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Author(s): Leslie Brubaker

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POLITICS, PATRONAGE, AND ART IN NINTH-CENTURY BYZANTIUM:

THE *HOMILIES* OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS IN PARIS

(B.N. GR. 510)*

LESLIE BRUBAKER

The illustrated copy of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 510) produced for the Emperor Basil I is among the most famous of Byzantine manuscripts. Its remarkably pure text of Gregory's fourth-century sermons and the high quality of its slanting majuscule (uncial) hand amply justify the *Homilies'* renown among textual scholars and palaeographers, while art historians rank it as the first preserved deluxe illustrated manuscript produced after Iconoclasm (ended 843) and as one of the most profusely decorated Greek books ever made.¹ What is more, the manuscript is securely dated to the years 879–883 and was surely constructed in Constantinople,² facts that underscore the *Homilies'* impor-

tance in a period with few monuments that can be dated or localized precisely.

In view of its importance, it is surprising to discover the large number of unresolved questions still posed by the manuscript.³ Many of the miniatures remain enigmatic; the identity of the patron has never been established; and the reasons why Gregory's erudite fourth-century sermons should have been singled out as a luxurious gift to a virtually illiterate ninth-century emperor have never been explored.⁴ Sirarpie Der Nersessian was the first to recognize that certain enigmatic miniatures in Paris gr. 510 serve as visual commentaries on, rather than illustrations of, Gregory's sermons.⁵ However, Der

tharakis, "The Portraits and Date of the Codex Par. gr. 510," *CahArch*, 23 (1974), 97–105.

³On the pioneering study published in this journal by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, see *infra*, esp. notes 5 and 47.

⁴Basil's lack of formal education is implied in the *Vita Basilii*, 6, Bonn ed. (1838), 220; see also N. Tobias, "Basil I (867–886), The Founder of the Macedonian Dynasty: A Study of the Political and Military History of the Byzantine Empire in the Ninth Century," Ph.D. dissertation (Rutgers, 1969), 1–94, esp. 94. The frontispiece portraits of the imperial family (Omont, *Miniatures*, pls. xvi, xix) suggest, however, that the manuscript was made for the Emperor. As there is no evidence that Basil commissioned manuscripts or had any particular interest in Gregory of Nazianzus (see G. Moravcsik, "Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I.," *DOP*, 15 [1961], 59–126), it seems most likely that Paris gr. 510 was presented to the Emperor as a gift. On Basil's patronage (of architecture and architectural decoration), see the *Vita Basilii*, 78–94, Bonn ed., 321–41. Cf. R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Classical Background of the Scriptorum Post Theophanem," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 29; C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), 192–202.

⁵S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr. 510. A Study of the Connections between Text and Images," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 197–228. For an example of earlier attempts to grasp the meaning of the *Homilies* pictures, see N. P. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures*, II (Paris, 1891), 56–75.

*Portions of this article were delivered as papers at the seventh and eighth annual meetings of the Byzantine Studies Conference, after which the comments of Professor Ihor Ševčenko were particularly helpful. In turn, the papers and the article elaborate on my dissertation—"The Illustrated Copy of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 510)" (1982)—written at the Johns Hopkins University and at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, both of which institutions I should like to thank for support. My dissertation advisor, Professor Herbert L. Kessler, deserves heartfelt thanks, here given, for his interest, encouragement, and advice. My thanks also to Professor Alexander Kazhdan; and to Susan Arensberg, Kathleen Corrigan, and William Turpin, who commented on an early draft of this paper.

¹The standard editions of Gregory's homilies incorporate the readings of Paris gr. 510: PG, 35, 36; SC, 247, 250, 270, 284. For palaeography, see G. Cavallo, "Funzione e struttura della maiuscola greca tra i secoli VIII–XI," *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, no. 599 (Paris, 1977), 95–137. The miniatures were published by H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, du VI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), pls. xv–lx bis; for the nearly seventeen hundred painted initials, see the author's dissertation, 25–119.

²I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Portraits of Basil I in Paris gr. 510," *JÖB*, 27 (1978), 19–24, is to be preferred over I. Spa-

Nersessian drew primarily on Early Christian patristic texts to interpret the *Homilies* pictures, and often neglected the post-iconoclastic culture that actually generated the production of Paris. gr. 510.⁶ An examination of the *Homilies* that takes its ninth-century context into account sheds new light on the meaning of the Paris miniatures, reveals the identity of the manuscript's patron, and helps explain why an elaborate edition of Gregory's sermons was produced for Basil I.

Greek patrons commissioned at least seventeen illustrated copies of Gregory's homilies between the ninth and fourteenth centuries. Most of the preserved manuscripts present an abridged selection of Gregory's sermons known as the "liturgical edition"; the pictures in this group of texts are not related to those in Paris. gr. 510.⁷ Only the two oldest illustrated copies of the homilies—Paris. gr. 510 and Milan, Ambrosiana cod. E.49/50 inf., also of the ninth century—incorporate a fuller selection of Gregory's texts.⁸ The format and intent of the illustrations in the Milan and Paris manuscripts are, however, quite different. In the Ambrosiana *Homilies*, pictures are relegated to the margins of the page and correspond closely to Gregory's sermons. Nonetheless, it can be shown that the artists of Paris. gr. 510 knew a cycle of images related to that represented by the Milan manuscript. Despite the fact that the Paris illustrator has added numerous details borrowed from ecclesiastical histories, for example, it is clear that the miniature of Julian and the sorcerer in both the Paris Gregory (fig. 1) and the Milan copy (fig. 2) derive from the same model.⁹ Though the Milan artist has inexplicably reversed the figures of the Emperor and the sorcerer so that Julian seems to be dragging the reluctant magician into the cavern, the two miniatures share some telling details. In both, the demon is winged, sits in the same position, and extends his arm toward the visitors. Behind the demon, the dismembered heads of corpses float in the recesses of the cave. In addition, both images show the leading figure grasping his follower by the wrist and the position of the latter figure is similar. The images are clearly related, and could not have been conceived indepen-

dently. The similarities include compositional details—such as the configuration of the demon—supplied by no known text, and one element—the corpses—dependent on earlier ecclesiastical histories.¹⁰ Both miniatures must descend from a common pictorial model, most likely an earlier illustrated homilies manuscript that resembled the Milan one in its direct and literal approach.¹¹

The pictures in Paris. gr. 510 must be regarded as conscious alterations of a conventional model. As will be demonstrated, the new scenes were systematically substituted for the traditional sequence in order to comment visually on Gregory's text in ways specifically relevant to the ninth-century court and patriarchate in Constantinople. Although the extent to which the *Homilies* pictures reflect specific ninth-century preoccupations has not been recognized, scholars concentrating on particular miniatures or themes have observed topical references in several images. Grabar and Lafontaine-Dosogne argued that the unusual number of theophanies in Paris. gr. 510 reflects a Byzantine interest in visible forms of divinity in the wake of the iconoclastic controversy;¹² Grabar and Der Nersessian noted that the emphasis on scenes of conversion to Christianity evident in the miniatures of the Pentecost and Mission of the Apostles corresponds with an increase in Byzantine missionary activity during the second half of the ninth century;¹³ and Der Nersessian and Riddle suggested that certain scenes in Paris. gr. 510 were included as compliments to the imperial recipient of the manuscript, Basil I.¹⁴ Der

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 102–3. For the homily text, see PG, 35, cols. 557C–580A1; for the ecclesiastical histories, see Sozomen, V.19 (PG, 67, cols. 1272–1276), and Socrates, III.18 (PG, 67, col. 425). That these texts were current in Constantinople when Paris. gr. 510 was made is demonstrated by Photius' citation of both in his *Bibliotheca*: R. Henry, *Photius, Bibliothèque*, I (Paris, 1959), 16–18, 23–27.

¹¹ For a conflicting opinion, see Weitzmann, "Chronicles," 102–3.

¹² Paris. gr. 510, fols. 67^v, 75^r, 285^r, 438^v: Omont, *Miniatures*, pls. xxv, xxviii, xliii, lviii. A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), 247–56; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Théophanies-visions auxquelles participent les prophètes dans l'art byzantin après la restauration des images," *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge*, Bibliothèque des Cah. Arch., II (Paris, 1968), 135–43.

¹³ Paris. gr. 510, fols. 301^r, 426^v: Omont, *Miniatures*, pls. xlv, lvi. A. Grabar, "L'art religieux et l'empire byzantin à l'époque des Macédoniens," *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge*, I (Paris, 1968), 160–63; Der Nersessian, "Illustrations," 221, 226.

¹⁴ Paris. gr. 510, fols. 69^v, 174^v, 440^r: Omont, *Miniatures*, pls. xxvi, xxxviii, lix. Der Nersessian, "Illustrations," 222–25; M. Riddle, "Illustrations of the 'Triumph' of Joseph the Patriarch," *Byzantine Papers*, I, First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference (1981), 69–81.

⁶ Exceptions are noted below.

⁷ G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, VI (Princeton, 1969).

⁸ A. Grabar, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne (Ambrosianus 49–50)* (Paris, 1943).

⁹ On the details added by the Paris illustrator, see K. Weitzmann, "Illustrations for the Chronicles of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas," *Byzantion*, 16 (1942/43), 101–3.

Nersessian also observed that the picture of Basil and Gregory ministering to the sick in Basil's hospital at Caesarea depends on a ninth-century legend that the accompanying sermon was delivered at this site.¹⁵

Theophanies, themes of conversion, imperial panegyric, and hagiographical variants are, however, only the beginning. Almost every miniature in the Paris Gregory reveals its cultural context in very specific ways; reference to historical, ecclesiastical, and social concerns of the last third of the ninth century allows a precise interpretation of numerous miniatures formerly considered enigmatic.

The miniature that faces the opening of Gregory's second oration "On the Son" (fig. 3) provides a case in point.¹⁶ The homily elucidates the complex relationship between God, God incarnate, God the Father, and the Logos. Gregory's text is itself so convoluted that Photius included an extensive explanation of it, complete with a clarifying diagram, in his *Amphilochia* (ca. 870).¹⁷ To summarize Gregory and Photius, the principal themes are that Christ acts as an intermediary between man and God and that the incarnate Son came to redeem the sins of mankind and to reconcile man with God through the sacrifice of his crucifixion. Gregory mentions few narrative details to support his arguments, and never refers to the episodes shown in the Paris miniature: Christ Raising Lazarus, the Supper at Simon's House, and the Entry into Jerusalem.¹⁸

The three scenes in question are closely related to one another in the Byzantine liturgy. In the *typikon* of the Great Church, composed at about the same time as Paris. gr. 510 was produced, the liturgy commemorates Lazarus on the Saturday pre-

ceding Palm Sunday, while the Supper at Simon's House and the Entry into Jerusalem are described in the Palm Sunday service itself.¹⁹ The conjunction of the three images is, then, sanctioned by Constantinopolitan liturgical usage.

For an explanation of why this triad was associated with Gregory's second sermon "On the Son," however, we have to turn to exegesis. Photius, cited earlier for his explanation of Gregory's oration, is a useful contemporary informant. In a homily delivered in 863, he wrote: "For the resurrection was because of the death; and the death because of the crucifixion; and the crucifixion because Lazarus came up from the gates of Hell on the fourth day. . .".²⁰ For Photius, Christ's Passion began with the Raising of Lazarus, and it was Christ's Passion that resulted in the salvation of mankind. Following Photius, the Lazarus episode is directly related to the theme of Gregory's sermon, Christ's redemptive powers.

Christ's Supper in the House of Simon was also an episode that seems particularly to have interested Photius, as two sections of the *Amphilochia* and two lengthy *catena* fragments attest.²¹ Photius viewed the event as an anticipation of Christ's death and as an example of the remission of sin through Christ, two themes that correspond directly with Gregory's sermon. In the homily of 863 cited above, Photius also connected the Entry into Jerusalem with Gregory's themes. Commenting on the Entry, he wrote: "Blessed is he that cometh to offer himself as a sacrifice for our sake, to expiate all our sins, and to reconcile us with the Father."²²

Photian commentary on the Raising of Lazarus, Christ's Supper at the House of Simon, and the Entry into Jerusalem thus parallels almost exactly the sense of Gregory's second oration "On the Son."²³ Though Gregory mentions none of the

¹⁵ Paris. gr. 510, fol. 149r: Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. xxxiv. Der Nersessian, "Illustrations," 207, 227. C. Walter, "Biographical Scenes of the Three Hierarchs," *REB*, 36 (1978), 239, suggested that the image evokes Gregory's construction of houses for the sick rather than Basil's hospital, but as Basil is specifically named in the titulus of the miniature this theory seems doubtful.

¹⁶ Paris. gr. 510, fol. 196v; for the text, see SC, 250, pp. 226–75. Unfortunately, Der Nersessian, "Illustrations," 204–5, connected this miniature with the wrong sermon; to my knowledge, no other scholar has considered the relationship between text and image for this scene.

¹⁷ *Amphilochia*, Question 78: PG, 101, cols. 489B–493D.

¹⁸ The Milan Gregory opens the homily with a teaching scene, followed by medallion portraits of biblical figures Gregory mentions in passing (Paul, Adam, Christ) and two Old Testament groups in prayer (Grabar, *Grégoire de Nazianze*, pls. xxxiii, 2–xxxv, except xxxiv, 4). In Paris. gr. 510, the end of the preceding homily occupies the recto of the miniature. The picture cannot, therefore, be misplaced; it must have been meant as a frontispiece to "On the Son" II.

¹⁹ J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, II, *OCA*, 166 (Rome, 1963), 62–65. The Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem are also connected in the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*, which probably reflects earlier imperial practices, as well as in earlier hymns: A. Vogt, *Constantine VII Porphyrogénète. Le Livre des Cérémonies*, I (Paris, 1935), 158–59; J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le mélode, Hymnes*, III, SC, 114 (Paris, 1965), 160, 214.

²⁰ Photius, "On the Birth of the Virgin," 2: C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople*, DOS, III (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 165. On the date, see *ibid.*, 23.

²¹ *Amphilochia*, Questions 48 and 55: PG, 101, cols. 357–368, 393–396; the *catena* fragments are published in J. Reuss, *Mathäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, TU, 61 (Berlin, 1957), 327–33.

²² Mango, *Homilies*, 160.

²³ None of Photius' interpretations is particularly unusual (see G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, I, trans. J. Seligmann [Greenwich, Conn., 1971], 18–21, 157–58, 181–83); they are

episodes pictured, it is clear from Photius' accounts—all written within twenty years of the Gregory miniature—that when Paris. gr. 510 was produced, an erudite viewer could understand the thrust of Gregory's text by interpreting the inherent meaning of the introductory pictures.

Other images in the *Homilies* evoke specific contemporary events. The illustration of the Ecumenical Council held at Constantinople in 381 (fig. 4) introduces an oration that was delivered in honor of a group of Egyptian sailors who, landing in Constantinople at the height of the Arian controversy over the nature of the Trinity in 360, eschewed the churches of the heretics to attend Gregory's small Orthodox Church of the Anastasis.²⁴ Gregory praises the Egyptians for their unswerving loyalty to the Orthodox Trinity in the face of the heresy, discusses the Trinity at length, and condemns the current heresies: ". . .the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit . . . are neither so separated from one another as to be divided in nature, nor so contracted as to be circumscribed by a single person; the one alternative being that of the Arian madness, the other that of the Sabellian heresy."²⁵ The last clause ("the one alternative. . .") is stressed in the text of Paris. gr. 510 by being introduced with an elaborate gold initial, an innovative means of signaling important passages used throughout the Gregory manuscript.²⁶

Gregory made absolutely no reference to a council, much less the Council of 381, in the sermon; Paris. gr. 510 is the only illustrated copy of the homilies to preface this oration with a conciliar picture.²⁷ The Paris miniature shows the emperor and a crowd of bishops seated on a sigma-shaped bench on either side of an enthroned Gospel Book. Macedonius, one of the heretics condemned by the Council of 381, crouches in the lower left corner; before the folio was damaged another condemned heretic, Apollinarius, occupied the opposite cor-

ner.²⁸ The semicircular arrangement of the scene follows an artistic convention, but also reflects ninth-century practice, as described by Stephen the Deacon in 808.²⁹ The Gospel Book on a throne does not always appear in representations of councils, but echoes contemporary practice: texts document the solemn enthronement of the Gospels at the Councils of Ephesus (431), Nicaea (787), and, most important, Constantinople (869).³⁰ On the basis of these and other texts, Crehan demonstrated that the book symbolizes "the presence in the Council of the Holy Spirit who had inspired the Scriptures."³¹

The miniature with the Council of 381 does not illustrate Gregory's sermon in any literal fashion and, since Gregory was not present at the meeting, there is not even a biographical justification for the image. Since Gregory devotes much of his sermon to an attack on Arianism, the major heresy condemned in 381, however, the selection of this Council to illustrate the homily might seem an obvious choice. Yet, the miniature in Paris. gr. 510 does not show the downfall of Arius; rather the 381 Council is pictured condemning Macedonius, whose heresy concerned only the definition of the Holy Spirit, as well as Apollinarius, who denied Christ's human nature.³² The shift from Gregory's

²⁸ A seventeenth-century drawing (Paris, B.N., Nouv. acq. lat. 2343, p. 96) shows the inscription ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΕΚ and appends a note saying that the page was already damaged: Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. p. 12.

²⁹ C. Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine*, AOC, 13 (Paris, 1970), 36, 233; cf. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 90–92. The relevant passage appears in Stephen the Deacon's *Life of St. John the Younger*, PG, 100, col. 1140.

³⁰ The texts are reproduced and discussed in Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 147, 235. The enthroned Gospel Book (?) appears in the ninth-century marginal psalter Pantokrator 61, fol. 16^r, prompting Dufrenne to suggest that conciliar iconography must have been well established by the ninth century: S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge*, I, Bibliothèque des Cah. Arch., I (Paris, 1966), 22, pl. 2.

³¹ J. H. Crehan, "Patristic Evidence for the Inspiration of Councils," *Studia Patristica*, IX, TU, 94 (1966), 210–15, citation 210.

³² Though there is a certain amount of uncertainty on the point, Macedonius apparently argued that the Holy Spirit was not on the same level as the Father and the Son, but rather occupied a position midway between God and man; this was certainly how the Macedonian heresy was interpreted when Paris. gr. 510 was produced: G. Bardy, "Macédonius et les Macédoniens," *DTC*, IX (1926), 1464–78 and, for the ninth century, Photius, "The Arian Heresy," 7 (Mango, *Homilies*, 267–68). Apollinarius denied that Christ had a human spirit: "For what shall I call the folly of Apollinarius the Syrian, who believed that the Word had taken on flesh, but foolishly taught that this flesh was soulless and mindless?" Nicetas the Paphlagonian, *Encomium in Honor of Gregory the Great*, 13 (ca. 900), from J. J. Rizzo,

quoted here simply as textual sources from the same milieu as the *Homilies* illustrations.

²⁴ Paris. gr. 510, fol. 355^r; for the text, see PG, 36, cols. 241–256. Arianism was the principal heresy to deny the full divinity of Christ; the name derives from its originator, Arius (ca. 250–ca. 336).

²⁵ PG, 36, col. 249A2–9; English trans. from C. G. Browne and J. E. Swallow, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ser. II, vol. VII (Grand Rapids, 1955), 336.

²⁶ On the use of painted initials in Paris. gr. 510, see note 1, *supra*. The passage in question appears on fol. 357^r.

²⁷ The homily is not included in the liturgical edition; the Milan Gregory illustrates the sermon with a standard preaching scene: Grabar, *Grégoire de Nazianze*, pl. xxx1,3.

text with its concentration on the Arian heresy to the *Homilies* illustration with its emphasis on the Holy Spirit (the enthroned Gospels and Macedonius) and, secondarily, Christ's human nature (Apollinarius) corresponds with ninth-century preoccupations.

The courtly and patriarchal circle for which Paris. gr. 510 was clearly intended spent much of the second half of the ninth century in a struggle with Rome for jurisdiction over the newly converted Bulgarians.³³ Frankish, Byzantine, and Roman missionaries were sent, and the tensions between East and West exploded over differences in the doctrines taught by the Latin and Orthodox priests.³⁴ A major bone of contention between the two churches became the wording of the Nicene Creed. The original wording of the Creed, followed by the Orthodox Byzantines, stipulated that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father. For a variety of reasons (among them linguistics) the Frankish missionaries in Bulgaria taught an interpolated Creed in which the Spirit proceeded from the Father "and the Son" (*filioque*).³⁵

As one might expect, the most eloquent Byzan-

tine voice against the Latin position belonged to Photius, patriarch of Constantinople. In his Encyclical Letter (867), his letter to the Archbishop of Aquileia (883/84), and his *Mystagogia* (post-886), Photius justified the Orthodox position at length.³⁶ The Patriarch cited the Scriptures, provided logical rebuttals, and reviewed ecclesiastical case-histories to discredit the Latin interpolation of *filioque*. For our purposes, the most interesting aspect of Photius' arguments is provided by the case-histories. Photius termed the Latin teaching a "semi-Sabellian monster," a significant phrase in light of the gold initial that introduces Gregory's reference to the Sabellian heresy in Paris. gr. 510.³⁷ Most important, Photius relied on his knowledge of the condemnation of Macedonius by the earlier Council of 381 to provide a historical precedent for his own condemnation of the Latin position, which he likened to the Macedonian heresy.³⁸

The Orthodox church under Photius' patriarchate was intimately concerned with only one aspect of the Trinitarian issues Gregory raised in his homily, that concerning the role of the Holy Spirit. Photius saw a resolution to the controversy with Rome about the Holy Spirit in the condemnation of Macedonius by the Council of 381; and he used this condemnation as a justification of his own ninth-century condemnation of the Latin position on *filioque*. It is in the context of this ninth-century schism that the conciliar image in Paris. gr. 510 begins to make sense: the miniature supplements Gregory's arguments against Trinitarian heresies by supplying a corollary appropriate to ninth-century problems. With this in mind, the inclusion of the open Gospel Book symbolizing the presence of the Holy Spirit—a detail with historical justification, but one that is rarely incorporated in images of Councils—takes on special significance, for it was on the role of the Holy Spirit that both the Macedonian heresy of the fourth century and the *filioque* debate of the ninth centered.

The fact that the 381 Council also condemned Apollinarius (originally pictured, as mentioned above, in the lower right corner of the scene) probably had little bearing on the selection of this

The Encomium of Gregory Nazianzen by Nicetas the Paphlagonian, SubsHag, LVIII (Brussels, 1976), 46 (English trans., 102).

³³On the political and cultural bases for the superficially ecclesiastical dispute over the Bulgarian conversion, see P. Lemerle, "L'Orthodoxie byzantine et l'œcuménisme médiéval: les origines du 'schisme' des Eglises," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, ser. IV, II (1965), 228–46 (= Study VII in *idem*, *Essais sur le monde byzantin* [London, 1970]); and A. Kazhdan and G. Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 174. In his Encyclical Letter of 867, the Patriarch Photius clearly recognized the political and military necessity of imposing Christianity on the Bulgarians, though he never explicitly admitted that the resultant dispute with the Latins was magnified by cultural or political considerations: Encyclical, 35, PG, 102, cols. 736D–737A.

³⁴The classic work on the "schism" remains F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism, History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948). A thorough historical analysis is provided by R. Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians, The Trinitarian Heresy* (Belmont, 1975); and a good recent review of the Bulgarian situation appears in J.-M. Sansterre, "Les missionnaires latins, grecs et orientaux en Bulgarie dans la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle," *Byzantion*, 52 (1982), 375–88.

³⁵On the linguistic basis for each line of reasoning, see V. Rodzianko, "Filioque in Patristic Thought," *Studia Patristica*, II, TU, 64 (Berlin, 1957), 295–308. The basic tenets of the *filioque* debate are discussed by the authors cited in the preceding two notes, and by M. Jugie, "Origine de la controverse sur l'addition du *Filioque* au symbole," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 28 (1939), 369–85; B. Schultze, "Zur Ursprung des *Filioque*: Das *Filioque* und der römische Primat," *OCP*, 48 (1982), 5–18. It should be noted that the basic text that explicates the Orthodox position—Athanasius' *Contra Arianos*—was familiar to ninth-century Byzantine theologians: see Photius, *Bibliotheca*, "codex" 140 (R. Henry, *Photius, Bibliothèque*, II [Paris, 1960], 108–9).

³⁶For the Encyclical, see PG, 102, cols. 721–741 (English trans. in R. Haugh, "The Byzantine-Carolingian Triadological Controversy with a View toward Its Appeal to Tradition and the Fathers," Ph.D. dissertation [Fordham University, 1973], 259–80); for the letter to the Archbishop of Aquileia, see PG, 102, cols. 794–821; for the *Mystagogia*, see *ibid.*, cols. 279–398.

³⁷*Mystagogia*, 9 (*ibid.*, col. 289B3–4).

³⁸Encyclical, 11 (PG, 102, col. 728B10–12); *Mystagogia*, 32 (*ibid.*, col. 313B6–8).

Council to illustrate Gregory's homily to the Egyptian sailors. But the decision to include a second heretic in the miniature along with Macedonius was not based simply on a need for compositional symmetry or historical accuracy. Apollinarius denied Christ's human nature, and this was one of the major heresies with which the Iconophiles charged the Iconoclasts. Because the Iconoclasts denied that Christ could be represented in art, the Iconophiles accused them of denying that Christ had existed in truly human form.³⁹ In other words, the Iconoclasts attributed to the Iconoclasts the same heresy Apollinarius was condemned for by the Council of 381: that of denying Christ's human nature. Though Iconoclasm was officially condemned in 843, anti-iconoclastic imagery was still being produced for certain members of the victorious Iconodule party at the time Paris. gr. 510 was produced, and anti-iconoclastic polemic pronouncements were still being written by the Patriarch Photius.⁴⁰ It thus seems likely that the inclusion of Apollinarius as a pendant to Macedonius was meant to remind the audience of the recent controversy and to sanction the iconophilic victory by bringing in an earlier parallel to the ninth-century Orthodox position.

A number of factors corroborate the thesis that the image of the Council of 381 was meant to be viewed as a justification of the Byzantine position on *filioque* and on Iconoclasm. An allusion to the *filioque* controversy was appropriate in a manuscript of Gregory's homilies, for contemporary authors such as Nicetas the Paphlagonian cited Gregory of Nazianzus as a major authority on the definition of the role of the Holy Spirit: "It was Gregory alone and first before anyone else who clearly and most boldly proclaimed the Spirit to be God, equal to the Father and the Word [= Logos = Christ]." ⁴¹ Further, the method of using earlier sources to condemn current heresies was certainly familiar at the time: the Paulician heresy, for example, was countered by the reissue of a fourth-century text by Alexander of Lycopolis against the Manichean heresy, brought up to date by an introduction—dedicated to Basil I and probably writ-

ten by Photius—explaining why Alexander's work was relevant to the ninth-century problem.⁴² Photius made the same point in the opening paragraph of *Contra Manichaeos*.⁴³ The parallelism between Apollinarius and Iconoclasm, and Macedonius and *filioque* thus finds contemporary analogues. The timing was also perfect, for a striking relationship exists between the Council of 381 and the Photian Council of 867. The 381 Council was called to reunite the church after the Arian schism; the 867 Council celebrated the unification of the church after the iconoclastic controversy.⁴⁴ The 381 Council ratified the Nicene Creed; the 867 Council excommunicated the Frankish missionaries for teaching an interpolated version.⁴⁵ The 867 Council thus condemned precisely the two heresies anticipated by the 381 Council and alluded to in the *Homilies* miniature, *filioque* and Iconoclasm. The Acts of the 867 Council were repudiated and destroyed by the Pope and the Ignatians in 870, but were implicitly reinstated with Photius' re-elevation to the patriarchate (877) and by the Synod of 879/80, exactly the year Paris. gr. 510 seems to have been commissioned.⁴⁶ We may, therefore, be reasonably sure that the image of the Council of 381 in the Paris Gregory relates directly to Constantinopolitan concerns at the time the manuscript was made; it may even have been intended to be viewed more specifically as a historical precedent for the Photian Council of 867 or of 879/80.

The exegetical method of illustration evident in the miniatures just discussed is characteristic of the Paris Gregory; and the pictures consistently reflect the preoccupations of the ninth-century court and patriarchate in Constantinople. Such a uniform, topical approach argues for the intervention of a strong-willed and informed patron who closely supervised all aspects of the manuscript's production. As the foregoing examination of even a few miniatures suggests, the mastermind behind the Paris Gregory was Photius, patriarch of Constan-

⁴² *Alexandri Lycopolitani Contra Manichaei opinioniones disputatio*, ed. A. Brinkmann, Teubner (1895), xxiv–xxvii.

⁴³ PG, 102, cols. 15–264.

⁴⁴ Mango, *Homilies*, 297–306.

⁴⁵ See esp. Haugh, *Photius*, 23–44, 91–99; F. Dvornik, "The Patriarch Photius in Light of Recent Research," *Berichte zum XI. internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), 30–31; Mango, *Homilies*, 297–306.

⁴⁶ See esp. J. Meijer, *A Successful Council of Union: A Theological Analysis of the Photian Synod of 879–880*, Ἀνάλεκτα βλατάδων, XXIII (Thessaloniki, 1975); J. L. Boojamra, "The Photian Synod of 879–880 and the Papal Commonitorium (879)," *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines*, 9 (1982), 1–23; Haugh, *Photius*, 123–30.

³⁹ See Photius, *Amphilochia*, Question 1: PG, 101, cols. 89–92.

⁴⁰ See esp. S. Dufrenne, "Une illustration 'historique' inconnue du Psautier du Mont-Athos, Pantocrator 61," *CahArch*, 15 (1965), 83–95; F. Dvornik, "The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm," *DOP*, 7 (1953), 69–97; C. Mango, "The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photius," *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), 133–40.

⁴¹ Nicetas the Paphlagonian, *Encomium*, 27 (English trans. from Rizzo, *Encomium*, 124). For Gregory's sermon "On the Holy Spirit" (homily 31), see SC, 250, pp. 274–343.

tinople from 858 to 867 and again from 877 to 886, when Paris. gr. 510 was made.⁴⁷ The contemporary author whose writings best explain the relationship between the Raising of Lazarus, the Supper at Simon's House, and Christ's Entry into Jerusalem and Gregory's homily "On the Son" II was Photius; and Photius was the key figure in the Orthodox debate against *filioque*. He was also the only contemporary author to equate Macedonius with the Latin position on *filioque*. It is, in fact, difficult to explain the image of the 381 Council at all without recourse to Photian thought. Further, the inclusion of Apollinarius as Macedonius' pendant—an oblique reference to the recent iconoclastic controversy—fits very well with Photius' preoccupation with Iconoclasm long after the threat had passed, a point that will be examined in more detail shortly. In addition to the fact that Photian exegesis insinuates itself into nearly every miniature of the Paris *Homilies*, several pictures are explicable only with knowledge of the Patriarch's writings; many contain tangential details justified only by Photius' interests; and some reflect rare texts now lost and only documented in Byzantium by Photius.

The illustration on folio 264^v (fig. 5) prefaces Gregory's sermon "On Baptism," wherein Gregory explains the meaning of the rite and expounds at length on the conventional equation of baptism and enlightenment or illumination.⁴⁸ In the sermon, Gregory adduces numerous biblical parallels, concentrating especially on the Miracle at Cana and the Healing of the Paralytic. The illustrators of Paris. gr. 510 ignored Gregory's hints and, instead, showed three episodes only mentioned in passing—Moses before the Burning Bush, the Conversion of Paul, and the Ascension of Elijah—and one event not mentioned at all, the Crossing of the Red Sea. Der Nersessian correctly assumed that the episodes shown were selected for illustration in Paris. gr. 510 because they all relate to baptism, but she was only able to demonstrate this for two scenes—the Ascension of Elijah and the Crossing of the Red Sea—both of which form part of standard Byzantine baptismal typologies.⁴⁹ The Conversion of Paul was not discussed by Der Nersessian; it cannot, of course, "prefigure" baptism since it is a New Testament event. Perhaps for this reason, the implications of

the blinding with divine light and subsequent conversion of Saul do not occupy a prominent place in Byzantine commentaries on baptism. The episode was, nonetheless, of great interest to Photius. In Question forty-three of his *Amphilochia*, "On Baptism in the Name of Christ," Photius observed that the initiate is baptized into the death of Christ and emerges into a new life.⁵⁰ According to him, this process of rebirth is exemplified best by the conversion of Paul, for the old Saul "died" to be resurrected as Paul.⁵¹ The Conversion of Paul on folio 274^v thus goes beyond a simple illustration of Gregory's text to visualize a particularly Photian interpretation of the meaning of Christian baptism that dovetails with the typological interpretation of the rest of the page.

The reasons underlying the decision to illustrate Gregory's reference to Moses and the Burning Bush also reflect an uncommon interpretation of the episode that is found in the writings of Photius. Almost without exception, Byzantine commentators viewed the episode of the Burning Bush as a prefiguration of virgin birth and not as a prefiguration of baptism.⁵² In the *Amphilochia*, however, Photius specifically and unusually connected the episode with baptism. He first directly equated the Burning Bush and the Holy Spirit, then paraphrased the words of John the Baptist, "I have baptized you with water, but he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit," that is, with the divine fire manifested in the burning bush.⁵³ The two exceptional images on folio 264^v thus present particularly Photian interpretations of baptism, and strongly suggest the Patriarch's personal involvement with the miniature.

⁵⁰ PG, 101, cols. 301–333.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, cols. 330–332; cf. *ibid.*, cols. 317D, 329B. To emphasize the distinction between the three scenes of the top register, different forms of the divinity dispense illuminating rays. Moses is confronted by an angel in the burning bush; Paul's conversion is effected by a bust of Christ; while Elijah's ascension is supervised by a hand of God. I suspect that the three persons of the Trinity (Holy Spirit, Son, and Father, respectively) are shown here performing comparable feats, probably as a visual buttress to the Orthodox arguments about the equality of all natures of the Trinity discussed above.

⁵² Der Nersessian, "Illustrations," 201, noted that the fourth ode sung during matins of the baptismal rite published by Mercenier recalls the episode, but the passage in question concerns Moses' piety in averting his eyes from the glory of God rather than cementing a connection between the burning bush and baptism. Ninth-century examples of the association of the burning bush and the virgin birth may be found in Mateos, *Typicon*, I, 252–59; PG, 101, cols. 1136–1137; Mango, *Homilies*, 119. For other examples, see S. Der Nersessian, "Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Pareclion," *The Kariye Djami*, IV (Princeton, 1975), 336–38.

⁵³ PG, 101, col. 1136C-D.

⁴⁷ Photius' association with Paris. gr. 510 was first tentatively forwarded by Der Nersessian, "Illustrations," 227.

⁴⁸ For the text, see PG, 36, cols. 360–425.

⁴⁹ Der Nersessian, "Illustrations," 200–1; J. Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, 1956), esp. 86–113.

A similar pattern appears in the frontispiece illustration to Gregory's first oration "On Peace" (fig. 6).⁵⁴ The sermon celebrates the reconciliation of the monastic community of Nazianzus in 364 after a schism inadvertently caused by Gregory's father, who was at that time bishop of Nazianzus.⁵⁵ Gregory speaks of the evils of dissent and of the virtues of reconciliation, reminding his audience of such biblical paradigms as Moses Receiving the Law. Throughout the sermon, Gregory alludes to the schism and reconciliation of the community of Nazianzus. He exhorts the monks to embrace and kiss one another, and is pleased to tell his father: "All your children have come to you; they surround the altar."⁵⁶

The prefatory miniature to "On Peace" I is divided into three registers. The first two show eight scenes from the history of Adam and Eve. In the top register the artist has depicted the Creation of Adam; the Creation of Eve; God's Curse of the Serpent, Adam, and Eve; and the Expulsion. The second register presents the Tree of Life; the Cherub Guarding the Way to Paradise; a very unusual image of the Archangel Michael handing Adam a hoe (the only example of this apocryphal event that ever appears in Byzantine art); and Adam and Eve's Lament outside Paradise.⁵⁷ On the left side of the third register, Moses Receives the Law; on the right, Gregory stands behind an altar with his father next to four pairs of embracing monks. Only the scenes in the third register rely closely on the sermon: Gregory's reference to Moses receiving the law is introduced by a gold initial in Paris. gr. 510,⁵⁸ while the final scene of the page represents the historical circumstances under which the homily was delivered and illustrates Gregory's ad-

dress to the monks and his father directly.⁵⁹ The history of Adam and Eve is not even alluded to in the homily text, and Der Nersessian, the only scholar to have considered this miniature in relation to its text, found no compelling exegetical connections between the first oration "On Peace" and the story of the Fall.⁶⁰

Though the Milan Gregory resembles Paris. gr. 510 in closing the oration with a portrait of Gregory and his father, the use of scenes from the book of Genesis to illustrate "On Peace" I is not repeated in other manuscripts of Gregory's homilies.⁶¹ Nonetheless, the insertion in the Paris Gregory of the narrative of Original Sin and its consequences reflects a deliberate choice, and that choice was conditioned by two factors.

When Paris. gr. 510 was produced, the Fall was habitually cited as an antithesis to themes of peace and unity. The typikon of the Great Church follows the recital of the Fall with a warning from Proverbs, which reads in part: "My son. . . keep my council and understanding, that thy soul may live. . . and thou mayst go confidently in peace in all thy ways."⁶² The reading on the Expulsion is accompanied by another caution from Proverbs: "For I give you a good gift, forsake ye not my law."⁶³ But it was Photius who perhaps best expressed this theme. In a homily delivered on Palm Sunday 863, he said: "For Christ is our Peace who has broken down the middle wall of enmity, and through him we have been reconciled with our Father and creator, from whom we had wickedly parted ourselves in former times."⁶⁴ The homily delivered on Good Friday the previous year anticipated this theme: "But the God of Peace, our Lord Jesus Christ, who by his death has destroyed the partition wall of enmity and reconciled us, who had fallen. . . , to His own Father. . ."⁶⁵ It is likely that the inclusion of the Adam and Eve sequence was, in part, moti-

⁵⁴ Paris. gr. 510, fol. 52v.

⁵⁵ PG, 35, cols. 721–752; cf. P. Gallay, *La vie de saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Paris, 1943), 80–84.

⁵⁶ PG, 35, cols. 748D–749A.

⁵⁷ The image of Michael handing Adam a hoe derives from an apocryphal source such as the *Book of Jubilees* 3:15, 32–35 (R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, II [Oxford, 1913], 16–17), or the *Apocalypse of Moses* 22:2 (*ibid.*, 138). The closest comparisons with the *Homilies* scene appear in a group of later, interrelated Latin psalters—the Winchester Psalter (F. Wormald, *The Winchester Psalter* [London, 1973], 70, fig. 44), the St. Louis Psalter (H. Omont, *Miniatures du Psautier de S. Louis* [Leiden, 1902], pl. 3), and the Psalter of St. Swithen's Priory (N. Gray, *Jacob's Ladder* [London, 1949], pl. 7)—but these manuscripts are otherwise so unlike Paris. gr. 510 that reliance on a common textual source seems the best explanation of their miniatures.

⁵⁸ PG, 35, col. 744C; Paris. gr. 510, fol. 59v.

⁵⁹ Fol. 52 is an inserted leaf, but the correspondence of text and image demonstrates beyond doubt that it retains its intended location.

⁶⁰ Der Nersessian, "Illustrations," 209.

⁶¹ In addition to the portrait of Gregory and his father, the Milan manuscript shows an author portrait and a picture of the prophet Jeremiah (Grabar, *Grégoire de Nazianze*, pls. ix,2–3, x,1); the liturgical edition does not include Gregory's first oration "On Peace."

⁶² Proverbs 3:23, read on the first Friday of Lent with Genesis 2:20–3:20 (Mateos, *Typicon*, II, 18–19).

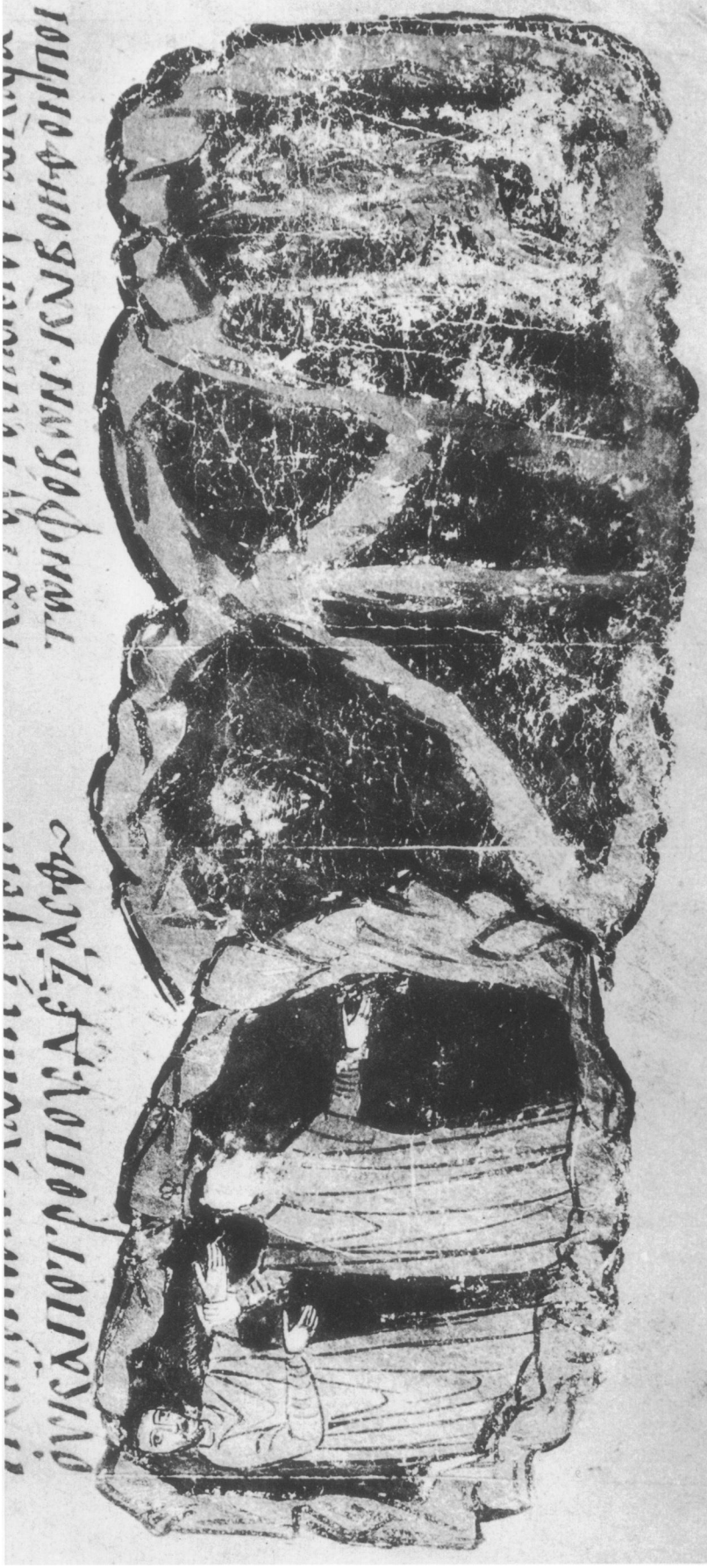
⁶³ Proverbs 4:2, read on the second Monday of Lent with Genesis 3:21–4:7 (Mateos, *Typicon*, II, 24–25).

⁶⁴ Mango, *Homilies*, 156.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 136.



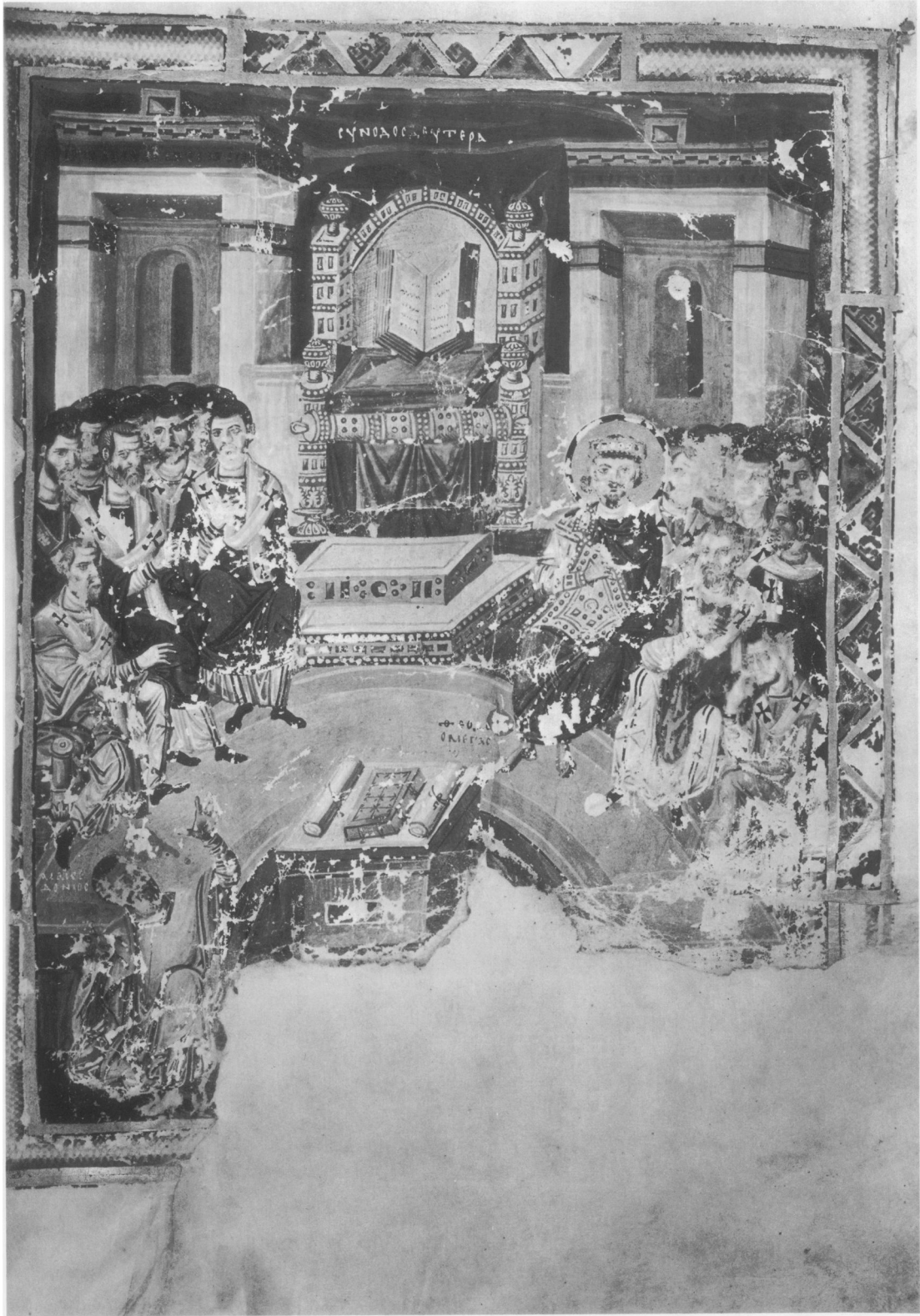
1. Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 510, fol. 374^v, detail, Top Register. Julian the Apostate



2. Milan, Bibl. Ambr., cod. E.49/50 inf., p. 714. Julian the Apostate



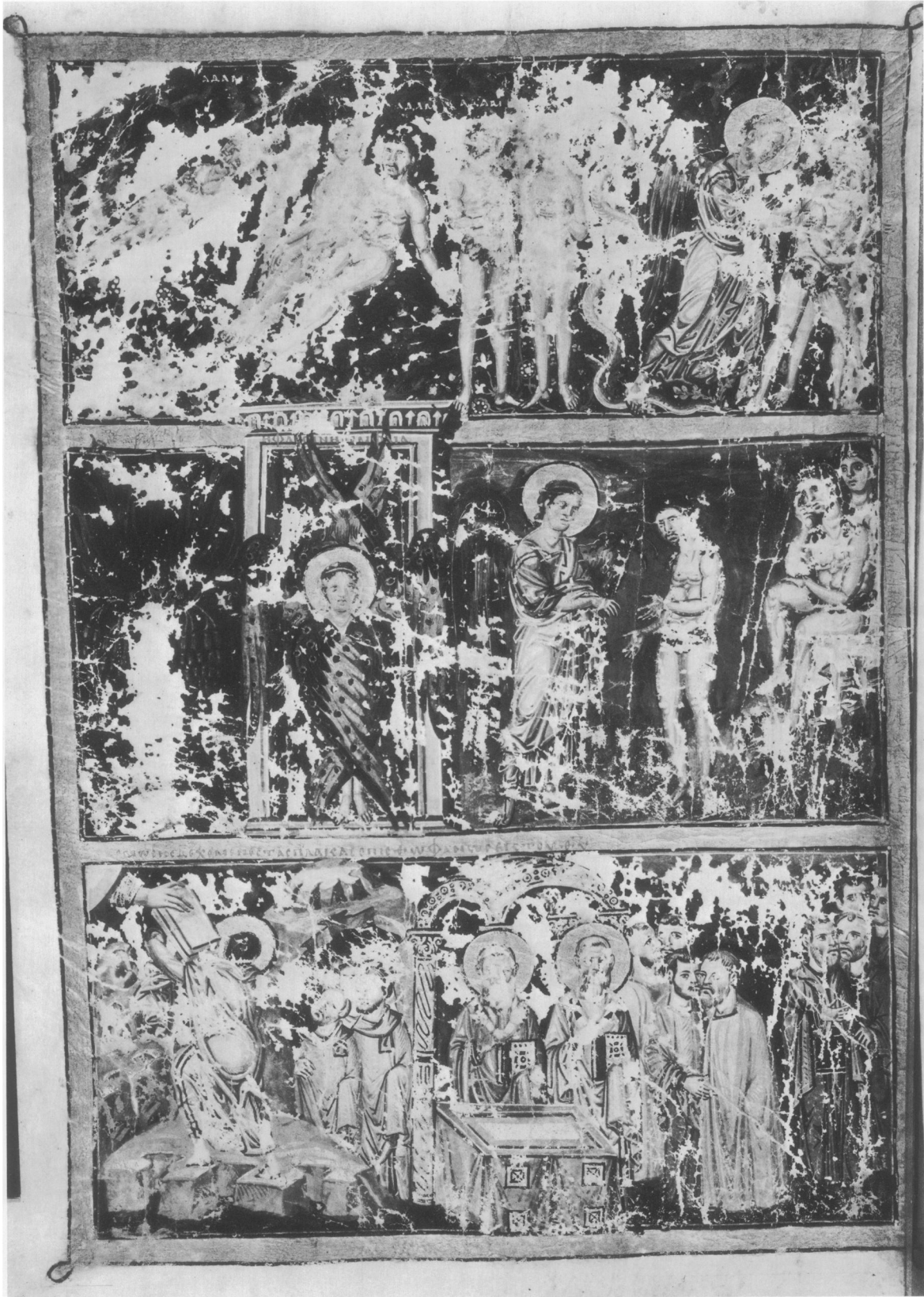
3. Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 510, fol. 196^v. Raising of Lazarus, Supper at House of Simon, Entry into Jerusalem



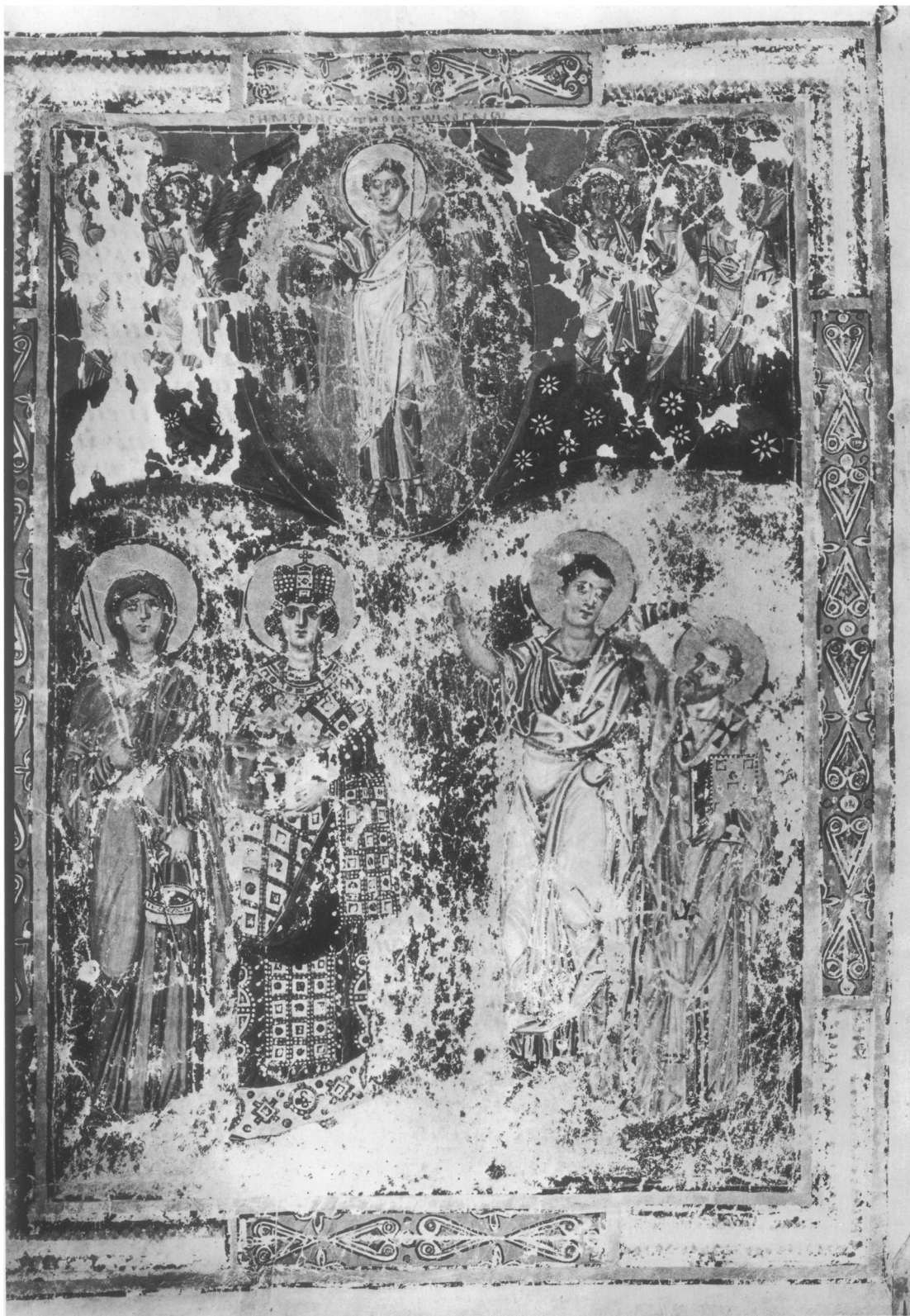
4. Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 510, fol. 355r. Council of 381



5. Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 510, fol. 264^v. Moses and the Burning Bush, Conversion of Paul, Ascension of Elijah, Crossing of the Red Sea



6. Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 510, fol. 52^v. Scenes of Adam and Eve, Moses Receiving the Law, Gregory and His Father with Nazianzus Monks



7. Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 510, fol. 285^r. Habakkuk's Vision, Paraskeve, Helena



8. Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 510, fol. 332^v. Life of Cyprian

vated by a desire to provide a visual corollary to such literary antitheses.⁶⁶ Gregory's theme in the first oration "On Peace" is schism and reconciliation, and the accompanying illustration parallels this theme. The great schism is portrayed in the upper two registers; the law Proverbs tells us not to forsake is received in the lower left corner; reconciliation is achieved in the final scene of the third register.

The combination of Adam and Eve, Moses Receiving the Law, and the Nazianzus priests, however, does more than simply parallel the dominant theme of the homily. Of the many biblical quotations in the first oration "On Peace," only two are signaled out for special notice in Paris. gr. 510 by marginal quotation marks (*oboloi*).⁶⁷ The first is a paraphrase of Ephesians 2:14: "For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of enmity."⁶⁸ This is the same text paraphrased by Photius in both passages cited earlier, wherein the Patriarch contrasted the Fall with its redemption through Christ, God of Peace. We may well suspect, then, that the passage from Ephesians set apart by *oboloi* in Paris. gr. 510 almost automatically evoked the Fall in ninth-century thought, or at least in the mind of Photius.

The second quotation marked in the text of the Paris Gregory is taken from Romans 5:20: "Moreover, the law entered, that offence might abound."⁶⁹ In its New Testament context, this passage forms part of a lengthy excursus (Rom. 5:12–21) in which Paul sets up Adam as an antitype of Christ, with Moses as an intermediary: "For sin was already in the world before there was law, though in the absence of law no reckoning is kept of sin. But death held sway from Adam to Moses, even over those who had not sinned as Adam did. . ." (vss. 13–14). Paul wrote that sin entered the world through one man (Adam), was understood as sin only with the

introduction of the law (to Moses), and was redeemed by the new Adam (Christ).

The specific verse marked in Paris. gr. 510 served as a springboard for later commentaries on Adam as an antitype of Christ.⁷⁰ Most significant is a lengthy *catena* passage attributed to Photius.⁷¹ After explicitly stating that "This is to say that Adam is a type of Christ," Photius elaborated on Paul's theme, using Moses receiving the law as a pivot around which he spun the contrasts between Adam and Christ. He made the same points in Question twenty-four of the *Amphilochia*, in which he commented extensively on the phrase "But death held sway from Adam to Moses."⁷² The Patriarch noted that until sin was defined by Mosaic law, it could not be recognized; only after sin had been recognized could "the king vanquish it through his sacrifice" that we all might emerge victorious and be released from the laborious existence imposed on humankind by Adam. He continued in this vein in his homily "On the Annunciation," wherein the redemption of Original Sin by Christ is expressed graphically as a release from the "toilsome life" awarded Adam for his transgressions.⁷³

The illustration in Paris. gr. 510 parallels the exegesis inspired by Paul's Epistle to the Romans as elaborated by Photius. Original Sin and its consequences—including the unprecedented image of the bestowal of "toilsome life" on Adam in the middle of the second register—are depicted in the first two registers, the laws defining sin are received in the first scene of the third register, and Christ's surrogates on earth are shown embracing in the final scene.

The connection between Adam and Christ was, of course, a familiar one to ninth-century Greeks. The typology was commonly expressed in sermons and was especially popular in orations and hymns associated with the feasts of the Annunciation and Nativity.⁷⁴ But the conjunction of Adam, antitype of Christ, with Moses requires a more detailed chain

⁶⁶The connection between oratory and art during the Byzantine period has been recently considered by H. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1981); the use of visual antitheses is examined on pp. 53–83. Maguire does not mention Paris. gr. 510 in this regard.

⁶⁷*Oboloi*, which look like small marginal arrows in Paris. gr. 510, are used frequently but inconsistently throughout the manuscript to indicate quotations from the Bible; other important passages are signaled by a variety of traditional marginalia, on which see C. Astruc, "Remarques sur les signes marginaux de certains manuscrits de S. Grégoire de Nazianze," *AnalBoll*, 92 (1974), 289–95.

⁶⁸Paris. gr. 510, fol. 55^v: PG, 35, col. 732A.

⁶⁹Paris. gr. 510, fol. 56^r: PG, 35, col. 732C.

⁷⁰J. A. Cramer, *Catena graecorum patrum in novum testamentum*, IV: *In epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos* (Oxford, 1844), 53–56.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 55–56; cf. C. H. Turner, "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles," *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. J. Hastings, extra vol. (Edinburgh, 1904), 519–20.

⁷²PG, 101, col. 187.

⁷³Mango, *Homilies*, 115–16. This theme is picked up again by Nicetas the Paphlagonian, pupil of Photius' disciple (?) Arethas, in his *Encomium*, 7: "Thereupon [Adam] exchanged a painless and immortal life for sweat and toil and death." (English trans. from Rizzo, *Encomium*, 92.)

⁷⁴E.g., J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le mélode, Hymnes*, II, SC, 110 (Paris, 1965), 88–111; cf. J. Daniélou, *From Shadows*

of analogies, those inspired by Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The close connection between the miniature and Gregory's quotation of Romans 5:20 marked in Paris. gr. 510 argues that, in a sense, the marginal *oboloi* functioned here as *lemmata*, tying the appropriate text to its illustration and making clear the significance of the Adam and Eve cycle. The thread that connects the passage marked in the Paris Gregory with the history of Adam and Eve is exegetical, and was drawn in the ninth century by Photius. As was the case for the scenes of Moses and Paul in the miniature accompanying "On Baptism," our understanding of the miniature prefacing "On Peace" I is dependent on Photian commentary.

The close coordination of scribe and artist in the preceding image suggests that Photius intervened in all phases of the *Homilies* production. Given this level of involvement, it is not surprising that many miniatures show the impact of Photius' often idiosyncratic interests. Gregory's second oration "On Easter" concerns the Resurrection and opens with an evocation of Habakkuk's vision so powerful that it influenced the Byzantine liturgy and caused an image of the vision to be the standard miniature accompanying this homily in all illustrated copies of Gregory's sermons.⁷⁵ Paris. gr. 510 is no exception (fig. 7), but the artist has appended two figures who appear in no other examples: Paraskeve, the personification of Good Friday, and Helena, mother of Constantine and discoverer of the True Cross.⁷⁶ Paraskeve here makes her first surviving appearance in Christian art; she holds the instruments of the Passion and implicitly anticipates Christ's Resurrection, subject of Gregory's homily.⁷⁷ Helena holds a model of a structure formed of a jagged rock pierced by a door and surmounted by an outcrop that approximates a cruciform shape. This structure has been identified as the tomb of Christ by Omont and as the rock of Golgotha by Grabar and Der Nersessian.⁷⁸ The theme of Gregory's sermon, Christ's Resurrection, suggests that the former identification was meant, as does the fact that

the structure is opened by a door, a detail that fits Christ's tomb but not the rock at Golgotha. Grabar and Der Nersessian presumably hesitated to identify the rock as Christ's tomb because its rough-hewn form does not correspond with the traditional iconography of either the tomb itself or the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.⁷⁹ Photius, however, wrote one of the most detailed preserved descriptions of the tomb. He noted that it was hewn from natural rock (as shown in Paris. gr. 510), and specifically connected it with Helena:

The saving tomb of the Lord is all of one bowshot away from the ancient Jerusalem. Indeed, blessed Helena, when she visited Jerusalem and cleared that holy place of the piles of rubbish and filth there, extended the buildings and the city wall. . . . In fact, this tomb, though it is a natural rock, has been formed into a tomb by masons. The rock has been hollowed out from east to west, forming a narrow chamber. . . . What one might call the entrance or mouth of the tomb, where the workmen began to cut in, has its mouth facing east. . . . What we are now describing we learned from those who have taken the trouble to reside in that blessed place.⁸⁰

Photius' unusually specific description reflects his interest in what he elsewhere termed the "life-giving tomb of Christ."⁸¹ The Patriarch discussed the sepulchre repeatedly. In his eleventh homily, for example, he devoted a lengthy paragraph to it: "O tomb, who art the emptying out of tombs, and the destruction of Hell, and the slaying of death, and the much sung bridal-chamber of our resurrection!"⁸²

The inclusion of Helena holding the "saving tomb of Christ" was motivated almost entirely by Photius' interest. Gregory does not mention Helena at all in the accompanying sermon, and his sole reference to the sepulchre is: "Christ is freed from the tomb, be ye freed from the bond of sin."⁸³ Photius, on the other hand, saw the tomb as intimately connected with resurrection, the theme of the sermon, and was, furthermore, sufficiently interested in the tomb itself to provide us with a long and unusually detailed description. He linked it specif-

to Reality. *Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers*, trans. W. Hibberd (Westminster, 1960), 11–21, 30–47.

⁷⁵ PG, 36, cols. 624–664; S. Der Nersessian, "Note sur quelques images se rattachant au thème du Christ-Ange," *CahArch*, 13 (1962), 209–16.

⁷⁶ Paris. gr. 510, fol. 285r.

⁷⁷ See U. Knochen, s.v. "Paraskeve," in *LChrI*, VIII (Rome, 1976), col. 118.

⁷⁸ Omont, *Miniatures*, 25; A. Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, II (Paris, 1946), 204 note 1; Der Nersessian, "Illustrations," 202.

⁷⁹ But see the image of the tomb earlier in the manuscript (fol. 30v): Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. xx1.

⁸⁰ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., Φωτίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸ περὶ τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπομνημάτιον (γραφῆν μεταξὺ τῶν ἐτῶν 867 καὶ 878) καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ πονημάτια (St. Petersburg, 1892); English trans. from J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), 146.

⁸¹ Mango, *Homilies*, 249.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 208.

⁸³ PG, 36, col. 624B1.

ically with Helena and, even more unusual, described it as made out of natural rock hewn by masons, exactly as shown in Paris. gr. 510. The image of Helena holding the tomb can best be accounted for by Photius' direct intervention.

Finally, a number of miniatures show the impact of obscure and now lost texts, of which the only preserved witnesses are the summaries provided by Photius in the *Bibliotheca* (ca. 845).⁸⁴ The pictorial *Vita* of Cyprian (fig. 8), for example, contains whole episodes—Cyprian's torture in the cauldron, the saint's baptism—that are not mentioned in the accompanying sermon "To Cyprian."⁸⁵ These episodes, and several minor details, come from the versified *Life of Cyprian* composed by an Eudoxia Augusta (probably the wife of Theodosius II).⁸⁶ Fragments of this poem are preserved, but much of our information comes from a long summary in the *Bibliotheca*.⁸⁷ The length of the entry makes Photius' interest in the poem clear; this interest presumably accounts for the intrusion of episodes from Eudoxia's text into the illustration of Gregory's homily.

It is, then, almost certainly Photius' strong guiding hand that accounts for the bulk of contemporary references in Paris. gr. 510. Photian exegesis explains the selection of the Palm Sunday scenes accompanying the second homily "On the Son"; the Patriarch's political writings justify the depiction of the 381 Council as an illustration of Gregory's sermon to the Egyptian sailors. Only Photian commentary can illuminate the significance of the images of Paul and Moses on folio 264^v, and of the Adam and Eve cycle prefacing the first oration "On Peace." In the latter frontispiece, the picture of

Adam receiving the hoe from Michael is particularly revealing, as the scene forms part of no standard Genesis sequence and must, therefore, have been inserted for a specific purpose: namely, to complement Photius' thoughts on the results of Original Sin. Further, the inclusion of Helena holding the tomb of Christ in the picture preceding the second oration "On Easter" and the details of Cyprian's life drawn from Eudoxia's versified *Vita* illustrating "To Cyprian" reflect idiosyncratic interests of the Patriarch in the Jerusalem tomb and Eudoxia's poem.

Photius' patronage of an extensively illustrated book should not be surprising. The Patriarch is famous for his enthusiastic description of the apse mosaic unveiled at Hagia Sophia in 867 and has been cautiously assigned a major role in the reestablishment of Christian imagery after Iconoclasm by such scholars as Dvornik, Mango, Grabar, and Dufrenne.⁸⁸ Furthermore, if hagiographical sources are to be believed, Photius had commissioned two manuscripts prior to Paris. gr. 510.⁸⁹ But if a single thread runs through all of Photius' commissions, it weaves a pattern of political self-interest,⁹⁰ and so one wonders why Gregory's sermons were chosen as a vehicle in 879 by Photius. More generally, one might also wonder what the intrusion of contemporary preoccupations in the miniatures of Paris. gr. 510 tells us about the role of art in the ninth century.

It was a particular interest of the Patriarch's, an interest not devoid of self-aggrandizement, that seems to have motivated his commission of a deluxe copy of Gregory's homilies to present to Basil I. Photius had ample reason to try to ingratiate himself with the Emperor and had, in fact, placated Basil with a manuscript before.⁹¹ But his selection of Gregory's homilies reveals an attempt at self-promotion that went beyond his esteem of the

⁸⁴On the date of the *Bibliotheca*, see W. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius*, DOS, XVIII (Washington, D.C., 1980), 16–36.

⁸⁵SC, 284, pp. 40–85. Paris. gr. 510 is the only copy of the homilies to incorporate these extra-textual details in its miniature, though all other illustrated Gregory manuscripts include "To Cyprian" (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, 103–9; Grabar, *Grégoire de Nazianze*, pls. xxvii, 2–3, xxviii). The added details distinguish the Paris image from the pictorial cycle found in the Milan copy and in the liturgical homilies, which relies exclusively on the homily text. See Omont, *Miniatures*, 27; C. Walter, "Saints of the Second Iconoclasm in the Madrid Skylitzes," *REB*, 39 (1981), 317.

⁸⁶So Omont, *Miniatures*, 27.

⁸⁷Henry, *Bibliothèque*, II, 196–99 ("codex" 184). Photius' elaborate description of the text suggests that it was not well known at the time, as he rarely mentions conventional works or extensively describes familiar ones. For the fragments, see Eudociae Augustae, *Procli Lycii, Claudiani carminum graecorum reliquiae*, ed. A. Ludwich (Leipzig, 1897), 24–79. Cf. K. Holm, *Theodosian Emperresses. Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1982), 118.

⁸⁸On the apse mosaic, see C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics at St. Sophia in Istanbul. Report on Work Carried Out in 1964," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 113–48; for Photius' description, see Mango, *Homilies*, 286–96. Cf. Dvornik, "Photius and Iconoclasm," 82, 84, 86, 97; Mango, "Liquidation," 140; Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, 196–98; Dufrenne, "Psautier du Mont-Athos," 95.

⁸⁹According to the *Vita Ignatii* by Nicetas the Paphlagonian, Photius owned a book containing anti-Ignatian images (English trans. in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 191–92); both Nicetas (PG, 105, cols. 565–568) and Symeon Magister (*Annales*, Bonn ed. [1838], 689) describe a second manuscript incorporating a spurious genealogy of Basil I. See following note.

⁹⁰The problem of Photian patronage was discussed in a paper delivered by the author at the 1983 meeting of the College Art Association; a published version is forthcoming.

⁹¹The genealogy mentioned in note 89 *supra*.

arts and was certainly conditioned by his own interests rather than Basil's.⁹²

Photius referred frequently to the Arian dispute of the fourth century, the Trinitarian heresy which, as mentioned earlier, Gregory worked vigorously to uproot. The ninth-century Patriarch's interest is apparent in two preserved homilies (out of an original four or five) that specifically addressed issues of the Arian controversy.⁹³ Photius saw the fourth-century dispute as a parallel to Iconoclasm, and in his homilies on Arianism made frequent reference to the controversy of his youth. Despite their solid factual basis, these homilies are in fact essentially harangues against the Iconoclasts masquerading under a thin veil of history. Since Gregory of Nazianzus was one of the most eloquent voices against the fourth-century Arian heresy, his attraction for Photius can be imagined; Photius may even have composed a laudatory tribute to his Early Christian predecessor on the patriarchal throne.⁹⁴ His affection is evident in quotations, paraphrases, or discussions of Gregory's homilies, letters, and poems which are found in his own *Amphilochia*, *Bibliotheca*, and sermons.⁹⁵ The Iconophiles as a group, and especially Theodore the Studite, had also revered Gregory, but it was Photius who specifically and consistently equated Gregory's despised Arians with the Iconoclasts.⁹⁶ The Patriarch's selection of Gregory's homilies for lavish production reflects these sympathies and seems entirely in keeping with Photius' preoccupations with Arianism and Iconoclasm.

Mango recently argued, however, that Photius' severe anti-iconoclastic stance is probably not historically justified since there is little real evidence that iconoclastic feelings lingered long after 843 or that there was any popular resentment of the restoration of Orthodoxy by the time Photius came to

power.⁹⁷ But the Patriarch had ample personal justification for his obsession with Iconoclasm. His parents were eminent Iconophiles who died in enforced exile; the former Patriarch Tarasius, who had briefly restored Orthodoxy under the Empress Eirene, was a relative on his father's side; and his mother seems to have been related to the Empress Theodora, who finally engineered the conclusive return to Orthodoxy in 843.⁹⁸ The Patriarch, in Orthodox eyes, came from unblemished, indeed saintly, lineage.⁹⁹ Photius' frequent references to Iconoclasm are thus understandable not as necessarily reflecting a current problem but as idiosyncratic allusions to events that closely involved his own family, and as not very subtle reminders to his audience of his familial prestige.¹⁰⁰ Mango suggested that Photius made Iconoclasm his "cause" at least in part because his association with the resistance movement under Iconoclasm was a useful tool against later adversaries,¹⁰¹ and when Paris. gr. 510 was produced, Photius had undergone several reverses in fortune that would justify a deep personal need for self-vindication. He had excommunicated Ignatius and Pope Nicholas I, and had been in turn anathematized and deposed in favor of Ignatius.¹⁰² The Emperor Basil I exiled him, and only gradually and grudgingly allowed him to return to prominence: when Paris. gr. 510 was made, the Patriarch was virtually a prisoner in the imperial palace.¹⁰³ Photius had, in other words, a personal stake in keeping the memory of Iconoclasm alive and in prolonging distaste for the recent heresy. He also needed to regain Basil's favor. His interest in Gregory of Nazianzus expressed his own position by means of a historical precedent; his presentation of the *Homilies* to Basil allowed him to state this position to the Emperor in the guise of an elaborate gift. The Paris *Homilies* thus furthered the Photian cause by providing both a forum for Photius' concerns and a flattering present for

⁹² See note 4 *supra*.

⁹³ Mango, *Homilies*, 236–78.

⁹⁴ J. Sajdak, *Historia critica scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni*, Meletemata Patristica, I (Cracow, 1914), 257–58.

⁹⁵ PG, 101, cols. 257A, 440C, 489–501, 1028B–C; *Photiou Epistolai*, ed. I. Valettas (London, 1864), 545; cf. W. Treadgold, "Photius on the Transmission of Texts (Bibliotheca, Codex 187)," *GRBS*, 19 (1978), 171–75.

⁹⁶ The connection between Theodore and the rise in popularity of Gregory's homilies has been noted by Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, 57, and G. Millet, "L'art byzantin," *Histoire de l'art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours*, I, 1, ed. A. Michel (Paris, 1920), 239; cf. Sajdak, *Historia critica*, 257. Nicephorus had earlier likened Iconoclasts and Arians (PG, 100, cols. 244D, 561A–B, 796C), but the analogy was fully extended only by Photius (see Mango, *Homilies*, 239–43).

⁹⁷ Mango, "Liquidation," 133–40.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, esp. 136–39.

⁹⁹ On Photius' canonization, see Dvornik, *Photian Schism*, 386–89.

¹⁰⁰ K. M. Ringrose, "Monks and Society in Iconoclastic Byzantium," *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines*, 6 (1979), 130–51, recently argued that few members of the aristocratic circle to which Photius belonged distinguished themselves during Iconoclasm. If her thesis is accepted, Photius' family was a notable exception.

¹⁰¹ Mango, "Liquidation," 133–40, esp. 139–40.

¹⁰² See Dvornik, "Photius in Light of Recent Research," 1–56.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 34; *idem*, *Photian Schism*, 132–39, 165–72. For the information on Photius' status in 879, I am indebted to Professor Ševčenko.

Basil I. This complex web of quasi-political, quasi-historical reasoning is very Photian indeed, and Paris. gr. 510 may be seen as a monument to the personal idiosyncrasies, political ambitions, and historical insights of the Constantinopolitan patriarch.

The unique combination of forces that resulted in the commission of the *Homilies* left their stamp on the miniatures. But in none of its innovative features is Paris. gr. 510 completely isolated from other ninth-century monuments. Some images in the Khludov and Pantokrator Psalters, for example, parallel Paris. gr. 510 in supplementing their text rather than picturing it literally.

A whole category of images in the marginal Psalters provides New Testament analogies to themes expressed in the Old Testament text, and, as Corrigan showed, these typological overlays were added to the standard psalter sequence in the ninth century.¹⁰⁴ Further, unlike the Bristol Psalter, which remains faithful to a pre-iconoclastic tradition,¹⁰⁵ in both the Khludov and Pantokrator Psalters the scribes appended inscriptions interpreting the images. In the Khludov miniature accompanying Psalm 7, for example, the titulus first describes the scene—"David prophesies the Holy Tomb"—then continues to explain the significance of both image and text: "And this story means that in the final days, the Son of Man will come."¹⁰⁶ Though more blatant than Paris. gr. 510, the inscriptions in the Khludov and Pantokrator Psalters function in the same helpful way as the enlarged initials and marginal *oboloi* of the Paris *Homilies*. In addition, many images in the two Psalters interpret given passages in a specifically ninth-century manner, and several pictures present anti-iconoclastic messages.¹⁰⁷ Du-

frenne's penetrating study of the exegetical sources for one of these polemical miniatures pointed to Photian commentary,¹⁰⁸ and it may be that the use of didactic imagery was popularized after Iconoclasm by the Patriarch.¹⁰⁹ Whether or not this proves to be the case, however, a few ninth-century manuscripts other than Paris. gr. 510 certainly incorporate miniatures that provide more than simple illustrations of a text. The *Homilies* belongs within a clearly defined group.

But contemporary manuscripts show only a sporadic application of the exegetical principles consistently followed in Paris. gr. 510. The homogeneity of the Gregory decoration is, presumably, explained by the fact that the manuscript was created under the close supervision of a strong-willed patron. Such volumes as the Khludov Psalter present pictorial cycles formed by accretion; each generation slightly altered old scenes, added new ones, and removed some from the model. For the illustrations of Paris. gr. 510, on the other hand, other pictorial cycles were certainly consulted, but episodes were carefully selected and modified to suit the exegetical requirements imposed by Photius throughout. The only other Byzantine manuscript known to me in which the same consistency occurs is the Leo Bible (*ca.* 940), named after its (known) patron, Leo the Sacellarius, who also seems to have imposed his own interpretations on the images included in his Bible.¹¹⁰ The Photian Gregory and the Leo Bible reveal pictorial sequences formed to fit the ideological propensities of their patrons. This type of book was never common in Byzantium, though in some manuscripts—as, perhaps, the Paris Psalter¹¹¹—the guiding role of the patron and the impact of contemporary culture may simply be as yet unrecognized.

¹⁰⁴K. Corrigan, "Byzantine Marginal Psalters of the Ninth Century," Ph.D. dissertation (U.C.L.A., 1984). Ms. Corrigan kindly made portions of the typescript of her dissertation available to me prior to its submission to U.C.L.A.

¹⁰⁵S. Dufrenne, "Le psautier de Bristol et les autres psautiers byzantins," *CahArch*, 14 (1964), 159–82. Dufrenne's arguments have been confirmed by Corrigan, "Marginal Psalters."

¹⁰⁶Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. gr. 129, fol. 6r: M. V. Shepkina, *Miniatiuri Khludovskoi Psalt'iri* (Moscow, 1977), facsimile. Ms. Corrigan, whom I thank for a lengthy discussion of this folio, includes numerous other examples in her dissertation.

¹⁰⁷See I. Ševčenko, "The Anti-Iconoclastic Poem in the Pantokrator Psalter," *CahArch*, 15 (1965), 39–60; Dufrenne, "Psautier du Mont-Athos," 83–95; Corrigan, "Marginal Psalters."

¹⁰⁸Dufrenne, "Psautier du Mont-Athos," 83–95; cf. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, 196–98.

¹⁰⁹See note 90 *supra*.

¹¹⁰See T. Mathews, "The Epigrams of Leo Sacellarios and an Exegetical Approach to the Miniatures of Vat. Reg. gr. 1," *OCP*, 43 (1977), 94–133; C. Mango, "The Date of Cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance,'" *ActaIRNorv*, 4 (1969), 121–26.

¹¹¹See H. Buchthal, "The Exaltation of David," *JWarb*, 37 (1974), 330–33. I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner is preparing a new study of the Paris Psalter in which this problem will be considered.