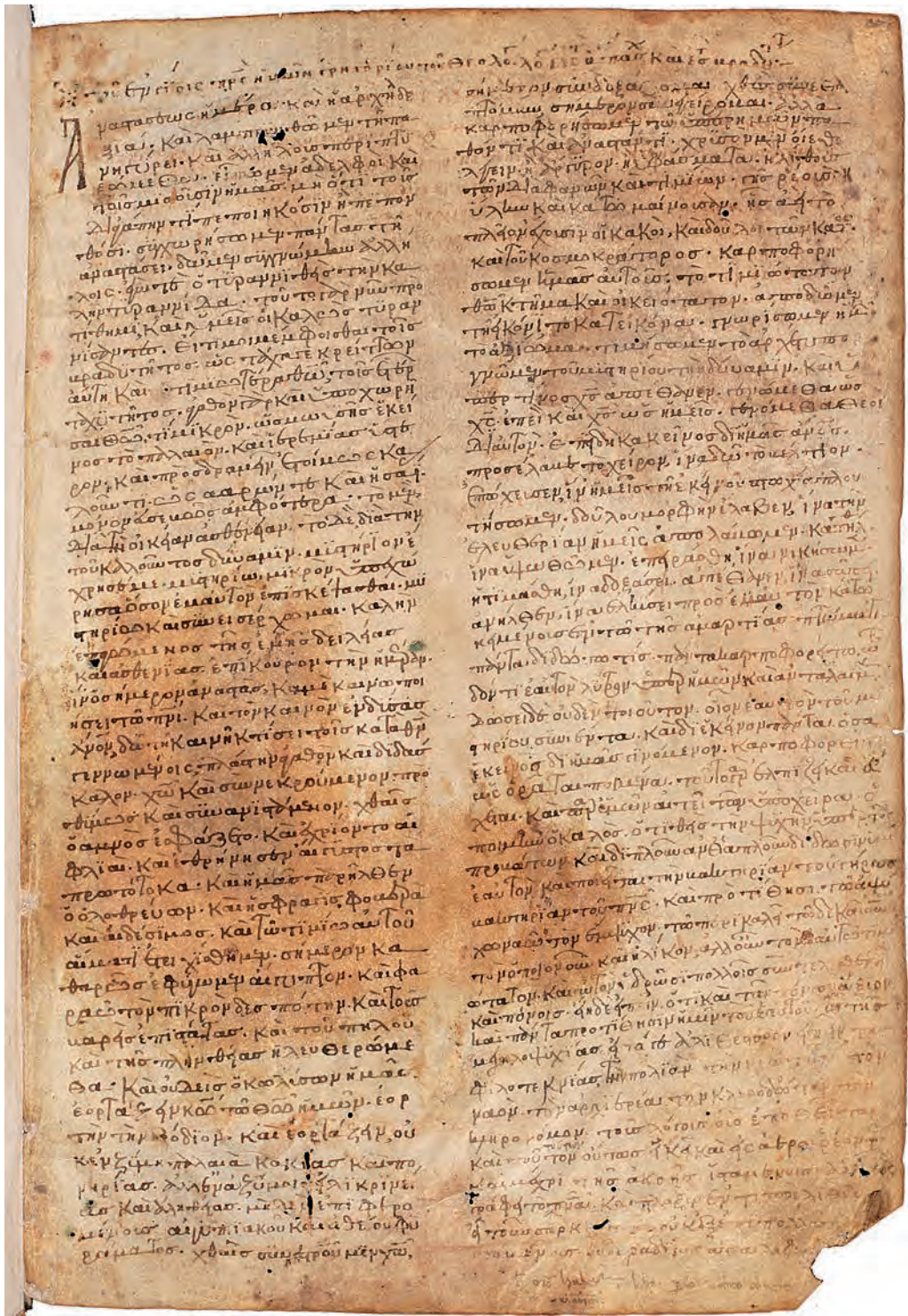
(2) In 11 cases, V29 differs from V36 and follows a form of text closer to γ : see variants n° 8, 24, 25, 31, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 48, 50. In 12 other cases, V29 attests a minority variant (n° 18, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 39, 52, 55, 56), or, in eight cases, a variant that isolates it from the rest of the tradition (n° 9, 11, 21, 26, 34, 44, 53, 54).

(3) In case of a divergence between V29 and V36 in the lemmata, the commentary in V29 sometimes conforms nevertheless to V36 (see variants n° 1, 4, 9, 12, 29), but at other times the commentary, as well as the text, differs in both manuscripts: see variants n° 33, 45, 50. In the case of variants n° 40 and 41, the commentary in both V29 and V36 rather supports the text of the lemma in V29, but this conclusion is questionable:

At variant n° 40 (*Or.* 27, § 8.28), V29 attests the syntagm $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ in the lemma, which is the reading of family γ (chosen by the editor of SC 250), whereas family α (supported by the Latin and Armenian translations) omits it, as does V36. In the commentary (in both V29 and V36), Gregory's text is quoted as follows: $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\nu\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\omega}\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\epsilon\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon,\ \tau\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \phi\eta\mu\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\lambda\epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ («to be borne and pushed along this singular [path], which you yourselves believe to run through speech and contemplation, but which I for my part say runs through idle talk and fairytale»)¹²⁹. The words $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (and not $\acute{\omega}\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\epsilon$ as in the direct tradition) may have been restored by the commentator (prompted by $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \phi\eta\mu\iota$) at a more elegant place than in family γ of the direct tradition.

At variant n° 41 (*Or.* 27, § 9.8), the text edited in SC 250 reads as follows: $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\chi\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\varsigma\ [\dots]$; («Why do you bind the weaker in your spider's webs?»). The form $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\chi\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma$, much less attested than $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\chi\nu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ as an adjective, is a correction of the Mauriners (PG 36, col. 24 A 6); all the manuscripts have $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\chi\nu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ (as in

¹²⁹ The edition of SC 250 reads as follows: $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\nu\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\omega}\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\epsilon\ \tau\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma,\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \acute{\omega}\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\epsilon,\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \phi\eta\mu\iota,\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\lambda\epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$.



Pl. 1. *Basilienensis* AN i 8, f. Ar (© Basel, Universitätsbibliothek). - The first seven plates are in their original reconstructed order.



Pl. 3. *Basiliensis* AN i 8, f. Cr (© Basel, Universitätsbibliothek).



Pl. 4. *Basiliensis* AN i 8, f. Cv (© Basel, Universitätsbibliothek).

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Pl. 6. *Basiliensis* AN i 8, f. Bv (© Basel, Universitätsbibliothek).

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the lemma of V29), which is normally used as a substantive, as in V36, and in family *α* of the direct tradition (supported by the Latin and Armenian translations). In the commentary (in both V29 and V36), however, ἀραχνίως is used as an adjective describing ὑφάσματα.

(4) In 10 cases, V29 and V36 (or V36 alone: the four cases in bold) present a variant that is rarely attested in Gregory's manuscript tradition: n° 5, **6**, **7**, 14, 16, 19, **22**, **45**, 46, 51. In almost all these cases the variant is also found in manuscripts containing Xanthopulus's commentary on Gregory (V40, V41, V45). Those manuscripts also have certain variants which they alone share and clearly form a family which depends upon V36.

(5) Variants 3 and 4 require further comment:

At variant n° 3 (*Or.* 27, § 1.15), the text edited in SC 250 reads as follows: καὶ ἴσως ἦττον ἂν ἦσαν σοφισταὶ καὶ κυβισταὶ λόγων ἄτοποι καὶ παράδοξοι («and perhaps they would be less of sophists and of tumblers/jugglers of words, strange and extravagant»)¹³⁰. The reading found in the direct manuscript tradition is taken as problematic by some scholars, and the ancient translators must have had some difficulties with this passage¹³¹. In his commentary (*Basiliensis* f. 2v; *Vaticanus* f. 309v), Elias considers that κυβευταὶ must be the «surer» reading (ἡ ἀσφαλεστέρα γραφή), even though the reading κυβισταὶ (tumblers/jugglers) is found «in some of the witnesses» (εὐρίηται γὰρ καὶ ἐν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων), this is «not the same word» (οὐκ ἔθ' ὁμοιος ὁ λόγος) and «the first reading and concept is surer» (ἀσφαλεστέρα [ἀσφαλέστερον *Basiliensis*] δὲ ἡ προτέρα γραφή καὶ διάνοια). The reading κυβευταὶ (gamblers) is found only in

¹³⁰ The punctuation, attaching μικρὸν γοῦν to what precedes and not to καὶ ἴσως (as the Mauriners and Gallay do) matches Joseph Barbel's edition (J. BARBEL, *Gregor von Nazianz, Die fünf theologischen Reden*, Düsseldorf 1963, p. 38) and better corresponds to the manuscript tradition.

¹³¹ On this reading, see SINKO, *De traditione* cit. (n. 98), pp. 208–213; L.R. WICKHAM – F.J. WILLIAMS, *Some notes on the text of Gregory Nazianzen's First Theological Oration*, in *Studia Patristica, XIV: Papers presented at the Sixth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1971, III: Tertullian, Origenism, Gnostica, Cappadocian Fathers, Augustiniana*, ed. by E.A. LIVINGSTONE, Berlin 1976 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der althristlichen Literatur, 117), pp. 365–370; SC 250, pp. 72–73 n. 1; F.J. WILLIAMS, *Acrobats and Geometry: Unwelcome Intruders in the Text of Gregory Nazianzen*, in *Glotta* 65 (1987), pp. 96–103. The Latin translator, Rufinus of Aquileia (d. ca. 410), translated σοφισταὶ καὶ κυβισταὶ λόγων as «sophistae quidam in verbis». The anonymous Armenian translation (ca. 500?) reads: խաբեբայք և պատրողք բանիւր, *xabebayk' ew patrołk' baniurk'*, i.e. using two synonyms meaning «deceiver» (a double translation of σοφισταί?) and rendering λόγων with the instrumental case (perhaps its model had something like ἐν λόγοις, which would also correspond more exactly to the Latin?).

V29, as a marginal variant in V36 and in two manuscripts of the complete collection (N19 and X6), and as a correction of κυβισταί by a later hand in another one (M7/X16). In view of the direct tradition, it seems more likely that V36 reflects the original situation (κυβισταί in the text and κυβευταί as a marginal variant) and that the introduction of κυβευταί, prompted by Elias's commentary, is a peculiarity of V29.

At variant n° 4 (*Or.* 27, § 2.13), Gregory's text reads as follows (in *SC* 250): καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς ἄνθος ἀποσυλᾶσθαι τῇ περὶ λόγον ταχύτητι («and the flower of chastity is profaned because of the hastiness to speak»). V36 attests an isolated variant, λόγου, instead of λόγων in V29 (and in family γ of the direct tradition, supported by the Latin and Armenian translations, though they do not translate περὶ) and of (τὸν) λόγον in family α. Elias's commentary (*Basiliensis* f. 3r; *Vaticanus* f. 310r) supports the reading of V36: καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς ἄνθος ἀποσυλῶντων τῷ ταχέως (παχέως *Vaticanus*) καὶ σωματικῶς περὶ τοῦ λόγου καὶ θεοῦ (περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου *Vaticanus*) διαλέγεσθαι («and they profane the flower of chastity by discussing in a hasty [fatty/fleshy *Vaticanus*] and corporeal way the λόγος and God [the λόγος of God *Vaticanus*]»). The variant παχύτητι for ταχύτητι in *Or.* 27 is found in very few manuscripts of the direct tradition, and in V40 and its copy V45.

From the elements assembled above it seems clear that the text of Gregory, at least of *Or.* 27, in the lemmata of the *Basiliensis* (V29) (or of its exemplar) has been «revised», whereas the text in the commentary has been left mostly untouched¹³². The reasons for this revision are unknown and constitute yet another puzzling element of this manuscript.

The titles of Gregory's homilies, as attested in the *Basiliensis* and in the *Vaticanus* (see the comparison in Appendix V) do not allow the identification of which model or even which type of Gregory's text Elias used to write his commentary. It seems clear, however, that both the order of the texts and the titles of the homilies may well have been decided by Elias and were not the result of chance. Only a complete edition of the commentary would allow us a better understanding of how Elias worked.

¹³² Other examples of the modification of lemmata are known, such as the case of Plato's lemmata in Proclus's commentary on the *Parmenides* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1810, copied by George Pachymeres (1242–1310): see C. STEEL, *Proclus comme témoin du texte du Parménide*, in *Tradition et traduction. Les textes philosophiques et scientifiques grecs au Moyen Âge latin: Hommage à Fernand Bossier*, éd. par R. BEYERS [ET AL.], Leuven 1999 (Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, ser. 1, 25), pp. 281–303. In that case, Pachymeres had probably left blank spaces where the lemmata should have been and then filled them in later (the spaces were usually larger than needed for the lemmata). His purpose was to make the text of Plato correspond to a tradition that he found better.

3.5. *The text of the captions in the frontispieces miniatures of the Basiliensis*

The miniatures in the *Basiliensis* contain an unusually high number of explanatory texts – not only the identification of persons represented in the miniatures but also explanations concerning the scene and the *incipit* of the oration for which each miniature serves as frontispiece, introduced by a sentence often referring to the title of the oration. The captions were edited by Walter in 1972, and so we will confine ourselves here to a few corrections and supplementary comments. In Appendix VII the titles and *incipits* in the miniatures are systematically compared with those in the text of the *Basiliensis*.

The contents and style of the miniatures will be discussed in details in Karin Krause's forthcoming article. A few remarks are nevertheless necessary here in order to correctly situate these miniatures in the larger context of the transmission of Gregory's manuscripts. Several manuscripts each containing a collection of 16 orations (see Appendix III) have received extensive illustrations: George Galavaris mentions 20 fully illustrated manuscripts (the cycle of illustrations can take the form of title miniatures or of marginal miniatures)¹³³. The other types of collections, complete or of «unread» homilies, were rarely illustrated: the two exceptions are the famous 9th-century manuscripts Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 510 (XII; title miniatures)¹³⁴ and Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 49–50 inf. (N23; marginal miniatures)¹³⁵. So the miniatures in the

¹³³ GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations*.

¹³⁴ L. BRUBAKER, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Cambridge 1999; see also C. MANGO, in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 24 (2000), pp. 278–281, for some important critical remarks. The manuscript contains pictures of the emperor Basil II (958–1025) and the miniatures can be dated to around 880. The production is undoubtedly Constantinopolitan.

¹³⁵ See A. GRABAR, *Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne, Ambrosianus 49–50, I: Album*, Paris 1943 (Orient et Byzance, 9) for the illustrations and M. D'AGOSTINO, *Il Gregorio Nazianzeno Ambr. E 49 inf. + E 50 inf. (gr. 1014). Una 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*, I, ed. by P. CHERUBINI – G. NICOLAJ, Città del Vaticano 2012 (Littera antiqua, 19), pp. 91–102 for a recent *status quaestionis*, reaffirming the probability of an Italian (perhaps Roman?) origin for this late-9th-century manuscript. This origin has been recently contested however (we thank Santo Lucà for this reference): V. PACE, *Alla ricerca di un'identità: affreschi, mosaici, tavole dipinte e libri a Roma fra VI e IX secolo*, in *Roma e il suo territorio nel Medioevo. Le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione*, a cura di C. CARBONETTI – S. LUCÀ – M. SIGNORINI, Spoleto 2015 (Studi e ricerche, 6), pp. 471–498: 493, 495.

Basiliensis are a double anomaly: first because the 19 homilies contained in this manuscript were rarely illustrated, and secondly because pictures are even rarer in theological commentaries¹³⁶. As we have said in the codicological description (see above, pp. 176–185), it is evident that the illustrations were not originally planned as part of the book:

(ff. Av, Cr): see above, pp. 179–180.

(f. Bv; see Plate 6): the caption in the miniature gives as *incipit* to Or. 27: πρὸς τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ κομψοὺς ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἴνα ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἄρξωμαι, ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν ὑβρίστριαν καὶ παιδευσιν καὶ διάνοιαν, contrary to the lemma of the *Basiliensis*, which reads: καὶ παιδευσιν καὶ ἀκοήν καὶ διάνοιαν. However, καὶ ἀκοήν is absent in the commentary and in the lemma of the *Vaticanus* (see Appendix VI, variant n° 1), and the caption's scribe may have opted as well for the shorter variant.

(f. Dv): –

(f. Er): the lower scene represents Arius cut into two pieces by angels¹³⁷, who use a saw provided by Christ Emmanuel¹³⁸ in the upper scene, where Gregory is preaching to the orthodox. The caption, almost faded, reads: Ἀρειος ὁ τεμὼν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός («Arius, who severed the son from the father»). The scene certainly refers to some legendary accounts about Arius's infamous death as divine punishment for his heresy (a death that must have occurred around 335)¹³⁹. Gregory him-

¹³⁶ GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations*, p. 4 mentions three manuscripts which he labels «illustrated commentaries»: the *Basiliensis*; Jerusalem, Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Παναγίου Τάφου 44 (an 11th-century manuscript containing the commentary of Basil the Lesser in the «sylloge» form); and Paris, BNF, gr. 541 (L366) (late 14th century, containing the 16 homilies and their commentary by Nicetas of Heracleia). However, it is doubtful that Τάφου 44 really contains extensive illustrations, while Paris gr. 541 has only three miniatures. Pseudo-Nonnus's *Historiae mythologicae* (6th century) were sometimes illustrated, e.g. in Jerusalem, Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Παναγίου Τάφου, 14 (ca. 1070), f. 307r–313v (17 miniatures): cf. GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations*, pp. 222–227 (fig. 98–122) and VOCOTOPOULOS, *Byzantine Illuminated* cit. (n. 25), pp. 168–181 (fig. 80–86).

¹³⁷ Angels play an astonishingly active role in the miniatures of the *Basiliensis*, as instruments of God's punishment of heretics or enemies of the Church (Arius on f. Er, Macedonius on f. Fv, Anthimus on f. Pr).

¹³⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus never uses the name Ἐμμανουήλ in his works. According to K. LINARDOU, *Depicting the Salvation: Typological Images of Mary in the Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts*, in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium. Texts and Images*, ed. by L. BRUBAKER – M.B. CUNNINGHAM, Farnham-Burlington, VT 2011, pp. 133–149: 141, the iconographic type of Christ-Emmanuel appears in the second half of the 12th century: «principally it was used to combine the two natures of Christ and to visualise the dogmatic term: Word Incarnate», i.e. precisely what Arius is supposed to have denied.

¹³⁹ A. MARTIN, *Le fil d'Arius: 325–335*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 84 (1989), pp. 297–333.

self never alludes to Arius's death and, as Walter already remarked, Gregory does not speak about Arius at all in his *Or.* 30 (for which this miniature serves as frontispiece), nor does Elias, it seems, in his commentary to this oration¹⁴⁰. Gregory often attacks Arianism, however, generally together with Sabellianism, for example in *Or.* 20, § 5.19–23 (SC 270) (cf. the commentary on this passage in the *Basiliensis* f. 68r–v), and in *Or.* 2, § 37.12–13 (SC 247), where he says: «and without severing the natures according to what has well been called Arius's madness»¹⁴¹. The caption of f. Er uses the same phrasing as in *Or.* 2 (Arius «severs» the Son from the Father) – a phrasing for which we could not find any other convincing parallel elsewhere –, and cleverly links it with the well known story of Arius's death as told by Athanasius, where Arius «burst asunder in the midst», like Judas¹⁴². Elias himself speaks about this death in his commentary to *Or.* 36 (*Basiliensis* f. 327r). This representation of Arius's punishment appears to be unique¹⁴³ and may have been inspired by the martyrdom of Isaiah, who according to an apocryphal tradition was sawn in two, a scene which was sometimes represented in Byzantine manuscripts¹⁴⁴, as for example in Gregory's *Parisinus* gr. 510 (f. 347r, concerning *Or.* 15)¹⁴⁵.

¹⁴⁰ WALTER, *Un commentaire*, pp. 119–120.

¹⁴¹ [...] μήτε τὰς φύσεις τέμνοντας κατὰ τὴν Ἀρείου καλῶς ὀνομασθεῖσαν μανίαν. The passage (*Or.* 2, § 36–37) is very close to *Or.* 20, § 5–6: see M. DUBUISSON – C. MACÉ, *L'apport des traductions anciennes à l'histoire du texte de Grégoire de Nazianze. Application au Discours 2*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 69 (2003), pp. 287–340: 312–316.

¹⁴² ATHANASIUS, *Epistula ad Serapionem de morte Arii* (CPG 2125; ed. H.–G. OPITZ, *Athanasius Werke*, II/1, Berlin 1940), § 3, 3: ὁ δὲ Ἀρειὸς ἐθάρρει τοῖς περὶ Εὐσέβιον πολλὰ τε φλυαρῶν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς θάκας ὡς διὰ χρεῖαν τῆς γαστρὸς καὶ ἐξαίφνης κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος καὶ πεσὼν εὐθὺς ἀπέψυξεν ἀμφοτέρων τε τῆς τε κοινωνίας καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐστερήθη («Arius took confidence in the supporters of Eusebius and, speaking a lot of nonsense, went into the toilets as if urged on by his belly and then suddenly, as the scripture says, «falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst» [Acts 1.18, on the death of Judas, which continues «and all his bowels gushed out»]; and after he had fallen down he immediately expired – that is, was deprived of both his community and his life»). This story of Athanasius was taken over and amplified by many Byzantine writers, especially historians of the Church: see MARTIN, *Le fil d'Arius* cit. (n. 139).

¹⁴³ One may find other representations of Arius in Gregory's manuscripts, but nothing quite the same as this: for example, in Athos, Μονὴ Παντελεήμονος, 6 (L49, 11th–12th century), f. 123r (*Or.* 43), Arius is represented as prostrated: GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations*, fig. 155. According to Walter, heretics are usually represented as defeated; less commonly they are killed or swallowed by Hades: Ch. WALTER, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine*, Paris 1970 (Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 13), pp. 252–260; see also ID., *Heretics in Byzantine Art*, in *Eastern Churches Review* 3 (1970), pp. 40–49 [repr. in ID., *Studies in Byzantine Iconography*, London 1977 (Collected Studies, 65), nr. vii].

¹⁴⁴ J. LOWDEN, *Illuminated Prophet Books: A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets*, University Park, Penn. 1988, p. 68.

¹⁴⁵ If the motif of the martyrdom of Isaiah can indeed be seen behind this

(f. Fv): the mention of πνευματομάχος attached to Macedonius in the lower scene of the frontispiece to *Or.* 31 may have been added by a second hand (see above, p. 184), but a hand which in any case is found elsewhere in the captions. Gregory never uses this adjective, regularly applied to the disciples of Macedonius¹⁴⁶, and he speaks of Macedonius (who died ca. 365) only in his *Ep.* 202, § 5 (SC 208). However, the Pneumatomachi were obvious opponents of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit discussed in *Or.* 31 and Elias refers to them in his commentary to that homily (*Basiliensis* f. 149r).

(f. Gv): the caption Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατὴρ δυσφορῶν (and not διαφορῶν, *pace* Walter) ἐφ' οἷς ἡπάτηται ἐξ ἀπλότητος («Gregory the Theologian's father being distressed after he was deceived because of his simplicity») refers to the circumstances, real or supposed, of *Or.* 6, which Elias alludes to in his commentary (*Basiliensis* f. 223r). This oration was allegedly pronounced after Gregory the father had signed some apparently not very orthodox theological statement and had been reprimanded by part of the community in Nazianzus¹⁴⁷. Gregory alludes to these events of his life in other works; the phrasing which is the closest to the caption of f. Gv is found in *Or.* 18, § 18 (PG 35, col. 1005 D): εἰ καὶ ἀπλότητι συνηράσθη («even though he [his father] had been caught up by his own simplicity»). A small detail about the *incipit* of *Or.* 6 should be mentioned. In the caption it reads: λύει μου τὴν γλῶτταν ἢ προθυμία, which indeed corresponds to the *incipit* of *Or.* 6 in the *Basiliensis* (f. 323r)¹⁴⁸, while the *Vaticanus* reads λύει μοι τὴν γλῶτταν ἢ προθυμία. The difference is not of great importance, but it is found also in the direct tradition, μοι being the variant of family α and μου the variant of family γ¹⁴⁹. This is a small confirmation of what we said above (p. 208) concerning Gregory's text in the lemmata of the *Basiliensis*.

(ff. Hr, Jr): –

(f. Kr; on *Or.* 33): ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος προσκαλούμενος πρὸς ἁμύλλαν [*sic*] λόγων τοὺς ὀνειδίζοντας αὐτῷ πενίαν ἄρειανούς καὶ λοιπούς

peculiar representation of Arius's punishment, then it gives even more significance to the presence of Christ-Emmanuel in this picture, since in Christian thought Isaiah is supposed to have prophesied the coming of Christ-Emmanuel: ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ («Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and [thou shalt] call his name Immanuel») (Is. 7.14). In this view, Arius is a kind of anti-Isaiah.

¹⁴⁶ There are many occurrences attested in the TLG since the 4th century (Epiphanius of Salamis, Gregory of Nyssa, etc.).

¹⁴⁷ SC 405, pp. 19–31.

¹⁴⁸ In the commentary as well (f. 323r): καὶ τῶν πρὶν δεσμῶν ἢ γλῶσσα τούτω ἐλέλυτο [...]. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰσιν, ἅπερ εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ προοιμίου τίθησι, λέγων: λύει μου τὴν γλῶσσαν.

¹⁴⁹ SC 405, p. 120; SOMERS, *Histoire*, p. 254.

(«Saint Gregory the Theologian summoning those who reproached his poverty, Arians and others, to a contest of words»)¹⁵⁰. This caption alludes to Elias's commentary: Γρηγόριος [...] πρὸς ἄμυλλαν αὐτοὺς ἐκκαλεῖται (*Basiliensis* f. 285v). The word ἄμυλλα is sometimes used by Gregory, but not in *Or.* 33, and the combination of πρὸς ἄμυλλαν with a form of καλοῦμαι is not frequent.

(f. Lv): see above, n. 32.

(f. Mv): in this case the caption contains not only the *incipit* of *Or.* 36, but another sentence from the same homily: ὡς ἀπόλοιτο [*sic*, for ἀπόλοιτο] ἔξ ἀνθρώπων ὁ φθόνος, ἡ δαπάνη τῶν ἐχόντων («may jealousy disappear from humankind, which consumeth those who possess it») (*Or.* 36 § 4.13–14, *SC* 318). This must have been one of the most famous *sententiae* of this homily, since it is also quoted in Pseudo-Maximus Confessor, *Loci communes* (*PG* 91, col. 960 B). See also above, n. 32.

(f. Nv): see above, n. 32.

(f. Or): the titles of *Or.* 9 in both the *Basiliensis* and the *Vaticanus* (see Appendix V) differ from the direct tradition (as represented in *SC* 405), because in them this oration is said to have been directed at Gregory the father and at Basil the Great (καὶ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον), whereas in the direct tradition the oration is addressed to Gregory the father *in the presence* of Basil (συμπαρόντος αὐτῷ Βασιλείου). In addition, while the title in the *Vaticanus*, as in the direct tradition, does not explicitly specify who consecrated Gregory bishop of Sasima (ἐπίσκοπος ἐχειροτονεῖτο Σασίμων), the title in the *Basiliensis* clearly states that Basil «was about to consecrate him [i.e. Gregory] bishop of Sasima» (ἤμελλεν αὐτὸν χειροτονεῖν ἐπίσκοπον Σασίμων). The caption of f. Or states the same: ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος χειροτονούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐπίσκοπος Σασίμων («Saint Gregory the Theologian being consecrated as bishop of Sasima by Basil the Great»). The «Sasima issue» (Basil had acted against Gregory's wish) plays an important role in Gregory's presentation of his own life and he alludes to it in several of his works¹⁵¹. See also above, n. 32.

(f. Pr): in the direct tradition the title of *Or.* 13 is: εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν Δοάρων¹⁵², to which some manuscripts (mostly belonging to family α)

¹⁵⁰ Walter misunderstood the text of the caption, which he translated: «Saint Grégoire le Théologien répondant à Amyllas, à ceux qui lui reprochent sa pauvreté, aux ariens, etc.» (WALTER, *Un commentaire*, p. 123). The word ἄμυλλα (or ἄμυλλα according to the dictionaries, but the orthography with a *spiritus lenis* is well attested) is a substantive that means «contest» and not a proper name.

¹⁵¹ See M.-A. CALVET-SÉBASTI, *L'évocation de l'affaire de Sasimes par Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *L'historiographie de l'Église des premiers siècles*, ed. by B. POUDERON – Y.-M. DUVAL, Paris 2001 (Théologie Historique, 114), pp. 481–497.

¹⁵² The orthography Δοαρῶν with *perispomeni* is a mistake in the Mauriners' edition.

add ὁμιλία ἐκδοθεῖσα Εὐλαλίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ¹⁵³. The most obvious translation of this title would be «on the consecration of Doara, homily published by bishop Eulalius» (the translation «homily published for bishop Eulalius» is not impossible however). Marie-Madeleine Hauser-Meury identifies this Eulalius as Gregory's successor as bishop of Nazianzus (and therefore not of Doara)¹⁵⁴. It is supposed that Eulalius edited this homily after Gregory's death. The title of *Or.* 13 in the *Basiliensis* (and in the *Vaticanus*) offers another interpretation: προσφώνησις ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ Εὐλαλίου ἐπισκόπου Δοάρων («address given on the occasion of the consecration of Eulalius as bishop of Doara»). The same interpretation is found in the caption of f. Pr: εἰς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεολόγου ἐκφωνηθεῖσαν ὁμιλίαν εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν Εὐλαλίου ἐπισκόπου Δοάρων («on the homily pronounced by the Theologian for the ordination of Eulalius as bishop of Doara»)¹⁵⁵. While Gregory's *Or.* 13 mentions no name but only alludes to a «new pastor» (§ 1, PG 35, col. 833A: Δέξασθε λόγον νεόκτιστον ἐπὶ νεοκτίστῳ ποιμένι, «Receive a new discourse on a newly appointed pastor»), this interpretation is found in Elias's commentary (*Basiliensis* f. 342v)¹⁵⁶ and was adopted in the Latin translation of the

¹⁵³ SOMERS, *Histoire*, pp. 142–144.

¹⁵⁴ M.-M. HAUSER-MEURY, *Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz*, Bonn 1960, p. 71. Cf. GREGORIUS PRESBYTERUS, *Vita S. Gregorii theologi* § 22, ed. X. LEQUEUX, Turnhout 2001 (*Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*, 44; *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 11), pp. 197, 264 n. 6. This *Vita*, which draws heavily from what Gregory of Nazianzus says about himself in his works, was very influential and is preserved in about 175 manuscripts.

¹⁵⁵ In the miniature, Eulalius is consecrated by Gregory of Nazianzus, his father, and Basil the Great: ὁ ἅγιος Βασίλειος, ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ θεολόγου χειροτονοῦντες τὸν Εὐλάλιον ἐπίσκοπον Δοάρων («Saint Basil, Saint Gregory the Theologian, and the Theologian's father, ordaining Eulalius bishop of Doara»); this may echo as well Elias's commentary (*Basiliensis* f. 345r–v).

¹⁵⁶ It is difficult to say whether this interpretation existed before Elias. According to SOMERS, *Histoire*, p. 144, very few manuscripts of the complete collection contain an explanatory note to the title; she mentions only a note contained in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 469 (X35), f. 196r (in the part of the codex that was copied in the first half of 12th century), which was edited by Robert Devreesse (*Codices Vaticani Graeci*, II: *Codices 330-603*, recensuit R. DEVRESSE, in *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticanae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti*), p. 244): Αὕτη ἡ ὁμιλία ἐκδέδοται Εὐλαλίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Δοάρων νεωστὶ τῷ θρόνῳ ἐνιδυμένῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολ(ῇ) φέρεται ὑποχωρή(σαντος?) Σασίμ(ων) Εὐλαλίῳ καταλελειφθαι τὰ Σάσιμα (σώσιμα cod.), οὗ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν εὐχεται ἐναποψύξει, ζητ(εῖ) τ(ῇ)ς οὗτο(ς) Εὐλάλιό(ς) ἐστίν, πότερον ἕτερος ὁμώνυμο(ς) ἐκείνῳ ἢ ὁ αὐτό(ς) ἐκεῖνο(ς) τῶν δύο ἦρξεν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὃ γίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς μεταθέσει πέφυκεν («This homily was delivered for Eulalius, bishop of Doara, when he had recently been installed upon the throne. Because there is also a letter preserved to the effect that Sasima, upon [Gregory's] having withdrawn therefrom, had been bequeathed to Eulalius, in whose hands he prays to breathe out his last, one wonders who this Eulalius is,

title by Jacques de Billy, in his third edition, which is reproduced in *PG* 35, col. 832A: «Habita in consecration Eulalii Doarensium episcopi» (the Greek title is however, as in the direct tradition: Εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν Δοαρῶν [sic] ὁμιλία ἐκδοθεῖσα Εὐλαλίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ)¹⁵⁷. From Elias's interpretation (summarized in the «monitum in orationem XIII» in *PG* 35, coll. 831-832), it has been sometimes too hastily assumed by modern scholars that there existed a Eulalius, bishop of Doara¹⁵⁸. The lower scene of the miniature shows «an angel of God expelling Anthimus, as unworthy, out of the church» (ἄγγελος θεοῦ τὸν Ἀνθιμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡς ἀνάξιον ἐξωθούμενος) and «Anthimus bishop of Tyana, who ever plotted and enacted wickedness against Basil the Great» (Ἀνθιμος ἐπίσκοπος Τυάνων ὁ κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου πᾶν εἴ τι σκαιὸν μελετῶν ἀεὶ καὶ ποιῶν). Indeed, Elias's commentary (*Basiliensis* f. 345v) identifies Gregory's opponent in *Or.* 13 (§ 3, *PG* 35, coll. 833 D – 835 A: ὦ παῖ Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρῶν, καὶ στρατηγὲ ἀσωφρόνιστε, «oh thou son of Dathan and Abiron [cf. Num. 16], thou general most lacking in self-control») with Anthi-

whether it be another with the same name or whether the same man ruled over two churches, something that may happen in the transfer [of bishops]). The note clearly alludes to Gregory's *Ep.* 182, § 4 (letter to Gregory of Nyssa, dated to 383): τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον Εὐλάλιον λέγω, τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον, οὗ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐν-αποψύξαμι (Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, *Correspondance*, texte établi et traduit par P. GALLAY, II, Paris 1967 [Collection des Universités de France], p. 72). In this letter, however, Eulalius is said to have been appointed bishop of Nazianzus, and not of Sasima.

¹⁵⁷ This translation by Billy is clearly influenced by Elias; in his first edition Billy had translated the title as «Greg. Nazianzeni in electionem Doarensium, Homilia Eulalio Episcopo edita» (J. BILLIUS, *Divi Gregorii Nazianzeni, cognomento Theologi opera omnia, quae quidem extant* [...], Parisiis 1569, p. 314). Another example showing how Elias's commentary influenced Billy's translation (and through him other scholars), not only as far as the titles are concerned but also in the text itself, is the following: in *Or.* 28, § 18.14 (SC 250), instead of εἶδος θεοῦ (as in all the manuscripts used for that edition), the Mauriners edited οἶκος θεοῦ (*PG* 36, col. 49 B 4) to correspond to Billy's translation in his third edition (J. BILLIUS, *S. Gregorii Nazianzeni cognomento Theologi opera omnia quae extant* (...), I-II, Parisiis 1583 [repr. Antverpiae 1612], p. 207) «domus Dei» (against «faciei Dei» in the first edition, 1569, p. 342), even though the Mauriners say in their n. 2 that εἶδος θεοῦ must be a better reading. Billy's change of translation was induced by the reading οἶκος θεοῦ in Elias's lemma and commentary (*Basiliensis* f. 36r and f. 36v).

¹⁵⁸ For example, S. MÉTIVIER, *La Cappadoce, IV^e-VI^e siècle: une histoire provinciale de l'empire romain d'Orient*, Paris 2005 (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 22), p. 70 claims that «Eulalius de Doara est consacré par Grégoire de Nazianze avant d'être chassé», and as sources (*ibid.*, n. 230) she quotes Gregory's *Or.* 13 and two letters of Basil of Caesarea (*Ep.* 231 and *Ep.* 239). But, as we have seen, nothing in *Or.* 13 allows this assertion and, while Basil's letters allude to some troubles in Doara (a place never mentioned in Gregory's works), they do not name Eulalius or Anthimus in relation to this.

mus, bishop of Tyana¹⁵⁹, who was in conflict with Basil, but this identification, which seems peculiar to Elias, is considered unconvincing by modern scholars, beginning with Jacques de Billy¹⁶⁰.

(f. Qr): –

There is little doubt that the captions in the miniatures were written to correspond to Elias's commentary (see especially the comments concerning f. Kr, Or and Pr above).

4. CONCLUSIONS

Probably towards the beginning of the 12th century, Elias, metropolitan of Crete, wrote a commentary on 29 of the so-called «unread orations» (homilies, letters and other pieces not connected to a liturgical feast) of Gregory of Nazianzus. The contents of Gregory's texts are generally quite allusive and their strong autobiographical flavour has incited both mediaeval and modern scholars to try and decipher the allusions and to make Gregory's works correspond with real or supposed events in his life¹⁶¹. Elias's commentary is very important in this respect, because the «unread» orations, as he himself states in his preface, had been neglected in comparison with the «liturgical» ones.

Despite its significance, Elias's commentary was apparently not often copied in the Byzantine Empire, as there is only one complete copy of the text preserved, in the *Vaticanus gr.* 1219 (end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century). The *Vaticanus* was partially copied several times while it was kept in Rome (at least since the middle of the 16th century), but we do not have any traces of earlier copies of this manuscript. At the end

¹⁵⁹ HAUSER-MEURY, *Prosopographie* cit. (n. 154), pp. 32–33.

¹⁶⁰ See the «monitum in orationem XIII», PG 35, coll. 831–832, and coll. 834–835 n. 99.

¹⁶¹ N. MCLYNN, *A Self-Made Holy Man: The Case of Gregory Nazianzen*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6 (1998), pp. 463–483 is right in calling Gregory a «self-made holy man». As to Gregory's decision to present himself as a much more important political and theological figure than he perhaps was in reality (especially in comparison with Basil of Caesarea; see *id.*, *Gregory Nazianzen's Basil. The literary construction of a Christian friendship*, in *Studia Patristica, XXXVII: Papers Presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1999. Cappadocian Writers, Other Greek Writers*, ed. by M.F. WILES – E.J. YARNOLD, Leuven 2001, pp. 178–193), and to do so always in a very subtle and allusive way, was deliberate or not, it worked very well, from at least Gregory the Priest's *Vita* at the end of the 6th century and up until the most recent works devoted to Gregory in the 21st century.

of the 13th century, however, Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos used Elias's commentary for his teaching activities in Constantinople and it is almost certain that his model was *Vat. gr.* 1219 or a text very similar to it. Next to the *Vaticanus*, there are only two other Byzantine manuscripts containing a substantial part of the commentary: Athina, Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, 6 (14th century) and Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, AN i 8 (end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century), both without any known preserved descent.

The manuscript Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, AN i 8, copied on paper around 1200 by an unidentified scribe (Hand A), contains the second part (compared to the *Vaticanus*) of the commentary of Elias, on 19 of the «unread orations» of Gregory (in the same order as in the *Vaticanus*). The first homily commented upon in the *Basiliensis* is *Or.* 27 (on theology) and it is preceded by a general title and the mention λόγος πρῶτος (f. 1r) (no other text in the manuscript is numbered).

Some time after its completion, 19 miniatures on parchment were inserted as frontispieces to Gregory's homilies, of which 14 are preserved today (ff. B, D-Q). Another hand (Hand B) wrote the prologue to the commentary (also preserved in the *Vaticanus* and in the manuscript Athina, Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, 6) on the recto of the first frontispiece (to *Or.* 27) (f. Br); the affinities between Hand A and Hand B suggest that the prologue, and consequently the miniatures, were added not longer after the main body of the codex was copied.

No more than the prologue, the frontispieces to Gregory's orations were not originally planned as part of the *Basiliensis*. And indeed their presence is surprising, as one would not expect a manuscript containing a commentary, meant for personal study and not for display or public reading, to receive miniatures, and both the heterogeneity in the size of these miniatures as well as the ruling patterns of the pages they are painted on are striking. They are astonishing on another score as well, in that although they contain many scenes which can also be found in other illustrated manuscripts of Gregory, especially scenes of preaching and certain biographical scenes¹⁶², for some of the orations, which were less often illustrated, the painters may have had to create new motifs or at least look for models outside of the Gregory tradition. The overall ico-

¹⁶² See GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations*; Ch. WALTER, *Biographical Scenes of the Three Hierarchs*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 36 (1978), pp. 233-260.

nographical programme seems exceptional in many respects. Another peculiar feature of these miniatures are the lengthy captions that accompany them and which were added by a professional scribe, or more probably by several. The explanations given by the captions are often clearly influenced by Elias's commentary. The illustrations, with their captions, must have been produced to respond to a special commission – the identity and motivations of the commissioner still remain mysterious to us.

Two author portraits on parchment leaves are also found at the beginning of the manuscript (ff. Av and Cr). On the basis of the codicological evidence it is difficult to say whether they were originally present, if they were made and added at the same time as the frontispieces, or if they were made and added at another time. The presence of a quite peculiar letter (a sigma majuscule shaped like an inverted Latin S) in the captions of the two portraits and in the captions of other miniatures (ff. Gv and f. Pr) may suggest that the captions of those four miniatures at least were produced by the same hand. In the second portrait, we see Gregory and Elias writing the first oration and commentary found in the *Basiliensis* (Or. 27). The most likely conclusion then is that the two frontispieces were painted specifically for the *Basiliensis*.

The presence of these two author portraits says something about the appreciation of Elias's work in Byzantium. There are many portraits of Gregory of Nazianzus, either standing or seated, in collections of the 16 orations, but the *Basiliensis* appears unique in its having portraits of both types at the same time¹⁶³. The motif depicting divine inspiration, found in both portraits, is not uncommon in Gregory's portraits¹⁶⁴, but here the course of inspiration extends further, from Christ or the Holy Spirit to Gregory and from Gregory to his commentator. This is quite exceptional, as is the very fact that a commentator is represented in two full-page miniatures.

¹⁶³ GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations*, p. 25: «The study of these portraits has made clear the distinction of types according to posture, i.e. seated and standing, as well as according to clerical rank, i.e. Gregory as bishop and as monk. The depiction of Gregory as a monk can be considered an unhistorical rendering [...]. The artist's decision to represent him as a monk can only be ascribed to the direct influence of monasticism, which became very marked in the thought of Byzantium in the eleventh century and later».

¹⁶⁴ GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations*, pp. 22–23. The motif of the dove is not very common in Byzantine art, as WALTER, *Un commentaire*, p. 118 has stated, and no other example was to be found in the images published by Galavaris.

The tension between the content of the *Basiliensis*, corresponding to the second part of Elias's commentary and starting with a «first discourse» which is *Or.* 27, and the prologue referring to all the unread homilies raises questions about the circumstances under which this codex was first produced and then supplemented with the prologue (and the miniatures). The prologue and the commentaries on the first 10 orations were not originally copied in that manuscript, probably because they were not available at the time. This might suggest that only an incomplete copy of the commentary (the second volume of a two-volume production?) was accessible to Hand A. One cannot totally exclude, however, that it was by choice rather than by chance that only 19 homilies were copied in the *Basiliensis*.

Following an instruction of the general council of the Roman Catholic Church in Basel to gather manuscripts of the Greek fathers¹⁶⁵, John Stojković of Ragusa bought the *Basiliensis* in Constantinople around 1435–1437 and provided it with a new binding. He brought it then to Basel in 1437, together with other Greek manuscripts. From the middle of the 16th century on, Elias's commentary became very influential on Western scholarship on Gregory Nazianzen, thanks to partial translations into Latin by Johann Löwenklau (1571, based on the *Basiliensis*) and by Jacques de Billy (third edition, 1583, based on the *Vaticanus*). To some extent, this interest in Elias had been prompted by the rivalry between Catholics and Protestants, which was very strong at that time.

The *Basiliensis* has not yet revealed all its secrets, but we hope to have lifted the veil a little which hangs over this intriguing manuscript. We also hope to have demonstrated the historical importance of Elias's commentary to the study of Gregory of Nazianzus – even if it were taken as merely ancillary to the study of Nazianzen and not for its own intrinsic merits, the commentary of Elias Cretensis would be richly deserving of an edition.

¹⁶⁵ This note was found in John of Ragusa's *Nachlaß*: J. HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, I: *Studien und Dokumente zur Geschichte der Jahre 1431–1437*, Basel 1896, p. 372.

APPENDIX I:
TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE *BASILIIENSIS* (RECONSTRUCTED)

This Appendix presents a simplified table of contents of the codex, as it must have been in the 13th century.

The third column contains the miniatures' numbering as it appears today on the upper lefthand corner of the outer black frame (it should be noted that this position does not change whether a miniature appears on the recto or verso side of a folio). Where the Greek number in a still-extant miniature is illegible or when the miniature itself is missing, the number has been put between angled brackets.

In the fourth column, the presence of notes attesting that the text is interrupted by a miniature (see above, p. 182 and n. 28) is indicated between brackets next to the folio number of the miniature.

	CONTENTS	PICT. N°.	CURRENT OR POSSIBLE LOCATION
	Author portraits I & II		f. Av & Cr (bifolio) f. Ar, originally empty, now palimpsest, contains GREG. NAZ., <i>Or.</i> I, § 1-6 (upper script), the under script is illegible
	ELIAS CRET., <i>Praefatio</i>		f. Br
1	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 27	<α'>	f. Bv
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 27		ff. 1r-12v
2	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 28	<β'>	f. Dv (= f. 12'v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 28		ff. 13r-62v sup.
3	<Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 20>	<γ'>	<f. 62'r > (note on f. 62v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 20		ff. 62v inf.-78r sup.
4	<Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 29>	<δ'>	<f. 77'v> (note on f. 77v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 29		ff. 78r inf.-80v, 90r-96v, 81r-89v, 97r-119v sup.
5	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 30	ε'	f. Er (= f. 119'r) (note on f. 119v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 30		ff. 119v inf.-148r sup.
6	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 31	ζ'	f. Fv (= f. 147'v) (note on f. 147v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 31		ff. 148r inf.-186r sup.
7	<Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 32>	<ξ'>	<f. 185'v> (note on f. 185v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 32		ff. 186r inf.-223r sup.
8	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 6	η'	f. Gv (= f. 222'v) (note on f. 222v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 6		ff. 223r inf.-250v sup.
9	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 23	θ'	f. Hr (= f. 250'r) (note on f. 250v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 23		ff. 250v inf.-267v sup.
10	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 22	ι'	f. Jr (= f. 267'r) (note on f. 267v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 22		ff. 267v inf.-285r sup.

11	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 33	<ια'>	f. Kr (= f. 285'r) (note on f. 285v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 33		ff. 285r-304r sup.
12	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 26	ιβ'	f. Lv (= f. 303'v) (note on f. 303v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 26		ff. 304r inf.-322v, 326rv, 324r-325v, 323r sup.
13	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 36	ιγ'	f. Mv (= f. 325'v) (note on f. 325v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 36		ff. 323r inf.-v, 327r-329v, 335r-v sup. (GREG. NAZ., <i>Or.</i> 36, § 1.1-3.12 and § 11.2-12.29)
14	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 3	ιδ'	f. Nv (= f. 331'v) (note on f. 335v)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 3		ff. 335v inf., 331r-334v, 330rv, 336r-v sup.
15	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 9	ιε'	f. Or (= f. 336'r)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 9		ff. 336v inf.-342v sup.
16	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 13	ιζ'	f. Pr (= f. 342'r)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 13		ff. 342v inf.-347v sup.
17	Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 12	ιζ'	f. Qr (= f. 347'r)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 12		ff. 347v inf.-353r sup.
18	<Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 17>	<ιη'>	<f. 352'v> (a thin piece of parchment preserved in the binding at this place is probably a remnant of it)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 17		ff. 353r inf.-365v
19	<Frontispiece to <i>Or.</i> 10>	<ιθ'>	<f. 365'v> (a thin piece of the parchment preserved in the binding and visible between ff. 361 and 362, including part of the borders, is most certainly a remnant)
	ELIAS CRET., <i>In Or.</i> 10		ff. 366r-369v

APPENDIX II:
CONTENTS OF THE VAT. GR. 1219

	<i>Praefatio</i>	f. 2r	15	<i>In Or. 30</i>	f. 416v
I	<i>In Or. 2</i>	f. 2r	16	<i>In Or. 31</i>	f. 439r
2	<i>In Or. 4</i>	f. 104r	17	<i>In Or. 32</i>	f. 471r
3	<i>In Or. 5</i>	f. 168v	18	<i>In Or. 6</i>	f. 502v
4	<i>In Or. 7</i>	f. 191v	19	<i>In Or. 23</i>	f. 526v
5	<i>In Or. 8</i>	f. 209v	20	<i>In Or. 22</i>	f. 539v
6	<i>In Or. 18</i>	f. 223v	21	<i>In Or. 33</i>	f. 554v
7	<i>In Ep. 101</i>	f. 255r	22	<i>In Or. 26</i>	f. 571v
8	<i>In Ep. 102</i>	f. 268v	23	<i>In Or. 36</i>	f. 589r
9	<i>In Or. 25</i>	f. 274v	24	<i>In Or. 3</i>	f. 597v
10	<i>In Or. 34</i>	f. 296r	25	<i>In Or. 9</i>	f. 602r
11	<i>In Or. 27</i>	f. 308v	26	<i>In Or. 13</i>	f. 606v
12	<i>In Or. 28</i>	f. 319v	27	<i>In Or. 12</i>	f. 609v
13	<i>In Or. 20</i>	f. 366v	28	<i>In Or. 17</i>	f. 613v
14	<i>In Or. 29</i>	f. 381r	29	<i>In Or. 10</i>	f. 623r

APPENDIX III:
GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS'S HOMILIES:

TYPES OF MANUSCRIPTS, TRADITIONAL LATIN TITLES AND EDITIONS

The following texts, homilies (*Or.*), letters (*Ep.*), poems (*Doxo.* and *Vg.* = *Carm.*), as well as two spurious exegetical works (*Ecdl.* and *Ez.*) are found in the complete collections of Gregory's homilies.

	TRADITIONAL LATIN TITLE (PG)	EDITION
<i>Or. 1</i>	<i>In sanctum pascha et in tarditatem</i>	SC 247
<i>Or. 2</i>	<i>Apologetica vel de fuga</i>	SC 247
<i>Or. 3</i>	<i>Ad eos qui ipsum acciverant nec occurrerant</i>	SC 247
<i>Or. 4</i>	<i>Contra Iulianum I</i>	SC 309
<i>Or. 5</i>	<i>Contra Iulianum II</i>	SC 309
<i>Or. 6</i>	<i>De pace I</i>	SC 405
<i>Or. 7</i>	<i>In Caesarium</i>	SC 405
<i>Or. 8</i>	<i>In Gorgoniam</i>	SC 405
<i>Or. 9</i>	<i>Apologetica ad patrem</i>	SC 405
<i>Or. 10</i>	<i>In seipsum</i>	SC 405
<i>Or. 11</i>	<i>In Gregorium Nyssenum</i>	SC 405
<i>Or. 12</i>	<i>Ad patrem</i>	SC 405
<i>Or. 13</i>	<i>In consecratione Eulalii</i>	PG 35
<i>Or. 14</i>	<i>De pauperum amore</i>	PG 35
<i>Or. 15</i>	<i>In Macchabaeos</i>	PG 35

Or. 16	<i>In patrem tacentem</i>	PG 35
Or. 17	<i>Ad ciues Nazianzenos</i>	PG 35
Or. 18	<i>Funebris in patrem</i>	PG 35
Or. 19	<i>Ad Iulianum exaequatorem</i>	PG 35
Or. 20	<i>De dogmate</i>	SC 270
Or. 21	<i>In Athanasium</i>	SC 270
Or. 22	<i>De pace II</i>	SC 270
Or. 23	<i>De pace III</i>	SC 270
Or. 24	<i>In Cyprianum</i>	SC 284
Or. 25	<i>In Heronem</i>	SC 284
Or. 26	<i>Adversus Maximum vel in seipsum</i>	SC 284
Or. 27	<i>Theologica I: Adv. Eunomianos</i>	SC 250
Or. 28	<i>Theologica II: De theologia</i>	SC 250
Or. 29	<i>Theologica III: De filio I</i>	SC 250
Or. 30	<i>Theologica IV: De filio II</i>	SC 250
Or. 31	<i>Theologica V: De spiritu sancto</i>	SC 250
Or. 32	<i>De moderatione in disputando</i>	SC 318
Or. 33	<i>Adversus Arianos</i>	SC 318
Or. 34	<i>In Aegyptiorum adventum</i>	SC 318
Or. 35	<i>De martyribus</i> (inauthentic)	SC 318
Or. 36	<i>De seipso</i>	SC 318
Or. 37	<i>In Matth. 19, 1-12</i>	SC 318
Or. 38	<i>In theophania</i>	SC 358
Or. 39	<i>In sancta lumina</i>	SC 358
Or. 40	<i>In sanctum baptismum</i>	SC 358
Or. 41	<i>In pentecosten</i>	SC 358
Or. 42	<i>Supremum vale</i>	SC 384
Or. 43	<i>In Basilium</i>	SC 384
Or. 44	<i>In nouam dominicam</i>	PG 36
Or. 45	<i>In sanctum pascha II</i>	PG 36
Ep. 101	<i>Epistulae theologicae I</i>	SC 208
Ep. 102	<i>Epistulae theologicae II</i>	SC 208
Ep. 202	<i>Epistulae theologicae III</i>	SC 208
Ep. 243	<i>Ad Evagrium monachum</i> (in fact Gregory of Nyssa [CPG 3222] or Gregory Thaumaturgus) ¹⁶⁶	PG 46, coll. 1101-1108

¹⁶⁶ For divergent conclusions regarding the authorship of this work, see M. SLUSSER, *The «To Philagrius on Consubstantiality» of Gregory Thaumaturgus*, in *Studia Patristica*, XIX: Papers Presented at the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies

<i>Doxo.</i>	<i>Doxologia</i> = <i>Carm.</i> I, 1, 32	PG 37
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten</i> (in fact Gregory Thaumaturgus: CPG 3061)	PG 10, coll. 665–669
<i>Ez.</i>	<i>Significatio in Ezechielem</i> (inauthentic: CPG 3060)	PG 36, coll. 665–669
<i>Vg.</i>	<i>Exhortatio ad virgines</i> = <i>Carm.</i> I, 2, 3–4	PG 37

Gregory's homilies were transmitted together in specific collections, which are either «complete» (containing about 50 pieces for the most complete exemplars, normally in two volumes)¹⁶⁷ or contain a selection of the homilies.

Among the 104 known complete collections of Gregory's orations preserved in whole (normally in two volumes) or in part between the 9th and the 16th century, 31 count 52 pieces in a specific order (N1–N31)¹⁶⁸: the 44 orations (*Or.* 1–*Or.* 45, excluding *Or.* 35, which has been erroneously incorporated into the collection in the Mauriners' edition)¹⁶⁹ and eight other pieces mentioned in the table above¹⁷⁰. Another type of complete collection contains 49 pieces in a fixed order, differing from that of «N», and is therefore called «M» (μθ'); it is attested in 25 manuscripts (M1–M25)¹⁷¹. Besides these two types, Véronique Somers has highlighted the fact that there also existed 48 other manuscripts (X1–X48) containing a varying number of orations in a variable order¹⁷².

The order in collection «N» is as follows (the straight line indicates a division into two volumes): *Or.* 1, *Or.* 2, *Or.* 3, *Or.* 7, *Or.* 8, *Or.* 6, *Or.* 23, *Or.* 9, *Or.* 10, *Or.* 11, *Or.* 12, *Or.* 16, *Or.* 18, *Or.* 19, *Or.* 17, *Or.* 43, *Or.* 14, *Or.* 21, *Or.* 24, *Or.* 15, *Or.* 25, *Or.* 34, *Or.* 20, *Or.* 27, *Or.* 28 | *Or.* 29, *Or.* 30, *Or.* 31, *Or.* 38, *Or.* 39, *Or.* 40, *Or.* 45, *Or.* 44, *Or.* 41, *Or.* 33, *Or.* 22, *Or.* 32, *Or.* 26, *Or.* 36, *Or.* 42, *Ep.* 101, *Ep.* 102, *Ep.* 202, *Or.* 4, *Or.* 5, *Or.* 37, *Or.* 13, *Vg.*, *Doxo.*, *Ep.* 243, *Ez.*, *Ecl.*

Held in Oxford 1987. Historica, Theologica, Gnostica, Biblica et Apocrypha, ed. by E.A. LIVINGSTONE, Leuven 1989, pp. 230–235; M. VAN ESBROECK, *Sur quatre traités attribués à Grégoire et leur contexte marcellien* (CPG 3222, 1781 et 1787), in *Studien zu Gregor von Nyssa und der christlichen Spätantike*, ed. by H.R. DROBNER – C. KLOCK, Leiden 1990 (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 12), pp. 4–15.

¹⁶⁷ In SOMERS, *Histoire*, these manuscripts received a siglum beginning with M, N or X. See also the abridged on-line version of the *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, with the sigla of all manuscripts: <http://pot-pourri.fltr.ucl.ac.be/manuscris/nazianze/default.cfm> (last consulted on December 8, 2015).

¹⁶⁸ See SOMERS, *Histoire*, and EAD., *Description des collections complètes des Orations de Grégoire de Nazianze: quelques compléments*, in *Byzantion* 71 (2001), pp. 462–504, for a complete list and a classification of the complete collections on the basis of the order of the homilies, as well as certain other para-textual elements.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. SC 318, pp. 38–39.

¹⁷⁰ SOMERS, *Histoire*, pp. 5–6.

¹⁷¹ As a witness to this specific collection SINKO, *De traditione* cit. (n. 98), p. 84 mentions an epigram by John of Memphis (otherwise unknown) in the manuscript Oxford, Magdalen College, gr. 5 (second half of the 10th century), f. 364v: εἰς βίβλον τῶν μζ λόγων τοῦ θεολόγου (cf. SOMERS, *Histoire*, pp. 5–6 and NIMMO-SMITH, *Sidelights on the Sermons* cit. [n. 105] p. 135), but the title of this epigram mentions 47 discourses (and not 49) and the Oxford manuscript that contains it is a liturgical collection (L17) supplemented with 14 «unread» homilies.

¹⁷² SOMERS, *Histoire*, and EAD., *Description* cit. (n. 168).

The order in collection «M» is: *Or.* 2, *Or.* 12, *Or.* 9, *Or.* 10, *Or.* 11, *Or.* 3, *Or.* 19, *Or.* 17, *Or.* 16, *Or.* 7, *Or.* 8, *Or.* 18, *Or.* 6, *Or.* 23, *Or.* 22, *Or.* 38, *Or.* 39, *Or.* 40, *Or.* 1, *Or.* 45, *Or.* 44, *Or.* 41, *Or.* 32, *Or.* 33, *Or.* 27 | *Or.* 29, *Or.* 30, *Or.* 31, *Or.* 20, *Or.* 28, *Or.* 34, *Or.* 14, *Ep.* 101, *Ep.* 102, *Or.* 36, *Or.* 26, *Or.* 25, *Or.* 24, *Or.* 21, *Or.* 15, *Or.* 42, *Or.* 43, *Or.* 4, *Or.* 5, *Or.* 37, *Ep.* 202, *Or.* 13, *Vg.*, *Doxo.*

The order in the manuscripts designated with «X» differs in each manuscript.

The most frequent collection of selected homilies is the so-called «liturgical» one, or the collection of sermons «read at a fixed date», which contains 16 homilies connected to specific feasts (Easter, Christmas, the commemoration of a Saint, etc.) in an order that is more or less fixed but may vary slightly¹⁷³. The same homilies connected to a liturgical feast are also found separately in homeliaries¹⁷⁴. The number of manuscripts containing a liturgical collection can be estimated, on the basis of information in the *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, to about 440 witnesses from the 10th to the 16th century (the great majority are dated to the 11th and 12th centuries)¹⁷⁵. The «unread (at a fixed date)» homilies were transmitted as another type of collection¹⁷⁶. The *Repertorium Nazianzenum* identifies about 60 manuscripts from the 10th to the 16th century containing such a collection (they have received a siglum beginning with «V»). Another 11 manuscripts contain both «read» and «unread» collections, one after the other¹⁷⁷.

The main order in the liturgical collection is: *Or.* 1, *Or.* 45, *Or.* 44, *Or.* 41, *Or.* 15, *Or.* 24, *Or.* 19, *Or.* 38, *Or.* 43, *Or.* 39, *Or.* 40, *Or.* 11, *Or.* 21, *Or.* 42, *Or.* 14, *Or.* 16. The «unread (at a fixed date)» homilies are transmitted in an order which varies from manuscript to manuscript.

¹⁷³ On the order in the collections of the 16 «read» homilies, see V. SOMERS, *Les collections byzantines de XVI discours de Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 95 (2002), pp. 102–135.

¹⁷⁴ These collections of sermons by various Church Fathers, often arranged following the liturgical calendar, are the subject of the monumental study by A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, I. Teil: *Die Überlieferung*, 4 vols., Leipzig 1937–1952 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 50–52/2), who listed and described hundreds of manuscripts.

¹⁷⁵ They often contain more than the 16 homilies; they have received a siglum beginning with «L» in the online version of the *Repertorium Nazianzenum*.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. MOSSAY, *La collection des Discours* cit. (n. 53). See also C. MACÉ, *Le manuscrit Mosquensis, Synod. 58 (Vladimir 143) de Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *Scriptorium* 58 (2004), pp. 64–66.

¹⁷⁷ Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 1249 (10th century) (L10); Paris, BNF, gr. 545 (11th century) (L90); Città del Vaticano, BAV, Palat. gr. 402 (11th century) (L105); Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.vii.1 (12th century) (L172); Paris, BNF, gr. 562 (12th–13th century) (L28); Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, Z gr. 72 (13th century) (L300); Athos, Pantokratoros 234 (Lambros 1268) (13th century) (L261); Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 456 (13th century) (L295); Athina, Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος, 2542 (13th–14th century) (L305); Thessaloniki, Vlatadon, 93 (13th–14th century) (L318); Sofia, Dujčev, gr. 219 (14th century) (L379).

APPENDIX IV:

ORDER OF THE HOMILIES IN MANUSCRIPTS RELATED TO ELIAS'S COMMENTARY

V36 (Elias, *Vaticanus*, 29 pieces): 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, Or. 10.

V29 (Elias, *Basiliensis*, 19 pieces): 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, Or. 10.

V42 (Elias, *Atheniensis*, 10 pieces): Or. 2, Or. 4, Or. 5, Or. 7, Or. 8, Or. 18, Ep. 101, Ep. 102, Or. 25, Or. 34.

V40 (Xanthopulus, 29 pieces): Or. 2, Or. 4, Or. 5, Or. 7, Or. 8, Or. 18, Or. 9, Or. 10, Or. 12, Or. 13, Or. 27, Or. 28, Or. 29, Or. 30, Or. 31, Ep. 101, Ep. 102, Or. 25, Or. 34, Ep. 243, Or. 20, Or. 32, Or. 6, Or. 23, Or. 22, Or. 33, Or. 36, Or. 26, Or. 17.

V41 (Xanthopulus, 27 pieces): Or. 2, Or. 4, Or. 5, Or. 7, Or. 8, Or. 18, Or. 9, Or. 10, Or. 12, Or. 13, Ep. 101, Ep. 102, Or. 25, Or. 34, Or. 6, Or. 23, Or. 22, Or. 33, Or. 36, Or. 26, Or. 17, Or. 32, Or. 27, Or. 28, Or. 29, Or. 30, Or. 31.

V45 (Xanthopulus, 19 pieces): Or. 27, Or. 28, Or. 29, Or. 30, Or. 31, Ep. 101, Ep. 102, Or. 25, Or. 34, Ep. 243, Or. 20, Or. 32, Or. 6, Or. 23, Or. 22, Or. 33, Or. 36, Or. 26, Or. 17.

V59 (Zigabenus?, 27 pieces): Or. 29, Or. 30, Or. 31, Or. 20, Or. 28, Or. 34, Or. 4, Or. 5, Or. 22, Or. 6, Or. 23, Or. 18, Or. 33, Or. 27, Ep. 202, Or. 37, Or. 13, Ep. 243, Ez., Eccl., Or. 17, Or. 12, Or. 9, Or. 10, Or. 8, Vg., Or. 32.

APPENDIX V:

COMPARISON OF THE TITLES OF GREGORY'S HOMILIES IN THE *BASILIIENSIS* (B),
IN THE *VATICANUS* (V), AND IN GREGORY'S DIRECT TRADITION

For some explanations about the two main families (α and γ) of manuscripts in Gregory's direct tradition, see Appendix VI.

	B	V	
Or. 27	f. 1r πρὸς εὐνομιανούς προδιάλεξις	f. 308v πρὸς εὐνομιανούς προδιάλεξις καὶ ὅτι οὐ παντός τὸ περὶ θεοῦ διαλεγέσθαι, ἢ πάντοτε	Cf. Appendix VI
Or. 28	f. 13r εἰς τὸν περὶ θεολογίας λόγον	f. 319v περὶ θεολογίας	—
Or. 20	f. 62v ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν περὶ δόγματος καὶ καταστάσεως ἐπισκόπων λόγον σχεδιασθέντα τῷ μεγάλῳ τούτῳ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει	f. 366v περὶ δόγματος καὶ κατὰ στάσεως ἐπισκόπων. σχεδιασθεῖς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει	SC 270: περὶ δόγματος = α γ = περὶ θεολογίας
Or. 29	f. 78r ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν περὶ υἱοῦ λόγον πρῶτον	f. 381r περὶ υἱοῦ λόγος πρῶτος	—
Or. 30	f. 119v τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν περὶ υἱοῦ δεύτερον λόγον	f. 416v περὶ υἱοῦ λόγος δεύτερος	—
Or. 31	f. 148r ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λόγον	f. 439r ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λόγον	—

Or. 32	f. 186r ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς ἐν διαλέξεσιν εὐταξίας λόγον	f. 471r ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς ἐν διαλέξεσιν εὐταξίας λόγον	SC 318: short version of the title γ: + καὶ ὅτι οὐ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐδὲ παντὸς καιροῦ τὸ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ θεότητος
Or. 6	f. 223r ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν πρῶτον εἰρηνικόν	f. 502v εἰρηνικός πρῶτος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐνώσει τῶν μοναζόντων	SOMERS, <i>Histoire</i> , pp. 138–142: The majority of the mss have the same title as in V γ: + μετὰ τὴν σιωπὴν ὑπὸ / ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς
Or. 23	f. 250v ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν δεύτερον εἰρηνικόν	f. 526v ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν δεύτερον εἰρηνικόν	SC 270: all mss add εἰς τὴν σύμβασιν ἣν μετὰ τὴν στάσιν ἐποιοσάμεθα οἱ ὁμόδοξοι
Or. 22	f. 267 εἰρηνικός τρίτος, λεχθεὶς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπὶ τῇ γενομένῃ τῷ λαῷ φιλονεικίᾳ, περὶ ἐπισκόπων τινῶν διενεχθέντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους	f. 539v εἰρηνικός τρίτος, λεχθεὶς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπὶ τῇ γενομένῃ τῷ λαῷ φιλονεικίᾳ, περὶ ἐπισκόπων τινῶν διενεχθέντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους	SOMERS, <i>Histoire</i> , pp. 152–156: this long version of the title is found in γ
Or. 33	f. 285r κατὰ ἀρειανῶν καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγος	f. 554v κατὰ ἀρειανῶν, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν	SC 318: the variant περὶ ἑαυτοῦ is not elsewhere attested
Or. 26	f. 304r εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἐπιστάς μετὰ τὰ κατὰ Μάξιμον	f. 571v εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἐπιστάνα μετὰ τὰ κατὰ Μάξιμον	SC 284: all mss except M16 (S) have this title (only N16 [Q] has ἐπιστάνα)
Or. 36	f. 323r εἰς ἑαυτὸν λόγος δεύτερος	f. 589r εἰς ἑαυτὸν λόγος δεύτερος	SC 318: εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς καθέδρας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
Or. 3	f. 335v πρὸς τοὺς καλέσαντας ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ μὴ ἀπαντήσαντας, μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι πρεσβύτερον	f. 597v πρὸς τοὺς καλέσαντας ἐν ἀρχῇ, καὶ μὴ ἀπαντήσαντας· μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι πρεσβύτερον	SC 247: πρὸς τοὺς καλέσαντας ἐν τῇ (τῇ om. γ) ἀρχῇ, καὶ μὴ ἀπαντήσαντας μετὰ τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐν τῷ Πάσχα (ἐν τῷ Πάσχα om. M6 [C])
Or. 9	f. 336v τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, ὅτε ἤμελλεν αὐτὸν χειροτονεῖν ἐπίσκοπον Σασίμων	f. 602r ἀπολογητικός, εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα, καὶ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, ἡνίκα ἐπίσκοπος ἐχειροτονεῖτο Σασίμων	SC 405: ἀπολογητικός (post Βασιλείου transp. X34 [T] et καὶ anteposuit), εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ (αὐτοῦ X34) πατέρα, Γρηγόριον συμπαρόντος αὐτῷ

			Βασιλείου ἡνίκα ἐπίσκοπος ἐχειροτονήθη Σασίμων N23 (A), N16 (Q), N27 (W), V (N6), X34 (T), M16 ^{a.c.} (S ^{a.c.}), M10 (P) ¹⁷⁸
Or. 13	f. 342v προσφώνησις ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ Εὐλαλίου ἐπισκόπου Δοάρων	f. 606v προσφώνησις ἐκδοθεῖσα, ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ Εὐλαλίου ἐπισκόπου Δοάρων	SOMERS, <i>Histoire</i> , pp. 142–144: εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν Δοαρῶν [sic, reproducing a mistake in PG], (+ ὁμλία ἐκδοθεῖσα Εὐλαλίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ mostly in mss α)
Or. 12	f. 347v εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἡνίκα ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ φροντίζειν τῆς ἐν Ναζιανζῷ ἐκκλησίας	f. 609v εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἡνίκα ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ φροντίζειν τῆς ἐν Ναζιανζῷ ἐκκλησίας	SC 405 ¹⁷⁹ : this title is found in γ mss α = εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ (εἰς) τὸν γέροντα
Or. 17	f. 353r πρὸς τοὺς πολιτευομένους ἀγωνιῶντας καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὀργιζόμενον, καὶ εἰς τὸν μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπολογητικόν, πρὸς τε τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν μέγαν Βασιλείον	f. 613v λόγος πρὸς τοὺς πολιτευομένους ἀγωνιῶντας καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὀργιζόμενον	—
Or. 10	f. 366r ἀπολογητικὸς εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασιλείον, ἡνίκα ἐπίσκοπος Σασίμων ἐχειροτονήθη	f. 623r ἀπολογητικὸς εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν μέγαν Βασιλείον, ἡνίκα ἐπίσκοπος Σασίμων ἐχειροτονήθη	SC 405 ¹⁸⁰ : α: ἀπολογητικὸς εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐπανοδὸν τῆς φυγῆς γ: εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ Βασιλείον μετὰ τὴν ἐπανοδὸν τῆς φυγῆς M14 (D) and M16 (S) add: ἡνίκα ἐμελλον χειροτονεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον Σασίμων

¹⁷⁸ N23 (A), N27 (W), X34 (T) and M10 (P) add: Ναζιανζοῦ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἦν ἥς καὶ αὐτὸς ἦρξε μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκκλησίας μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἔτι περιόντος τοῦ πατρὸς. From the apparatus of SC 405 it is impossible to know what title is found in γ, but M1, M2, M5 and M11 have the same long version as N23, N27 and M10.

¹⁷⁹ See also J. MOSSAY, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera. Versio Graeca I. Orationes X et XII*, Turnhout 2006 (Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca, 64; Corpus Nazianzenum, 22), pp. LXIV–LXVI.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. LXIII–LXIV: from a very confused presentation of the titles of Or. 10 in the manuscripts, it seems that the mention of the consecration as bishop of Sasima is found in several manuscripts (but precisely not in «manuscripts N [...] en bloc et de façon homogène», as the conclusion of Mossay's paragraph wrongly states).

APPENDIX VI:

COMPARISON OF THE TEXT OF *OR.* 27 IN THE *BASILIENSIS* (B),
IN THE *VATICANUS* (V), AND IN GREGORY'S DIRECT TRADITION

The following table gives all the differences between the lemmata and Gregory's text as quoted in the commentary (both in B and V)¹⁸¹, as well as some of the differences between the lemmata in both B and V and the two main families of Gregory's manuscripts (α and γ). The largest family of Gregory's manuscripts, which represents a more or less «vulgate» text, is attested among other witnesses by type «N» of the complete collections (family α). The other family (family γ) is attested mainly by type «M» and seems to be more deeply rooted in the Middle Eastern parts of the Byzantine Empire and in southern Italy¹⁸².

The references are given according to the edition *SC* 250, but the data concerning Gregory's manuscripts are the results of a complete collation by Macé of all known witnesses to *Or.* 27¹⁸³. «Lat» indicates the Latin translation by Rufinus of Aquileia (ca. 400)¹⁸⁴, and «Arm» the anonymous Armenian translation (ca. 500). The importance of those two translations for the history of Gregory's text is enormous¹⁸⁵ and their agreement on a given reading reliably testifies that such a reading must be considered «original».

§	SC	LEMMA B (V29)	LEMMA V (V36)	MSS GREG.	COMMENT. B
Tit.	πρὸς εὐνομιανούς προδιάλεξις	= SC	+ καὶ ὅτι οὐ παντὸς τὸ περὶ θεοῦ διαλεγέσθαι, ἢ πάντοτε	SC + B = 11 mss V = α γ = πρὸς εὐνομιανούς καὶ περὶ θεολογίας προδιάλεξις	?
I 1.3	καὶ παίδευσιν καὶ ἀκοὴν καὶ διάνοιαν	= SC	καὶ παίδευσιν καὶ διάνοιαν	SC + B = γ V = 17 mss α (+ LatArm) omits καὶ παίδευσιν καὶ ἀκοὴν καὶ διάνοιαν	B f. 1r παίδευσιν μέν... διάνοιαν δέ
2 1.5	τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις καὶ χαίροντες	= SC	= SC	SC + B + V = γ α (+ LatArm) omits it	?

¹⁸¹ In the last column, V is cited only if it differs from B.

¹⁸² See C. MACÉ, *Note sur la tradition manuscrite d'un passage disputé du Discours 38 de Grégoire de Nazianze*. BHG 1938), in *Analecta Bollandiana* 122 (2004), pp. 51–68. See Appendix III for an explanation of the types of Gregory's manuscripts.

¹⁸³ MACÉ, *La tradition* cit. (n. 127).

¹⁸⁴ A. ENGELBRECHT, *Tyrannii Rufini orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni novem interpretatio*, Wien-Leipzig 1910 (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 46).

¹⁸⁵ Cf. DUBUISSON – MACÉ, *L'apport des traductions* cit. (n. 141); C. MACÉ, *Gregory of Nazianzus' Homilies. An over-abundant manuscript tradition in Greek and in translations*, in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction*, ed. by A. BAUSI [ET AL.], Hamburg 2015, pp. 424–429.

3	1.15	κυβισταί	κυβευταί	κυβισταί + <i>mg</i> : <i>γρ(άφεται)·</i> <i>κυβευταί</i>	B + V <i>mg</i> = M7p.c., N19 <i>mg</i> , X6 <i>mg</i>	B f. 2v ἐπήγαγεν ὅτι καὶ <i>κυβευταί</i> λόγων· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἀσφαλεστέρα γραφὴ
4	2.13	λόγον	λόγων	λόγου	SC = α (τὸν λόγον in some mss) B = γ (+ LatArm) V = isolated variant	B f. 3r καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς ἄνθος ἀποσυλῶντων τῶ ταχέως (παχέως in V f. 310r) καὶ σωματικῶς περὶ τοῦ λόγου καὶ θεοῦ (τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου in V f. 310r) διαλέγεσθα
5	2.18	τούτων	τούτου	τούτου	B + V = 8 mss	?
6	2.25	ἀπὴλθετε	= SC	ἀπέλθητε	V = 6 (a.o. V40, V41, V45)	?
7	2.27	ἵνα καὶ	= SC	ἵνα	V = 5 mss (a.o. V40, V41, V45)	?
8	3.21	ἐφικνεῖται	ἐξικνεῖται	= SC	ἐφικνεῖται SC + V = α ἐξικνεῖται B = γ	?
9	3.21	καὶ δύναμις	καὶ δύναται	= SC	B = isolated variant	B f. 4v ἔξις καὶ δύναμις
10	4.5	λόγον	= SC	= SC	SC + B + V = α (+ Lat) γ (+ Arm) = νόμον	B f. 5r καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἐπαινούντων εἰμὶ τὸν τοῦ προφήτου λόγον
11	4.8	εἰ δεῖ καὶ	εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ	= SC	B = isolated variant	?
12	4.11–12	ὥστε οὐ τὸ μεμνήσθαι διηνεκῶς κωλύω, τὸ θεολογεῖν δέ· οὐδὲ τὴν θεολογίαν ὥσπερ ἀσεβές...	= SC (οὔτε instead of οὐδὲ)	τὸ μεμνήσθαι + τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπερ εὐσεβές	μεμνήσθαι SC + V = majoritary reading + A + θεοῦ V = 49 mss + L + 5 mss p.c. or <i>mg</i> ἀσεβές SC + B = α εὐσεβές V = γ + LatArm ὅπερ V = 13 mss + 4 mss p.c.	B f. 5r οὐ τὸ μεμνήσθαι οὐδὲν διηνεκῶς θεοῦ κωλύω, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ εὐσεβῶς θεολογεῖν
13	5.6	φιλοσοφῶμεν	= SC	= SC	SC + B + V = α γ = φιλοσοφῶμεν	?

14	5.10	φιλίας	φίλης	φίλης	$B + V = 19 \text{ mss}$ (a.o. V40, V41, V45)	B f. 6r φίλης
15	5.20	πλεῖον	= SC	πλέον	$SC + B = \alpha$ $V = \gamma$	?
16	5.32	φιλόνεικον	φιλότιμον	φιλότιμον	$B + V = \text{isolated}$ variant	B f. 7r φιλότιμον
17	6.3	ἔξεταστής	ἄκροατής	ἄκροατής	$SC = \gamma$ $B + V = \alpha +$ LatArm	B f. 7v ἄκροατής
18	6.8-9	ἑαυτῷ στήσας θεοῦς	στήσας ἑαυτῷ θεοῦς	= SC	$B = 4 \text{ mss}$	?
19	6.11	θεῶν καὶ παθῶν	παθῶν καὶ θεῶν	παθῶν καὶ θεῶν	$B + V = M16 +$ V40, V41, V45	?
20	6.13	ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις	ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων	= SC	$B = \text{isolated}$ variant	?
21	6.15-16	ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμος	om. ἡμῖν	= SC	$SC + V = \alpha$ $B = \text{isolated}$ variant $\gamma = \text{ὁ πρὸς}$ ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν πόλεμος	?
22	6.17	ταυτὸν	ταυτὸν	ταυτὸ	$V = 11 \text{ mss}$ (a.o. V40, V41, V45)	?
23	7.3	βυθοῦ	= SC	= SC	$SC + B + V = \alpha$ $\gamma = \text{βυθῶν}$	?
24	7.5	τοῦτο ποιήσωμεν	= SC	om.	$SC + B = \gamma$ $V = \alpha$	?
25	7.5	πρῶτον	= SC	πρότερον	$SC + B = \gamma$ $V = \alpha$	?
26	7.17	ἐξοιδούντα	ἐξοιδαίνοντα	= SC	$B = \text{isolated}$ variant	?
27	7.18	καταβάλλουσιν	καταβάλλομεν	= SC	$B = 5 \text{ mss}$	?
28	7.21	παρ' ἡμῶν... καθ' ἡμῶν	καθ' ἡμῶν... παρ' ἡμῶν	= SC	$B = 5 \text{ mss}$	?
29	7.24	ἄλλων	ἄλλοις	= SC	$B = 8 \text{ mss}$	B f. 9r ἄλλων
30	7.25	νεύωσι	νεύσωσι	= SC	$B = 30 \text{ mss}$	?
31	7.26	θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	= SC	$SC + V = \alpha$ $B = \gamma$	?
32	7.26	ἢ εὐσεβέστερον	ἢ ἀσεβέστερον	om.	$SC = \gamma$ $V = \alpha$ $B = 4 \text{ mss}$ (+ Arm)	?

33	7.27	ἀσεβείας	εὐσεβείας	= SC	B = 4 mss	B f. 9r εὐσεβείας V f. 315v ἀσεβείας
34	8.1	σέ	om.	= SC	B = isolated variant	
35	8.2	ἀπόκριναι	μοι ἀπόκριναι	= SC	SC + V = α B = γ	
36	8.4	θεῶ	πατρὶ	= SC	B = 33 mss	
37	8.10	ἐπειδὴ	ἐπεὶ δὲ	= SC	SC + V = α B = γ	
38	8.17	πάσας	= SC	πάσας	SC + B = γ V = α	
39	8.20	ἀκούσης	ἀκούης	= SC	B = 9 mss	
40	8.28	ὥς μὲν αὐτοὶ οἶσθε	= SC	om.	SC + B = γ V = α + LatArm	B f. 10r πρὸς μίαν ταύτην φέρεσθε καὶ ὠθεῖσθε· ὥς μὲν αὐτοὶ νομίζετε, τὴν διὰ λόγου καὶ θεωρίας· ὥς δ' ἐγὼ φημι ἀδολεσχίας καὶ τερατείας
41	9.8	ἀραχνεῖοις ὑφάσμασιν	ἀραχνίοις ὑφάσμασιν	ἀραχνίοις	ἀραχνεῖοις = corr. SC (mss: ἀραχνίοις) ὑφάσμασιν SC + B = γ V = α + LatArm	B f. 10v ἀραχνίοις... ὑφάσμασιν
42	9.11-15	τί τῶν ἀνδρῶν – ἐκκαρπούμενος	= SC	= SC	SC + B + V = γ + Arm α omits it	B f. 10v τί τῶν ἀνδρῶν...
43	9.13	καινόν	= SC	= SC	SC + B + V = 39 mss + Arm κενόν = 18 mss κοινόν = 12 mss	?
44	9.14	ἐδημιούργησας	ἐδημιούργεις	= SC	B = isolated variant	?
45	9.18	πολλάς	= SC	λαμπράς	V = 4 mss (a.o. V40, V41, V45)	B f. 11r πολλάς τε καὶ δαψυλεῖς V f. 317v λαμπράς τε καὶ δαψυλεῖς
46	10.1	Πυθαγόρου τὴν σιωπὴν	τὴν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου σιωπὴν	τὴν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου σιωπὴν	B + V = isolated variant τὴν Πυθαγόρου σιωπὴν = 7 mss (a.o. V40, V41, V45)	B f. 11r τὴν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου... σιωπὴν

47	10.2	περὶ τὸ	περὶ τοῦ	περὶ τοῦ	$B + V = \gamma$	?
48	10.12	ἢ θυσιῶν	περὶ θυσιῶν	= SC	$SC + V = \alpha$ $B = \gamma$	?
49	10.12	ἀγαθοποιῶν	ἀγαθῶν	ἀγαθῶν	$SC = \text{part of } \alpha$ $B + V = \gamma$, part of $\alpha + \text{LatArm}$	?
50	10.14	δυνάμεως	δυνάμεων	= SC	$SC + V = \alpha$ $B = \gamma$	B f. 12v δυνάμεων V f. 319r δυνάμεως
51	10.14	ἀπαξιοῖς	οὐκ ἀξιοῖς	οὐκ ἀξιοῖς	$B + V = \varsigma$ mss (a.o. V40, V41, V45)	?
52	10.17	παρέξομαι	παρέξω	= SC	$B = \text{io}$ mss	?
53	10.18	ψυχῆς	+ ἦ	= SC	$B = \text{isolated}$ variant	?
54	10.20	κρίσεως	περὶ κρίσεως	= SC	$B = \text{isolated}$ variant	?
55	10.21	οὐκ ἄχρηστον	οὐκ εὐχρηστον	= SC	$B = 2$ mss	?
56	10.22	ὀλίγα	ὀλίγον	= SC	$B = 2$ mss	?

APPENDIX VII:

TITLES AND INCIPITS IN THE MINIATURES OF THE *BASILIIENSIS*

Or.	TITLES IN TEXT (SEE APPENDIX V)	INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE IN MINIATURES	INCIPIT IN MINIATURES	INCIPIT IN TEXT
27	πρὸς εὐνομιανούς προδιάλεξις	ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος, πρὸς εὐνομιανούς προδιαλεγόμενος οὕτως	πρὸς τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ κοιμψοὺς ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἄρξωμαι, ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν ὑβρίστριαν [Jer. 27.31] καὶ παίδευσιν καὶ διάνοιαν	πρὸς τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ κοιμψοὺς ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἄρξωμαι, ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν ὑβρίστριαν καὶ παίδευσιν καὶ ἀκοὴν καὶ διάνοιαν Cf. Appendix VI and the discussion above (p. 210).
28	εἰς τὸν περὶ θεολογίας λόγον	ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος, περὶ θεολογίας οὕτω διαλεγόμενος	ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεκαθήραμεν τῷ λόγῳ τὸν θεολόγον	=
30	τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τὸν περὶ υἱοῦ δευτέρου λόγον	ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος τὸν περὶ υἱοῦ δευτέρου ἀποστοματίζων, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·	ἐπειδὴ σοὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν λογισμῶν στροφάς	ἐπειδὴ σοὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν λογισμῶν στροφάς

31	ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λόγον	περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος οὕτω διδάσκων·	ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ λόγος, τοιοῦτος	= SC 250: τοιοῦτος = α, τοσοῦτος = γ V: τοιούτος
6	ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τὸν πρῶτον εἰρηνικόν	ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος εἰρηνεύων μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς τοὺς ἀποσχίσαντας μοναχοὺς ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως·	λύει μου τὴν γλῶτταν ἢ προθυμία	= SC 405: μου = γ, μοι = α V: μοι
23	ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τὸν δεύτερον εἰρηνικόν	ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατὴρ Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζοῦ εἰρηνεύσας ἤδη μετὰ τῶν μοναχῶν ἔνθα δὴ ὁ θεολόγος ἀποστομάτισε τὸ,	θερμὸς ὁ ζῆλος, πρᾶον τὸ πνεῦμα	=
22	εἰρηνικὸς τρίτος, λεχθεὶς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπὶ τῇ γενομένῃ τῷ λαῷ φιλονεικίᾳ, περὶ ἐπισκόπων τινῶν διενεχθέντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους	ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος· εἰρηνεύων τοὺς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μαχομένους ἐπισκόπους· ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως·	εἰρήνη φίλη τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα	=
33	κατὰ ἄρειανῶν καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγος	ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος προσκαλούμενος πρὸς ἄμεινον λόγων τοὺς ὀνειδίζοντας αὐτῷ πενίαν ἄρειανούς καὶ λοιπούς·	ποῦ ποτέ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν πενίαν ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζοντες	=
26	εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐξ ἄγρου ἐπιστάς μετὰ τὰ κατὰ Μάξιμον	ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος, διδάσκων τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους, μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἄγρου ἐπιστάσιαν οὕτως·	ἐπόθουν ὑμᾶς ὧ τέκνα, καὶ ἀντεποθοῦμην τοῖς ἴσοις μέτροις	=
36	εἰς ἑαυτὸν λόγος δεύτερος	ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος, τὸν φθόνον στηλιτεύων θαυμασιώτατα ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως·	ἐγὼ θαυμάζω τί ποτέ ἐστιν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς πεπόνθατε λόγους	=
3	πρὸς τοὺς καλέσαντας ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ μὴ ἀπαντήσαντας, μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι πρεσβύτερον	ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος μεμφόμενος τοὺς Ναζιανζηνούς τῷ μὴ προσεληλυθέναι προθύμως τῇ τούτου διδασκαλίᾳ, καὶ λέγων·	πῶς βραδεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον ὧ φίλοι καὶ ἀδελφοί	=
9	τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, ὅτε ἡμελλεν αὐτὸν χειροτονεῖν ἐπίσκοπον Σασίμων	ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος χειροτονούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐπίσκοπος Σασίμων, ὁπνίκα ἀπεστομάτισε τὸ,	πάλιν ἐπ' ἐμὲ χρίσμα καὶ πνεῦμα	= (χρίσμα)

13	προσφώνησις ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ Εὐλαλίου ἐπισκόπου Δοάρων	τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεολόγου ἐκφωνηθεῖσαν ὁμιλίαν εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν Εὐλαλίου ἐπισκόπου Δοάρων, ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ	δέξασθε τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον ἀδελφοί	=
12	εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἡνίκα ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ φροντίζειν τῆς ἐν Ναζιανζῷ ἐκκλησίας	ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος ἀπαγόμενος καὶ λέγων	τὸ στόμα μου ἤνοιξα, καὶ εἴλκυσα πνεῦμα (Ps. 118, 131)	=

APPENDIX VIII:

BASIC LAYOUT MEASUREMENTS OF ALL THE PRESERVED PICTURES

The tables below give the basic dimensions for all the pages with pictures:

- as explained above (see p. 177 n. 18), the measurements are taken from the middle of the page, vertically and horizontally, even though many of the folia and main painting surfaces are not perfectly rectangular (this is particularly obvious in paintings D, F, G, N, Q), using a slip of paper; the horizontal dimension of paintings with two registers are measured in the upper register, slightly above the middle red frame;
- the dimensions of the vertical elements are given starting at the top; the sum of the values equals the height of the page;
- the dimensions of the horizontal elements are given starting at the fold; as a result, the direction changes according to the side of the folio (recto vs. verso); the sum of the values equals the width of the page. The black lines were arbitrarily set to 1 mm;
- painting «S» designates what remains of the frame from a cut parchment folio currently visible between ff. 161 and 162 (see Appendix IX for an explanation).

The patterns of the frames in the portraits and the frontispieces and the position of the main measurements in the tables below are as follow (please note that they are not drawn to scale):

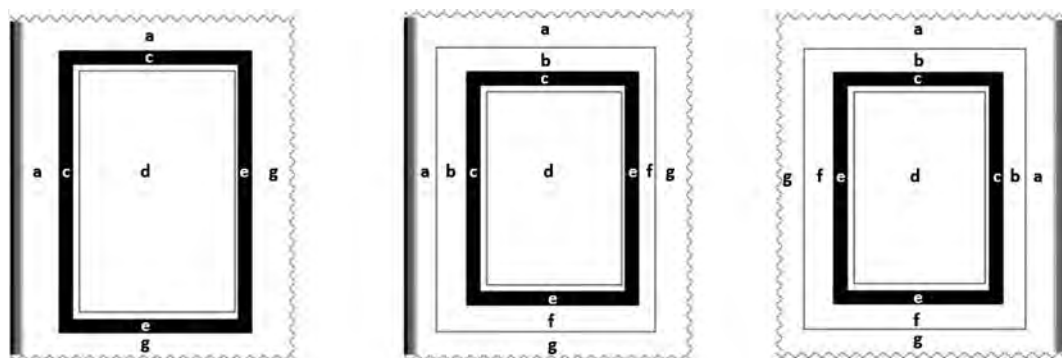


Table 5.

Single framed picture
(portraits), recto

Double framed picture (frontispieces) – single register
recto
verso

vert. (top down)										horiz. (from fold to ext.)									
	a	b	c	d	d'	d''	d'''	e	f	g	a	b	c	d	e	f	g		
Portraits																			
f. Av	39		9	269				11		50	24		11	180	11		29		
f. Cr	40		10	267				12		48	21		10	181	11		34		
Frontispieces - 1 register																			
f. Bv	18	1	23	11	257			10	33	1	17	10	1	14	10	184	10	29	
f. Dv	22	1	35	11	247			9	36	1	9	7	1	13	11	189	13	24	
f. Gv	18	1	22	9	276			8	22	1	18	11	1	8	8	203	8	23	
f. Jr	17	1	25	9	272			6	29	1	13	5	1	30	9	185	8	11	
f. Kr	23	1	25	6	269			5	30	1	14			31	6	194	6	9	
f. Mv	21	1	31	9	255			9	29	1	15			32	9	184	10	12	
f. Nv	15	1	20	8	274			9	26	1	15	16	1	14	7	188	9	26	
f. Or	15	1	23	9	257			8	38	1	18	10	1	11	6	188	6	28	
f. Qr	15	1	30	7	254			7	36	1	11			27	8	169	7	10	
Frontispieces - 2 registers																			
f. Er	17	1	25	9	268	129	11	128	7	28	1	16	9	1	31	10	180	8	12
f. Fv	16	1	28	8	276	136	11	129	6	28	1	14	15	1	11	7	189	8	30
f. Hr	28	1	24	8	259	129	5	125	9	20	1	22	9	1	23	8	180	9	7
f. Lv	20	1	15	5	272	120	8	142	8	28	1	16	8	1	26	6	185	8	1
f. Pv	19	1	34	8	240	111	10	119	9	28	1	14			27	9	188	9	20
Fragmentary painting S																			
f. Sv	19	1	21	<6>	<252>	<6>		6	30	1	26	6	1	9	4				

Table 7. All basic measurements (see explanation above).

	Place today	Total		Black frame		Red frame	
		vert.	horiz.	vert.	horiz.	vert.	horiz.
Portraits							
f. Av		378	255			269	180
f. Cr	post f. A	377	257			267	181
Frontispieces – 1 register							
f. Bv	post f. A	371	258	334	247	257	184
f. Dv	post f. 12	371	258	338	250	247	189
f. Gv	post f. 222	375	266	337	250	276	203
f. Jr	post f. 267	373	264	341	243	272	185
f. Kr	post f. 285	374	263	335	246	269	194
f. Mv	post. f. 325	371	261	333	247	255	184
f. Nv	post f. 331	369	261	337	244	274	188
f. Or	post f. 336	370	263	335	239	257	188
f. Qr	post f. 347	362	256	334	221	254	169
Frontispieces – 2 registers							
f. Er	post f. 119	372	266	337	241	268	180
f. Fv	post f. 147	378	266	346	245	276	189
f. Hr	post f. 250	372	268	320	227	259	180
f. Lv	post. f. 303	376	263	328	233	272	185
f. Pv	post f. 342	354	258	319	253	240	188
Fragmentary painting S							
f. Sv	post. f. 361	362		315		<252>	

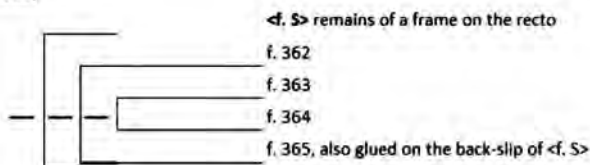
Table 8. Measurement of the main layout areas on the paintings.

APPENDIX IX:
EXPLANATIONS ABOUT PICTURE <S>

Picture «S» designates what remains of the frame on a cut parchment folio (f. <S>), currently visible between ff. 361 and 362. Its counterpart is visible between ff. 365 and 366. It is thought to be the remains of the last picture, illustrating *Or.* 10, which begins on f. 366r. The current position of the frame can easily be explained if the picture was excised prior to the last Byzantine restoration, and the remaining slip of parchment was flipped upside down by mistake during the restoration, as the table below illustrates.

The remains do not allow us to determine whether the picture had a single or a double register.

Quire $\mu\zeta'$ (47), today



Quire $\mu\zeta'$ (47), reconstructed

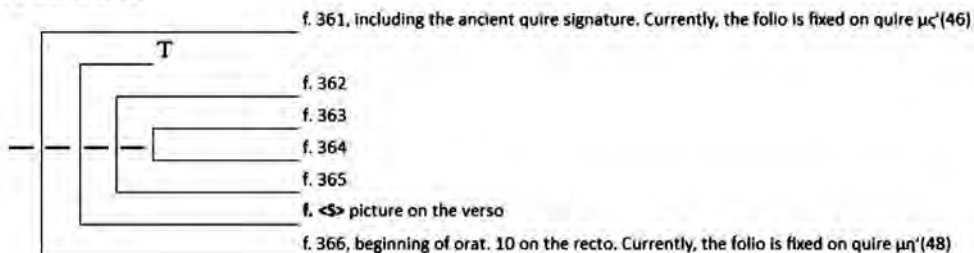


Table 9. Current and reconstructed structures of quire $\mu\zeta'$ (47).

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